MASTER’S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

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THE AFTERMATH OF URBAN RENEWAL: THE CASE OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM PARK AND THE SAN BERNARDO NEIGHBORHOOD IN BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

Alejandro Torres Perico
Colombia
Specialization: Housing

Supervisor:
Alonso Ayala, PhD

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Summary

The interest of this investigation rises from the long-term renewal plan that the local government of Bogotá launched in 2007 in the city center. Although this strategic operation pretends to work for a competitive, preserved, renewed and inclusive city center, this last aspect is subject to many controversies since several urban renewal programs historically around the world have had dire consequences from a social perspective. Among the negative effects there are two common results that have occurred in many cities around the world: Firstly, the eviction of the original population necessary to carry out demolitions that give way for new constructions and secondly, the displacement of population in the form of gentrification.

Although the last two cases are of great interest to be studied in a research of this type, the scenario explored by this investigation is the ex post situation of the inhabitants that are still living in the surroundings of the renovated area. For this purpose, the case selected is the construction of the Third Millennium Park, which is part of the city renewal process, and the population of the adjacent San Bernardo neighborhood. The main objective is to identify the benefits and drawbacks that this renewal project has implied for the residents of the mentioned neighborhood. The population living there are the first witnesses of the positive and negative outcomes of this urban renewal process. Therefore, after eight years of the inauguration of the Park, it is relevant to see if there has been a positive outcome for households, considering that there have been no significant improvements in the image of the area and neither, apparently, a process of gentrification. Two types of households (those living in an apartment complex and in detached houses) are used to compare a different reality within the same community and place in order to highlight the importance of addressing the problems of a population with similar characteristics but different needs.

This is an exploratory and descriptive research, whose study approach is developed through the analysis of the households’ situation affected by the renewal intervention of the Third Millennium Park. The data collection involved structured surveys to 85 households and five expert interviews. In the first case, the procedure for making the sample of households surveyed was purposive.

The results obtained show that the balance of this experience is questionable from a socioeconomic point of view. The households living in the San Bernardo neighborhood have not had the support from the local government to change their reality of abandonment and decay. The lack of a socioeconomic policy within or linked with the urban renewal one is a reality that has been happening since the local government took the decision of eradicating El Cartucho and constructing the Third Millennium Park. From a policy perspective, the balance is similar because the renewal policy designed only attended the population exactly living where the Park was constructed, ignoring the inhabitants living next to it. Therefore, it is argued that a participatory process in the design, planning and implementation of the renewal did not occur. On the positive side of the urban renewal project it is found that the conditions of the public space in the
neighborhood and around the Park have improved. Similarly, green areas per inhabitant rose considerably with the construction of the Park.

The recommendations suggested deal mainly with the way an urban renewal policy should be designed, planned and implemented. The principal points are related to the following: The approach that an urban renewal policy should have to be successful; the importance of urban governance as a form to assure a participatory, transparent, accountable and successful process; the recognition of different groups of population between the same community and neighborhood that have different needs; the significance of community organization processes that facilitate the strengthening of population towards the public and private sector; the integration and articulation between policies and sectors from the public administration; and finally, the commitment of politicians to assure the continuity of policies through time.

**Key words:** Bogotá, Inner city, Regeneration, Renewal, Third Millennium Park
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### Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCF</td>
<td>Cajas de Compensación Familiar - <em>Family Compensation Funds</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>Colombian Pesos</td>
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<tr>
<td>DANE</td>
<td>Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística – <em>National Department of Statistics</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>DAPD</td>
<td>Departamento Administrativo de Planeación Distrital – <em>District Planning Department</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ERU</td>
<td>Empresa de Renovación Urbana de Bogotá – <em>Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>IDRD</td>
<td>Instituto Distrital de Recreación y Deporte – <em>District Institute of Recreation and Sports</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public-Private Partnerships</td>
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<td>SDP</td>
<td>Secretaría Distrital de Planeación – <em>District Planning Secretariat</em></td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

The deterioration of the city center of Bogotá started in the second half of the 20th century. It led to a sharp decline in the residential population, to a relocation of companies in other parts of the city and to increasing levels of insecurity. As a result, this part of the capital lost its competitiveness and residential attraction in the latest decades (DNP 2007).

During this period of time, many illegal and informal activities took place in the city center, especially in the southern part. The birth of the so called El Cartucho sector and the existence of several uncontrolled activities such as indigence, drug dealing, commercialization of guns and prostitution intensified the deterioration process. Despite many efforts from the local government to fight the criminal activities in the area, some parts of the center still have problems and continue to be stigmatized as dangerous by the society at large.

Accordingly, there have been different attempts to tackle this problem. The biggest one has been the construction of the Third Millennium Park in the area where El Cartucho sector used to be. The project thus intended to relieve the area from this plight that had affected the inner city for many years and therefore to regenerate the surrounding neighborhoods and the city center in general, which was being directly disturbed by El Cartucho. The Park was inaugurated in 2002 with high expectations of the potential benefits that this urban renewal project could bring to the city center.

The construction of the Third Millennium Park is one of the urban renewal initiatives that the local government has developed in the city center in the last 25 years. Other examples have been the construction of so called Eje Ambiental (Environmental Axis), which is a water canal that crosses the city center from east to west; and a housing renovation project carried out in the late 80’s, which was a failure because it did not sell the units expected and left many empty plots that ultimately created more social deterioration (Jaramillo 2006). Although the first two initiatives have helped to ameliorate slightly the image of the city center, it is still thought not to be good enough for developing any social or economic activities.

For this reason, in 2007 the local government of Bogotá D.C. began a 30-year-program in the inner city called Strategic Operation of the Center which is within the institutional framework designated by the Law of Territorial Development

1 El Cartucho sector was an area in the city center of Bogotá that was characterized as being a cradle of marginality and physical and social decadence. There was no control of this place because not even the Police was able to enter because of the possible danger that it meant. This place was the home of many indigent people and a lot of illegal activities took place such as drug dealing and commercialization of guns and stolen objects.

2 The Third Millennium Park (Parque Tercer Milenio in Spanish) is located in the city center of Bogotá and covers an area of 16 hectares.
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Law 388 of 1997) and the Land Use Plan of the city promulgated in 2000. The main purpose of the current operation in the center is to strengthen economic development of the area by protecting sites of historical heritage and promoting urban renewal programs. Through the latter, the principal objective is to encourage the re-densification of the zone by stopping its current social, economic and physical deterioration (ERU 2008). This new renewal program is in line with the objectives of national urban policy of the current government, which establish the development of strategic urban operations, the increase of the public space per inhabitant, urban renovation and the re-densification and planned growth of cities (DNP 2007).

Since the Third Millennium Park has been the largest urban renewal initiative that has been implemented in Bogotá hitherto, it is a potential reference of the benefits and drawbacks that this type of projects can generate to the inhabitants living in the areas intervened. It is essential to take into account that this renewal project also involved the alleviation of the social problem that occurred in El Cartucho sector; thus, any impact on the surrounding households has to be understood as a consequence of these two processes, namely: the urban renewal itself and the mitigation of the social decadence present in the area. In this sense, the research will study the advantages and disadvantages that this specific project has had on the situation of the households residing in the closest neighborhood in terms of their living conditions after the construction of the Park. In addition, the research intends to draw important conclusions and lessons from this experience for the upcoming renewal programs.

1.2 Problem statement

The interest of the present investigation rises from the long-term renovation plan that the local government began in 2007 in the city center of Bogotá. Although this strategic operation pretends to work for a competitive, preserved, renewed and inclusive city center, this last aspect is subject to many controversies since urban renewal programs historically around the world have had dire consequences from a social perspective.

Urban renewal programs do not automatically have a direct and positive effect on the socioeconomic and housing situation of the population residing in an area intervened by this type of policy. International experience has shown that a change in the physical environment does not necessarily imply a change in human behavior or in the image of an area (Carmon 1999; Uzun 2003). For this reason, each case has to be evaluated according to its own characteristics and particularities taking into account that it is a complex process that can affect the future of a city and its population.

Among the negative effects there can be identified two common results that have taken place in many cities around the world: Firstly, the displacement of the original population in the form of evictions, which are necessary to carry out demolitions that give way for new constructions. Although the land use could remain unchanged, the new buildings are not automatically earmarked for the same population. Secondly, the displacement could be as well in the form of
gentrification. In this case, the original households are displaced by better-off ones that are attracted by the new qualities of the location, which in turn leads to the increase in property prices and in general in the cost of living as a consequence of the improvement of the area intervened. It is thought that gentrification has negative consequences for the poor because it is “…now increasingly threatening the social cohesion and inclusiveness of historical districts, leading in some cases to brutal social transformations and eventually to forced evictions” (UNESCO 2005, p.14-15). This means that forced evictions might not be solely produced by the demolition process itself but also by the arrival of better-off inhabitants.

Although the last two cases are of great interest to be studied in a research of this type, the scenario explored by this investigation is the ex post situation of the inhabitants that are still living in the same dwellings that are located in the surroundings of the renovated area. For this purpose, the case selected is the construction of the Third Millennium Park and the benefits and drawbacks that it has had for the situation of the residents of the San Bernardo neighborhood which is located in the south of the Park. The population living there are the first witnesses of the positive and negative outcomes of this urban renewal process. Therefore, after eight years of the inauguration of the park it is relevant to see if there have been benefits for households taking into account that there has been no significant improvement in the image of the zone and neither, apparently, a process of gentrification (Lulle 2008). In other words, it is pertinent to see if, for instance, the renewal has created the environment to ameliorate the living conditions and stimulated further improvements in dwellings.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 Main objective

To identify the benefits and drawbacks that the urban renewal project Third Millennium has produced for the households of the San Bernardo neighborhood.

1.3.2 Secondary objectives

- To describe the policy and institutional context in which urban renewal is developed in Bogotá and Colombia
- To make a review of the Third Millennium project
- To make a description of the housing conditions and the socioeconomic characteristics of the households living in the neighborhood
- To compare the two groups of households present in the neighborhood, namely: Those living in an apartment complex and those residing in detached houses
- To describe the quality of the neighborhood in terms of its physical appearance and security conditions from the households’ and experts’ perception
- To propose recommendations for the upcoming urban renewal projects from a socioeconomic perspective and policy approach
1.4 **Scope of the research**

The scope of the research is framed within the benefits and drawbacks that the urban renewal project has produced for the population that is currently living in the *San Bernardo* neighborhood. The analysis deals with two types of households that live in different housing conditions, namely: The old and traditional families living in detached houses that were built decades ago, and the households residing in an apartment complex that was constructed twelve years ago. Taking into account these housing conditions, a comparison is made for all the variables analyzed in the research to see the different experiences of these two groups of population with respect to the urban renewal project.

1.5 **Research questions**

1.5.1 **Main research question**

What have been the benefits and drawbacks of the urban renewal project *Third Millennium* for the households of the *San Bernardo* neighborhood?

1.5.2 **Sub research questions**

- What are the housing conditions of inhabitants living in the *San Bernardo* Neighborhood?
- What is their socioeconomic situation?
- What are the differences between the households living in the apartment complex and those residing in the detached houses, regarding their socioeconomic situation and their perception of the urban renewal project?
- What is the perception of households about the image, physical appearance and the security conditions of the neighborhood?
- What is the perception of households and experts about the renewal project *Third Millennium*?

1.6 **Thesis structure**

This investigation is divided into six parts. The first introduces the main aspects of the research. The second chapter carries out the literature review from two perspectives: (1) The importance of regenerating inner cities; and (2) theories and policies of urban renewal and their results in different contexts.

The third part of the document explains the methodology used for collecting the data necessary to develop the research, which includes both primary and secondary information. In addition, the details about the procedures for data gathering, processing and analyzing the information collected during fieldwork. The fourth chapter describes the policy and institutional framework of urban renewal in Bogotá and Colombia, and the background information about the *Third Millennium Park*.

The fifth section describes the results obtained from fieldwork and analyzes them according to the objectives and questions set by this research. Finally, the sixth chapter draws the conclusions and proposes some recommendations for future urban renewal programs.
Chapter 2: Literature review / theory

2.1 The inner city issue

The problem of decay and abandonment of inner cities is an issue that has happened in many countries in both the developed and the developing world. The reasons of such decline have followed a general pattern but clearly the specific context of each case is the main cause of these consequences. Therefore, this section will briefly describe what are the most common causes that have led cities to a stage of decline and why it is crucial to turn around this problem through regeneration policies.

2.1.1 The decline of inner cities

Central areas were known as the dominant part of cities. They were the places where the historical sites and the important economic activities used to take place. In addition, it was the main location of the local government and residential areas. With the process of industrialization, the migration from rural to urban areas began to happen following the job opportunities that now the city began to offer. Due to this process of immigration, the process of urbanization was unavoidable, making pressure for expanding the boundaries of the city to house the newcomers.

Many causes triggered historically the process of urban decay. The most important ones could be the dynamics of population flow and economic activity that occurred with the era of industrialization and then urbanization. One of the first facts that began the depopulation of central cities was the introduction of new means of public transportation and the invention of the car (Tallon 2010). Urban growth as a consequence of a public policy of funding urban development also stimulated the migration of people, especially the better-off, towards the periphery of cities (McCarthy 1997). In addition, the movement of industrial and commercial activities out from the central areas represented another cause for the decline of the inner cities as well as the social conflicts because of race, ethnicity and status, like it was evident in the United States cities in the middle of the 20th century (Koebel 1996).

The process of decline that most cities have faced so far started happening after the Second World War. In the case of the United Kingdom, the phenomena of counter-urbanization, suburbanization and deindustrialization were the ones which produced the first effects of urban dispersal in the subsequent years of the war (Tallon 2010). The loss of employment opportunities due to the various causes of deindustrialization affected the economic situation of the city. In addition, the movement of the middle and high classes to the periphery due to the new options of transportation and the idea that the suburbs were an opportunity to have a better life in terms of leisure, progress and consumption, like it was in the case of the cities of United States (Koebel 1996), left the inner city in a situation of abandonment.

In this scenario, the middle and high classes had the option to move out from the city center to the suburbs in the search of a better quality of life, taking into
account that there was already development of residential areas in these zones. With the commercial activities following households to keep their business active and profitable, and the industry also moving out from central areas, the inner city was left for the worse-off classes (Jaramillo 2006). Those deprived and neglected areas were the only ones the urban poor could afford. The situation of the inner city then was characterized by poverty, insecurity, informality and many other social problems that kept away better-off households and formal commercial activities. Due to this reality of poverty, exclusion, segregation and polarization, policies to regenerate the urban fabric began to take place. Evidently, central areas are of great importance for cities, not only from a historical point of view, but also from an economic perception if they are managed properly to exploit their competitive advantage (Porter 1995; 1997). Yet more importantly, it is the regeneration from a social point a crucial issue in the agenda in order to improve the situation of deprivation in which this people live.

2.1.2 The competitiveness of inner cities

One of the main reasons for regenerating inner cities lies in the competitive advantage that they have in relation to other urban areas. It is true that urban regeneration is a crucial issue from the physical, social and environmental point of view, but the economic one is vital because it can lead to the recovery of the other aspects (Noon, Smith-Canham & Eagland 2000). From the social point of view, it is clear that it should be a priority in the political agenda because declining areas become places in which only the urban poor can live due to their economic limitations that stop them from affording other residential places with higher standards. This situation produces the stigmatization of the center by the other social classes and also from the commercial activities, which creates social problems like exclusion, segregation and clearly more poverty. From the physical perspective, obsolete and vacant buildings which are inappropriate and inefficient to satisfy the needs of companies and households also lead to a deterioration of the built environment (Jeffrey & Pounder 2000). Therefore, at this point of decay, the economic regeneration, taking advantage of the qualities of the inner city, is the opportunity for recovering what has been lost with the process of decline.

But, what are those qualities that can make an inner city attractive? According to Michael Porter (1995, pp. 57), inner cities have four competitive advantages in comparison to other urban areas. The strategic location is the first advantage because inner cities are close to communication and transportation nodes and also to different economic activities like financial institutions. Porter (1995) argues that these characteristics, together with the high value of land, can attract different companies to place their businesses in these areas. Second, an advantage due to the local market which has to do with the opportunity to serve a market that has been neglected and that is underdeveloped because of the declining process. Porter (1995) states that the same inhabitants of the inner city are the key to attract entrepreneurs because even though this population is characterized by having low income, they can represent a big market in absolute terms. Thirdly, the regional integration advantage refers to the possibility of accessing competitive clusters that are present in the region in which the city is located. The difference with the strategic location advantage is the opportunistic role that a company in the inner
city can play while supplying goods for other companies that are competitive at the national and international levels in the same region. Finally, the fourth advantage is related to the human resources available in inner cities. Although there is a perception about the unwillingness and lack of skills of the labour force in central areas, Porter (1995) argues that there are inhabitants keen to work and fulfill the skill requirements, especially for industrial activities.

In this sense, the competitive advantages that inner cities have seem to be strong enough to attract investment back to these areas. However, Porter (1995) also highlights some disadvantages that can be counterproductive when trying to achieve the objectives of regeneration. The first one has to do with land issues because even though there is vacant land, the process of assembling it to develop the required constructions for companies can be expensive and difficult due to issues of property rights. Another disadvantage is represented by the higher building and other related costs that take place in inner city areas with respect to the situation in suburbs. Usually, central areas have to take into account regulations which impose more barriers to develop than it is in the periphery. A third and very concerning factor is the issue of security since deteriorated areas tend to have problems of crime that prevent investment and economic development. Other essential factors of disadvantage also involve the insufficient infrastructure for the development of commercial activities, the low levels of education of inner city inhabitants, the level of access to capital for company growth and entrepreneurship, and an attitude problem that has to do with the reluctance of residents to work in companies because of the belief that they are exploitative (Porter 1995).

The importance of regenerating inner cities lies in the fact that if these areas profit from the competitive advantages they have, they can “… make a positive contribution to the national economic performance and to the attainment of a range of other social and environmental goals” (Roberts 2000, pp. 19), besides the mere fact of halting the deterioration process and giving an opportunity for the inhabitants of these places to get out from their situation of poverty and exclusion. The emphasis on the economic aspect of regeneration is explained by the fact that economic renaissance through the attraction of new companies should serve the local community in terms of services and employment opportunities (Porter 1995). This approach considers not only the private sector, but also the participation of the other stakeholders in the process such as public entities, inhabitants and Community Based Organizations (CBO) which are being pulled by the first one. In Porter’s view, the private sector should lead the inner city revival while the rest of the actors should support it by creating a favorable atmosphere for business. This means in the case of the public sector “… improving and assembling sites, training workers, upgrading infrastructure, (and) streamlining regulation” and from the Community Based Organizations, the participation to “… facilitate private-sector involvement, change attitudes, train residents and link them to jobs, and, when appropriate, develop sites” (Porter 1997, pp. 46).
2.2 Urban renewal and regeneration

There are many concepts referring to the process of recovering deteriorated parts of cities, especially the so-called inner city. Urban renewal, redevelopment, regeneration, revitalization, and renaissance are examples of this wide terminology that has the same end but perhaps different approaches. The same end in the sense that all of them have the objective of redirecting and improving cities after a period of decline; and different approaches because each of them considers a narrower or a broader context in comparison with the other. For this reason, in this section the author will describe what it is understood by these concepts in the international context.

2.2.1 Definitions

Urban renewal is one of the first terms used to describe the process of physical change that a city should follow in order to halt the process of deterioration. An appropriate definition that shows this approach is the one developed by Coach (1990) because it basically describes urban renewal as a process limited to the physical sphere. Urban renewal according to him “… is seen as the physical change, or change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings, that is the inevitable outcome of the action of economic and social forces upon land” (Couch 1990, pp. 1). Right after defining it, Coach clarifies the difference with the concept of urban regeneration by saying that this has to do with the intention of the state or community to improve the quality of life in a city by attracting back investment, employment and consumption, but evidently leaving aside the physical aspect. In this moment, one might think that urban renewal and urban regeneration can be complementary, but in reality the author believes that urban renewal is within or should be within the concept of urban regeneration.

A consistent definition with this statement is the one developed by Roberts (2000). According to him, urban regeneration is “… a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change” (Roberts 2000, p.17).

Other authors go further in their conception of urban regeneration. Turok (2005, p. 57), for instance, conceives urban regeneration as being characterized by the following three aspects: (1) It is intended to change the nature of a place and in the process to involve the community and other actors with a stake in its future; (2) It embraces multiple objectives and activities that cut across the main functional responsibilities of central government, depending on the area’s particular problems and potential; and (3) It usually involves some form of partnership working amongst different stakeholders, although the form of partnership can vary.

Tallon (2010) recognizes this definition as the best that suits his recent work and explicitly emphasizes the fact that Turok’s terms of people, business and place to his definition is what makes it appropriate. In the author’s opinion, these concepts
have to be included to have a holistic approach of what should be understood by urban regeneration. However, Roberts’ definition may be clearer and less abstract and also embraces somehow the concepts developed by Turok’s definition.

Urban renewal and urban regeneration are the most common terms found in the literature. The others terms mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (revitalization, redevelopment, and renaissance) have similarities or differences depending on the context, region and the way an author prefers to call this process. What is clear is that urban regeneration seems to be the most integral approach because, like Roberts (2000, p. 18) says, it “…moves beyond the aims, aspirations and achievements of urban renewal”, also “…the less well-defined purpose” of urban development or redevelopment and the imprecise approach of rehabilitation or revitalization.

In order to set a clear position and avoid misunderstandings in this research, the definitions of urban renewal and urban regeneration that are taken into account here are those developed by Coach (1990) and Roberts (2000) respectively. The next section briefly explains the differences between redevelopment, revitalization and renaissance, according to some authors whilst describing the evolution of the process of regenerating cities.

2.2.2 Evolution of urban renewal and regeneration over time

The evolution of the process that is being described here also depends on the perspective of the authors that have worked in this topic. Some of them go as far as the industrial revolution while others take as a starting point the years after the Second World War. The following description takes examples mainly from experiences of the United Kingdom and the United States, which are countries that have worked thoroughly in this field judging by the broad literature published on their cases.

Roberts (2000) considers the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom as the outset of the process of urban renewal and regeneration. He argues that the main reason of this lies in the attempt of towns and cities to adapt to an evolving industrial society by reorganizing their urban areas. However, he states that the main response to meet these new requirements of a changing society was to expand the boundaries of cities to provide space for the new residential, commercial and industrial activities. Coach (1990) identifies the same beginning and argues that the process of urban renewal was triggered at first by market led forces that prioritized the demands of capital and the changing needs. According to him, it was a process shaped and influenced by the demands of the new economic environment product of the industrial revolution, i.e. creation of new companies and the need for housing the labour force. Even though these two authors agree upon the same beginning, it is evident that it is the post Second World War period the one that first witnessed a process of urban renewal and regeneration as it is understood today.

It is interesting to see the evolution that this process has had over time according to each approach. In the case of Coach (1990) the policies that have characterized
the development of urban renewal are the following three: The first is the one already explained about the market driven approach. The second refers to the intervention of governments to develop social policies to tackle problems such as poor housing conditions and overcrowding. An attempt was to demolish houses and construct high rise buildings, but because of the negative consequences triggered by this policy, there was a change in the conception of urban renewal, opening the door for the improvement approach. This new thinking recognized the potential of the built environment that in most of the cases was in a good condition to be renovated instead of being demolished. One of the main arguments of this approach in the case of the inner city areas was that the social and economic problems should be tackled in situ rather than being “bulldozed away” and dispersed to other places. And thirdly, the last policy identified by Coach (1990) in the evolution or urban renewal was the new role of governments as regulators and facilitators in the introduction of the private sector as a key player in the development and redevelopment of cities. This approach took into account the necessity of the private sector to get profit from its investments. Thus, the government acted as a facilitator by encouraging the private sector through different incentives.

Like Coach (1990), Roberts (2000) describes the evolution of urban regeneration also by explaining the different policies but using the different terminology that has been mentioned in this section. Although he recognizes the industrial revolution as having the first signs of a process of urban change, the starting point to explain the different approaches is the Second World War. Regarding this, there have been five stages that describe the process from the perspective of the United Kingdom, namely (Roberts 2000, p. 14-15):

- **Reconstruction (1950’s):** The emphasis was on the reconstruction of the damaged areas after the Second World War and the eradication of slums. The idea was to solve all the physical problems coming from the past. The central government was the one who led the process with some support from the private sector.
- **Revitalization (1960’s):** In this decade the previous approach was somehow maintained but there was an attempt towards the concept of rehabilitation of existing urban areas. In addition, there was an effort to improve the participation of the private sector.
- **Renewal (1970’s):** This stage focused on in situ renewal and neighborhood schemes of older urban areas. The participation of the private sector increased as well as the empowerment and actions of the community.
- **Redevelopment (1980’s):** The focus moved to schemes of development and redevelopment led by the private sector and special agencies. Partnerships and flagship projects started to appear in the scenario.
- **Regeneration (1990’s):** This stage introduced a comprehensive form of policy with an integrated approach. Partnerships became the dominant force which in turn created a better balance between the participation of the public and private sectors. The role of the community was also enhanced. The physical aspect focused on heritage conservation. Although in the previous approaches the environmental aspect was taken into account, the concept of environmental sustainability was first introduced in this stage.
Shifting continents, the evolution of urban renewal in the United States started in the post Second World War years (Koebel 1996; McCarthy 1997). The causes that led to physically and economically declined city centers were the demographic and economic expansion after the Second World War together with a high demand for housing. The scarcity of land in the city center and the availability of the same in the suburbs opened the door for an outflow of population from these areas. These suburbs began to represent the opportunity for “a new life of economic security, progress, leisure and consumption” (Koebel 1996, pp. 6). Once the population began to move to the peripheral areas, retail activities did so as well, leaving the so called downtown in a process of decay and only “acceptable” for the worse-off in terms of affordability. With the inner cities in a process of deterioration and an increasing urbanization in the suburbs, the United States began to work towards the redevelopment of their central cities. According to Koebel (1996, pp. 4-5), in the second half of the 20th century, there were five different stages that characterized the country’s attempts to recover from the decay, which were the following:

- Slum Clearance (1945-1954): By this time, the housing built in the late 19th and early 20th century was dilapidated, situation that lead to the policy of *slum clearance* with the intention to encourage private development without any success.

- Clearance for Public Housing, Commerce and “Market-rate” Housing (1955-1963): The clearance approach continued and was known as “The Federal Bulldozer”. It was criticized for being a process of urban removal instead of urban renewal. Redevelopment shifted towards commercial development in the areas that used to be residential.

- National Promotion of Social Change and the Neighborhood Movement (1964-1974): The demolishing approach was condemned by the community. With the effort of social movements asking for a comprehensive approach, the inner cities gained political power leading to a housing rehabilitation approach instead of the clearance one. In this stage, the Community Development Corporations were created and were in charge of creating and preserving affordable housing.

- Redevelopment of Central Business Districts (1975-1984): The Government noticed that the policies of slum and neighborhood clearance involved a high risk in political and economic terms. Now the focus was on commercial clearance because it was not as sensitive as the residential one. This new approach gave way to the formation of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) for the construction of hotels, offices and multipurpose establishments.

- Federal Retreat from Cities (1985-1993): The Federal Government stopped its leadership and funding in these processes and left everything for local initiatives. Community Development Corporations began to be the promoters of these projects.

After this last stage explained by Koebel (1996) there is a major shift in the urban policy in the United States regarding the amelioration of declined cities. Now with the leadership of community organizations and the creation of the so-called *Empowerment Zones* and *Enterprising Communities* since the beginning of the Clinton’s administration, the idea was to tackle the urban problem of deteriorated...
cities from four fronts, namely: Economic development, human development, community development and physical development (Shutt 2000). This is the approach that is close to what is known in the United Kingdom as urban regeneration. It has to do with a holistic and comprehensive approach that not only focuses on the physical view, but also on the economic and social aspects. What it seems to be missing in the United States’ approach is the environmental front.

Having described the evolution of urban renewal and regeneration in the United Kingdom and the United States, it is interesting to summarize and assimilate the common issues between these two cases. This attempt has been made by Carmon (1999), who describes the process of urban renewal (regeneration) by the policies that followed the Second World War. She argues that there have been only three generations of policies that in general terms have characterized this process in the international context, which are the following:

- **The era of the bulldozer – Physical determinism and emphasis on the built environment:** Its main pattern was the demolition of the old and bad quality housing in order to develop new constructions which not necessarily were residential. When housing constructions were developed, the characteristics of the buildings were inappropriate since the new ones were of a multi-storey block type, which most of the times did not fit the households’ profile. This generation took place mainly in the United States and the United Kingdom.

- **Neighborhood rehabilitation – A comprehensive approach emphasizing social problems:** After the criticism of the bulldozer generation, the policy was developed in order to carry out rehabilitation plans in the run-down neighborhoods instead of demolishing them. The objective was to improve the housing, social and environmental problems through these policies, and also to take into account the participation of affected people. This generation was seen again in the United States and the United Kingdom, but also in other countries like Canada, France and Israel.

- **Revitalization, especially in the city centers – A business-like approach emphasizing economic development:** The decline of land prices in city centers due to different phenomena (depopulation and deterioration) attracted different kind of entrepreneurs who were interested in investing in real-estate projects. This situation led to the formation of two kinds of partnerships: *Public-individual partnerships* and *Public-private partnerships (PPP)*.

The evolution of urban renewal and urban regeneration has the same milestones over time. The differences shown above are the periods that each author puts together according to their context to explain the differences in time and also the concepts they use to describe each stage. For this reason, a good summary about the evolution of urban renewal and regeneration is the compilation of Carmon’s (1999) work, because it describes in general terms the international evolution, with the addition of the urban regeneration approach explained by Roberts (2000), which in many ways it is the trend that is taking place nowadays.
2.2.3 International experiences

International experiences about urban renewal and regeneration can be found everywhere. Nevertheless, the most common cases come from the United Kingdom and the United States. Therefore, in this section some relevant cases will be explained about these countries as well as others from the developing world that also have had interesting situations about this issue.

2.2.3.1 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is one of the leading countries in the field of urban regeneration. Like it was mentioned before, this holistic approach began to take place in the 1990’s; however, there have been experiences in which the focus has been on the physical aspect and eventually have failed because of not tackling the other fronts of a comprehensive regeneration policy. One of these cases is found in Birmingham, the second largest city of the United Kingdom. Groves and Niner (1998) studied the impact of urban renewal in the housing market of three areas of the inner city that were characterized for being deteriorated and having inhabitants of low income profile.

The policy of the local government was to implement an urban renewal project through the improvement of the exterior parts of the dwellings and in some cases, to ameliorate the internal areas as well. Others actions taken included the investment in the overall environment of neighborhoods through the repaving of roads, building facilities, planting trees, etc (Groves & Niner 1998).

The objective of the research carried out by Groves and Niner (1998) was to find out the main effects of this program on the housing condition of families. The investigation drew interesting conclusions that can be labeled as more negative than positive. The following are the negative ones:

- The renovation program did not stimulate further investments from the owners for repairs and improvements of their dwellings. This situation is explained by other problems such as unemployment and affordability.
- In some cases the level of investment of the program was insufficient to guarantee its sustainability in terms of the condition of the housing stock through time. This happened especially in those areas were the program only involved external improvements.
- Poor environmental conditions such as littering, graffiti and vandalism led to accelerate the deterioration of some of the areas after being renovated.
- There is little evidence that the urban renewal program had a direct impact on the prices of properties.
- After the renovation was undertaken, the social and economic conditions of the areas intervened worsened. The unemployment rate rose and problems related to drugs, burglary and theft increased as well.
- These social and economic problems increased the levels of dissatisfaction of the neighborhoods, leading to phenomena of emigration.

On the other hand, the positive aspects of the program were:
• It is thought that if the program had not been implemented, the condition of the housing stock and of the area as a whole would be much worse than it was by the time of the study. The explanation of this lies on the inability of households to carry out the repairs and improvements needed.
• Homeowners were better satisfied with the implementation of the program and thought that it improved their living conditions and encouraged them to make further maintenance and repair works. However, this perception was not generalized and depended on the level of investment received. Therefore, it is relevant to say that there was also frustration after the program was implemented.
• To some extent, the purpose of stopping decay and maintaining the original population was achieved.

The main conclusion of the authors and perhaps the most important one is that urban renewal strategies focused only on the physical upgrading are neither sustainable nor successful if social and economic problems are left aside from the policy.

2.2.3.2 The United States

In the United States there are many cases of dilapidated city centers that have been subject to urban renewal or urban regeneration policies to recover from a period of decline. One of the well known examples is the case of Detroit, a city that is internationally famous for being the home of important car companies. The case of this city, which is explained by McCarthy (1997) in his article *Revitalization of the core city: The case of Detroit,* reflects the poor situation of the core cities in the country by the 1950’s. Like it was explained before about the evolution of urban renewal in the United States, Detroit also had a process of out-migration of population, commercial uses and industrial activities from the downtown to periphery of the city. This was produced in part by the policies that stimulated urban expansion by funding urban development and due to the relocation of important commercial and industrial activities in the suburbs (McCarthy 1997). This situation left the core city in a process of decline and disinvestment which in turn led to increasing levels of poverty and low quality in services. In addition, this situation was worsened by race and ethnic problems as well as insecurity issues.

The first attempt to change the path of decline was in the 1970’s when the local government realized that the image of the city was negative and launched a campaign of reimagining the city; also, the creation of an organization called *Detroit Renaissance Inc.,* intended to work towards the physical and economic revitalization of the city (McCarthy 1997). The strategy was to develop a series of “flagship” projects that attracted investment back to the city center, since most of it was going to the suburbs with the urbanization and economic development that was happening in these places since the 1950’s. The investment in hotels, offices

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3 A flagship project is one that amongst a number of projects under the same umbrella holds the crowning glory and commands prestige while also being an example to these others.
and places for retail activities in the city center was strong with the hope of attracting more investment. This strategy was led by some corporations that were created in this decade that diminished the role of the planning department in the participation of the revitalization process of the core city. The strategy also involved tax-oriented and other incentives for development projects. Despite all these efforts to halt the deterioration process of the city center, the situation of decline did not stop and people kept leaving the core city. In the 1980’s the strategy focused on physical developments continued with the same type of uses plus other projects such as housing and squares. However, once again, the aim of stopping the population and employment decline was not fulfilled, and to worsen the situation, the federal subsidies for the city were reduced considerably by the beginning of the 1990’s.

The second half of the 1990’s began with a new approach developed by the initiation of President Clinton’s administration (1993). The diagnosis of the situation of core American cities in these years, Detroit included, was worrying. In the case of the city center of Detroit, it was found that poverty and unemployment rates were much higher than those found in the suburbs by 1995 (McCarthy 1997, pp. 7). Hence, Clinton administration launched the strategy of Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities, and Detroit was one of the cities declared as being part of this program due to its complex reality. The results of this new approach led by the federal government that also had high community-based participation were not the expected ones because the city continued following the same strategy of the 1970’s and 1980’s but now based on entertaining-led regeneration. According to McCarthy (2002), after 1997 there were some economic improvements in the central city, but the concern of the negative image of the city together with problems of exclusion, segregation, injustice and uneven benefits for Detroit’s population, has not been solved within the label of an integral regeneration approach.

The case of Detroit is a clear example of many failed attempts throughout time to turn around the situation of decay and bad image of the city center. It has been more than 30 years since the first strategy was implemented to achieve this and what reality shows is the complexity that urban regeneration processes imply for cities. In the case of this city, there has been the intention of developing a holistic regeneration approach, perhaps too focused on physical redevelopment which might be the problem in the process. An important lesson that fits the case of Detroit regarding the highly physical focus of regeneration is the one mentioned by Koebel (1996, pp. 1) when he argues that “The mechanics of demolishing dilapidated and economically obsolete buildings are simple and easily accomplished, but they do not create demand for new uses”.

### 2.2.3.3 Other countries

Other countries also have plenty of experiences related to policies of urban renewal and regeneration. In this time, some cases from Turkey and Israel will be taken into account in order to show experiences from a different perspective than those of the developed countries.
Turkey

Uzun (2003) studied the impact of urban renewal in Turkey, specifically in two areas of Istanbul and one in Ankara, the capital. His first argument is that when cities start to expand their limits, the so-called inner-city gets the negative consequences because its areas become less concentrated and deteriorated. For this reason, urban renewal was the response to the inner-city problems which are related to social, economic and physical phenomena due to its deterioration.

The first two are related to experiences when gentrification occurred as a natural process led by the market and population themselves, and the third was an initiative led by the private sector in cooperation with the local government. The consequences of the three processes were the following:

- First neighborhood (Cihangir): The gentrification process was an initiative of independent actors that were attracted by the location (close to central business district). This was a cultured-group and it was followed by small investors encouraged by market opportunities. The results of this process were an increase in prices and consequently in the cost of living, situation that enticed higher income population and led to the displacement of the original residents. The government did not take a role in this process.

- Second neighborhood (Kuzguncuk): Gentrification in this case was implemented by the existing inhabitants when they started being conscious of the importance of preserving the area and its urban values. A change in population took place to some extent when new residents came to the area attracted by its historical values, but these new-comers started to work with the old residents in order to create consciousness about the environment and gentrification slowed down. With these initiatives from the new inhabitants, urban renewal occurred by upgrading and rehabilitating the built environment. It is said, that the success of this case was based on the consensus reached between old and new residents.

- Third neighborhood (Dikmen Valley Project): This was an urban renewal project led by the private sector with the support of the local government which had as objective the transformation of the valley into a recreation area with commercial, cultural and social services. The valley was occupied by squatters and surrounded by high and middle class housing. From the time the renewal happened, gentrification took place in one section which was occupied by rich population. What began as an initiative for achieving integration between different communities, ended in an area characterized by conflict and social segregation.

The case of Turkey shows that spontaneous processes carried out by inhabitants themselves might lead to positive outcomes. On the other hand, imposed procedures by the government and private sector have less desirable results. Once again, this last example of renewal policies shows that the emphasis on the physical aspect can easily lead to negative results since what cities need to halt a process of decline is more than a beautification strategy.
Israel

Israel experienced an interesting example of a regenerating policy in one of the neighborhoods in the center of the metropolitan area of Tel Aviv. Interesting because many of the objectives were achieved but the outcome for the most vulnerable population was not the desirable. The project took place in a neighborhood called Florentine, which was constructed in the 1930’s and was characterized by housing working class migrants from Greece and Bulgaria. Originally, the area had commercial and manufacturing activities on the ground floor of residential buildings. According to Carmon (1999), the situation of the neighborhood by the 1960’s was prosper until modern housing with better standards was built in the north and suburb areas of the city, attracting the population that could afford to live in the new sites. The ground floors of the buildings that were left empty by the population that moved to the new areas were occupied by commercial and manufacturing activities. By the 1970’s the neighborhood was in a situation of decay because there was insufficient investment to maintain and improve the buildings, the social services were scarce and the business activities created disturbances in an area that was mainly residential.

Since all these situations led more residents to leave the central areas of the city, a renewal project for the Florentine neighborhood was announced in 1990 by the local government. The objectives of the project were to attract population, enhance quality of life for the old and new residents and improve the image of the neighborhood. In order to achieve them, the strategies pointed at renovating public spaces, the external parts of buildings and the kindergartens and community center that existed in the area; also, to a lesser extent, some loans were available for households to improve the internal parts of their dwellings.

The results of this project according to the description that Carmon (1999) makes based on previous studies from her and other authors are positive and negative. In the positive side, it is stated that the image of the area improved undoubtedly because after the project the place was seen attractive for buying and renting housing and also for developing and making use of commercial activities. The empty buildings were renovated and then occupied by new residents and in others, the commercial and manufacturing activities were displaced by new residential population; as a matter of fact, the population doubled the number that existed before the renewal. All these new conditions of the neighborhood also triggered a quick increase in prices which in part represents the improvement in the image as well.

On the other hand, the negative effects of the renewal project come especially from the social point of view. Carmon (1999) argues that in general terms the aim of improving the quality of life of the neighborhood had not been achieved because the living conditions are still poor. For example, education and leisure facilities were insufficient for households with children; there were sanitation problems in some areas and commercial activities created grave disturbances for households. In addition, a typical gentrification process affected tenants who were
pushed out because of the increase in rents. In a similar way, some businesses that had been in the neighborhood were also pushed out without compensation.

The final conclusions that Carmon (1999, pp. 153-154) gives about the project are: (1) Although the population increased, the neighborhood is a temporary place for its inhabitants rather than being a permanent site of residence; (2) The project benefited more the landlords, new businesses owners and the municipality, which are the strong stakeholders rather than new and old tenants, who are the weaker ones; and (3) More benefits were created for the place itself rather than focusing more on the population living in the area.

2.3 Summary

The literature review carried out in this chapter depicted two processes. On the one hand, it described the causes of inner cities’ decline and the importance for stopping this phenomenon due to the competitive advantage that they have in comparison to other areas. The emigration of population and economic activities from central areas to the periphery are highlighted as the main causes of urban decay. The situation of physical deterioration, insecurity and poverty of central areas is seen as the final outcome triggered by the abandonment of the groups mentioned. Due to these phenomena, the competitive advantage of inner cities is thought to be an opportunity to halt the process of decline due to their unique assets. The need of regeneration policies for stopping the decline is argued, highlighting the economic component as being vital for the recovery of the physical, social and environmental aspects of the inner city.

On the other hand, the chapter reviews the concepts of urban renewal and regeneration and their evolution in time. The author adopts the definition of Roberts (2000) for being the most comprehensive and integrated for involving the economic, physical, social and environmental spheres as key components in a regeneration policy. The evolution over time is explained from different perspectives, especially from the process seen in the United Kingdom and the United States. Finally, the experiences of the United Kingdom, the United States, Turkey and Israel are described in order to show the approach followed by these countries with respect to regeneration policies.

2.4 Conceptual framework

The design of the conceptual framework is based on the literature review made in this chapter. It is composed by three parts, namely: causes, policies and outcomes. They intend to show the process of urban renewal or regeneration from the stage of urban decay to the possible outcomes, depending on the policy approach according to the definitions adopted by the author (renewal and regeneration). Each part includes the key concepts reviewed in the chapter. Therefore, the first part shows the most common aspects that characterize inner cities in a situation of decay. The second part involves the components taken into account by the renewal and regeneration approaches. Finally, the third part exposes the common outcomes of each type of policy according to the theory in the field and the experiences described (See Figure 1).
Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Source: Author, 2010

The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia
Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Type of research

This research is exploratory and descriptive. It pretends to explain a phenomenon that does not have clear and defined impacts on the population close to renewed areas and to describe the profile of the population living in the study area. The approach of the study is developed through the analysis of the households’ situation affected by the renewal intervention of the selected research area, the Third Millennium Park.

3.2 Research instruments

3.2.1 Survey

A survey was carried out among the current households living in the San Bernardo neighborhood. It was a purposive sample of 85 households from the population living in the area of study. The decision of making a purposive sample is explained by the fact that it was desirable to interview especially the households that have been living in the vicinity before the Park was constructed. However, this criterion was not followed strictly because the perception of newer families was also appreciated and useful for the objectives of the research. In any case, the majority of households interviewed fulfilled the condition mentioned.

A structured questionnaire was designed in order to capture all the necessary data about the socioeconomic and housing situation of households. Moreover, qualitative information about their perception of the urban renewal project and the area of residence was gathered.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire had seven sections that grouped the variables of interest according to the topics that were studied in the research. It had close and open ended questions. Table 1 shows the categories and an example of some of the variables that were part of the questionnaire. The whole questionnaire is presented in Annex 1.

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The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia
The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia

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<td>• Sector (security, public space)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perception about the urban renewal project Third Millennium Park</td>
<td>• Participation in the process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Opinion about the park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Advantages of the park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Disadvantages of the park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National and local housing policy</td>
<td>• Affiliation to social system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Knowledge about subsidies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Access to subsidies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author, 2010

Pilot test

Before starting the data collection a pilot test was realized with ten residents of the neighborhood in order to prove the consistency and coherence of the questionnaire, and the clarity of the questions. All the questions were clear and understood by the respondents.

Data consistency, coding and recording

Parallel to data collection, the phase of checking the consistency of the information took place after the working day in order to indentify as soon as possible the inconsistencies that required to be clarified directly on the field. Once all the questionnaires were checked, all the open-ended questions were coded to ease the process of data recording. After this step was carried out, the data entries were made in Microsoft Excel.

Data processing

The phase of data processing was developed in the SAS System software.

3.2.2 Expert interviews

Representatives from the Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá (ERU) were interviewed as part of the experts that are aware of the urban renewal project studied in this research. The questions concerned the perceptions and opinions about the specific urban renewal project of the Third Millennium Park. Also, their position about the impact that the Park has had on the center and the city as a whole was asked. In addition, the interview tried to get their point of view about the current renewal policy and the policies needed to regenerate the city center. Annex 3 shows the names and positions of the experts interviewed.

3.3 Data analysis

The data gathered was quantitative (survey) and qualitative (survey and expert interviews). These sources of information supported each other in order to have reliable results.
The results of the survey are analyzed taking into account the two household groups that were found in the neighborhood. Although these households live in the same neighborhood and share some characteristics, their reality and needs are different. For this reason, it is interesting to differentiate the response of both of them to conduct the topic analyzed from two perspectives.

### 3.4 Location

The data collection took place in the city center of Bogotá, specifically, in the neighborhood called San Bernardo, which is located in the south part of the area where the renewal occurred (See Figures 2, 3 and 4). The population of households living in the neighborhood is 7,997. It is relevant to mention that before and after the project, this neighborhood has always been recognized for having a low-income profile.

**Figure 2: Bogotá’s location in Colombian map**  
Source: Taken from [http://www.voldiscout.es](http://www.voldiscout.es)

**Figure 3: Map of Bogotá and location of the Third Millennium Park and San Bernardo neighborhood**  
Source: Taken from [http://www.idrd.gov.co](http://www.idrd.gov.co)

**Figure 4: Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá**  
Source: Taken from Google Earth 2010
3.5 Data collection

The fieldwork was conducted from the 28\textsuperscript{th} of June until the 30\textsuperscript{th} of July 2010. During this period, besides carrying out all the surveys and interviews proposed, a secondary data collection process was done in order to access the information on the implementation of the urban renewal project that is not published in internet. This information allowed elaborating more in the literature review regarding the local context.

3.6 Research design

Table 2 shows the research design by the different activities and steps followed by this work. Annex 2 shows a diagram that also explains the process carried out in the research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Research design table by activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspect</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refinement of the problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectives</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Methods and/or Activities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time frame</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author, 2010
3.7 **Limitations of the research**

- The insecurity of the neighborhood did not allow the researcher to take photos. However, some pictures were kindly obtained from a civil servant of the ERU.
- In addition, because of the insecurity problems and the distrust issues between the community, the information about income was difficult to gather.
- Community conflicts did not allow the realization of the focus group proposed at the beginning. Neighbors were not interested in exchanging points of view about the problems faced after the renewal occurred.
- Official information about historical crime in the neighborhood was not possible basically because of red tape.
- Information of property prices in the neighborhood was difficult to find.
- There is no library in the Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá. For this reason, the access to the technical documents that supported the enactment of decrees and the realization of the Park was not possible.
Chapter 4: Inner city renewal in Colombia

This chapter will introduce the contextual information about inner city renewal in Colombia. Firstly, background information is described about the problem that led to the implementation of the renewal project in the city center of Bogotá. Secondly, a review of the legal framework with respect to urban renewal is given in order to understand the policy approach in the country. Finally, a description of the San Bernardo neighborhood and the Third Millennium project is made with the purpose of having a clear overview of the area selected and the process implemented.

4.1 Background of the city center of Bogotá

The city center of Bogotá was characterized as being the place where the most affluent population used to live and also it was the site where the most important institutions were located (City hall, Church, Ministries, banks and other influential public institutions). In residential terms, the common pattern was simple: The higher a household’s income was, the closer its dwelling was to the main square (Jaramillo 1983).

This trend began to change due to the intense population growth of the 20th century. The migration of elites to the periphery was provoked by two main factors: The dynamics of real-estate market related to commercial activities and the construction of housing for the middle classes. The former has to do with the fact that commercial activities generate higher rents than the residential one, leading the wealthy population to sell their properties to allow the entrance of commercial projects. The latter has to do with the fact that affluent population liked exclusivity and hegemony over the lower classes (Jaramillo 2006).

In general terms, these were the situations that led to the migration of the wealthy population to the periphery; and as a matter of fact, the main reason for the outset of the process of deterioration of the downtown. It is argued that the dwellings left by the rich began to be used for renting out rooms for different households with low income, situation that led to the decline of the quality of buildings (Jaramillo 1983; 2006). In addition, informal activities started to take place in the city center which at the same time contributed to the degeneration of the physical spaces and the displacement of formal and large-scale activities.

All these activities led to the deteriorated city center that Bogotá’s population knows nowadays. In order to tackle this situation, since the 80’s the local government has tried to implement renewal projects that have not been successful so far. There have been three clear urban renewal projects in the city center of Bogotá. The first one was a housing renewal that intended to build dwellings for middle classes in a popular settlement that was close to the Presidential Palace. The policy followed was the so-called “Bulldozer”, because the whole settlement was demolished to give way to the new complex of dwellings. At last, the project was a failure because it sold only a few areas of the total project and the rest of the unsold zones were left empty for many years leading to more deterioration and insecurity (Jaramillo 2006).
The second renewal project was the construction of the so-called *Third Millennium Park* in one of the most deteriorated parts of the city and the country. The third one was the construction of a canal (from an underground river) along one of the streets that crosses the city center. From this two last cases, the most striking issue is that the main intention of all these renewal projects (those of recovering public spaces, promoting housing in the downtown, attracting formal activities, improving the accessibility, mobility and the image of the city) has been in vain in the majority of the cases because none of these objectives has been achieved, except for the first one somehow. It is argued that the housing starts have been reduced and office construction, for example, has been absent for many years. Moreover, the population continues decreasing and the only activity that shows a growing dynamism is the commercial for popular sectors, which in turn is the one that has supported the historical deterioration tendencies of the city center (Jaramillo 2006).

### 4.2 Urban renewal definition and evolution

The concept or urban renewal was first introduced in 1989 with the Law 9th, best known as Law or Urban Reform (ERU 2009). According to this law, urban renewal programs were “…those aimed at introducing substantive changes to the use of land and buildings, to stop the processes of physical and environmental deterioration of urban centers in order to achieve, among others, the improvement of living standards of the inhabitants of the areas of renovation, the intensive use of the established infrastructure of services, the rational densification of areas for housing and services, urban traffic congestion or the appropriate rehabilitation of historic and cultural property, in order to have the most efficient use of urban land and greater benefit to the community” (Law 9th 1989).

After this, it was the Law 388 of 1997 (Law of Territorial Development) the one that widened the concept to what is now understood by this process. This Law deepened the definition in order to “… guide and focus the government, public investment and private actions towards achieving the goals of environmental sustainability, social equity, economic efficiency and social harmony, related to the reorganization of territory… to produce housing, infrastructure and facilities that lead to the revitalization of the built city” (ERU 2009). The concept broadened to what the Law 388 of 1997 defined is the one that is valid for today’s interventions in Colombia. In this sense, the differences between cities practically lie in the policies established in their land use plans rather than in the conception itself.

In the case of Bogotá, it is essential to highlight the role of the Land Use Plan enacted in 2000, because it was the one that has set the urban renewal policies for the past 10 years (2000-2010). The policy in this case works towards the intervention of strategic areas of the city which: have lost functionality and housing quality has decreased; their built environment and public spaces are deteriorated; and those which are neglected and with a low use according to their potential (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. 2000). In this plan, most of the areas subject to urban renewal projects were defined, including El Cartucho sector and where The *Third Millennium Park* is located nowadays.
In addition to the importance of the Land Use Plan of Bogotá, it is also relevant to mention that the local government created an institution called Empresa de Renovación Urbana de Bogotá (Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá), ERU, whose specific aim is basically to plan, manage, promote and execute the urban actions of the city in order to enhance the competitiveness of the city by recovering and transforming deteriorated sectors of Bogotá (ERU 2008).

Since the case of the present research is located in Bogotá, it is relevant to bring up and conclude this section with the definition of urban renewal developed by the ERU according to what is stated in the legislation. This institution defines urban renewal as the “Architectural, urban and social interventions on the built space, in zones of the city which are in conditions of deterioration, or that have potential for a better use due to their strategic location regarding the uses and activities that take place within them” (ERU 2008).

4.3 From El Cartucho to the Third Millennium Park

*El Cartucho* sector was an area located in the *Santa Inés* neighborhood of the city center of Bogotá that was characterized as being a cradle of marginality and physical and social decadence. There was no control over this place because not even the Police was able to enter due to the possible danger that it meant. This place was the home of many indigent people and several illegal activities took place such as drug dealing and commercialization of guns and stolen objects (Jaramillo 2006; Carrizosa 2007). For this reason, the local government of the period 1998 – 2001, headed by Mayor Enrique Peñalosa, decided to carry out a large renewal project in this area of the city in order to halt this social problem that was affecting the whole city, especially the center (See Figures 5 and 6).

![Figure 5: Aerial view of the Santa Inés neighborhood and El Cartucho sector in Bogotá D.C.](source: ERU, before 1998)

![Figure 6: View of the Santa Inés neighborhood and El Cartucho sector in Bogotá D.C.](source: ERU, before 1998)

The Decree 680 of 1998 gave to the *Santa Inés* and *San Bernardo* neighborhoods the treatment of areas subject to renovation and therefore was the one which gave birth to the *Third Millennium* renewal project. This project included the development of three urban actions: First, the construction of the *Third Millennium Park* where the *Santa Inés* neighborhood and *El Cartucho* were located. Second, the organization and improvement of the commercial activities
that took place in the commercial area of San Victorino⁴, which was located in the northern part of the Santa Inés neighborhood; and third, the promotion of urban projects in the San Bernardo vicinity. From these three initiatives, the first two occurred whereas the third has not been implemented so far. The main component of the project was the construction of the Third Millennium Park.

The objectives of the urban renewal project were, firstly, to alleviate the social problem present in El Cartucho. Secondly, to recover the state of the public spaces that was too deteriorated; and thirdly, to create the environment that triggered the promotion of housing in the center, the attraction of formal activities, the improvement of the accessibility and mobility of the place and the amelioration of the image of the inner city. Accordingly, the overall goal of the intervention was to generate the conditions of a friendly and appropriate atmosphere to attract again residents and companies to invest in housing and businesses in the center. (Figures 7 to 10 show the physical change of the area).

According to a study made by Econometría S.A. in 1998, the population living in this area was mainly composed of tenants (83.1%), followed by households living in condition of usufruct (8.2%), owners (7.0%) and others, usually squatters (1.7%). With regards to the type of housing found in this place, the distribution was the following: rooms (72.8%), apartments (20.8%), detached houses (5.8%) and other types (0.6%). It is relevant to clarify that most of these dwellings were originally big houses that later on were either adapted or just used to rent out rooms in the form of shared tenement dwellings. Based on the same study, other relevant piece of information about this population was the following (See also Table 3):

- 53% of households in the area had been living there for 10 years
- 39% was living in a condition of overcrowding
- 49% paid a daily rent
- 19.5% of population was alphabet
- 64% was self-employed
- 52% was in school ages, but only 24% was actually studying

Regarding the social management that was made to attend and support this population living in El Cartucho, the main programs involved the most vulnerable population as well as the households living there and the shopkeepers developing any commercial activity. Table 4 shows the social programs and the population attended by these (ERU):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area of the Park (Has)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of properties</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of households</td>
<td>1,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of establishments</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of residents</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeless population</td>
<td>2,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of employees</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Econometría S.A., 1998

Table 3: Characterization of the area of the Third Millennium Park before its construction

⁴ San Victorino is a neighborhood located in the city center of Bogotá that is well known for having a dynamic commercial activity of wholesalers of a metropolitan and national scale.
The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia

### Table 4: Results of the social programs developed for the population of the Santa Inés neighborhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Population attended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specialized attention</td>
<td>• Social protection for the most vulnerable groups</td>
<td>6,577 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing attention</td>
<td>• Compensations for mitigating the impact of displacements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Facilitate the process of relocation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Program to protect tenancy with support to the most vulnerable groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Alternatives for relocating abandoned children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,815 households</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening of working capacities</td>
<td>• Support to organized groups that want to continue their activity</td>
<td>6,196 attended people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Job generation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal advice</td>
<td>• Legal advice to solve conflicts between owners and tenants</td>
<td>214 properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social stabilization</td>
<td>• Social security measures</td>
<td>47,354 attended cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• School places</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Health services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ERU

**Figure 7:** Aerial view of the Santa Inés neighborhood and El Cartucho sector in Bogotá D.C. before the urban renewal project occurred

**Figure 8:** View of the Santa Inés neighborhood and El Cartucho sector in Bogotá D.C. during the construction of the Third Millennium Park

**Figure 9:** Aerial view of the Third Millennium Park in Bogotá D.C. where El Cartucho was located

**Figure 10:** Closer view of the Third Millennium Park in Bogotá D.C. where El Cartucho was located

Source: ERU, before 1998

Source: ERU, between 1998 and 2000

Source: ERU, after 2002

Source: www.bogota.gov.co, after 2002
Besides the relocation of households and the attention to the most vulnerable groups, a process of land management was developed to acquire the properties located where the Park had to be built. The first stage was to make the studies related to the ownership, the value of properties and the topographical aspects of the zone. After this, the households were informed about the process of acquisition that the local government was going to follow, which contemplated two alternatives for owners: The first was a voluntary sale in which owners accepted the offer made by the administration according to the valuation studies. The second option was by administrative expropriation that could be caused by the inconformity of the owner with the offer, by legal issues with the property or by the impossibility of identifying the owner.

Finally, the construction of the Park started in 1998 and the first stage was inaugurated in 2002. The design was determined by a contest that demanded some requirements in the urban, landscape and architectonic spheres. The category given to the Park, according to the Park System of Bogotá, was of metropolitan and urban scale\(^5\) for the public use and earmarked for recreation and leisure purposes for all the inhabitants of the city (IDRD 2004).

### 4.4 The San Bernardo neighborhood

The *San Bernardo* neighborhood is located in the south part of the city center of Bogotá. It covers an area of 36.47 hectares composed by 41 blocks and 1.110 properties (DAPD 2005). From the total extension of the neighborhood, 11.65 hectares correspond to public space. Regarding land uses, the most predominant is the residential one, followed by commercial activities that take place generally along the main roads of the neighborhood (See Figures 11 and 12). In addition, there are also cases in which a mixed land use is present with commerce on ground floors and residences in the upper levels. According to some statistics of the Local Planning Department, the built environment in the area has the following situation (DAPD 2005):

- Most of the buildings have between one to three floors (92.6%)
- The state of 35% of buildings is good while 48% are in a regular condition. The remaining percentage corresponds to deteriorated structures.
- The level of consolidation of the neighborhood is high, reaching almost the 98% of the buildings

These statistics are illustrative for giving an idea of the situation of the neighborhood. Despite they are not up to date, its validity lies in that there has not been a considerable construction activity in the area and the level of consolidation was reached long time ago. The only aspect that has had intervention from the local government is the public space.

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\(^5\) They are free areas covering an area larger than 10 hectares for the development of active recreation and / or liabilities and the generation of landscape and environmental values, whose area of influence covers the whole city (Article 243, Decree 190 of 2004)
4.5 Summary

This chapter gave the background information about inner city renewal in Colombia and the experience of Bogotá with the Third Millennium project. On the one hand, the rationale of the local government to respond to the decline process of the city center of Bogotá was explained. The influence that El Cartucho sector implied for the deterioration of the inner city was also highlighted. The legal framework that allowed the intervention, composed by the Law of Territorial Development (Law 388 of 1997) and the Land Use Plan of the city enacted in 2000, was also described to present the approach of the urban renewal policy in the city.

On the other hand, the background of the Third Millennium project was described with the purpose of showing the way in which the renewal was implemented. It was mentioned that the Third Millennium project involved three actions: First, the construction of the Third Millennium Park; second, the organization and improvement of the commercial activities that took place in the commercial area of San Victorino; and third, the promotion of urban projects in the San Bernardo vicinity. It is stressed that the construction of the Park was the milestone of the whole project.

Finally, the characteristics of the Santa Inés and San Bernardo neighborhoods related to area (m2), population, land uses and the quality of the built environment were given in order to provide a profile of the area that is being analyzed in the research.
Chapter 5: Research results and analysis

The results found during the process of data collection will be explained in six parts that will combine the results basically from both the household surveys and the expert interviews made in July 2010. The first four parts will describe the main characteristics of the households surveyed in terms of their housing conditions, socioeconomic characteristics and their access to the housing policy. The fifth and sixth numerals will develop the results upon the perception of households and experts about the neighborhood and the benefits and drawbacks of the urban renewal project Third Millennium Park.

5.1 Identification of households

The neighborhood has a total of 7,997 households (Contraloría de Bogotá 2005). All the population belongs to the level two of the socioeconomic stratification of the city. For the purpose of the present investigation 85 households were interviewed. It is important to bear in mind that this sample was purposive so it is not representative of the whole population living in the neighborhood. However, it is indicative of the main trends present in the area about the variables analyzed in the next parts of this chapter, especially with regards to their perception about the urban renewal project of the Third Millennium Park.

In the neighborhood there are two types of households that live in different housing conditions. The old and traditional families live in detached houses that were built decades ago (Figure 13). The other group corresponds to the households that reside in an apartment complex called Urbanización Campo David that was constructed twelve years ago and in most of the cases are new in the neighborhood (Figure 14). This last group has private surveillance and is protected from outsiders and strangers because it is closed with fences all around and the entrances are controlled with security guards. In other words, this complex of apartments represents a gated community inside the neighborhood.

Since the criterion to select the households to be interviewed was purposive, it is essential to point out that 45 interviewees live in the residential complex of apartments. The other 40 households live in normal detached houses and in some cases in rented rooms or apartments inside big dwellings that have been adapted to house additional families.

The differences between these two groups can be interesting, especially when analyzing their perception about the urban renewal project studied in this research. Following this differentiation, the results will be compared for all the variables analyzed in the research to see the different experiences of these two groups of population with respect to the urban renewal project. It is important to bear in mind that all the percentages and numbers exposed in this thesis from now on will

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6 The socioeconomic stratification in Bogotá is an instrument that classifies the population according to the quality of housing, the immediate surroundings and the urban context (SDP 2009). The scale is from 1 to 6 from which: Level 1 = Low Low; Level 2 = Low; Level 3 = Medium Low; Level 4 = Medium; Level 5 = High Medium; and Level 6 = High
refer only to the households surveyed in the data collection carried out in July 2010.

Figure 13: Detached houses in the San Bernardo neighborhood

Figure 14: Apartment complex in the San Bernardo neighborhood

Source: Arch. Leopoldo Ramírez, 2009
Source: ERU, after 1998

5.2 Housing conditions of the sample

The variables analyzed in this research to get to know the housing conditions of the population of the San Bernardo neighborhood are the type of house, tenure, habitable space, access to services, building materials, presence of economic activities in the house and improvements made through time. The objective is to have an idea of the conditions of households living in this neighborhood that have been affected by many types of developments since several years ago, like the construction of the Third Millennium Park.

5.2.1 Housing type

The type of dwellings found in the neighborhood is diverse. It is possible to find from detached houses to large buildings with many rooms that are rented out to poor families. An example of this situation is that of the 7.1% of households that live in basic rooms (Chart 1).

As it was explained before, most of the households living in multi-storey buildings are the residents of the apartment complex Campo David.

Chart 1: Distribution of households by housing type

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010
5.2.2 Housing tenure

Regarding housing tenure, there are many interesting aspects to take into account besides the mere distribution of households. Like it is showed in Chart 2, the 100% of households are either owners (52.9%) or tenants (47.1%), which means that from those interviewed, there are not families who are squatting their residence. This is relevant to mention because in the neighborhood there is a sector in which squatting is common, especially in the deteriorated areas. However, it is valid to comment that those squatting are generally the indigents that moved from the nearby El Cartucho sector when they were displaced by the construction of the Third Millennium Park (Experts interviews, July 2010).

About the households which are owners of their dwelling, it is important to see the difference between those that have already paid the house (35.3%) and those which are paying (17.7%) because all of those who still have a mortgage live in the apartment complex Campo David (Chart 2). This shows what was said before about the difference between these two types of households in the sense that the majority of owners living in the detached houses are traditional residents of the neighborhood who have been living there for many years and paid their dwellings long time ago. On the other hand, the residents of the apartment complex are relatively new in this sector because the complex was constructed in 1998. In this sense, it makes perfectly sense that there is a considerable percentage still paying (33.3%), because the most common period for financing housing in Colombia is 15 years.

![Chart 2: Distribution of households by housing tenure](image)

The monthly payment for mortgages in the case of owners is on average 356.143 Colombian Pesos (COP), which is around 150 Euros. In the case of tenants the average for both groups is COP 388.081 (165 Euros). The rents paid by the two

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7 The Exchange rate between Euros and Colombian Pesos in August of 2010 has been around the following: 1 Euro = 2.350 Colombian Pesos.
groups analyzed do not present a big difference since the monthly amounts found are COP 404,625 (172 Euros) for those living in the apartment complex and COP 375,476 (160 Euros) for the residents of the detached houses. These prices are only illustrative since an objective comparison should include also the size and quality of the unit. However, there is indeed a similar pattern in the formation of rental prices in the area. About quality and size, it is the household who decides where to live according to its affordability level.

5.2.3 Habitable space

The habitable space in households’ dwellings shows some differences between the group of families living in the apartment complex and those in the detached houses. By habitable space, the author means bedrooms, living room, dining room and any other space different from kitchen, toilets and garage.

The number of spaces available for the inhabitants of the apartment complex is mostly four rooms, which in all the cases include three bedrooms and the living and dining room in one space. These dwellings are all the same, that is why the 95.6% of these households have four rooms for their use (Table 5). In the case of the other group of households, the number of rooms varies a lot since this type of dwellings are big and could have been modified many times.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rooms</td>
<td>Bedrooms</td>
<td>Rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than five</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

In the case of the rooms used for sleeping, there are also some differences because the dwellings in the apartment complex have all three bedrooms and the number used to sleep depends on each household. In this case, the majority of this group uses the three rooms for this purpose (68.9%). About the households living in the detached dwellings, the situation is very diverse because there is an important percentage of families in each case. This situation is explained because of the different household’s sizes and the availability of more rooms due to bigger units. In any case, the most important result is that there are not overcrowding problems in these houses according to the criteria used to calculate it in Colombia.

About the other spaces like kitchen, toilets, laundry room and terrace or courtyard, 90.6% of the total households affirm that they do not share any of these with other

---

8 In Colombia a household in an urban area lives in overcrowding condition if there are three or more people per room living in the house

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families. Like one can expect, sharing has a higher percentage in the detached houses than in the apartment complex (15.0% and 4.4%, respectively). From these households who share with others, all the spaces mentioned before are commonly shared by them, being the laundry room the most shared (100%) and the kitchen the least (75.0%).

5.2.4 Building materials

The building materials found in the dwellings of the households interviewed are structurally sound. There was only one case of a house with walls made of mud and no cases of floors without any finishing. All the dwellings of the apartment complex have exposed brick in walls and 84.4% have tiled floors. In the case of the detached houses, the wall materials are mainly exposed brick (52.5%) and exposed block (40.0%), and tiles in the floor (95.0%).

This situation shows that these households are not in a situation of deficit with regards to the building materials, which means that neither of these dwellings would have to be replaced because of the low quality of the materials of the structure. This statement is made only by judging the quality of the materials used; nevertheless, further problems related to the way the dwellings were constructed would have to be considered to assure this affirmation specifically in the case of the detached houses which were constructed long time ago. Regarding the apartment complex, there should not be any structural problems since they were constructed only 12 years ago. The whole distribution of households according to the construction materials of their dwellings is shown in Charts 3 and 4.

5.2.5 Commercial activities inside the house

Approximately one of every five households has an economic activity inside the dwelling. It is important to mention that most of these families live in the detached houses, representing the 40% of the households from these sites. Regarding the families in the apartment complex, only 4.4% has a commercial activity inside the
house which in all cases corresponds to tailoring. This activity is done in the living-dining room in the case of these households.

The activities realized by the households living in the detached houses, who have a commercial business inside the unit, vary a lot. It is possible to find from tailoring to electrics stores. Specifically, the main activities that were found among this group of households are:

- Store (beverages and candies) 18.8%
- Tailoring 12.5%
- Restaurant 12.5%
- Others\(^9\) 56.3%

Usually, the space used for developing these activities is a different one that those for the exclusive use of the household like bedrooms, living room or dining room. It was found that 93.8% of these businesses are developed in a space that has been adapted for this purpose. Since these dwellings are generally big, space is not a problem to adapt a part of the house for developing an activity. The remaining percentage (6.2%) makes its activity in a bedroom.

### 5.2.6 Improvements made in the house

An indispensable variable to analyze in this research is the improvements that families have made to their house in the time living there. In this case, it was found that 36.5% of households have made improvements in their residence. Usually, as anyone can expect, owners are the ones who have carried out these betterments in their dwellings.

Analyzing this variable by site of residence, it is very interesting to see that improvements are more common among the households from the apartment complex than in the families living in detached houses. It is worth to mention that the difference is more than twice, in relative terms, when comparing both groups since a bit more than half of the households in the apartment complex have carried out improvements in their dwellings, while only 20% of those living in detached houses have made the same.

Regarding the kind of improvements, general finishings are the most common processes made by households, basically in the apartment complex group. In the case of the detached houses group, changes in the structure of the dwellings are the main improvements. These structural changes usually involve the construction of an additional floor, the construction of slabs and terraces, adaptation of spaces for the development of a business and the improvement of the façade.

In order to see clearly the differences between both groups of households, Chart 5 shows the different improvements made by such families.

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\(^9\) These other activities include the following: Miscellany store, hardware, bicycle repair, furniture, bakery, lottery, barber shop, candle factory

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The time when the improvements were made in both groups is relatively different. While approximately half of the households made their betterment between 6 and 10 years ago in both groups, the remaining percentage shows a different situation. In the case of the residents of the apartment complex, 43.5% made the improvement from five years ago till now and only 4.4% did it more than ten years ago, which means, just after they moved to the new apartment. In the case of the inhabitants of the detached houses, the remaining 50% made their changes more than ten years ago. Once again, this is explained by the time living in the current residence which is much longer for the families in the detached units.

Regarding the resources used to carry out these betterments, the majority of the households have used savings to pay for these works. However, it is crucial to comment on the fact that the use of loans has been more common in the families living in the detached houses (Table 6). This situation shows to some extent the higher capacity of the households in the apartment complex to save and pay, since they are younger and more qualified than the others (See section 5.3.2).

Finally, a very important factor to analyze here is the cause that led households to carry out these developments. Since half of the families at least from both groups made the improvements from 6 to 10 years ago, one might think that that has been triggered by the urban renewal projects developed in the city center, especially the Third Millennium Park, given that it is the closest one to the neighborhood. The

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reality is that none of the households mentioned this reason. Instead, the causes have been mostly related to the improvement of their welfare, situation that applies to both groups. Households also stated that in any case they would have made the improvements regardless of the construction of the Park.

5.3 Socioeconomic characteristics of the sample

The description of the socioeconomic characteristics of the households interviewed is useful to make a profile of the families living in the San Bernardo neighborhood. This part, together with the previous one, creates a general overview of the population that is being analyzed in this research. The variables that will be described in the following part are: Household size, characteristics of the households head (gender, age, occupation and education), access to the financial market and housing felt need.

5.3.1 Household size

In general terms, the size of the households that live in the detached houses is bigger than the ones living in the apartment complex. As it can be seen in Chart 6, the majority of households from both groups are concentrated in the segment of three to five members.

The average number of members that compose the households interviewed is 4.1 people. Separating the results by the two groups that are being analyzed in this research, the difference is not notorious since the mean in the case of the families of the apartment complex is 4.0 people while for the households of the detached houses is 4.3 members.

5.3.2 General characteristics of the household head

The household head is usually the one in charge of most of the expenses and decisions of the household. Although this is not a rule for every family, the
description here is only about this member because his/her socioeconomic characteristics can be to some extent illustrative of the situation of the nuclear family.

The gender of the household head in the majority of families is male (64.7%). The percentage of male heads is higher in the families living in detached houses than in those residing in the apartment complex (67.5% and 62.2%, respectively). About the age of the household head, the results show in general that this member is older in households of the detached houses than those in the apartment complex, since the mean for the first is 51.3 years and for the latter 44.5 years.

Regarding the level of education, it is interesting to see that more than half of the household’s heads of the families from the apartment complex continued studying after high school and got at least a technical degree. In the case of the heads of the other group, the percentage for the same aspect (education after high school) plunges to 22.5%, which is less than half (in relative terms) when compared to the heads of the first group (Chart 7).

Chart 7: Distribution of households by level of education of the household head

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

5.3.3 Working situation of the household head

The working situation of the household heads in San Bernardo shows a similar pattern to the employment issue in the country. It is reported that the percentage of unemployment is higher in the case of the head of the detached houses (10.0%) in comparison to the same of the apartment complex (6.7%). By June of 2010 the unemployment in Colombia reached 11.6% and 11.2%10 in Bogotá (DANE 2010). Like it is shown in Chart 8, the percentage of employment is around 72% for both groups and the proportion of household heads retired or inactive is 20% in both cases.

10 This figure corresponds to the average unemployment level of the period April-June of 2010
The argument about the informality of the households of the group of detached dwellings is also supported by the nature of their employment. At this respect, it was found that 82.1% of the household heads of the detached dwelling group is...
self-employed and the rest works as a private or public employee. In the case of the family’s head of the apartment complex group, the situation is totally different since only 12.1% are self-employed and the percentage left belongs to the other mentioned categories which in general correspond to formal jobs (Chart 9).

![Chart 9: Distribution of households by nature of the working situation](image)

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

Finally, it is crucial to know the number of working members in the household besides the head. Regarding this variable, in the 35.3% of the households surveyed nobody else works, which means that there is a high dependency on the income of the household head. In the rest of households, one more person works in the 36.5%, two more in the 17.7% and more than two members in the 9.4% of the cases.

### 5.3.4 Access to the financial market

In general terms, it can be said that the access to the financial market by both groups of households is limited. When asking for the possession of a bank account, only 44.7% responded positively. Distinguishing between the two groups, the total of households with bank account in the apartment complex is a little more than half (51.1%). In the case of the families living in the detached houses, those that currently have this kind of financial product represent the 37.5% of this population. Although these results show a low holding of bank accounts, it is worth to clarify that in some cases the lack of possession does not necessarily corresponds to a restriction from the financial sector, but to a personal decision of not desiring a product like this. Nevertheless, as it was seen before, it is common for self-employed households not to have bank accounts.

About loans, the situation is even worse, especially for the households living in the detached houses. Similar to the previous situation, more than half of the households living in the apartment complex have a formal loan currently (53.3%). In the case of the households residing in detached dwellings this proportion plummets to 10%. In general terms for both groups, the households that have
loans have used them mainly for education purposes (32.1%), to buy housing (25.0%) and for the business (17.9%).

In Colombia, the access to these financial products is highly related to the formality of the job. In this sense, it is explicable the fact that the households living in the detached houses have less access to the financial sector than the ones in the apartment complex due to their working situation.

5.3.5 Housing felt-need

To sum up the profile of the socioeconomic characteristics of the sample of the San Bernardo neighborhood, it is crucial to know their main housing felt-need. Similarly, the majority of both groups of households report the same need, which refers to the possibility of buying a house. The following felt-need reported was improving the current house. Chart 10 shows the distribution of households by the main felt-need reported in the survey. The other needs are related to buying a plot to build a house, constructing in an owned plot and renting a house.

![Chart 10: Distribution of households by housing felt-need](chart)

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

5.4 Access to housing policy

The effectiveness of the housing policy among the households living in San Bernardo is questionable. This statement is supported by the fact that only one quarter of households has applied for a housing subsidy. Taking into account the groups analyzed, the subsidy applications are much higher in the apartment complex than in the detached houses (35.6% and 15.0%, respectively). Although the previous one is a concerning figure, it is even more worrying that 27.3% of the households have not got the subsidy at last. This problem is especially critical in the case of the households of the detached dwellings since only one third of applicants has got the subsidy at the end. Table 8 shows the results for this variable.
Table 8: Distribution of households by applications and assignations of housing subsidies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever applied</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>74.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy assigned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>72.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of subsidy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

One of the requirements to apply and be eligible of a housing subsidy in Colombia is to have a *Programmed Savings Account* for social housing, which simply demands that households save money for some time in order to have the required amount available for the down-payment of the dwelling. When asking for the possession of an account like this, only 8.2% of families answered that they are saving in this kind of product in order to apply later on for a subsidy. In this case, the situation between the groups of households does not report a big difference in contrast to many other variables, since 91.1% and 92.5% of the households of the apartment complex and detached dwellings, respectively, do not have a programmed savings account for social housing.

Taking into account the housing felt-need described previously, the percentage of households that would like to buy a house is too high (65.9%) for the proportion of those who have a programmed savings account (8.2%). This difference might be an indicator of the low effectiveness that the housing policy is reaching, bearing in mind that this population has housing needs and is characterized by belonging to the segment of low income population.

Finally, another indicator that can show the impossibility of households to apply for a housing subsidy is the affiliation to the *Family Compensation Funds* (CCF). These funds are one of the institutions that channelize the subsidies to the poor population, but households have to be affiliated to them in order to be able to apply. Generally, the way households get this affiliation is through their job. However, informal companies usually do not affiliate their employees to these institutions, depriving families to be beneficiaries of housing subsidy and many other services. In the case of the *San Bernardo* neighborhood, the households that are affiliated to CCFs represent the 34.1% of the interviewees. The households living in the apartment complex have a higher level of affiliation than those residing in the detached houses (46.7% and 20.0%, respectively), which is totally related to the formality or informality of their job.
5.5 Perception about the neighborhood

Before starting with the results of the household’s perception about their neighborhood, it is important to know the number of years they have been living in it. In the case of the families living in the apartment complex, the mean of the time in the neighborhood is 7.5 years whereas in the case of the households of the detached houses is 25.2 years. As it was mentioned before, this difference is explained by the fact that the apartment complex was constructed in 1998, while the neighborhood itself was built more than 50 years ago. Chart 11 shows with more detail these results, from which it is relevant to point out the high percentage of households of detached-house group that have lived in the vicinity for more than 20 years (50%).

It is fair to clarify that not all the households interviewed have lived in the same dwelling since they moved to the neighborhood. On the one hand, it is reported that the apartment complex households have been in the current unit for 7.5 years, which is the same time of permanence in the neighborhood. This shows that there has not been residential mobility\textsuperscript{11} at all since they arrived in the locality. On the other hand, the average of years living in the actual dwelling for the families in detached houses is 18.3 years. In this sense, it is seen that this average drops by approximately seven years compared with the moment of arrival in the vicinity, showing a higher residential mobility within the neighborhood. Charts 11 and 12 can be compared to see this phenomenon.

\textsuperscript{11} Residential mobility is understood in this context as the change of housing within the same city.
5.5.1 Reason for choosing the neighborhood

Among the reasons that households took into account for choosing San Bernardo for their site of residence, the most important are: The proximity to work, the centrality and the closeness to the family. Table 9 exposes the main reasons pointed out by the families interviewed.

Table 9: Distribution of households by reasons for choosing the San Bernardo neighborhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to work, studies</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central location</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family always has lived there</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional and safe neighborhood</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing subsidy</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

The results shown in Table 9 have some interesting differences that are worth to remark. Firstly, the influence that the family has for the households living in the detached houses is notorious, whereas this situation is completely ignored by the other group. Secondly, for the apartment complex ones, the central location of the neighborhood had a strong influence in the decision, together with the proximity to work or site of studies. Another aspect to highlight is the percentage of households that decided to live in this locality due to the possibility of having a subsidy in a project located in the neighborhood. This situation is seen for the households of the apartment complex and is totally absent in the case of the other group, which is explained by the moment of time when the dwellings were built. Finally, it is also relevant to mention the fact that 15% of the families living in the detached houses chose this place because the neighborhood was traditional and safe when they moved to it.

One of the experts interviewed argues that the main reasons for choosing a location to live are highly related to family roots and ties, and the proximity to work. In the case of the households of the inner city, he believes this is a fact that also explains the long stay of most of them. These factors were also stressed by the surveyed families, especially by those living in the detached houses (See Table 9). The decision for changing housing within the same neighborhood has to do also with these two reasons, especially with the proximity to work because many households are shopkeepers or employees that work in central areas. Furthermore, the expert argues, the proximity to work and services allow households to walk to these places instead of taking public transportation, which at last implies saving money and time.
When assessing the decision of having moved to the neighborhood, the percentage of households that report a positive answer is higher in the apartment complex ones than in the other group (86.7% and 70.0%, respectively). The reasons for thinking that it was a good decision are mainly the central location (47.8%), the proximity to work (14.9%) and proximity to services (10.5%).

Although only one fifth of the households think that their decision of choosing this vicinity was wrong, it is important to know the causes for such belief. Evidently, the main reason is the insecurity problem that is currently facing the neighborhood. Besides this reason, an interesting one is the deterioration of the neighborhood because it was only mentioned by the households of the detached houses. This can be explained because many of these families arrived in the vicinity when it was a privileged part of the city and did not have the problems of security and indigence that arose years later. In the case of the households of the apartment complex, this was not a factor of measure because they arrived to a place that was already deteriorated, but with the expectations of seeing it getting better and renovated. Precisely, a reason of unconformity of these families has been the fact that the promised renewal of the sector has not occurred, like it was commented when the housing project where they live currently (apartment complex) was sold. Chart 14 presents in detail the results obtained for this variable.
5.5.2 The best and the worst of the neighborhood

In order to complement the previous perceptions regarding the decision for choosing the San Bernardo neighborhood, households were asked about what they like the most and the least of the vicinity. Although the answers obtained are quite similar to the ones exposed previously, it is interesting to see different kind of responses concerning this aspect.

Regarding the aspects households like the most about their locality, the main factors are related again to the location of the zone in the city, the facility of transportation means and the commercial activities of the place. Between the groups analyzed in the research, the centrality of the zone is highlighted by both as well as aspects like commerce. In the case of transportation, it is worth noting that the households from the detached houses appreciate much more this aspect than those living in the apartment complex (Table 10).

Another aspect to comment, which it is quite relevant for this research, is that only a small percentage (4.4%) of households of the apartment complex mentioned the Third Millennium Park as one of the aspects they like most of the neighborhood. The families from the detached-houses group did not even mention the Park in their responses.

Regarding the aspects households like the least about their neighborhood, the insecurity and the presence of indigence are definitely the most disturbing factors. At last, these two factors are interrelated because the indigence leads most of the times to create insecurity problems. Table 10 shows both the aspects households like the most and the least according to the site of residence in the neighborhood.

Table 10: Distribution of households by aspects the like the most and the least about the neighborhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The most</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central location</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial sector</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Millennium Park</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The least</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>63.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surroundings, indigence</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contamination and noise</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of commerce</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010
The point of view of the civil servants of ERU supports the opinion of households regarding the problems related to the indigence and insecurity after the Park was built. One of them argues that the capacity to attend the indigents living in El Cartucho was insufficient and states that the attention merely reached 10% of the total population in this situation. It was also pointed out that the space available for the indigence in El Cartucho was gradually reduced with the intervention, leading the homeless population to move to the closest vicinities, especially those that were deteriorated. San Bernardo had a sector with these characteristics, thus the movement of indigents towards the neighborhood took place. One of the employees of ERU stresses that this situation marked the outset of the deterioration process of the neighborhood. Nowadays, it is thought by the public employees from ERU that the northern side of San Bernardo replicates the same morphology and dynamics that El Cartucho used to have.

5.6 Perception about the urban renewal of the Third Millennium Park

This section will discuss the perception of households about the urban renewal project of the Third Millennium Park. The variables analyzed will be related to the process of information and consultation of the population regarding the project, the support from the local government that made part of the socioeconomic component of the renewal, and a general perception about the benefits and drawbacks of this urban development.

Before starting to analyze the variables mentioned above, it is essential to know the moment of arrival of households in the neighborhood in order to see which ones moved to the vicinity before, during and after the Third Millennium Park was constructed. At this respect, it is worth to highlight the fact that most of the households of the detached houses arrived before the park was constructed (90%), while less than half from the apartment complex got in the neighborhood before this event (48.9%).

Chart 15: Distribution of households by moment of arrival in the neighborhood taking as a point of reference the construction of the Third Millennium Park

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia
5.6.1 Information and consultation about the urban renewal

Like it was discussed in the literature review, one of the most important components of an urban renewal program is the participation process of the population living in the areas to be renovated. In this sense, it is significant to know how this aspect was managed by the local government when the decision of building the Park was taken.

The opinion of the households interviewed regarding this issue is controversial because half of them said they were informed about the renewal before the Park was constructed, while the other half affirmed the contrary.

In a different way to previous aspects and responses, it seems in this case that there is a similar perception between the two groups analyzed about the process of information carried out by the local government (Chart 16).

![Chart 16: Distribution of households by their opinion about if they were informed before the renewal occurred](source)

When asking for the type of information that households received about the urban renewal project, the responses were related mainly to the construction aspects of the Park and the demolitions and evictions that were going to occur. However, this last piece of information was apparently informed only to the families living in the detached houses and not to the ones residing in the apartment complex (Table 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Park construction</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demolitions and evictions</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renovation of the sector and neighborhood</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>El Cartucho’s</em> eradication</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

More important than the information that households should receive about the renewal project is the participation process in which they give their opinion about

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12 This question had a multiple choice option, that is why the responses do not sum 100%; therefore, it was possible for the interviewees to respond more than one option.

The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the *Third Millennium Park* and the *San Bernardo* Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia
the different alternatives, if any, of the design, planning and implementation process of the project. For this reason, another interesting issue to know was if these households were consulted about the whole process. At this respect, it is striking that 98.5% of the interviewees that arrived to the neighborhood before and during the construction of the Park, said that they were never asked about any part of the process.\(^{13}\)

The veracity of this information given by households was corroborated by the expert interviews made with the employees of the Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá (ERU). They argued that population was only informed about the decision to demolish and build the Park where El Cartucho sector was located. It was a unilateral decision made by the Mayor of that time. Therefore, no consultation occurred either with the population living the area or with the households residing in nearby zones like the ones in the San Bernardo vicinity.

One of the ERU’s employees argues that the participation in the process of the inhabitants of Santa Inés, and in a few cases from San Bernardo, was basically limited to help in the process of recognition of the territory needed to understand the living conditions of the place. In contrast, other civil servant believes that the urban renewal policy did not include at all the families living in adjacent neighborhoods, aspect that is recognized as a necessity nowadays. In the end, it is also stated that one of the most common complaints from the population living in adjacent vicinities was that they were not taken into account and were not attended within the Third Millennium project, even though they were directly affected by the displacement of indigence.

### 5.6.2 Socioeconomic aspects of the project

Another crucial aspect in the implementation of urban renewal projects is the socioeconomic component to support the families that can be affected by these developments. Not only for this reason, but also because usually deteriorated areas lack fair levels of quality of life, employment and opportunities for inhabitants to get out from the situation of abandonment and poverty. For this reason, it is important to know in what aspects the households of San Bernardo have received support from the local government to change their situation for living in a degenerated area. Basically, the findings show that the support that these households have received is in the fields of health, children care, elderly programs and access to education centers. However, the percentage of families that acknowledge this support is very low since it represents less than 30% of the population interviewed. Table 12 points out the results regarding the socioeconomic aspects in which households have received support.

\(^{13}\) Only one household out of the 85 interviewed said that they were consulted before the construction of the Park about their perception of the whole program and specific project.
Table 12: Distribution of households by socioeconomic aspects in which households have received support from the local government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)*</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health programs</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job training</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children care programs</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs for the elderly</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing subsidy</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to soft loans</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to education centers</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job opportunities</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs for community organization</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The remaining percentage to get the sum of 100% of households corresponds to no response
Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

As it is clear in the figures of Table 12, the support received by the households living in the *San Bernardo* neighborhood has been insufficient to help this population to improve their quality of life. In all the aspects, most of the households argued that they have not got any support to help them solve their needs.

The opinion of the households surveyed is consistent with the perception of one of the experts from ERU. The main argument for explaining that there was no support from the public administration for the population of *San Bernardo* in terms of subsidies, job training and programs like those shown in Table 12, is found in the fact that projects are managed separately. Consequently, the attended population had to belong to *Santa Inés* because it was the neighborhood where the Park would be built. The inhabitants from adjacent localities were not supported because they did not live in this neighborhood.

Another interesting point of view from other employee of ERU, it is that the city and the administration were not fully prepared to attend and relocate inhabitants. In this sense, this person justifies that part of the problems related to the poor attention of the population affected by this development, is the lack of a proper framework that link the population with housing and health needs, for instance, to the institutions in charge of these topics. Similarly, the same person believes that there are no instruments available within the current framework to reactivate components like employment generation.

### 5.6.3 Benefits of the urban renewal project

The household’s opinion about the benefits of the urban renewal project *Third Millennium* is a source that highly contributes to make an assessment of their experience so far. In this sense, the main benefit that households report is the recreation opportunities given by the construction of the Park.
Like it was mentioned above, the main benefit produced by the urban renewal project is the recreational activities that now can be developed in the Third Millennium Park. However, it is important to bear in mind that this perception is more common between the families of the apartment complex (57.8%) than those living in the detached houses (25.0%). Among the other aspects mentioned by households, it is crucial to see that besides the recreation opportunities, the rest of the responses have a low representation of the population surveyed in both groups. A clear sign of this dissatisfaction is that half of the families from the detached houses and 20% of the apartment ones claimed that the renewal project did not generate any benefit for them. Chart 17 shows all the responses regarding this aspect.

Chart 17: Distribution of households by benefits produced by the urban renewal project

From the expert’s point of view, the main benefits from the renewal project were got by the shopkeepers and wholesalers of the commercial area of San Victorino, because that sector have enjoyed an increase in security and more importantly, customers began to trust more because of the conditions of the area (better security and public space, availability of parking lots). This situation led to increasing sales and the value of properties. It is stated then, that benefits were got by this commercial sector and were not reflected and perceived in the residential localities like San Bernardo.

Other positive results that are highlighted by the experts interviewed are related to the fact that the city got a beautiful green space which is benefiting most the inhabitants of nearby neighborhoods. The construction of the Park also increased

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14 In the end, the owners of the properties located in this commercial sector captured the increase in the value of the land. The mechanisms available in the Colombian regulations to capture this increment were not applied in this case.
the number of square meters per inhabitant in a sector where green spaces are lacking. Employees from the ERU believe also that in some years, the Park will finally fulfill its different roles, once several urban initiatives in the center come to an end.

5.6.4 Drawbacks of the urban renewal project

About the drawbacks that the urban renewal project has produced in the neighborhood, the main factor is related to the insecurity and the presence of indigence in the locality. However, it is fair to mention that 47.1% of households argued that there have not been any disadvantages of the renewal project for them. This opinion is more consistent in the group of the apartment complex because the majority thinks in the same way (62.2%). In the case of the detached houses, the percentage of families that believe that there are no drawbacks is less than half of the other group (30.0%). This perception is explained by the fact that these households living in the detached units have suffered constantly of the insecurity and indigence problem. Since the detached houses have no private surveillance like the families in the apartment complex, this problem has been more critical in their case. Chart 18 sums up the drawbacks mentioned by the households interviewed about the urban renewal project analyzed in this work.

Chart 18: Distribution of households by drawbacks produced by the urban renewal project

The families of the detached houses believe that insecurity worsened in the neighborhood after the indigent population who used to live where the Park is located right now, moved to their zone in the search of another place to live. This perception was also mentioned by the employees of the Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá, ERU. The civil servants interviewed agree in that the indigence problem was aggravated after the Park was constructed because in some way the
indigence problem was trapped within the Santa Inés neighborhood and did not disturb too much the nearby areas by then. It is interesting to bring the analogy that one of the public employees commented in the interview to explain the situation. This interviewee said that El Cartucho was like a disease concentrated in one part of the city center and when the intervention occurred, it made metastasis. This metastasis displaced all the indigents of the place and scattered them in the whole city, being San Bernardo one of the most affected neighborhoods for being next to El Cartucho. Other employee commented that the “Achilles heel” of the project and the process were these indigents because in her belief it is too difficult to attend population who are not willing to collaborate and not even to be rehabilitated. The lack of a policy that addressed the problem of indigence was also mentioned in the interviews.

Other drawback from the project mentioned by the experts interviewed is related to the uncertainty that has been present since the urban renewal was enacted in 1998. From this aspect, it was commented that San Bernardo is a neighborhood that has been affected by several urban initiatives, but none of those have occurred or taken advantage of its own potentials. Other interviewed expert from ERU also agrees that the initiatives to intervene in the neighborhood are taking too long, situation that is generating uncertainty and anguish among the inhabitants, especially owners.

5.6.5 Improvement in the conditions of the neighborhood

Like it was stated in a previous chapter, some the objectives of the urban renewal project were to improve the image of the city center, recover public spaces, promote housing, and attract formal commercial activities, among others. For this reason, it was asked if households considered that these aspects have improved after the renewal project took place.

In general terms, the only aspects that both groups think that have improved are the situation of the public space and environmental conditions (especially garbage collection). In these cases, the majority of households agree that these aspects have improved since the renewal happened. Other aspects, like the image of the sector, report a different perception within the families described. While most of the ones from the apartment complex believe that the image has got better, the households from detached units think the contrary.

Regarding the commercial activities in the sector, the majority of households claimed that they have remained the same, meaning that the commerce is being developed by the same shopkeepers and that the quality has remained without major changes. With respect to the housing market activity, there is consensus that there is not new supply in the sector and that the stock has remained the same after the apartment complex was constructed. With regards to the housing demand the perceptions are quite different. While most of the families from the detached houses think that the demand has not increased, nearly 87% of the respondents from the apartment complex believe that now people is more interested in the sector.
These different perceptions have a clear justification that deserves a fair explanation. It is essential to mention that each household gave its opinion according to its own situation. In this sense, it is normal that families in the detached houses think that there is no demand for their houses mainly because of three reasons: First, due to the deterioration and insecurity of the neighborhood; second, because they live in big houses and nobody is willing to pay for the price they ask; and thirdly, because of the uncertainty this neighborhood has regarding upcoming renewal projects that are proposing the demolition of some blocks. On the contrary, the situation of the apartment complex is quite different because it is a relatively new project and has the advantage of having private surveillance and public spaces inside the property. Residents of this group argue that the housing demand in the complex is very high, that once an apartment is on sale or for rent, an interested customer appears immediately. Table 13 shows the perception of the two types of households regarding the aspects that have improved in the neighborhood according to some of the objectives set by the urban renewal project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Apartment complex (%)</th>
<th>Detached houses (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of the sector</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security of the sector</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions of the public space</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental conditions</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply of commercial activities</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of the commercial activity</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing demand</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing supply</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

5.6.6 Opinion about the urban renewal project

After knowing the perception of the households about the benefits and drawbacks, the aspects that have improved, and their experience in the participation process, it is relevant to get their impression about the urban renewal project as a whole, in other words, without asking about specific aspects but only their perception of the project.

In general terms, the majority of households believe that the urban renewal project is a good attempt to enhance the conditions of the neighborhood. The percentage of families who have a positive impression is higher in those of the apartment complex than in the ones living in the detached houses. The population of these independent units is more critical about the project and complains upon the fact that insecurity continues and that the indigence moved to the vicinity as a...
consequence of the intervention. Chart 19 summarizes the responses of the surveyed families.

Chart 19: Distribution of households by opinion about the urban renewal project as a whole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Apartment complex</th>
<th>Detached houses</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive for the sector</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good but insecurity continues</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement for the sector</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigence moved to the neighborhood and other parts of the city</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good but too slow</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Others include the following: It is not socially positive; uncertain and not organized; physically very good but security has no improved; population was not consulted; negative because it has fostered insecurity; it has always produced insecurity; good because it increases the value of properties; constructions produce insecurity; it fosters urbanization; good but it is necessary to urbanize more; good but constructions have to finish; its purpose was only amusement and recreation; the only good think has been the Third Millennium Park; Nothing has been positive.

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010

It is reasonable to see that within the category “others”, there are interesting responses but representing a small percentage. In any case, they are also important to mention because of their meaning. For instance, some households think that the urban renewal project: it is not socially positive; it is uncertain and not organized; it did not consult the population; it is negative because it has fostered insecurity. And on the positive side families think that it is: good because it increases the value of properties; it promotes urbanization; it is positive but there are still things to improve.

Regarding the opinion of the experts interviewed, most of them agree that the main goal of the urban renewal project was to generate a public space that triggered other investments, from the private sector especially, that help the regeneration to be achieved. It is stated that this was the main idea conceived by the Mayor and the local government that planned the Third Millennium initiative. However, they think that the impact of the renewal project on the surrounding areas has been negative so far, especially from a social point of view. They attribute most of the problems that continued after the construction of the Park to the lack of political will and governance of the administrations that succeeded the first one.

Another interesting statement mentioned by other expert is that the intervention in the public space was seen by then as the element that could trigger urban renewal processes. For this reason, the decision of building a park was taken in a place that
used to have mainly a residential use. This is important to know because it explains why the urban renewal conceived a Park instead of residential or commercial uses.

Finally, regarding the process led by the first administration, it is agreed by the experts from ERU that it was a success at the beginning in terms of the institutional coordination among the public entities. It is also stressed that this successful coordination was due to the guiding role of the Mayor, who was all the time in front of the process. However, this coordination lasted only for the period of the first administration in charge of the renewal. It is argued by all the experts from ERU that the political commitment was diluted with the subsequent administrations.

5.6.7 Opinion about the Third Millennium Park

In addition to the opinion about the urban renewal project as a whole, it is crucial to analyze the perception of households about the Third Millennium Park since this was the main component of the renewal project and the main outcome of the intervention. In this aspect, it is possible to argue that the responses of households are divided more or less in similar parts. On the positive side, it is remarkable that 42.5% believe that the Park is excellent and on the negative one, the third part of the population interviewed relates the park with insecurity. In general terms, it is perceived that the families from the apartment complex have a better image of the Park than those from the detached houses. Chart 20 presents the most representative opinions of the households interviewed. In the “Others” category there are positive and negative opinions that should be taken into account although they do not represent a high percentage within the results obtained in this variable.

Chart 20: Distribution of households by opinion about the Third Millennium Park

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Detached houses</th>
<th>Apartment complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecure</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful but insecure</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beautiful and well-designed</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive for circulating during the day time</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others include the following: Beautiful but badly used and cared; It is a drug dispensing; It covers up indigence and vicious people; Good but it lacks tree planting; Good but surroundings are bad; Important for the rehabilitation of the center; It lacks events to promote it; Badly constructed and designed; Good investment; Pleasant for children but insecure; It should not have been built; Good but it lacks services.

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010
The use of the Park is an indicator of the attitude of households towards it. The findings of this variable are consistent with the previous responses in the sense that the population of the apartment complex uses more the Park than those living in the detached houses (66.7% and 45.0%, respectively). In addition, the explanation for not using the Park is also coherent with previous opinions because insecurity is the main factor that prevents families from using it.

The perception of most of the experts interviewed about the Park is basically positive with respect to its design and the role it will have in the future when the other renewals take place. It is also argued that even though the Park has not had a proper maintenance and management and has not fulfilled its social function so far, the atmosphere of the area now is completely different compared to the previous situation. Other expert states that the Park grew in an “autistic” way because it did not produce the benefits intended for the inhabitants living in the adjacent areas. Finally, it is relevant to highlight that it is also thought by one interviewee that the Park is not being used like it should and it is not generating any activity nowadays.

5.6.8 Opinion about the eradication of El Cartucho

Another important component of the urban renewal was the eradication of El Cartucho sector. For this reason, the perception about this is also relevant for the study of this work. Basically, the opinion of the families interviewed about this process is negative, especially among the households of the detached houses, which is understandable since they were the most affected by the presence of indigence in front of their houses after the eradication and the renewal occurred. However, it is fair to highlight that almost 30% of households consider that the eradication of this problem was positive (Chart 21).

Chart 21: Distribution of households by opinion about the eradication of El Cartucho

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Apartment complex</th>
<th>Detached houses</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigence moved to the neighborhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive process</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>36.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good attempt but indigence moved to the neighborhood</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was not well implemented because indigence is still around</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security improved</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good as long as relocation continues in a properly</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good but insecurity continues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity increased</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Others include the following: It was not agreed with the community; Excellent but there is more work to do to eradicate indigence; Positive because there are less drugs; The problem continues in other parts of the city; Security improved; Good as long as relocation continues in a properly; Good but insecurity continues; Slow process; Insecurity increased.

Source: Author’s surveys. July 2010
According to the opinion of the experts interviewed with respect to this issue, it is agreed by all of them that indigence was not addressed properly and the displacement of this population to other neighborhoods was not controlled. One of them argues that this problem was a consequence of lacking an indigence policy, while others believe that it is too difficult to attend population that is not willing to be rehabilitated and do not wish to cooperate with the social programs designed for them. In the end, it is pointed out that the lack of a solid mandate and political will of the following administrations also contributed to the uncontrolled displacement of this population.

5.7 Summary

This chapter made a description of the housing conditions and the socioeconomic characteristics of the households surveyed in the San Bernardo neighborhood. It also reported the perception they have regarding the neighborhood and the urban renewal project of the Third Millennium Park. The profile of the population analyzed and the perception of households and the experts interviewed are given below:

**Housing conditions**
- The sample was composed by 45 households from the apartment complex and 40 living in detached houses.
- The 52.9% of households surveyed are owners and 47.1% are tenants.
- Most of the dwellings have exposed brick in walls (77.6%) and tiled floors (89.4%).
- Approximately 20% of the households surveyed has an economic activity inside the dwelling
- The 36.5% of households has made improvements in their residence.

**Socioeconomic characteristics**
- The household size of the groups surveyed is 4.1 people.
- The gender of the household head in the majority of families is male.
- The level of education is higher in the households living in the apartment complex in comparison with those in detached houses.
- The percentage of unemployment of the household head of detaches houses is 10.0%, while in the apartment complex is 6.7%
- The access to the financial market by both groups of households is limited. Only 44.7% of households has a bank account.
- The 53.3% of households in the apartment complex has a loan, percentage that is only 10% in those in detached houses.
- The majority of both groups of households reported the necessity of buying a house.

**Perception about the neighborhood**
- The mean of the time living in the neighborhood is 7.5 years for the families in the apartment complex, while for the households of the detached houses is 25.2 years.
The most important reasons for choosing the *San Bernardo* neighborhood are the proximity to work, the centrality and the closeness to the family.

The aspects households like the most about their locality are related to the location of the area in the city, the facility of transportation means and the commercial activities of the place.

Regarding the aspects households like the least about their neighborhood, the insecurity and the presence of indigence are definitely the most disturbing factors.

**Perception about the urban renewal project**

- Half of the households argue that they were informed about the renewal before the Park was constructed while the other half affirmed the contrary.
- Almost all households said that no consultation took place in the process. These perceptions were confirmed by the experts interviewed.
- The social support received by households was basically in the fields of health, children care, elderly programs and access to education centers. However, the percentage of families that acknowledge this support is very low since it represents less than 30%.
- 95% of the population argued that they have not received any support from programs to incentive housing improvements, businesses and employment.
- The absence of socioeconomic support for the families of *San Bernardo* was recognized by the experts interviewed.
- The main benefit that households report is the recreation opportunities given by the construction of the Park and the principal drawback is the increment in the insecurity and indigence in the neighborhood. These two aspects were also agreed by the representatives of ERU.
- According to the opinion of households, the conditions of the public space in the neighborhood have improved. In contrast, for more than 60%, security and has not got better since the Park was built.
- The majority of households believe that the urban renewal project is a good attempt to enhance the conditions of the neighborhood.
- It is agreed by the experts from ERU that the project was a success at the beginning in terms of the institutional coordination among the public entities. However, it is stated by all of them that the political commitment was diluted with the subsequent administrations.
- The 42.5% of households believes that the Park is excellent and the third part relates the park with insecurity.
- The perception of most of the experts about the Park is basically positive with respect to its design and the role it will have in the future when the other renewals take place.
- However, it is also argued that even though the Park has not had a proper maintenance and management and has not fulfilled so far its social function so far, the atmosphere of the place is completely different in contrast to the previous situation (*El Cartucho*).
Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Review of the problem

The deterioration of the city center of Bogotá began when the wealthy population left to the periphery as a response of the arrival of commercial activities and the construction of housing for middle classes close to their dwellings. This migration caused the abandonment of big houses that later on were occupied by low income population. In addition, the rooms of these big houses were rented out to many households separately which also had a low income profile. All these dynamics contributed to the arrival of informal activities and thus to a process of urban decay in the inner city. Years later, not only this problem was present in the center, but also many criminal activities began to occur leading this area to be insecure and less attractive for residents and companies.

*El Cartucho* was the sector that was disturbing the most the situation of the city center. Activities like drug dealing, commercialization of guns and stolen objects, prostitution and being the home of most of the indigence of the city contributed to stigmatize the southern part of the center of Bogotá as people still perceive it today: A dangerous, insecure and run down place where middle and high class citizens do not want to live and where formal commercial activities and businesses do not like to invest in.

Due to this situation, the local government believed it was about time to halt this problem. The need for intervention to recover the central city was highly demanded by the population living in these areas and for the city as a whole. For this reason, the main attempt to change the course of decay was taken by the local government of the period 1998-2001 that was led by the Mayor Enrique Peñalosa. In their opinion, the first action that had to be taken in the center was the eradication of *El Cartucho* because from their perspective, it was the root of the majority of the problems related to criminal activities in the city. Following these ideas, the urban renewal project *Third Millennium* was designed, having as its main component the construction of the Park in the place where *El Cartucho* was located.

The objectives of the urban renewal project were in the first place, to alleviate the social problem present in *El Cartucho*. Secondly, to recover the state of the public spaces that were too deteriorated; and thirdly, to create the environment that triggered the promotion of housing in the center, the attraction of formal activities, the improvement of the accessibility and mobility of the place, and the amelioration of the image of the inner city. The most important actions within this project were: the humanitarian labour with the homeless and indigence, the attention of the households that were trapped by these circumstances and the recovery of the public spaces by the construction of the *Third Millennium Park*. Accordingly, the overall goal of the intervention was to generate the conditions of a friendly and appropriate atmosphere to attract again residents and companies to invest in housing and businesses in the center.
6.2 Findings of the research

The Park was inaugurated in 2002. The balance so far in general terms is that eight years later, the southern part of the city center of Bogotá continues facing the same stigma as before, that of a dangerous and unattractive place to be. This assessment has to be done from three perspectives: From the situation of the population living in the nearby areas; secondly, from the side of the policy designed, planned and implemented by the local government; and thirdly, from the perspective of the competitiveness of the city.

One the one hand, from the perspective of the households living in the areas near the Park, the balance of this experience is questionable from a socioeconomic point of view. The results obtained in the present research have shown that the households living in adjacent areas have not had the support from the local government to change their reality of abandonment and poverty. This situation is a fact in the case of the households living in the detached houses, which is regrettable because these are the traditional households that have lived most of their life in the neighborhood. In the case of the population of the apartment complex the situation is similar in the sense they have not received support either, but quite different from a socioeconomic point of view because the profile of these families is higher than the first ones. In any case, there has not been an intention from the local government to support the households of this neighborhood. The lack of a socioeconomic policy within or linked with the urban renewal one is a reality that has been happening since the local government took the decision of eradicating El Cartucho and constructing The Third Millennium Park.

While analyzing the housing situation and the socioeconomic characteristics of the population of the San Bernardo neighborhood, it is clear that this population has needs and requires attention. Although it is not a population who lives in housing deficit and does not belong to the poorest segment of population, they are people willing to improve their living conditions to enhance their quality of life as part of the process of urban renewal that has been occurring since 1998. However, the reality is different. In their experience, owners have received no incentives to improve the conditions of their houses. Tenants have not received any help in their search of an owned dwelling even though they reported as a felt-need. In other words, they have not accessed to subsidies or informational campaigns for advice about the process of application. The ones that live from businesses developed in their units or outside them but in the vicinity have not been offered any support in terms of financial opportunities like subsidies or soft loans to upgrade their activity. Educational programs, like job training, have also been absent even though an integral regeneration policy demands this to get successful results in terms of the improvement of the skills of the labour force and the reduction of the unemployment rate in inner city areas.

All these realities are more critical in the case of the households of the detached houses, which are perhaps the most important ones because they are part of the neighborhood since long time ago. Also, they are the less qualified and the residents of big and old houses that are the focus of many initiatives for

The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia
demolitions to carry out renovation projects. This means that they live their daily life in a state of uncertainty about what may happen to their houses at any moment. Moreover, most of them do not want to leave their place despite the insecurity and indigence problems affecting the center. The case of the families of the apartment complex is less critical in the sense that they have security of tenure because they live in a relatively new residence complex which will not be demolished by the upcoming renewal projects. It is also true that these families are better qualified and their working situation is more stable. However, they also need support in many aspects that affect their daily life, for instance, with respect to the insecurity and indigence issues which involve the whole neighborhood. These differences among two types of households between the same community and neighborhood shows the importance of the accuracy that a policy should have in order to address the needs of different groups of population.

On the other hand, from the policy perspective the balance is also doubtful in the sense that the impact of the renewal from a socioeconomic point of view has not been positive. Firstly, the renewal policy designed only attended the population exactly living where El Cartucho was located and also some commercial wholesalers in the northern part of the Park. The households of adjacent neighborhoods, including San Bernardo, were left aside from the target population. The participation of this unattended people was also absent because they did not take part in the process of design, planning and implementation of the initiative of eradicating El Cartucho and building the Third Millennium Park, although they were located one block away from this area.

Regarding the approach of the policy designed and implemented, it is argued that at the beginning it worked as a joint effort of all the cabinet of the 1998-2001 administration. The clear intention was to ameliorate the situation of the center, so the efforts of the different departments of the local government were together to tackle the many dimensions that this problem implied. However, this joint effort faded away with the next administrations, leaving the project totally fragmented. In other words, a comprehensive urban renewal policy that had to attack many fronts like the social, physical, economic and environmental ones lost its north by stopping the cooperation among the different departments of the local government. This situation led to a lack of integration between the different public policies, narrowing the approach to a physical perspective. For this reason, what nowadays highlights about the urban renewal project Third Millennium is the Park only. Therefore, the project was reduced to a physical approach that did not take into account the necessity of supporting the social, economic, and environmental situation of the households and commerce that remained in the nearby areas.

From the perspective of the city, the renewal policy has not represented either, the opportunity to improve its competitiveness with other sectors in terms of the attractiveness of this area for living and investing. The southern part of the center continues having the same stigmatization as years before. The challenge is to change those beliefs for the whole inner city and especially for the sectors which have been subject of renewal programs.
On the positive side of the urban renewal project, it is fair to say that the conditions of the public space in the neighborhood and around the Park have improved. Similarly, the amount of green areas per inhabitant rose with the construction of the Park. The commercial activities that had been traditionally located in the northern side of the Park are the most benefited ones, because the number of clients has increased since the eradication of El Cartuchó. Since then, the security and tranquility for customers in that specific area improved substantially as well as the value of their properties. In the end, the owners of these properties captured this increment in value because mechanisms to capture it were not applied in this case.

Summing up, the outcome of the urban renewal project Third Millennium has been adverse for the population residing in the San Bernardo neighborhood. Besides having no support from the local government throughout all these years in the aspects mentioned above, their living conditions have been worsened with the increasing levels of insecurity and the presence of indigence. Since San Bernardo was the closest neighborhood to El Cartuchó, all the indigents who did not want to cooperate and enter the program of rehabilitation of the local government moved to this vicinity. This situation created in the north of the neighborhood an environment similar to the one that was typical in El Cartuchó: drug dealing, recycling and criminal activities. Furthermore, uncertainty has been present since then because of the declaration of the neighborhood as an area subject to renewal, which has led to the proposition of projects in the vicinity but that have not happened after 12 years of this announcement.

In conclusion, the balance of the experience analyzed in this work does not consolidate the regeneration approach that was examined in the literature review. On the contrary, it replicates somehow those unsuccessful cases described in chapter two, that were limited to the physical aspect and left aside the other key spheres (economic, social and environmental aspects) that can guarantee a comprehensive and integral policy and a successful outcome.

### 6.3 Recommendations

The recommendations suggested deal mainly with the way an urban renewal policy should be designed, planned and implemented. These are based on the literature review made in this work and on the thoughts and perceptions of the author regarding the renewal experience analyzed in this thesis. The recommendations suggested for future renewal initiatives in Colombia are the following:

1. The approach in which an urban renewal policy should be designed has to be in line with the current trends in this field of knowledge. This means, urban renewal has to go beyond the physical component of the policy. As it was described in chapter two, the cases in which the physical intervention has not been enough to halt the deterioration stage of a city have happened worldwide. After these experiences, comprehensive and integral regeneration policies have come to the scene to show that the physical component is insufficient to turn around a situation of decay. For this
reason, this type of policies has to be complemented by additional actions in the social, economic and environmental aspects that recover central areas in terms of employment levels, education opportunities, healthiness issues, residential occupation (from different income levels), and investment levels from commerce and businesses. This action cannot be limited to the population of the areas where the physical intervention takes place, but also to all the inhabitants that live and work in nearby localities that might be affected by renewals. The achievement of all these aspects is what can guarantee the improvement in the level of competitiveness of a central city.

2. Participation of stakeholders in the process of policy design and planning is a crucial step in order to have a well-targeted approach. This is one of the main arguments of the current trends of urban governance. The community, especially, is a significant actor in this process since it is the one who will be directly affected by the decisions taken. In the case of the Third Millennium project, the population living in the area where the Park is located participated in some parts of the planning and implementation that had to do especially with the eradication of El Cartucho sector. However, this participation occurred once the decision of demolishing the place and constructing the Park was taken. In addition, the participation process was limited to this population only, leaving aside the residents and workers of nearby vicinities, which at last, were the most affected ones after the construction of the Park. For this reason, the results have been adverse for this population still residing in nearby areas, because they did not take part in the process and their needs were not taken into account in the urban renewal project. In this sense, the decision for including the stakeholders involved in certain problem has to be done carefully and with an objective and projected view of the consequences of not involving all the citizens related to a certain issue. The principles of urban governance have to be guaranteed in order to assure a participatory, transparent, accountable and successful process of policy design, planning and implementation.

3. The recognition of different groups of population between the same community and neighborhood is an essential point in the design of any urban policy. The recent analysis of the two groups of households shows the necessity for attending them according to their different needs, which clearly differ from each other in this case. The lack of a proper policy to address specific problems of population also has to do with the participation process recommended before. If there is no participation of the stakeholders, there will not be a clear identification of the needs and priorities that have to be attended and therefore, the policy will not be appropriately targeted.

4. Urban policies have to be integrated between the different sectors and institutions that compose certain public administration according to the objectives defined. In the case of the Third Millennium renewal, this integration took place in the beginning when the project was being implemented by the administration of the period 1998-2001. After the change in the cabinet, the urban renewal policy has been fragmented from the others in the following years, leaving it mainly reduced to the physical
sphere. Therefore, an urban regeneration approach that addresses jointly the social, economic, environmental and physical aspects of deteriorated areas is lacking in Bogotá. Like any other urban policy, this one should have the synergy between sectors that is necessary to fulfill the goals set by the initiative.

5. In order to achieve the integration mentioned above, it is necessary to have a strategy to articulate the participation of the different departments or institutions from the local government involved in any of the components of the desired policy. In the case of the Third Millennium project, this articulation took place at the beginning as well. However, it is seen that years later the policies designed by other institutions different to the ERU and the Habitat Secretariat were not in the same direction of the first one. For instance, the social programs for the population of the San Bernardo neighborhood have come as part of the social policy of the District but unlinked with the urban renewal initiatives. Consequently, the regeneration is not being achieved because of this defragmentation and population is not receiving the required attention according to their needs. Every department should design its policy taking into account the goals and priorities of the other policies. In the light of this research, the physical aspect has been isolated from other significant fields required to stop the process of decay. For this reason, articulation between institutions with harmony and consistency is required to achieve the goals set by the urban renewal policy.

6. Political will is a necessary issue for the continuity of the implementation of any policy. One of the problems that had the urban renewal project Third Millennium was the changing cabinets. The different departments of the following administrations did not work together towards the goal of regenerating the inner city. The responsibility was left to ERU, taking into account that regeneration policies demand actions from different perspectives beyond the physical sphere.

7. Community organization initiatives in the neighborhood are essential to strengthen the role of the residents towards the actions led by both the public and the private sectors. This is also relevant to solve the possible conflicts taking place among the inhabitants of a neighborhood, like it is the current reality of San Bernardo. Moreover, it is important to have an institutional channel in order to improve the communication between the local administration, the private sector and residents regarding the proposals of the former and the needs of the latter.

6.4 A way forward

For the next years, the so-called Strategic Operation of the Center, which is the urban renewal program of the city center of Bogotá for the next 30 years, sets a new opportunity to design, plan and implement a comprehensive, integral and participatory process of urban regeneration. It should aim to improve, in the first place, the living conditions and quality of life of the current population residing and working in the center. After creating a secure and an attractive environment,
the opportunity can be given to citizens and companies to invest in the inner city in housing and businesses respectively, and to take advantage of the particular assets that differentiate central cities from other urban areas. The consolidation of all the renewal initiatives that have taken place in the city center and that will happen in the future is the opportunity to turn around the path of decline. Conceiving these developments as an integral unit that cannot be separated is essential to address the problems and use the potentials that come from these initiatives. With this understanding, the objectives of regeneration will be achieved and the city center of Bogotá will recover its image and the competitiveness lost in the period of decay.
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## Annex 1. Questionnaire - Household surveys

### I. Identification of the Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Strata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Number of households living in the dwelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Household No. DE</td>
<td>1. Principal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nature of household</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II. Perception of households about the neighborhood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Years living in the neighborhood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Years occupying the current house</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Before living in the current house, did you live in the center of the city?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Why did you choose this sector of Bogotá to live?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Do you consider that this was a good decision?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>What do you like the most about this sector?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>What do you like the least about this sector?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Having as a point of reference the construction of the park, when did your household arrive to the neighborhood?</td>
<td>Before the construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>As a resident of the sector, was your household informed about the urban renewal project before the beginning of the construction of the park?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>As a resident of the sector, was your household consulted about the process of design, planning and implementation of urban renewal project?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. What kind of information?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. About what aspects?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>What aspects have your household received support as part of the socioeconomic component of the urban renewal project?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Health programs (SISBEN, vaccination)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Job training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Attention to children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Attention to the elderly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Housing subsidy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>What is your opinion about the Third Millennium Park?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>As a resident of the sector, what is your opinion about the urban renewal project?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>What benefits have this project produced for the residents of the neighborhood?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>What drawbacks or disadvantages have this project generated for the residents of the neighborhood?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. Perception of households about the urban renewal project “Third Millennium Park”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>In your opinion, what of the following aspects has improved because of the urban renewal project?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Image of the neighborhood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Security of the neighborhood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Conditions of public space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>4. Environmental conditions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Supply of commerce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Is your household a user of the Third Millennium Park?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>What are the main activities that your household does in the park?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>What is your opinion about the process of eradication of El Cartuchito sector?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Source: Author, 2010
**IV. CURRENT HOUSE CHARACTERISTICS - MAIN HOUSING CONDITIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLD**

25. **WHAT IS THE TYPE OF DWELLING THAT YOUR HOUSEHOLD OCCUPIES CURRENTLY?**
   1. DETACHED HOUSE
   2. APARTMENT
   3. OTHER WHICH?

26. **THE HOUSE THAT YOUR HOUSEHOLD OCCUPIES IS:**
   1. OWNED AND TOTALLY PAID
   2. OWNED BUT STILL PAYING MONTHLY MORTGAGE PAYMENT $ 
   3. RENTED MONTHLY RENTAL AMOUNT $ 
   4. OTHER TENURE

27. **HOMENUMBER OF ROOMS HAS YOUR HOUSEHOLD AVAILABLE (INCLUDING LIVING AND DINING ROOM AND EXCLUDING KITCHEN, TOILET AND GARAGE)**

28. **HOMENUMBER OF BEDROOMS DOES THE HOUSEHOLD USE TO SLEEP?**

29. **DOES YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE AULA(M) IN YOUR DWELLING?**

30. **DOES YOUR HOUSEHOLD SHARE SPACES WITH OTHER FAMILIES?**

31. **WHICH IS THE PREDOMINANT MATERIAL OF THE WALLS OF THE DWELLING?**

32. **WHICH IS THE PREDOMINANT MATERIAL OF THE FLOOR OF THE DWELLING?**

33. **WHAT TYPE OF TOILET DOES THE HOUSEHOLD HAVE?**

34. **DOES ANY MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD DEVELOP ANY COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY INSIDE THE DWELLING?**

35. **HAS THE HOUSEHOLD CARRIED OUT HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CURRENT DWELLING?**

Source: Author, 2010
The aftermath of urban renewal: The case of the Third Millennium Park and the San Bernardo Neighborhood in Bogotá, Colombia

Source: Author, 2010
Annex 2. Research design diagram

Source: Author, 2010
### Annex 3. Experts interviewed

<table>
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<th>Position</th>
<th>Entity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thierry Lulle</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Research Center of social dynamics – Universidad Externado de Colombia</td>
<td>July 27th 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Clemencia Ibañez</td>
<td>Civil Servant. In charge of the social component of the Third Millennium project</td>
<td>Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá, ERU</td>
<td>July 28th 2010</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Leopoldo Ramírez</td>
<td>Civil servant. Made part of the Third Millennium Project</td>
<td>Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá, ERU</td>
<td>July 28th 2010</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Doris Patricia Noy</td>
<td>Technical Director. Made part of the Third Millennium Project</td>
<td>Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá, ERU</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Claudia Carrizosa</td>
<td>Civil servant. Made part of the Third Millennium Project</td>
<td>Urban Renewal Company of Bogotá, ERU</td>
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