

Voices of Villa Hermosa: impact of collective demobilizations and reinsertions of former paramilitary members on the inhabitants of the Comuna 8 of Medellín

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to identify the impact that the reinsertion into society of former Colombian paramilitary members has had on the normative plurality existing in one urban settlement of Medellín known as “Comuna 8”. This study refers to paramilitarism as contra insurgent organizations associated with organized crime, and by demobilization it refers to the process by which members of Illegal Armed Organized Groups disarmed and reintegrated to civil life. The aspects explored are the social context of the Comuna 8, the Desarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion process (DDR), and finally the changes that this reinsertion process had on some forms of expression in the comuna. The study uses Documentary Analysis using primary and secondary data, focusing on testimonies from members of the community, governmental and nongovernmental research reports, municipal legislation, and governmental statistics. This research shows how the inhabitants of the Comuna 8 further expressed their unconformities after demobilization, and analyses why different channels of expression were opened.

Key words

Paramilitarism; demobilization; reinsertion; disarmament; legal pluralism; interlegality; State Law.

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Acronyms

AUC: Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (United Selfdefenses of Colombia)

BACRIM: Criminal Bands

BM: Bloque Metro (Paramilitary group)

BCN: Bloque Cacique Nutibara (Paramilitary group)

DANE: Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (National Administrative Department of Statistics)

DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reinsertion

ELN: Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army, guerilla group)

FARC: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, guerilla group)

FOADs: Formas Asociativas de Desmovilizados (Demobilized Associative Forms)

GAOMLs: Grupos Armados Organizados al Margen de la Ley (Illegal Armed Organized Groups)

IPC: Agencia de Prensa Instituto Popular de Capacitación (Popular Training Institute Press Agency)

M-19: Movement April 19, guerrilla group

SISBEN: Sistema de Identificación de Potenciales Beneficiarios de Programas Sociales (Potential Social Program Beneficiaries Identification System)

1. Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to describe the context in which this research develops and the general objectives that will be accomplished. A theoretical framework will be defined in order to present the concepts that will guide the research, and the methodology of the research will be addressed.

1.1. General Context, Objectives and Research Question

Colombia has been in an armed conflict for more than 50 years; a complex and changing war among state forces, guerrilla and paramilitary groups struggling for power, control and drug money. One of the effects of this conflict has been the emergence of a plurality of parallel normative orders belonging to each of these groups. In consequence, when these armed groups try to take power and control over poor urban settlements, new normative orders arise and *"citizens begin to move or are forced to move daily through several frameworks of normative reference."* (Santos, García 2001, p. 215).

Between the years 2003 and 2006 the city of Medellín went through several processes of collective demobilizations, disarmament and reinsertion of paramilitary members. It occurred first as a result from a program of peace, reconciliation and reinsertion for Medellín, and then driven by the Peace and Justice Law (Act 975 of 2005), which gave certain benefits in order to facilitate the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to civil life of members of Illegal Armed Organized Groups (GAOMLs). The first process took place in December of 2003 with the reinsertion of the self-defense group called *"Bloque Cacique Nutibara"* from the United Self-defenses of Colombia and then the city became the main scenario for demobilizations of different self defense "blocks" and other members of other GAOMLs such as FARC and ELN. The majority of the demobilized population of the city lived in the comunas (administrative divisions of the city conformed by multiple neighborhoods and created to facilitate the administration of goods and services). In the year 2007 59% of demobilized people from Medellín lived in the comunas 1, 3, 4 and 8 (Alonso, Valencia 2008).

Until now, a great amount of literature has been written on the legal pluralism existing in Colombia, the normative complexities in urban settlements and the presence of the armed conflict in the quarters. The DDR process, its social and political effects, its context, and its results and effectiveness have been deeply analyzed. Nevertheless there has not been a study of the recent impact that some paramilitary reinsertions have had over the normative plurality existing in some poor urban settlements of the country.

In this sense this research will focus on the impact that the collective disarmament, demobilizations and reinsertions of paramilitary members of Medellín has had on the forms in which the inhabitants of the Comuna 8 of Medellín, also called Villa Hermosa, express and manifest nonconformity, which prior to the DDR were affected by the many normative orders existing.

Sociologically the act of accusing is the public, expressed and calculated demonstration against aggression (Corral 2006-2007, p. 22). This definition will be used to refer to the social expressions of the inhabitants of the comuna as they articulate and give expression to the collective demands of its members. These expressions include cultural manifestations, active demonstrations of resistance, marches against violence, written demands presented to government institutions, and articles presented in local and community papers.

The purpose of addressing their forms of expression is to see how the voices of the Comuna 8 were overshadowed by the normative plurality existing in the comuna caused by the presence of armed groups in its neighborhoods. The investigation will focus on how an intervention of State Law represented by a demobilization and

reinsertion process made an impact on the existing normative plurality. This will show how these forms of manifestations were affected by the new intervention of state law.

The concept of comuna used in Colombia refers to an administrative unity within a large or medium sized city that groups several sectors or neighborhoods. Most capital cities are divided by comunas. They are created by municipal councils in each city, district councils or the metropolitan councils according to the needs of the population and the land they inhabit. The purpose of the comunas is to facilitate the administration of goods and services.

It is worth mentioning that the evolution of the communities established in the peripheries of several cities of Colombia, have different characteristics that obey to particular periods of history and to different political and social stages of each city. A narration made by Jairo Vladimir Llano will help illustrate a general description of the origins of the comunas.

The inhabitation of the comunas is the product of several migratory stages caused by different circumstances of economical and social conflict, of which four can be identified. The first is the migration of peasants to the main cities because of the difficult economic situation of the countryside, due to the industrialization process, and the dream of a new and better lifestyle. The second is the displacement of peasants by the conflict among liberals and conservatives which began after the political event of the killing of liberal presidential candidate Jorge Eliecer Gaitán in 1948. The third stage of displacement occurs between 1960 and 1980 with the conflict for land between landowners and peasants, and with the consolidation of communist Guerrillas like FARC and ELN whose armed conflict with the state, first for an agricultural reform and then for political and economical power, caused high rates of displacement. Finally, between 1980 and the beginnings of the XXI century, the armed conflict sharpens and guerrilla and paramilitary groups expand throughout the national territory seeking economical, political and social control, causing very high rates of forced displacement. Both illegal groups consolidated in the cities increasing violence in rural and urban areas (Llano et al. 2007).

The following table shows the number of displaced people who arrived to Medellín from 1999 to 2010 According to the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement:

Municipality	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Medellín, Antioquia	10.040	4.500	21.000	23.033	7.436	19.346	10.043	16.294	17.301	26.847	27.284	17.642

In CODHES- SISDHES 2011. Available from http://www.codhes.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=cat_view&gid=39&Itemid=51. Document "Municipios Llegada 1999- 2010" [Accesed 13 August 2011].

All of these processes of displacement to the cities caused an accelerated and disorganized growth, for which cities were not prepared for. They began growing unto the capitals' surrounding hills through massive processes of clandestine occupation in precarious conditions of poverty ("invasions"). This is a constant process where exodus rebuilds the community. A changing composition between the rural and the urban, merge imperceptibly into a complex social dynamic of customs, knowledge and culture. In Jesús Martín Barbero's words:

"In the case of Colombia, we live a displacement of the population from the countryside to the city that is not just quantitative but an indication of the emergence of a heterogeneous cultural plot formed by a huge diversity of styles of living, structures of feeling and forms of narration, but very strong and heavily communicated. A cultural plot that defies the frames of reference and understanding forged on the basis of identities, strong rootedness and clear demarcations" (Barbero 2002, p. 74).

This is the reason to focus specifically on the urban settlement as a stage for legal plurality, because according to Jairo Vladimir Llano, while in rural areas of Colombia it is relatively easy to distinguish the diverse normative orders that have arisen through time, in the city it is harder to make this separation due to particularities such as reduced space and population density. So according to the author, if in one limited space multiple normative orders coexist, citizens will be under stronger pressure by those who exercise social control, thus "*they will be forced to decide under which order they can solve their conflicts*" (Llano et al. 2007, p. 59). As Mauricio García Villegas and Boaventura de Sousa puts it:

"...It is here where the spider web of relations, interpenetrations and hybridizations among the different justices that make the kaleidoscope of justices in Colombia, is the densest." (Santos, García 2001, p. 215).

Now, the reason to focus on Comuna 8 or *Villa Hermosa* is that its inhabitants have suffered multiple difficulties throughout its history. It is one of the most important urban receptors of victims of forced displacement and therefore is an important scenario of multiculturalism as Barbero notes in his words abovementioned. It has had one of the highest rates of poverty of Medellín for many years, and it has severely suffered from almost two decades of a violent war for power and urban control among guerrilla, urban militia, paramilitary members, gangs, and members of police forces, all with the oblivion from the state and the rest of the country (Estrada, Gómez 1992, Cotua, Ríos 2008, Quiceno, Muñoz, Montoya 2008).

Due to a prolonged state absence, paralegal groups present in the comuna 8, such as the militias from ELN, *Bloque Cacique Nutibara* and *Bloque Metro*, reached a fast and efficient normative control that was based on the application of violence, fear, social pressure, and criminalization.

The purpose of addressing the process of paramilitary demobilization and reinsertion in Villa Hermosa is that the comuna was the focus of the first, most discussed, polemic and studied collective demobilization in Medellín. Thus demobilization of paramilitary groups in this zone and the reintegration of its members into their neighborhoods had an important effect on its inhabitants. This effect will be considered by taking into account the normative plurality present in the zone and the strong domination of some paralegal groups over the comuna.

All these complex social scenarios experienced by the Comuna 8 engender the root question of this research: What Impact has the collective demobilization and reinsertion of members of paramilitary groups had on the forms of expression of nonconformity by the inhabitants of the comuna?

In order to respond to this question, this research will be structured as follows: First we will observe how the inhabitants were affected by paramilitary control prior to demobilization. This will provide a basis for the next investigative step which is the analysis of the demobilization process and how it changed the power relations and the exercise of control over the comuna by paramilitary groups. Here we will identify if post demobilization paralegal control disappeared or changed in any way, and if it did, what was the impact of this change over the forms of manifesting nonconformity by the neighborhood. Third we will observe if new channels of expression were opened for the inhabitants past the demobilization process, and if they enabled them to manifest resistance to violence or their social situation. Finally, as a secondary purpose derived from the above, we will analyze state law's theoretical behavior in Comuna 8 within the DDR frame.

1.2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will describe the main concepts of analysis taken into account in order to understand the general context and accomplishing the objectives of the investigation. To explain the complexities in the normative situation of the Comuna 8 and to show the ways in which diverse normative orders coexist, a combination

between the concepts of legal pluralism and interlegality will be used as reference. It is worth noting that Colombia is one of the countries with the broader frame of normative orders with a great fragmentation of the normative field, and where the different dimensions that integrate it articulate each others in complex and overlapping ways (Santos, García 2001, vol. 1, p. 148-150).

The reasons for referring to normative plurality instead of legal pluralism will be made clear further on the research. Additionally, theoretical elements of legal pluralism such as the concepts of semiautonomous social field, paralegality, and Macaulay's use of the concept of private government, will be deployed with the purpose of describing the structure and normative order of paramilitary groups. Finally the second part of the thesis will take as theoretical reference the concept of social protest and social movement by Carlos Wolkmer and Enrique Dussel.

According to John Griffiths legal pluralism is "*the state of affairs, for any social field, in which behavior pursuant to more than one legal order occurs*". For the author it happens when there is some coincidence between laws of many provenances (Griffiths 2002, p. 289). Griffiths approaches the term in two different ways, one of which is the classical or weak legal pluralism and the second is the strong, new or deep legal pluralism.

Weak legal pluralism refers to a legal arrangement whereby different groups of the population are defined in terms of their respective ethnicity, religion, or geography. It also includes cases where the dominant national legal order recognizes the existence of other normative orders (Griffiths 1986, p. 5).

In relation to the above, indigenous systems in Colombia are included in the Constitution of 1991, which recognizes their right to control their institutions, habitat and self-government. Thus, indigenous legalities are recognized by the dominant hegemonic legal system and correspond to a constitutionally legitimized pluralism.

As for strong legal pluralism, Griffiths defines it as the *co-existence of legal orders in a social setting which do not belong to a single system and do not necessarily have to recognize or negate each other* (Griffiths 1986, p. 8). Under this theoretical perspective we will address the parallel normative plurality of those violent groups in conflict with the hegemonic state for territorial and social domination such as paramilitary organizations, which are constitutionally unrecognized and were expressly negated for the first time in 1989 under the presidency of Virgilio Barco by a sentence of the Supreme Court of Justice that criminalized the paramilitary activity. Thus while the indigenous plurality is legitimized and legally accepted, the paramilitary pluralism is one strategy of terrorism and violence, according to Alirio Uribe Muñoz (2006).

Frequently the term "legal pluralism" is generally perceived as a positive situation when it is associated to participation and inclusion, thus a pluralistic situation is usually considered better than a non pluralistic one. Nonetheless, following Santos explanation there is nothing intrinsically good or progressive about legal pluralism, and this is the case with the paralegal situation (Santos, García 2001, p. 137).

Therefore the present work, providing a normative connotation to the existing orders, will refer to the plurality of normative orders, rather than legal pluralism, to avoid falling into the thought of legal pluralism as a positive situation, but rather one that can be highly oppressive or violence based. In consequence, the term normative plurality will refer to the situation in which several normative orders coexist in one same geopolitical space. The term will refer to the situation in which a person is confronted with various *possibly conflicting, regulatory orders emanating from the various social networks of which he is, voluntarily or not, a member* (Vanderlinden 1989 cited Woodman 1998, p. 48).

As previously explained, in order to study the presence of different normative orders in Medellín's urban neighborhood, the concept Santos called "interlegality" will be deployed. The term is the product of his work on the squatters settlements of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil (or what he called *Pasárgadas*), and it was used to explain a "dynamic process where non-synchronic different legal spaces results in uneven and unstable mixings of legal codes" (Santos 1987, p. 297-298). In other words, interlegality designates a situation where frontiers between different "legal orders" turn porous so they are constantly intersecting, combining and creating a legal hybridization (Santos 1976, p. 5-126).

The term interlegality will be the basis to describe the situation in the comuna 8, where the diverse normative orders of urban militia, paramilitary groups, and state armed forces interpenetrate, making the normative plurality of the current societies more complex. This creates a higher probability for conflict among normative orders, as well as their mutual influence and permeability (Santos, García 2001, p. 133). In these terms, Macaulay proposes that there is no line between "private and public government", but instead there is a situation of interpenetration and overlapping jurisdictions that may clash into conflict (Macaulay 1986).

One of the most used concepts in legal pluralism is the concept of *semi autonomous social field* described by Sally Falk Moore to refer to that organism that can create its own symbols and costumes, has rule generating capacity, and has the power to make these rules obeyed. These characteristics will be observed in the paramilitary illegal groups (Moore 2000).

To refer more specifically to the orders imposed by illegal paramilitary groups acting on the comuna, we will analyze Macaulay's private government perspective, one in which private associations mimic from some state institutions the same symbols, formalities, ways to impart justice, written norms, uniforms, codes etc. (Macaulay 1986, p. 446-447; Merry 1988, p. 877). Stuart Henry explains that although these organizations can take many of the forms described by Macaulay, they can adopt oppositional forms which are the case of the paramilitary and guerrilla (Henry 1985 cited Merry 1988, pp. 877-878).

Rosana Reguillo develops the analytical space of paralegality, a situation which emerges in a frontier zone opened by violence; it generates a parallel order, has its own codes, norms and rituals, ignores institutions, and it constitutes a larger challenge than illegality (Reguillo 2007, p. 36). The research will follow Griffiths and Jack Vanderlinden's idea and refer to these as normative orders instead of legal systems, to avoid implying structured and comprehensive bodies of law (Woodman 1998, p. 25).

In contrast, "state law" or "official law" will be used to refer to the official legal system with its formal institutions and processes supported by the state, following Eugene Ehrlick's and Georges Gurvitch's idea of state law as a concept they respectively differentiate from living law and Social law (Gurvitch 2001, and Woodman 1998).

As we finally explore the channels of expression and their changes after demobilization, the concept of paralegality will be also analyzed in order to understand the differences in the paramilitary groups after DDR, and its impact on forms of expression.

From this line of analysis, Schuster and Pereyra define social protest as a form of collective contentious action which is made intentionally visible to the public and sustains demands mainly before the state (Schuster, Pereyra 2001, pp. 41-63).

Furthermore Antonio Carlos Wolkmer argues that unsatisfied collective basic needs can cause that people from a community to look for a counter hegemonic legality through social struggle, which demand effective fulfillment of their rights (Wolkmer 2006, p. 143, 216, 217).

Additionally, Dussell explains that when victims from an operating system have been violently or discursively excluded, they become conscious, they organize, formulate diagnosis of their negativities and work on programs that can transform those oppressive dominant illegitimate systems which are a cause of death and exclusion (Dussel cited Rangel 2005, p. 148). Based on this theory, it is possible to examine how the urban community of Villa Hermosa can start to manifest unconformities and demand their fundamental rights from the state, after the oppressive form of legal plurality disintegrates.

In consequence, the legal pluralism analysis and the social protest theory will be linked by concluding that it is usually considered that through legal pluralism the access to justice is enhanced. Nonetheless the term overshadows the differences in the forms of organization and normative systems which can in some cases have an oppressive social impact on the collectivity.

1.3. Methodology

The methodology used in this research is mainly based in Documentary Analysis by the use of primary and secondary data. The main sources are nongovernmental reports and studies about the demobilization and reinsertion process, newspapers, reports by experts, TV and Film documentaries. The sources also include testimonies from members of the community thanks to the Bank of testimonies and Historical memory belonging to the Program of Attention to Victims of armed conflict created in the municipal administration of Medellín 2008-2011 (<http://www.casadelamemoria.com.co>).

The investigation will be also based on research organisms on the matter, such as The Socio legal Investigations Institute of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (UNIJUS), and the Disarming, Demobilization and Reintegration Observatory of that university. Both published important sociological researches that allowed us to better understand the general frame of the paramilitary phenomenon, the complexities of demobilizations, and the strengths and challenges of DDR.

One last source will be national and municipal legislation and governmental statistics, especially those in regard to violence and socio economical rates of the comuna.

It is important to mention that initially the research question was directed to the analysis of legal pluralism and the situation of interlegality held in the zone, but it seemed unavoidable to see the changing situation after demobilization. Then after exhaustive research, it became clear that it was important to show the changes produced by state law intervention from the point of view of the people of the comuna, and not by merely observing the normative plurality from the perspective of powered illegal groups. As Vanderlinden argues:

Instead of looking at the legal pyramid from the top, from the centers of decision, from the standpoints of power, one is brought to contemplate it at the level of ordinary men in their daily activities (Vanderlinden 1989 cited Woodman 1998, p. 47).

2. Context of the Comuna 8

This chapter will make a general description of Villa Hermosa with the purpose of comprehending the context, origins, and particularly the difficulties in the living conditions of its inhabitants. It will narrate the general origins of the armed groups in the comuna in order to evidence the coexistence of different normative orders of each of these groups and thus the normative plurality present in the zone; and although the focus of our research is not the impact of the guerrilla urban militias, it will serve to capture the normative complexities of the comuna.

Then, through several testimonies, the present chapter will put in evidence the situation of violence lived by the comuna's population under the domination of

paramilitary groups. This will show, from their points of view, the consequences of the battle sustained for domination among the different orders.

2.1. General Description and Some Statistics

According to the Decree No. 346 of 2000, the accord 62 of 1999, and accord 46 of 2006 "Land use Plan", the municipality of Medellín is formed by 16 comunas in the urban area and 5 settlements in the rural area. The Comuna 8 is part of the East Central area of Medellín.¹ According with the report of June 2010 of SISBEN the population of the comuna was 155.354 people, 45.93% men and 54.07% women (See appendix 1). As it will be highlighted, a significant number of people living in the comuna were victims of forced displacement.

In terms of poverty the residential homes classification in Colombia (law 142 of 1994) offers a depiction of the socioeconomic conditions of the Comuna. The classification system established a socio economic stratification based on poverty levels, public utility services, location (urban or rural), indigenous settlements etc. There are 6 strata where 1 is the lowest and 6 is the highest (Act 142 of 1994, found in <http://www.alcaldiadebogota.gov.co>). According to DANE in the quality of live survey of 2003 the national percentage was the following:

Stratum	Level	Percentage
1	low-low	22.3%
2	Low	41.2%
3	medium-low	27.1%
4	médium	6.3%
5	medium-high	1.9%
6	High	1.2%

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE), Colombia. (<http://www.dane.gov.co>).

Now, according with the SISBEN report of June 2010, the socioeconomic level of the Comuna 8 is divided as follows: (see appendix 1).

Stratum	Population	%
0.Occupancy	1,044	0.67
1. low- low	69,717	44.88
2.Low	62,539	40.26
3. Medium-Low	21,977	14.15
4. Medium	77	0.05
5. Medium High	0	0
6.High	0	0
Total	155,354	100.00

These figures, and others shown in the appendix 1 (such as level of studies, access to health services and public services coverage) show clearly that poverty is a critical factor in the population. The classification of the population according with age, ethnicity, level of SISBEN and number of people per neighborhood is further explained in appendix 1.

2.2. Origins of Villa Hermosa

The history of Villa Hermosa is severely marked by the phenomenon of forced displacement and migration within the country in which violence and poverty separates people from their land and forces them to search in the cities for homes, work and attention from the State.

¹ The Decree 346 of 2000 updated the political and administrative division of Medellín. According to it the comuna has an area of 577,7497 hectares, distributed in 18 neighborhoods, Villa Hermosa, La Mansion, San Miguel, La ladera, batallón Girardot, Llanaditas, Los Mangos, Enciso, Sucre, El Pinal, November 13, La Libertad, Villa Tina, San Antonio, Las Estancias, Villa Turbay, La Sierra and Villa Liliam.

As we mentioned the sector became denser in the 1940s and 50's in an accelerated process of migrations caused by a period of industrialization in the city. This process of space occupation had the intervention of private developers and illegal promoters of informal lands called "*loteadores*", who sold land areas irregularly by taking advantage of the housing needs of the new occupants. This period's settlements in the Comuna 8 began as "pirate" urbanization.

As the Investigators Cotua and Ríos narrate when referring to illegal settlements:

"Most of these were born by pirate urbanization or invasion, and is common to find a clear relationship with landowners or politicians, who divided land illegally and promoted invasions to win voters. Almost all are located in peripheral areas where different neighborhoods that today are part of the 8, were born." (Cotua, Ríos 2008, p. 14).

Illegal settlements and invasions continued until 1985 when the municipal administration legally recognized the housings and started improving infrastructure, connecting public services, and legalizing of the houses. But invasions continued in the 90's mostly due to the forced displacement caused by the intensification of the armed conflict.

According with the NGO *Fundación las Golondrinas*, the dynamics of illegal settlements in a situation of displacement has caused marginalization, low coverage in health and education, and poor housing conditions. The people involved often live in a state of precariousness, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and high levels of poverty. Also according with the foundation, Comuna 8 is among the first places in the city poverty line; 49% of the children working in the streets of the city belong to the Comuna 8.

2.3. Violence and war: Militias and paramilitary groups in the Eight

Although violence has been present in Villa Hermosa for many years, especially since 1980 with drug traffickers and criminal bands as main actors, new situations of violence product of armed conflict started in the mid 90's with the emergence and strengthen of the phenomenon of militias, who arrived to urban neighborhoods linked with guerrilla groups. According to Llano popular militias are "*Clandestine organizations of urban character whose final goal is cooperate or serve as a base towards revolutionary processes or those of social transformation*" (Llano et al. 2007, p. 65).

Most authors associate the arrival of militias to Medellín to the purpose of left Guerrilla movements to consolidate in the main cities of the country, and others associate the phenomenon to organizations formed inside the neighborhoods to defend it from criminal bands (Estrada, Gómez 1992). But as Gilberto Medina points out, militia is a mosaic between left movement ideology, neighborhood defense, juvenile bands and drug traffic.

The first group to locate in Villa Hermosa was M-19, and then the ELN fed militias from their ideas and authoritative peasant traditions (Medina 2006; Echandía 1997, p. 53).

Militias eventually separated from ELN, and built as disciplined organizations in front of which police forces were insufficient, so eventually they start looking away and even showing certain consent.

After their establishment in the zone, violent episodes did not wait; in the mid nineties serious confrontations between State armed forces, local bands belonging to the Medellín drug cartel began, and militias made the conflict more complex (See appendix 2 table 1).

In a Police report made in 1991, the force accepted its insufficiency and the lost of trust of the community due to its lack of presence in the zone:

"At the police level there is a lack of infrastructure that could allow us a total coverage of the *comuna*" That has allowed that some groups **take the place of authority, carrying out actions of execution with the complacency of the community**. This added to the loss of confidence of the citizenry due to the lack of presence and effectiveness of the police duty to protect citizens." (Medina 2006, p. 18).

The *modus operandi* of Militias order included executions, persuasion, anonymous vengeance, social cleansing, and intent dialogue with bands, all with the purpose of getting the community approval. Below, one example of one normative action in the beginnings of the group in the zone:

"The first action was directed against the band of La Caseta. Four members of this band required the inhabitants of a small sector a weekly \$5,000 fee in exchange for keeping the virginity of young women in the neighborhood. **In this action were executed two of the boys and an opportunity was given to other two, in exchange for remaking their behavior. This took place in an improvised trial, in the middle of the street and to the face of the community.**" (Medina 2006, p. 15).

Militias tried to gain leadership among the people. They neutralized criminal bands and some elite police forces that exerted criminal practices against young people, condemned and pardoned some of its members, tried to persuade delinquents from crime, approved or disproved their reinsertion to the neighborhood, etc. In the beginnings of popular militias their motto was:

"Giving the opportunity to some of those delinquents is taking it away from someone from the community" (Medina 2006, p. 16).

In the same path, a Fragment of the life story told by "*Silvia*", a militia leader interviewed notes:

"Militias adopted some tolerance for addicts; however those who were caught in flagrance committing a crime against property were put ruthlessly in front of weapons" (Medina 2006, p. 29).

As for the paramilitary phenomenon, it has been established its connotation as a contra insurgent organization, its close relations with organized crime specially drug traffic has been emphasized, and has been also conceptualized as an instrument of violence to the service of the state (Álvarez, et al. 2009, p. 14).

The phenomenon in Medellín had two origins. They started as self defense organizations belonging to the United Self Defenses of Colombia (AUC) installed in the cities to counteract militia phenomenon; it was born both from paramilitary and guerrilla structure as former guerrilla members and young militants were recruited in the neighborhoods (Medina 2006).

The leading paramilitary group in the Comuna 8 was the *Bloque Metro* which started between 1997 and 1998, as a reaction against the intentions of the guerrilla to urbanize the conflict. It was headed by the commander Rodrigo alias "*doble zero*".

In the beginning it didn't have much impact on militias, they were weak and unstructured. So in the late nineties, was born a new organization leaded by Diego Fernando Murillo known in the drug traffic world as alias "*Don Berna*", and in the paramilitary one as "*Adolfo Paz*" who guided a new paramilitary organization called "*Bloque Cacique Nutibara*" (from now on BCN) and who, since 2001 was in charge of the paramilitary strategy in Medellín. This is how the mutual support between paramilitary and drug traffic in the urban context of the city became clearer (Cotua, Ríos 2008, p. 32, Álvarez, et al. 2009).

BCN through violent confrontations wanted to take control over the zone by trying to control militias from ELN such as militias *6 y 7 de noviembre*, and other

paramilitary groups belonging to the AUC (United Self defenses of Colombia), like *Bloque Metro* (BM).

A great wave of violent combats occurred and many people, the majority young men, died as a result from this confrontation. Fear, death and war were main actors at the time in the comuna, and the idea of comuna started being associated with the concept of violence, drugs and war. So, citizens from the rest of the country connected violence and comuna as synonyms or inseparable concepts, beginning a process of stigmatization and rejection.

It was a very violent stage for Villa Hermosa; hundreds of testimonies from its inhabitants illustrate in just a glance their memories of death, fear, and the situation of terror they went through. According with Juan Pablo Durán the number of deaths in Villa Hermosa in 2001 was 132 and in 2002 141, which shows the significance of the violent period (Giraldo 2007, p. 5. See chart No. 1).

The following testimonies show the suffering by people in Villa Hermosa in the middle of the war for territory and control among BM, BCN, and ELN. It demonstrates the state of oblivion of the comuna, and the conflict from the perspective of the community.

“Yes, the thing is that here we suffered a war that no one knows how it started or why it started, no one knows anything, we just know that we received bullets everywhere and always” (Woman inhabitant of the 8 de Marzo, in INER Regional Studies Institute of the Universidad de Antioquia, 2007-2008, p. 24).

This evidences how the only impact perceived by the inhabitants is the effect of violence. The relevance of the conflict exerted on the individual life is higher than the interest for the political or social causes of the conflict. There is no awareness of the reasons of the confrontations or the normative element of it, so the essence of one local community's perception on the situation of domination and battle for political and territorial control, lies on their feelings and memories of peace, suffering and death.

“Yes, the victims of the war... many people who did not have anything to do with the conflict are now underground. Look, in one time when it was all this inter-neighborhood war of the militia with the sector above and Caicedo; many young people were killed, what was the sin of those who were murdered?... their sin was living in La Sierra.” (Men inhabitant of La Sierra, in INER 2007-2008, p. 24, 25).

...

“The only thing I saw was a puddle of blood, then I turned around and I looked at her and I took her with me by the arm... The only thing I said to her was, don't say anything; keep your mouth closed, speak nothing, stay quiet, even less give names. See, nor she or he will return my son to life” (Women inhabitant of Villa Lilliam, in INER 2007-2008, p. 28).

...

“If your son was drawn outside the house one expected that he would come back dead” (Women inhabitant of La Sierra, in INER, 2007-2008, p. 27).

These testimonies are important to show how the inhabitants of the comuna perceived the situation of conflict before demobilization and how will they perceive the situation after the process so we can see the differences in the forms of expression.

As for the paramilitary order in the comuna 8, *Bloque Metro* and BCN, were violence producers; established order through weapons, force and violence, and looked for being holders of total control over the zone. As they were linked to high state institutions, to drug traffic networks, and to powerful private contractors, they worked to control the drug movement in the zone, so eventually they ended up maintaining control over the rest of the existing groups and the rest of the community.

BCN were, in the absence of the judiciary and the police as the official legal security provider, the providers of some sense of security in front of many common criminal bands and were also the solvers of daily problems lived by the inhabitants.

As Cotua Muñoz, rephrasing the comments of some inhabitants puts:

“BCN were accepted in many cases as the “neighborhood protectors” (Cotua, Ríos 2008, p. 32).

In many occasions paramilitary organizations acted as decentralization of the violence exercise so they become a security service provider that ends up ensuring order and relations of domination (Franco 2002 cited Álvarez, et al. 2009).

BCN took over security markets; they “protected” activities related to the illegal economy and at the same time invested in legal business. They were part of the daily lives of the communities, and acted as agents of regulation and political containment (Cotua, Ríos 2008).

In this sense, Henry’s thought and Macaulay’s concept of “private government” comes valuable to describe paramilitary BM and BCN groups, because the groups do not belong to the national constitution but use, in an oppositional form, the same symbols and practices from state institutions, such as the military ways, disciplinary bodies, uniforms, the hierarchical structure, boards and councils, security forces, decision making, codes and systems of justice, etc. (Macaulay 1986, Henry 1985 cited Merry 1988, p. 878).

Part of the dynamics of the diverse coexisting legalities existing in the comuna, are showed in the national documentary called “*La Sierra*” which reveals, based on close testimonies, the reality of violence, conflict and youth from three different views: the story of Edison, a 22 years old man, leader of the Bloque Metro; Cielo a 17 year old girl violently displaced from her home town and girlfriend of another imprisoned paramilitary; and Jesús, 19, a middle range paramilitary injured by a grenade.²

It has been said that the well known documentary was negative for the comuna for it only showed the violent side of the neighborhood without taking into account the human side. It was criticized for being a mediatization of the war and blamed to be the cause for the stigmatization of the neighborhood *La Sierra* and the increase in the rejection toward its inhabitants (INER 2007-2008 cited Quiceno, Muñoz, Montoya 2008). Nonetheless it was an important source for observation and understanding.

As it is seen in the documentary, leaders of Bloque Metro were in charge of dealing with the daily problems that presented among the neighborhood inhabitants. One leader of their illegal government takes the decision that he thinks more just, and if necessary, applies the decision by the use of force. The testimonies show the relation between threats and fear, and authority. Who owns the guns, represents authority and power.

This source puts in evidence that *BM* was also in charge of maintaining security in the neighborhood, and it looks that no other group takes control.

“*La Sierra*” also shows how police force goes into the community once every certain time, make persecutions, armed confrontations occur, make some arrests and leave; leaving the community once again to the administration of power of those who hold arms and have monopoly of control. So people from the 8 are aware of their existence, of their status as the state and legal force. Sometimes they long for its appearance on the zone, but they quickly disappear giving once more, in a theorist way, the wielding of force.

² The film was produced and directed by Margarita Martínez, a reporter from the associated press in Colombia, and Scott Dalton photographer and film maker. It was edited and produced by Andrew Blackwell, independent documentary producer.

The phenomenon of interlegality where legalities intersect is clearer. The different normative orders of militias, paramilitary and state police forces overlap and confront each other looking for being the one figure of domination and power in charge of absolute political and legal control among the inhabitants, in a dichotomy of legality-illegality, insurgent-contra-insurgent.

As Henry states:

“Private justice does not exist in isolation but interrelates with the more formalized state order in a semiautonomous way.” (Henry 1986 cited Merry 1988, p. 877).

Taking this into account, we can theoretically find the emergence of Santos interlegality in comuna 8. Multiple illegal organizations simultaneously searched for domination over the zone by annihilating the rest of the groups and assuming control over its inhabitants, who, as Santos says, are forced to move daily from one “legality” to the other (Santos, García 2001, p. 215. See p. 3).

Now, referring to Macaulay’s “private government perspective” used under his *new pluralism scenario*, we can affirm that the division between public and private government becomes diffuse and a situation of interaction among them occur:

“While it may be necessary to draw a sharp line between public and private government even to think about law, actually there is no such line but situations of interpenetrations, overlapping jurisdictions, and opportunities for harmony and conflict.” (Macaulay 1986, p. 445).

In the case of Villa Hermosa paralegal organizations don’t just interrelate with the formalized state order but with each other through a battle of war and death for monopolizing territory and being the authority for its inhabitants.

Residents of Villa Hermosa lived in a situation where, in the absence of security provided by the state and also due to the absence of judges and other state law organisms in charge of conflict resolution, people took their problem solving to the strongest group holder of force at the moment. This is not a form of insurrection against state law, marginalization, or state absence. It is a manner to solve their conflicts as a result of pressure and the lack of an official judiciary system, because regardless of its violent ways, the illegal groups’ decisions are evidently more efficient than those of the state.

In the testimony of Jesús, a former paramilitary member in the comuna:

“...It is clear that if the State would have appeared here, things would have been different. Here we had to defend ourselves alone. All this has to do with the abandonment of the State” (La Sierra Film).

So following Fitzpatrick’s explanation, the reason for the appearance, consolidation, and domination of other forms of normative order, is a response to a legitimacy crisis (Fitzpatrick 1983 cited Varga 1993) caused, as the testimony expresses, by the state and judiciary distancing from the people. Simultaneously, and despite the fact that there is a discontinuous presence of police when strong violent episodes occur, the presence of official state forces stay in the minds of the community as another powerful form of justice. Thus once more, the phenomenon of interlegality is seen.

Despite the control exerted by paramilitary groups, the inhabitants of the comuna looked for spaces to escape the situation of oppression and the brand of being a violent neighborhood, by creating social organizations with different communitarian objectives. Here are a few examples of some pre-demobilization experiences:

The Cultural Corporation *Diáfora* was created in 1997 first with the goal of promoting reading, but it became one of the most important promoters of culture in the comuna:

“It might seem crazy, but in 2001 these young people, began a long journey through the comuna 8, carrying the same message: read and write. Installed in the

streets, parks and game courts, offered stories to listen, tales to see, and blank sheets to write on" (Álvarez 2011, p. 15).

The Corporation seeks to prevent children and young people from getting involved in the war by creating alternatives for socialization. Its members believe that through art and culture children and young people are captivated and community social awareness is created.

The words of a community leader and member of *Diafora*, evidence the inefficiency of the state and the need of the community to find a way out of conflict:

"When the State is not capable of guaranteeing security, we have to play otherwise, we have to survive, we have to bet and avoid what you don't agree with, we must find different options" (Community leader 2007 cited Nieto López 2009).

In the previous testimony we see reactions in front of state absence, and in the next we can appreciate cultural manifestations of young men, who tried to participate in a democratic process but were hampered by the traditional state which indirectly prevented political participation:

"Among young people there are two groups of break dance and rap that make their songs and sing on buses, others at the end of the 90s guided a political movement and won the elections for the Community Action Board in 2001. Over time, enthusiasm has dropped: the relationship with the state was not as simple as they imagined, and now they recognize the work of its antecessors" (Quiceno, Muñoz, Montoya 2008, p. 74).

These fragments evidence how some organizations in Villa Hermosa created cultural alternatives with the purpose of directly combating social problems such as the lack of education, and indirectly preventing young people from joining these bands. Some of the testimonies of community leaders and members of *Diáfora* reveal that they did not call themselves a resistance group because if they did that would have caused retaliation (Community leader cited Nieto López 2009). People who tried to create non-violent spaces in the comuna did not act expressly against it and did not protest directly before the State in order to counteract or demand State presence. From 1995 to 2003 there were no visible official complaints through the official judiciary system, but instead there was a creation of alternatives that in many occasions were in the form of cultural manifestations.

By 2002 BCN dominated the territory of Villa Hermosa; it gained the battle for power against BM, recruited common criminal bands, and imposed its own rules upon them. Others, such as *La Terraza*, were totally annihilated and all of its members were killed.

At 7:30 AM of November 25th 2003, the demobilization of the BCN took place in the exhibitions Palace of Medellín where nearly 870 combatants left weapons and reinserted into civil life. This was the result of the agreement signed on July 15th of the same year between the Government and the AUC to initiate the total dismount of the paramilitary structure in Colombia, objective which has not been fully achieved.

3. Desarmament, demobilization and reinsertion process (DDR)

In the present chapter we will first present a general view on the demobilization program and the main consequences that it has triggered, to then analyze its positive and negative effects on the people of Villa Hermosa in order to observe the impact that this state intervention (DDR) has had on the normative plurality dominated by the paralegal groups.

It will focus on how the visible forms of expressing social unconformity were changed by demobilization, through the analysis of demands, cultural manifestations or communitarian activities. It will also include testimonies from the community and a theory on paralegality in order to show how the characteristics of

paralegality could oppress the voices of Villa Hermosa, and how the effect caused by the DDR on the paralegal groups affected the comuna.

3.1. Context of DDR

This has been a polemic, endlessly debated and equally praised and criticized project. Although we are not focusing on its critics but its effects, we will shortly contextualize the process and some of its problems.

The process started in 1999 with the creation of the Demobilization Program which looked that members of armed groups outside the law could demobilize without waiting for a formal peace process. In the first period of Álvaro Uribe Vélez' government (2002-2006) advances on this program were made, and in July 2003 government representatives and AUC paramilitary leaders signed the 'San Jose de Ralito' accord, which both parties signed with the main purpose of national peace (Tovar, Galindo, Guzmán 2008, p. 306). According to the agreement the goal of peace should be achieved through the strengthening of democratic governance and the re establishment of the monopoly of force in the hands of the State (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración 2003).

Under the Accord, the paramilitary leadership agreed to demobilize its troops by December 31 of 2005 and the government committed to reintegrate former combatants into civilian life. More than 36.000 paramilitaries demobilized between 2003 y 2006 and Antioquia became the main scenario for it (Díaz 2008).

The first collective demobilized block of the AUC was BCN in Medellín by the ends of 2003. In 2008, 30% of the demobilized population of the country was on that Department (Universidad Nacional de Colombia 2009. Observatory of DDR processes. p.4). The Comuna 8 is one of the territories with more reinserted people from the Bloque Cacique Nutibara (99) and was one of the most visible reinsertions within these processes (Alonso, Valencia 2008).

The process has been severely criticized. Attention has been called upon a gradual paramilitary reconfiguration, a legalization of paramilitarism and even a political and media fraud created to allow these groups to continue their paramilitary activities under the government endorsement.

The levels of violence went down in the first years and massive massacres went down (see Appendix 2 tables 2, 3 and 4), but it had negative and disputed outcomes.

The most direct result of the process was the emergence of the called "emergent criminal bands" (called bacrim by the press). According to the government, in 2009 these groups had 4.000 members in 173 municipalities and in 24 of the 32 Departments of the country. But according to nongovernmental organizations, in that year they had between 10.000 y 11.000 members in 31 Departments (Massé, Munévar 2010).

According to the International DDR Observatory report, the emergent criminal bands, or what the Observatory calls post demobilization illegal armed structures, are not contra insurgent groups trying to gain power in the country as the paramilitary did. Instead they are criminal structures dedicated almost exclusively to the drug traffic business. The report shows that most of these demobilized groups are now mafias that are even making alliances with FARC to cooperate in the drug business and divide profits. (Massé, Munévar 2010).

Other part of the process was the creation of FOADS, groups where demobilized men and women come together around one common purpose to form stable and permanent organizations.

The demobilization process and reinsertion in the Comuna 8 was and still is a polemic process. It was called to be fake, a political cover and a political strategy to maintain the paramilitary structure under the appearance of legality.

3.2. Direct consequences of DDR on the community

3.2.1. Decrease of violence rates and disappearing of the paramilitary normative order

Despite the critics and detractors, during the first years after demobilization, DDR gave members of Villa Hermosa a certain sense of tranquility even if this was temporary, tense or uncertain (Chart 1 shows a decrease of the homicide rate):

"For many inhabitants of the comuna, calm has returned, especially since the reintegration of the AUC. However for the majority, the block Cacique Nutibara (BCN) was only visible in the process of reintegration, because previously people only identified the combos in their sectors, and in many cases they were accepted as the protectors of the neighborhood. (...) Currently, many evade the issue of the armed groups the comuna has had, but paradoxically, they address the issue of the reintegration of the BCN with enthusiasm and sometimes with uplifting attitude" (Cotua, Ríos 2008, p. 32).

It is clear that the community understood the political relevance of the phenomenon only after demobilization, when the local perception about the paramilitary group drastically began to change from being "the town protectors" in a situation of violence to being the reinserted former members of AUC in a scenario of peace. As father Jaime Bravo narrates, after state law intervention through DDR, the situation of violence that was dominated by parallel groups ceased:

"A day in the neighborhood could have two or three shootings. As soon as I moved here the barbarism started. I had to do many masses for the dead. Today things are different. Today, due to a new law, these boys walk with jackets and radios but without weapons. At least there is no fire" (Testimony of father Jaime Bravo priest of La Sierra, in Revista Cambio found in La Sierra Film).

(...)

La Sierra is not the neighborhood that you walked two years ago, when young men dressed in camouflaged and armed with rifles, mortars and grenades, combated from street to street and from roof to roof." (Yarce 2006).

As José Ramirez, demobilized paramilitary and other testimonies **recognizes, before the legal intervention of the state, the illegal groups were the ones in charge of administrating justice and authority, which change after reinsertion:**

"Everyone donates two hours of service to the community. **We are not policemen or judges like we used to be. No, now we make the state work**" (Testimony of José Ramírez, demobilized former paramilitary, in Revista Cambio, found in La Sierra Film).

The next fragment also proves the effect that demobilization had in terms of security:

"... Formerly in Medellín one could not walk from a block to another because they killed you, one always had to ask permission to those who handled every neighborhood... It was dangerous walking at night and going by bus... you lived a threatening distress (...) **now is different, now you can walk from one side to another, this has changed a lot (...). Before with any inconvenience the boys were in charge of executions or saying what should be done and now nothing of that happens**, they are now more peaceful (...) the demobilization was good because now we can walk peacefully." (Theidon, Betancourt 2006, p. 106).

3.2.2. Back to fear: Strengthening of Criminal bands

The sense of tranquility did not last in Villa Hermosa. Although the first years after DDR levels of violence decreased, the number of violent deaths started going up again in 2009 (See Appendix 2 tables 3, 8 and 9) and now there are still confrontations and individualized killing, due to the previously discussed emergence of the called *bacrim*s.

One of the modus operandi of criminal bands has been the selective killing and threatening of community and FOADs leaders, to debilitate the community and take part of the illicit business (Massé, Munévar 2010). In the next fragment ACNUR presents the situation of threats and fear of communitarian leaders in the Comuna 8.

"In the last year 18 leaders were death threatened;" from which, six decided to leave the comuna and four resigned their posts when security was not guaranteed, despite knowing the seriousness of the problem. Those who stay prefers remain silent for fear of reprisals" (ACNUR -United Nations Agency for refugees, 2011)

3.3. Channels of expression in Villa Hermosa

Jacqueline Peschard claims:

"The existence of many social actors indicates the plural character of a society while its reduction means the narrowing and polarizations of social relations. An open, democratic society has space for all kinds of social actors. **A conservative undemocratic society closes its doors to all the social expressions that it estimates dangerous**" (Peschard, Puga, Castro 1999, p. 50).

As we analyzed, this conclusion presumes a positive connotation about plurality (see p. 12). It is a general statement which is not entirely correct because it doesn't take into account all the possible forms of normative orders, and one clear example of this is the case of legal pluralism in Colombia which is not intrinsically constructive.

On the other hand, paramilitary semiautonomous social fields are in fact conservative right wing structures that exert such social control over the territory that they can silence the voices of those that they estimate threatening to their established order. These are paralegal powers that generate their own codes, norms and rituals. As Reguillo states there are two features that ratify their parallel power:

- a) The increase of expressive violence in detriment of utilitarian violence. In other words, paramilitary violence does not pursue an instrumental end but seeks to affirm, dominate, and display symbols of its total power and domination.
- b) Absolute control of the great criminal leaders to organize, settle and manage important areas of social life that result relevant to their interests (Reguillo 2007, p. 36-37).

Paralegal normative orders are impositions of authority safe from opposition, since they apply strong doses of social discipline which do not admit any kind of arguing in the territory where they operate.

After demobilization the objectives of former paramilitary members transfigure. They now search for economic power, their political profile vanishes, and the figure of Hobsbawm "bandit" (Hobsbawm 2000), as the powerful governing businessman, lord of a vast territory disappears (The case of *Don Berna* see. p. 20), because now

he is being chased or is hidden from state law (case of Yeisson Esmirt Velásquez alias "*el rolo*").³

Criminal bands no longer search for domination and do not exhibit symbols of their power because they no longer have a political connotation. As Balbín, from IPC, sustains "*this bulk of demobilized has a more delinquent profile than political*" (Balbín 2009). They are seen as common criminal bands which now pursue an instrumental end so they will not try to settle or control relevant social aspects for the community, so people are getting back important areas of their life.

Therefore with the emergence of *bacrim*s paralegality reconfigures their means, ends, leadership and primarily their normative orders are deconstructed. In other words through DDR former paramilitary structures interchange expressive violence of domination for utilitarian violence and economical power. Furthermore if now the goal of *bacrim*s is different from domination, then channels that were closed by coercive pressure open and Villa Hermosa's society may start manifesting unconformities.

Under this perspective the difference studied by many legal pluralism authors between non-state law and general social order will be analyzed, but referring to the term "social norms" used by some legal anthropologists rather than "general social order" (Abel 1973, Camaroff, Roberts 1981, in Woodman 1998).⁴

Therefore in parallel paramilitary organization prior demobilization we see a complex normative order with the characteristics of own codes, symbols, normative rituals, written statutes, judgment, executions, hierarchy structures, and procedures. On the other hand post demobilization associations of crime, despite having an order, social norms and ruling control, are structures unable or unwilling to direct normative order in the zone; settle society conflicts or assuming the role of protectors and lord owners of the community.

Three main factors that are now being claimed by the community of the Eight will be studied: violence, socio economical conditions, and stigmatization:

3.3.1. Violence

Post DDR we saw stronger manifestations against rising violence, armed actors and state security insufficiency through social groups, cultural activities, and legal claims, than that visible prior demobilization.

In 2005 occurred a situation that shows how people have turned to some judicial official organisms for protection and denunciation, situation that was not often visible prior demobilization. In the words of a community leader:

"In the year 2005, when I was President of the Communal Action Board, an armed group was going to "vaccinate"⁵ the neighborhood, and merchants told me about it. I had a lot of pressure from the community, and family... then I sent a bulletin inviting to a Community House, to talk about what was happening in the neighborhood. The day of the Assembly many people arrived, the total number of people who participated was 450. (...) I began to inquire and within the Assembly there were armed groups ... I asked ¿Is the community going to be vaccinated or is it going to be resistant to this?" (Testimony of a community leader 2007 cited Nieto López 2009).

The Assembly wrote a memorial that collected 3800 signatures from the community. It was presented at the Office of the High Commissioner of Human

³ "El Rolo" demobilized with BCN in 2003, on March 2nd 2010 was captured and condemned to 37 years in prison for the crimes of aggravated homicide, attempted murder and illegal possession of firearms. On October 31, he escaped from prison and in June 2011 he was recaptured in the comuna.

⁴ The theoretical difficulties of this distinction have taken sociolegal theorists to the general conclusion that all forms of social control make part of the subject-matter of legal pluralism and that there is no dividing line that separate general social orders from legal pluralism (Woodman 1998, p. 45).

⁵ Metaphoric way to call the form of threaten and getting money in exchange of not attacking on life, property or freedom.

rights, the Municipal Attorney, the Government Secretary, the Secretary of Social development and the Metropolitan Police. This was a public complaint addressed to the Government bodies responsible for ensuring compliance with demobilization agreements with the AUC in 2003. It was a very strong and direct response from the community against extortion.

The memorial declared:

"the community of Villatina, was not willing to be vaccinated, to pay a debt that it did not have, and they were not going to give importance to people who were supplanting the authority, the only authority they welcomed and respected was that of the Constitution of Colombia, which is legally recognized" (Memorial of 2005 cited Nieto López 2009,).

Table 7 Appendix 2 shows that the number of conciliations and interventions in family law has increased from 2008 to 2009.

All social demonstrations appearing on the press, the creation of social movements, and spaces of protests appear stronger after demobilization, previously we saw in the majority stories of drowning violence and more resigned voices for help. Exclusion, monopoly of force owned by paralegal groups, fear created by imposed normative orders and the absence of a state law strong figure minimized possibilities of expression.

On the other hand post demobilization manifestations directed towards the attention of the state turned more visible and fearless, the confusion caused by the previous plurality of normative orders in the comuna seems to dissipate and a clear vision of one state law figure, represented by many state law organisms appears clearer so expressions from Villa Hermosa inhabitants focused on the state inefficiency, the return of violence, and as we will see ahead, against the socio economical abandonment and stigmatization.

"The public attorney's office of Medellín accompanied thursday night, the march of the inhabitants of comuna 8, who expressed their voices of repudiation: "We don't want more violence in our sector or deaths that remain in impunity", shouted doña Julia Ortiz, who walked with their neighbors in the sector.

March 3 stayed in the memories of the quarter Sol de Oriente, as the day they decided to protest against every act of violence in their community, and with one voice they said: "We will not go back to silence" (Personería de Medellín 2011).

Here one image after DDR:



In the banner: "We demand Human Rights Now! No more terror no more impunity: Municipal Committee of Human Rights. (Agencia de Prensa IPC, 2008b)

The next paragraph shows the hopes put on one of the most important organisms of justice in Colombia like the attorney general's office, showing that trust on the national institutions has strengthened and those state law figures are more present:

"In that forest they used to buried people taken from nearby slums because they did not pay vaccine or, because it was believed that they were guerrillas. There is a man from La Sierra, who had a shop and was killed because he refused to pay the boys", told the resident of La Sierra, who hopes that the Attorney-General send units for exhumation of corpses to inspect the area and locate the graves. (Agencia de Prensa IPC 2008c).

In the following days the Press Agency IPC in the same sense, published:

"Those who lived the horrors of the war in La Sierra expect that the Convention between the National Attorney General and the Victims Program of the Mayorality of Medellín by 1.000 million pesos allows to advance in the systematic search for mass graves of the remains of victims of enforced disappearance and murder in this semi-rural area of the city, and that the remains of those who today remain missing will be exhumed." (Agencia de Prensa IPC 2008c).

Now, if *bacrim*s, as the International Disarmament Observatory establishes, have no longer political interest to search for monopoly of force, territorial control and normative authority over civilians, but now search for control over illegal business, then a space opens for the people to begin an initial approach to state institutions because the pressure and lack of alternatives that forced them to go to BM or BCN to solve their conflicts disappears. Additionally in order to maintain their criminal economic purpose *bacrim*s have to try to remain as imperceptible as possible, because now they do not have any political relevance but are pointed as common criminals (See Balbín 2009, p. 20).

There is still fear and pressure, but people from the comuna can express violence exerted upon them, and have now the option of legality to go to, and distant as it still remains, state law in the form of national government, its institutions, police force and the judiciary are now present even if it is just to direct their manifestations, and to be demanded for.

Young cultural manifestations which indirectly were forms of social resistance to violence are also more visible, spaces that although existing, were not considered important, were negated or silenced. This is one example after the process of reinsertion:

"After 2004 looks turned to the process of promoting reading in the comuna eight. First, this initiative had resources from the Mayor of Medellín..., in 2005 the Ministry of culture provided a small resource for strengthening the activities of the programme, and in the same year leaders of the Culture Commission of the comuna recognized the importance of the work that Diáfora Corporation had been doing" (Álvarez 2011, p. 18 y 19).

As we previously analyzed *Diáfora* Project started long ago but it just became visible in 2004, focus year for DDR, which outlines that the 8 became an interest for the country with DDR, and proves the state of invisibilization in which the comuna was.

In this order as Peschard explains, social science conceives cultural phenomenon as a complex expression product of the social dynamic and collective creation. Culture as we have studied in the case of *Diáfora*, is the way in which social groups respond to the challenges of survival and the way they explain themselves, their past, present and future (Peschard, Puga, Castro 1999, p. 56). Culture constitutes the way of expression of the community forms of existence.

Consequently the antidemocratic coercive normative order exerted by paralegality characterized as explained by Reguillo, thwarted cultural expressions therefore constricting forms of existence of the community.

3.3.2. Socio economical conditions

Violence is not the only problematic aspect claimed; despite interest upon the comuna, the reduction of crime levels, and temporary sense of peace, the comuna still suffers one of the most difficult socio economic conditions in Medellín. Here some of the testimonies from people of the sector:

"But somethings, say several of its inhabitants, remain just the same: Poverty and the stigma of being a dangerous area despite the silence of weapons and of those who in the past were fighting today are AUC demobilized. Today you can walk there calmly but there are young people doing nothing in the corners, which years ago could mean some kind of attack. "We do not have anything to do, we need work", some say. "Is no longer that hard rattle we had but there are cramps from hunger in many stomachs," says Javier, community leader in the sector.

"The thing is so horrible that many young girls are offering them to men in shops in exchange for one bag of groceries ", adds July Perdomo, Community Action Board of the Comuna 8 former AUC member" (Yarce 2006).

Then the social situation, economical deficiencies and nonattendance of the state are also begin to be more demanded and expressed.

The past August 27 took place a manifestation called *the day of dignity and resistance of the "disconnected"*. A day with the purpose of demanding coverage of public domiciliary services:

"We also want to denounce the indifference and lack of political will by the municipal authorities to address these problems, lack of awareness of the rights of displaced persons, women and children, as well as the widespread conditions of violence and misery, the situation of high risk where many dwellings are, and the excessive militarization and low social investment spending to solve underlying problems " We demand the right to a dignified life, without poverty or EXCLUSION. We are still here because we want to live with DIGNITY." (*Vision 8*, Comuna 8 online communitarian paper 2011).

3.3.3. Stigmatization

There is other situation that is now being fight against. During the violent period among parallel organizations, the community was stigmatized as a violent community, particularly the neighborhood La Sierra due to the nationally broadcast documentary with the same name, which was also a source in the present work. So young members because of their automatically association with criminality, subversion, paramilitarism and drug traffic by the society are fighting to remove the stigma of their backs:

"This documentary produced more negative effects than positive ones for the inhabitants of La Sierra, in particular for young people. Even today there is the rejection of the city because they believe that the neighbourhood is very violent," said Norberto Castaño. This is why his invitation is that people look at the neighbourhood in another way and that a constructive work might be done for its inhabitants: "we are going to shout, sing, so the city knows that we are not all violent, and we don't have to pay for other persons' acts ".

The meeting then is on Sunday, November 19, in the bus terminal of La Sierra, where groups of theatre and music as Diafora Corporation, Urban Movement and Latin Power will show that La Sierra lives." (Agencia de Prensa IPC 2006).

Therefore the DDR effect did not improve the situation of the comuna in the long term in the levels of violence or social conditions but in the forms and freedom of expression; in the assimilation and use of one legitimate figure of State law regardless its inefficiency and relative absence.

In consequence this dynamic, evidencing the multidimensional characteristic of state law, is useful to show that after DDR individuals and community organizations were able to manifest in a stronger way their unconformities, aggressions committed against them, and negligence or inefficiency of the state. And even though we may see the negligence of the state and the violence rates in the comunas, public expressions are strong and loud, as violence and poor conditions are now broadly denounced.

Here we have that the particular changes on the forms of violence exerted by paralegality made room for the right of expression. In other words as the paralegal operators reconfigure, citizens' rhetoric also manage to transform and to look spaces for expression.

4. Conclusions

4.1. *Forms of expression of the comuna inhabitants*

One of the characteristics of the national armed conflict is the presence of complex armed overlapping actors with political, social and economic interests. In their violent search for control over territory, parallel organizations which had maintained in rural areas, start moving to the cities in search for domination of urban areas.

In their search for domination over Comuna 8 paramilitary organizations apply their legal codes and enforce on inhabitants their authoritarian normative parallel orders, which make part of their structured hierarchical organization. These organizations could establish and remain in the community due to the absence of the state, a continued accompaniment of armed forces, and a closer accessible judiciary system. So in the absence of a constant state presence, people go to the problem solving that paralegality offers in a more efficient way, but simultaneously being susceptible of the normative orders of other paramilitary groups in confrontation, militias from ELN and the official state normativity of police forces.

The Comuna 8 experience in a theoretical way a situation of interlegality and interpenetration described by Santos, and in a practical level people suffered the consequences of the violent confrontations and the situation of invisibilization where the comuna has been for many years.

Then when paralegal organization assumes authority in the zone, it imparts its normative and criminal codes through arms, within a totalitarian system of government in Macaulay's terms. Under this control peoples freedoms are constraint including their personal and collective freedom of expression, mobility, and choice, and some of their fundamental rights are submitted to the criminal armed control.

Some of the inhabitants' anti violence expressions existed pre demobilization despite the conflict, but these was mainly cultural and artistic manifestations that because of fear did not convert into official complaints before official state organisms.

Therefore their shouts of discomfort were silenced, and the ones existing were obscured for the invisibilization in which the country had the comuna.

On the contrary, after demobilization Villa Hermosa inhabitants seized spaces to express more directly manifestations of discomfort against violence, state insufficiencies and the violent image created around the comuna.

Prior demobilization paralegal normative orders exerted expressive violence which closed important life spaces of freedom and expression in order to search for domination and territory control. Post demobilization, some of the reinserted former paramilitary groups mutated their ends, symbols, and orders. *Bacrim*s exert utilitarian violence by searching instrumental ends to get economical benefits, so even though impose fear through criminality; their goals are not focused in the

normative domination. Possibilities to go to state law start opening through the initial stage of manifesting themselves in front of the state, going to some state law institutions.

The first stage after DDR brought a temporary sense of peace to the neighborhoods legitimizing state actions. After demobilization the disintegration of the normative order from BM and BCN and the political disinterest of *bacrim*s left spaces for official state law to be the one normative figure at work. Thus when violence is back in the comuna there is not a paralegal order to handle it through executions or other authoritarian form of imposition, which leave state law as the only figure responsible for handling violence and insecurity and its denounces.

In this sense Merry affirms that state law differs from other orderings because it exercises coercive power and monopolize symbolic power (Merry 1988) nonetheless the presence of paralegal normative orders in the zone had in fact coercive and monopolized power, and as we saw according to Macaulay, these "private governments" mimicked many features of state authority (Macaulay 1986, p. 10).

Therefore Merry's feature would not be the main distinction between state law and paralegal order. In our analysis state law after its appearance through DDR acts, administrative and military intervention, ousted the existing orders. In this sense it was observed that after DDR state became the main figure used to direct nonconformity which proves the predominance of state law legitimacy over other orders. It returned as the figure against who direct unconformities; that actor to fight against, a figure "to be yelled at". Because although violence returned to the zone, there is a space where now people sense that the legitimized figure to communicate even the deficiencies of the state, is state itself different than the situation held in the past.

Manifestations against new post demobilization state law incompetence, paradoxically reflects state presence. In other words inhabitants see a state law figure that even incompetent and distant, is noticed as an authority in charge of labors of security and justice. There is a situation in which manifesting unconformities appears drastically different to a situation of absolute silence, where the figure of authority and security was not in head of the state but on paralegality.

Finally, we will answer the initial question ¿what Impact has had the collective demobilization and reinsertion of members of paramilitary groups on the forms of expressing inconformity of the inhabitants of the comuna?

We can answer our question by stating that one of the negative consequences of DDR was the normative and structural reconfiguration of former paramilitary members and its emergence as criminal bands, so even though demobilization did not end violence, its indirect impact on the comuna was the opening of spaces for expression and state law approaching that were once closed, so the community began to search for options and claiming sociopolitical abandonment, socioeconomical difficulties and indeed to recriminate the devastating violence phenomenon.

4.2. State Law's Action, retraction

State law after DDR appeared once more in the panorama of the 8, and because of the reduction of the massacres and the first reduction of the murders in the comuna, it regain some of its lost legitimacy. We could affirm that the state uses the existence of a normative plurality to corroborate the legitimacy of its normative monopoly, and to confirm that in its absence a situation of normative chaos emerges.

There are elements in this research that suggest that state law, regardless of its inefficiency makes use of its absence to maintain its credibility among people's minds because when it is gone it is required and when appears it uses the key

element of the legitimate use of violence. In the case studied, state law uses the argument of a more or less satisfactory intervention, the initial homicide reduction, to negate the existence of the rest of orders, outlining that the monopoly law by the state is the more convenient situation for all, in which no other urban laws should exist.

As for the socio economical aspect after DDR as seen in the introduction, and testimonies there are serious levels of poverty, education, providing public services, and unemployment (see appendix 1) and although killings level have reduced, the quality of life did not improve.

Under this idea is important to outline how after DDR a situation of state security presence is projected, but not a presence in the lowering of poverty levels, in a zone where consequences produced by inequality and social exclusion are so clear.

As P. Fitzpatrick affirms:

“Attempts are made to secure legitimacy for state law by presenting it as an instrument for national unity and for development and as an ally against particularistic oppressions. But state law is not very effective in these things.” (Fitzpatrick 1983).

Thus, if state law abandons the location after its intervention there is again the latent risk to leave the solution of social conflicts to the hands of violence or other forms of justices that replace the role of the state. As father Jaime tells:

“There are nearly 1,000 children who live here who are lost. Girls aged 13, 14 or 15 who prostitute for 10,000 pesos. This is an issue of poverty, exclusion and marginalization. **“If the State continues with its abandonment, the war will continue”** -bold out of text- (CAMBIO Magazine, September 2008, in La Sierra Film).

Overall, state law has acted through the politics of reinsertion, and some guaranties of safety; it may have shown a relative peace in the comuna, but it was a temporary effect for the pressure put on the novel process, the interest of the government and the press, and the rebirth of new criminal phenomenon.

As for the social conditions, these did not improve, the action of DDR were not complemented with a social base that could sustain the ideas of peace.

So even though inhabitants of the comuna may now go more to a state problem solver, if violence is once more unrestricted and social conflicts unattended, state takes the risk of losing once more the legitimacy both in a military, judiciary and in its role as a resolver of social problems.

Invisibilisation disappears for political interest so state law acts only on the military way. Invisibilisation from the state and the rest of the society is one of the causes for the social problems that the comuna has, the neighborhoods only appear to the people in the country when the media considers it relevant. This is the case of the documentary *la Sierra* and the DDR process which brought the comuna to the knowledge of people for reasons of the conflict, bringing a serious situation of stigmatization.

Thus if the reason for the comuna to be in the minds of nationals is violence, then state will focus in combating conflict with official armed forces attacking the one situation that public opinion is focusing at, (See table 10 Appendix 2) turning military actions and not social ones, in the ones considered efficient.

It returned to the scenario as the giver of initial tranquility (See table 10 Appendix 2) and the responsible for abandonment, therefore it was seen as the one recognized figure in charge of providing security and public services, the only normative order receptor of claims, and discomfort.

These being said, to conclude what was state law's behavior in the Comuna 8 within the demobilization frame, we will refer to several stages:

After DDR, state law was more present in the zone, focused its attention on security, and disarmament. In the first years violence rates decreased and a sense of peace was felt, causing social legitimacy, credibility, and hopes from the community on official institutions. Different from its predemobilization absence, state law created a sense of presence as the only figure responsible for providing security, supplanting the multiple normativities and showing its prevalence.

Second, demobilized bands began to mutate with criminal non-political ends so violence increased again and state began to be insufficient in appeasing this new forms of criminality. As a transversal situation state law did not operate on socio-economical deficit of the comuna, and in general terms social ineffectiveness remained the same post demobilization.

This dynamic of action reaction retraction, or what I would call “a yo-yo effect”, shows the significance that illegal paralegal orders means to state law to ratify its predominant position as the legitimate normative order.

Consequently, after DDR channels of expression have opened for inhabitants of the Comuna 8 whom now denounce their social deficiencies and state inefficiencies to one recognized state normative order. But State Law takes the chance of losing terrain regarding its abilities of coverage once more on security matter and social needs of Villa Hermosa, in its action retraction dynamic, therefore there is the latent possibility of generating once more the normative plurality in the zone that suffocated the voices of its people because, as we stated in this work “the emergence of legal plurality can be seen as a response to a legitimacy crisis.” (Fitzpatrick 1983 cited Varga 1993).

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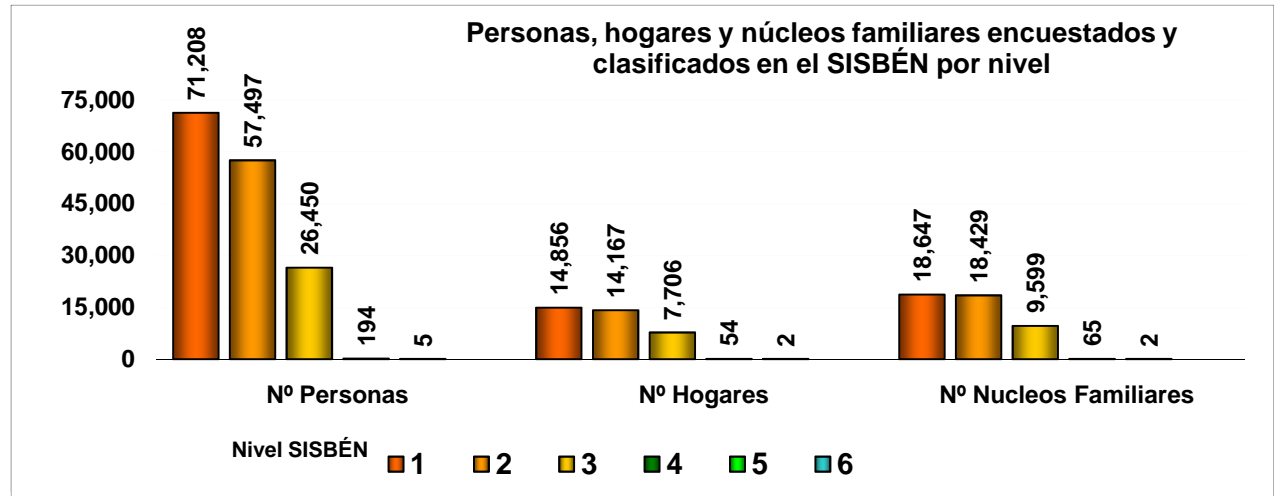
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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010
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Personas, hogares y núcleos familiares encuestados y clasificados en el SISBÉN por nivel

Nivel SISBÉN	Nº Personas	Nº Hogares	Nº Núcleos Familiares
1	71,208	14,856	18,647
2	57,497	14,167	18,429
3	26,450	7,706	9,599
4	194	54	65
5	5	2	2
6			
Total	155,354	36,785	46,742

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín.
 Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010

Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación



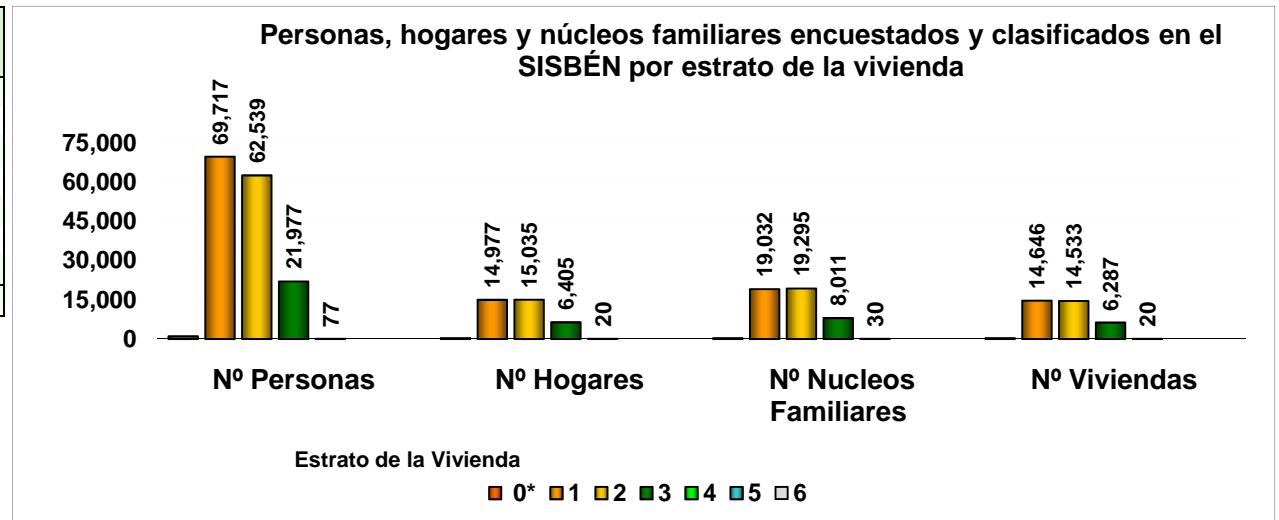
Personas, hogares, núcleos familiares y viviendas encuestados y clasificados en el SISBÉN por estrato de la vivienda

Estrato de la Vivienda	Nº Personas	Nº Hogares	Nº Núcleos Familiares	Nº Viviendas
0*	1,044	348	374	348
1	69,717	14,977	19,032	14,646
2	62,539	15,035	19,295	14,533
3	21,977	6,405	8,011	6,287
4	77	20	30	20
5				
6				
Total	155,354	36,785	46,742	35,834

*: Inquilinato

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín.
 Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010

Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación



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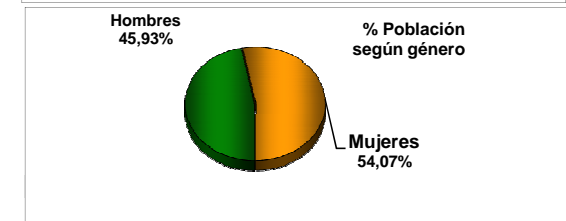
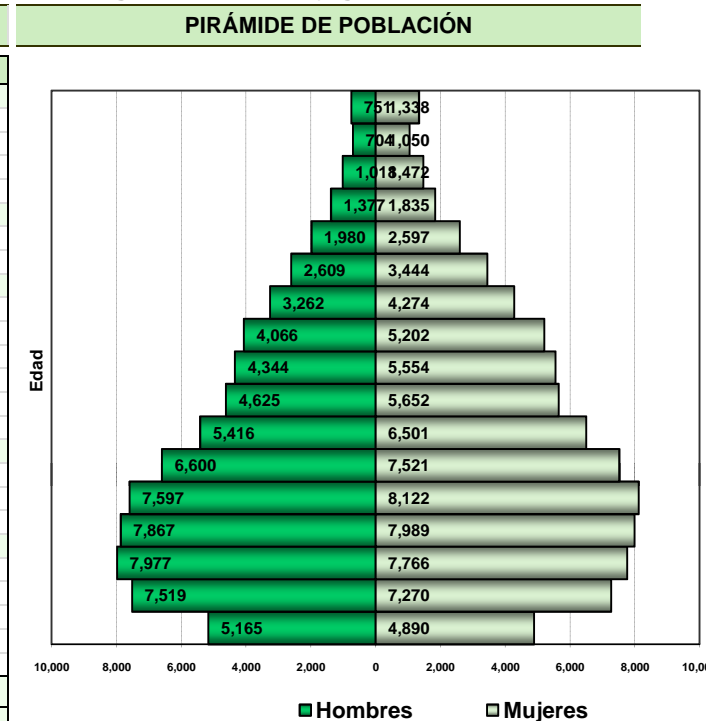
Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

1. Población

Población encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN por grupo de edad y género

Comuna 8 Villa Hermosa				
Grupo de Edad	Hombres	Mujeres	TOTAL	%
< 1 Año	597	627	1,224	0.79
De 1 Año	925	901	1,826	1.18
De 2 Años	1,125	1,058	2,183	1.41
De 3 Años	1,269	1,127	2,396	1.54
De 4 Años	1,249	1,177	2,426	1.56
Subtotal 1- 4	4,568	4,263	8,831	5.68
De 5- 9	7,519	7,270	14,789	9.52
De 10-14	7,977	7,766	15,743	10.13
Subtotal 5-14	15,496	15,036	30,532	19.65
De 15-19	7,867	7,989	15,856	10.21
De 20-24	7,597	8,122	15,719	10.12
De 25-29	6,600	7,521	14,121	9.09
De 30-34	5,416	6,501	11,917	7.67
De 35-39	4,625	5,652	10,277	6.62
De 40-44	4,344	5,554	9,898	6.37
Subtotal 15-44	36,449	41,339	77,788	50.07
De 45-49	4,066	5,202	9,268	5.97
De 50-54	3,262	4,274	7,536	4.85
De 55-59	2,609	3,444	6,053	3.90
Subtotal 45-59	9,937	12,920	22,857	14.71
De 60-64	1,980	2,597	4,577	2.95
De 65-69	1,377	1,835	3,212	2.07
De 70-74	1,018	1,472	2,490	1.60
De 75-79	704	1,050	1,754	1.13
80 y Más	751	1,338	2,089	1.34
Subtotal 60 y Más	5,830	8,292	14,122	9.09
Total	72,877	82,477	155,354	100.0

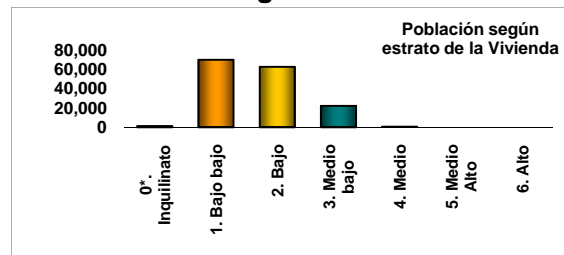


En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
 El 047 % de las personas son Hombres
 El 053 % de las personas son Mujeres

El 001 % de las personas tienen menos de 1 año
 El 006 % de las personas tienen entre 1 y 4 años
 El 020 % de las personas tienen entre 5 y 14 años
 El 050 % de las personas tienen entre 15 y 44 años
 El 015 % de las personas tienen entre 45 y 59 años
 El 009 % de las personas tienen más de 60 años

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según estrato socioeconómico de la vivienda

Estrato de la Vivienda	Población	%
0*. Inquilinato	1,044	0.67
1. Bajo bajo	69,717	44.88
2. Bajo	62,539	40.26
3. Medio bajo	21,977	14.15
4. Medio	77	0.05
5. Medio Alto		
6. Alto		
Total	155,354	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

El 001 % de las personas clasificadas viven en estrato 0 (Inquilinato)
 El 045 % de las personas clasificadas viven en estrato 1 (Bajo bajo)
 El 040 % de las personas clasificadas viven en estrato 2 (Bajo)
 El 014 % de las personas clasificadas viven en estrato 3 (Medio bajo)
 El 000 % de las personas clasificadas viven en estrato 4 (Medio)

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
 Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

NOTA: El SISBÉN asigna a los Inquilinatos estrato 0. En la metodología de Estratificación, definida por el DANE los estratos están definidos entre el 1 y el 6.

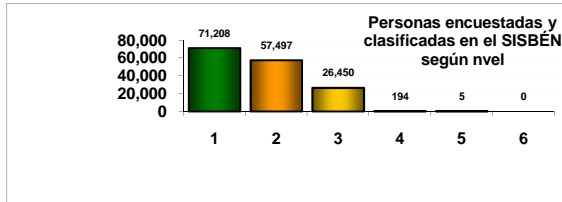
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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según nivel

Nivel SISBÉN	Personas	%
1	71,208	45.84
2	57,497	37.01
3	26,450	17.03
4	194	0.12
5	5	0.00
6		
Total	155,354	100.00



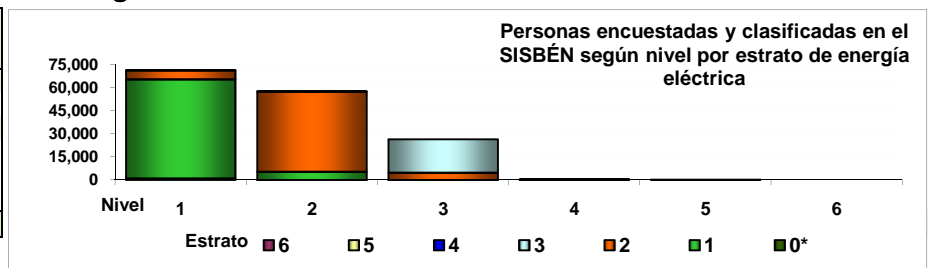
En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 046 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN están en nivel 1
- El 037 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN están en nivel 2
- El 017 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN están en nivel 3
- El 000 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN están en nivel 4
- El 000 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN están en nivel 5

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según nivel por estrato de energía eléctrica

Nivel SISBÉN	Estrato de energía eléctrica						Total	
	0*	1	2	3	4	5		6
1	1,033	64,445	5,721	9				71,208
2	11	5,270	52,181	35				57,497
3		2	4,637	21,811				26,450
4				122	72			194
5					5			5
6								
Total	1,044	69,717	62,539	21,977	77			155,354

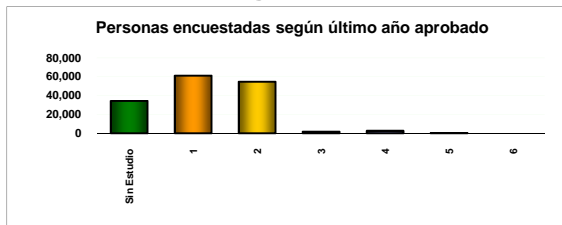


FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

0*: Inquilinato

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según último año de estudio aprobado

Último año aprobado	Personas	%
Sin Estudio	34,531	22.23
1	61,342	39.49
2	54,852	35.31
3	1,864	1.20
4	2,622	1.69
5	143	0.09
6		
Total	155,354	100.00



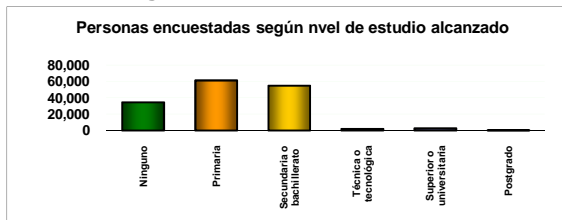
En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 022 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN no han estudiado
- El 039 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN han aprobado los grados 1
- El 035 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN han aprobado los grados 2
- El 001 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN han aprobado el grado 3
- El 002 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN han aprobado los grados 4
- El 000 % de las personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN han aprobado los grados 5

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según nivel de estudio alcanzado

Nivel de estudio alcanzado	Personas	%
Ninguno	34,531	22.23
Primaria	61,342	39.49
Secundaria o bachillerato	54,852	35.31
Técnica o tecnológica	1,864	1.20
Superior o universitaria	2,622	1.69
Postgrado	143	0.09
Total	155,354	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- No han terminado ningún grado el 022 % de las personas
- Han terminado Primaria el 039 % de las personas
- Han terminado Secundaria o bachillerato el 035 % de las personas
- Han terminado Técnica o tecnológica el 001 % de las personas
- Han terminado Superior o universitaria el 002 % de las personas
- Han terminado Postgrado el 000 % de las personas

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según asistencia a establecimiento educativo

Asistencia a establecimiento educativo	Personas	%
Asiste	44,342	28.54
No asiste	111,012	71.46
Total	155,354	100.00

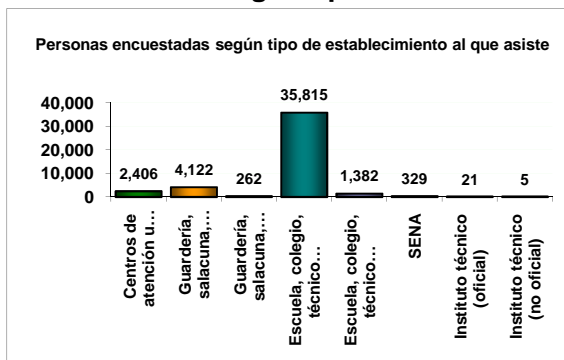


En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
Asisten a establecimiento educativo el 029 % de las personas
No asisten a establecimiento educativo el 071 % de las personas

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según tipo de establecimiento al que asiste

Tipo de establecimiento al que asiste	Personas	%
Centros de atención u hogares del ICBF	2,406	5.43
Guardería, salacuna, preescolar, jardín infantil (oficial)	4,122	9.30
Guardería, salacuna, preescolar, jardín infantil (no oficial)	262	0.59
Escuela, colegio, técnico universitario, universidad (oficial)	35,815	80.77
Escuela, colegio, técnico universitario, universidad (no oficial)	1,382	3.12
SENA	329	0.74
Instituto técnico (oficial)	21	0.05
Instituto técnico (no oficial)	5	0.01
Total	44,342	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa de las personas que asisten a establecimientos educativos:
El 005 % de las personas va a centros de atención u hogares del ICBF
El 009 % de las personas va a guardería, salacuna, preescolar, jardín infantil (oficial)
El 001 % de las personas va a guardería, salacuna, preescolar, jardín infantil (no oficial)
El 081 % de las personas va a escuela, colegio, técnico universitario, universidad (oficial)
El 003 % de las personas va a escuela, colegio, técnico universitario, universidad (no oficial)
El 001 % de las personas va a SENA
El 000 % de las personas va a instituto técnico (oficial)
El 000 % de las personas va a instituto técnico (no oficial)

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según estado de embarazo

Se encuentra en embarazo	Personas	%
Sí	1,304	1.58
No	81,173	98.42
Total Mujeres	82,477	100.00

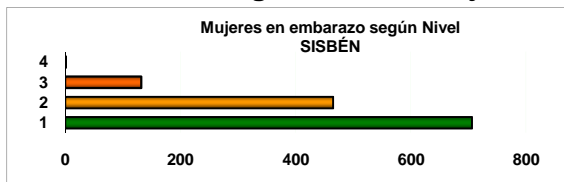


En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
Se encuentran en embarazo el 002 % de las mujeres
No están en embarazo el 098 % de las mujeres

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según Nivel de mujeres en embarazo

Nivel SISBÉN de mujeres en embarazo	Personas	%
1	706	54.14
2	465	35.66
3	132	10.12
4	1	0.08
Total	1,304	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa las mujeres en embarazo tienen el siguiente nivel SISBÉN:
Nivel 1 el 054 % de las mujeres en embarazo.
Nivel 2 el 036 % de las mujeres en embarazo.
Nivel 3 el 010 % de las mujeres en embarazo.
Nivel 4 el 000 % de las mujeres en embarazo.

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

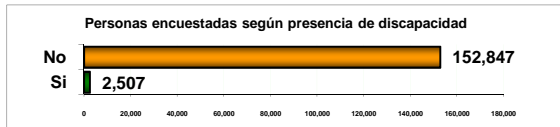
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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según presencia de discapacidad

Se encuentra con discapacidad	Personas	%
Si	2,507	1.61
No	152,847	98.39
Total	155,354	100.00

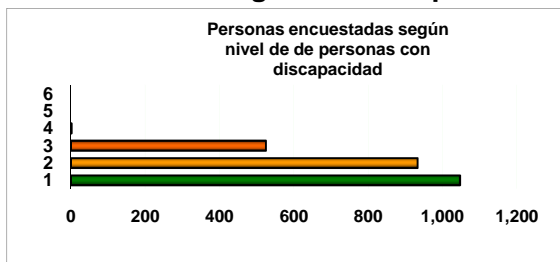


En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
El 002 % de las personas presenta discapacidad.
El 098 % de las personas presenta no presentan discapacidad.

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según nivel de personas con discapacidad

Nivel SISBÉN de personas con discapacidad	Personas	%
1	1,047	41.76
2	933	37.22
3	525	20.94
4	2	0.08
5		
6		
Total	2,507	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa las personas con discapacidad tienen el siguiente nivel SISBÉN:
Nivel 1 el 042 % de las personas con discapacidad.
Nivel 2 el 037 % de las personas con discapacidad.
Nivel 3 el 021 % de las personas con discapacidad.
Nivel 4 el 000 % de las personas con discapacidad.

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según estado civil

Estado civil	Población	%
Soltero(a)	97,658	62.86
Casado(a)	21,929	14.12
Viudo(a)	5,843	3.76
Separado o divorciado	6,477	4.17
Unión libre	23,447	15.09
Total	155,354	100.00

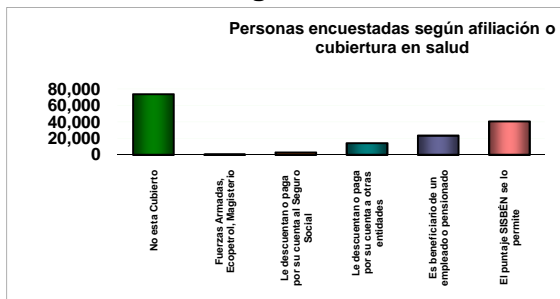


En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
El 063 % de las personas son Soltero(a)s
El 014 % de las personas son Casado(a)s
El 004 % de las personas son Viudo(a)s
El 004 % de las personas son separado(a)s o divorciado(a)s
El 015 % de las personas viven en Unión libre

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según afiliación o cobertura en salud

Afiliación o cobertura en salud	Personas	%
No esta Cubierto	73,863	47.54
Fuerzas Armadas, Ecopetrol, Magisterio	363	0.23
Le descuentan o paga por su cuenta al Seguro Social	2,933	1.89
Le descuentan o paga por su cuenta a otras entidades	14,249	9.17
Es beneficiario de un empleado o pensionado	23,341	15.02
El puntaje SISBÉN se lo permite	40,580	26.12
Pertenece a un resguardo indígena	25	0.02
Total	155,354	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa
El 048 % de las personas no esta cubierto en salud
El 000 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por las fuerzas armadas, ecopetrol, magisterio
El 002 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por que le descuentan o paga por su cuenta al seguro social
El 009 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por que le descuentan o paga por su cuenta a otras entidades
El 015 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por que es beneficiario de un empleado o pensionado
El 026 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por que el puntaje sisbén se lo permite
El 000 % de las personas tienen afiliación o cobertura en salud por que pertenece a un resguardo indígena

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

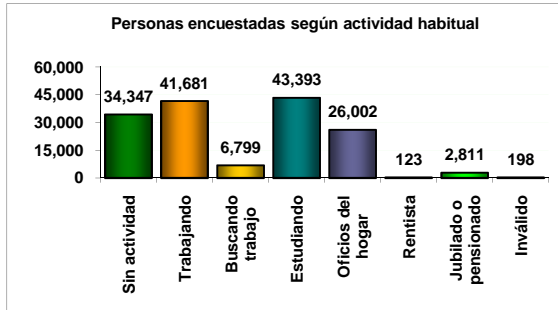
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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según actividad habitual

Actividad Habitual	Personas	%
Sin actividad	34,347	22.11
Trabajando	41,681	26.83
Buscando trabajo	6,799	4.38
Estudiando	43,393	27.93
Oficios del hogar	26,002	16.74
Rentista	123	0.08
Jubilado o pensionado	2,811	1.81
Invalído	198	0.13
Total	155,354	100.00



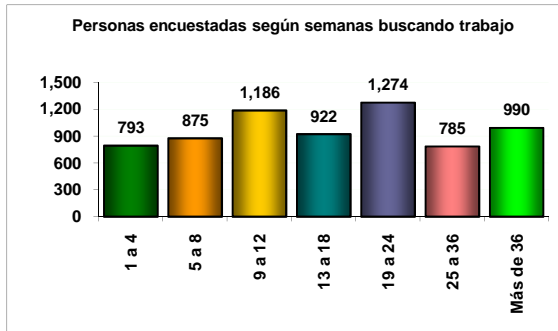
En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 022 % de las personas encuestadas se encuentran sin actividad
- El 027 % de las personas encuestadas tienen como actividad habitual el trabajo
- El 004 % de las personas encuestadas tienen como actividad habitual buscando trabajo
- El 028 % de las personas encuestadas tienen como actividad habitual estudiar
- El 017 % de las personas encuestadas tienen como actividad habitual Oficios del hogar
- El 000 % de las personas encuestadas son rentistas
- El 002 % de las personas encuestadas están jubilados o pensionados
- El 000 % de las personas encuestadas son inválidos

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN según semanas buscando trabajo

Semanas buscando trabajo	Personas	%
No ha Buscado	148,529	95.61
1 a 4	793	0.51
5 a 8	875	0.56
9 a 12	1,186	0.76
13 a 18	922	0.59
19 a 24	1,274	0.82
25 a 36	785	0.51
Más de 36	990	0.64
Total	155,354	100.00



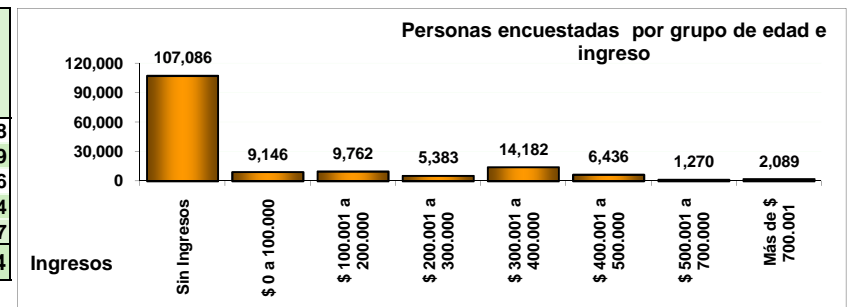
En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 096 % de las personas encuestadas no ha buscado trabajo
- El 004 % de las personas encuestadas están buscando trabajo:
 - De 1 a 4 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De 5 a 8 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De 9 a 12 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De 13 a 18 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De 19 a 24 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De 25 a 36 semanas, el 001 % de las personas
 - De más de 36 semanas, el 001 % de las personas

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Personas encuestadas y clasificadas en el SISBÉN por grupo de edad e ingreso

Grupo Edad	N° Personas por Ingresos Mensuales								Total
	Sin Ingresos	\$ 0 a 100.000	\$ 100.001 a 200.000	\$ 200.001 a 300.000	\$ 300.001 a 400.000	\$ 400.001 a 500.000	\$ 500.001 a 700.000	Más de \$ 700.001	
0 a 11 años	31,062	33		2		1			31,098
12 a 14 años	9,465	20	2		1	1			9,489
15 a 29 años	36,637	1,771	1,986	1,168	2,154	1,541	299	140	45,696
30 a 63 años	23,994	6,241	7,214	3,959	10,431	4,368	861	1,696	58,764
Más de 63 años	5,928	1,081	560	254	1,596	525	110	253	10,307
Total	107,086	9,146	9,762	5,383	14,182	6,436	1,270	2,089	155,354



FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

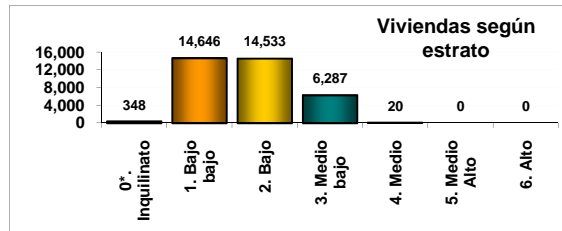
0*: Inquilinato

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PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

2. Viviendas

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según estrato socioeconómico

Estrato de la Vivienda	Viviendas	%
0*. Inquilinato	348	0.97
1. Bajo bajo	14,646	40.87
2. Bajo	14,533	40.56
3. Medio bajo	6,287	17.54
4. Medio	20	0.06
5. Medio Alto		
6. Alto		
Total	35,834	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 001 % de las viviendas están clasificadas en estrato 0 (Inquilinat)
- El 041 % de las viviendas están clasificadas en estrato 1 (Bajo bajo)
- El 041 % de las viviendas están clasificadas en estrato 2 (Bajo)
- El 018 % de las viviendas están clasificadas en estrato 3 (Medio bajo)
- El 000 % de las viviendas están clasificadas en estrato 4 (Medio)

NOTA: El SISBÉN asigna a los Inquilinatos estrato 0. En la metodología de Estratificación, definida por el DANE los estratos están definidos entre el 1 y el 6.

Fuente: Encuesta de Calidad de Vida. Medellín 2005 Expandida

Procesamiento: DAP. Subdirección Metroinformación. Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según tipo

Tipo de Vivienda	Viviendas	%
Cuarto(s) en casa o apartamento	1,011	2.82
Casa o apartamento	34,813	97.15
Otro tipo de unidad de vivienda	10	0.03
Total	35,834	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- La vivienda tipo Cuarto(s) en casa o apartamento equivale al 003 %
- La vivienda tipo Casa o apartamento equivale al 097 %

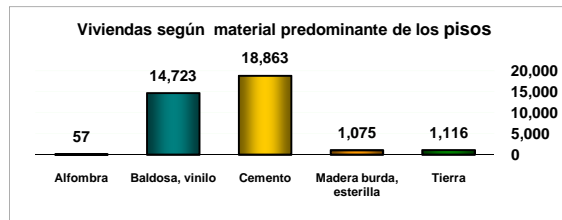
Otro tipo de unidad de vivienda equivale al 000 %

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010

Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según material predominante de los pisos

Material predominante de los pisos	Viviendas	%
Tierra	1,116	3.11
Madera burda, esterilla	1,075	3.00
Cemento	18,863	52.64
Baldosa, vinilo	14,723	41.09
Alfombra	57	0.16
Total	35,834	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- Las viviendas con piso en Tierra son el 003 %
- Las viviendas con piso de Madera burda, esterilla son el 003 %
- Las viviendas con piso de Cemento son el 053 %
- Las viviendas con piso de Baldosa, vinilo son el 041 %
- Las viviendas con piso de Alfombra son el 000 %

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010

Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

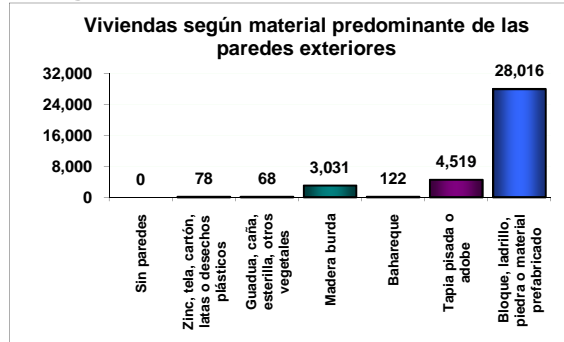
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Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según material predominante de las paredes exteriores

Material predominante de las paredes exteriores	Viviendas	%
Sin paredes		
Zinc, tela, cartón, latas o desechos plásticos	78	0.22
Guadua, caña, esterilla, otros vegetales	68	0.19
Madera burda	3,031	8.46
Bahareque	122	0.34
Tapia pisada o adobe	4,519	12.61
Bloque, ladrillo, piedra o material prefabricado	28,016	78.18
Total	35,834	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

En el 000 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de zinc, tela, cartón, latas o desechos plásticos

En el 000 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de guadua, caña, esterilla, otros vegetales

En el 008 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de madera burda

En el 000 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de bahareque

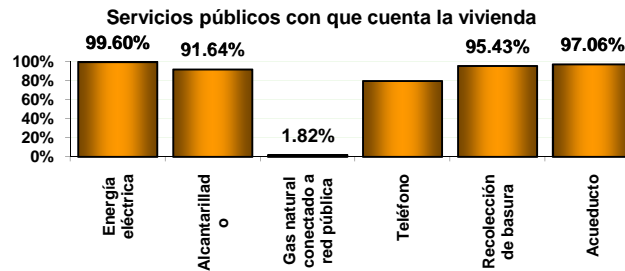
En el 013 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de tapia pisada o adobe

En el 078 % de las viviendas tiene las paredes de bloque, ladrillo, piedra o material prefabricado

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según tenencia de Servicios Públicos

Servicios públicos con que cuenta la vivienda	Si	No
Energía eléctrica	35,691	143
Alcantarillado	32,838	2,996
Gas natural conectado a red pública	652	35,182
Teléfono	28,538	7,296
Recolección de basura	34,195	1,639
Acueducto	34,780	1,054
Total viviendas	35,834	



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

El 152 % de las viviendas tiene conexión a energía eléctrica

El 140 % de las viviendas tiene conexión a alcantarillado

El 003 % de las viviendas tiene gas natural conectado a red pública

El 122 % de las viviendas tiene conexión a teléfono

El 146 % de las viviendas tiene recolección de basura

El 148 % de las viviendas tiene conexión a acueducto

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Viviendas clasificadas por el SISBÉN según tipo de amenaza

La vivienda se encuentra amenazada por	Si	%
Ninguno	32,298	90.13
Deslizamiento	2,944	8.22
Inundación	309	0.86
Avalancha	197	0.55
Otros	86	0.24
Total viviendas	35,834	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

El 090 % de las viviendas no se encuentra amenazada

El 008 % de las viviendas se encuentran amenazadas por deslizamiento

El 001 % de las viviendas se encuentran amenazadas por inundación

El 001 % de las viviendas se encuentran amenazadas por avalancha

El 000 % de las viviendas se encuentran amenazadas por otros

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

MUNICIPIO DE MEDELLÍN

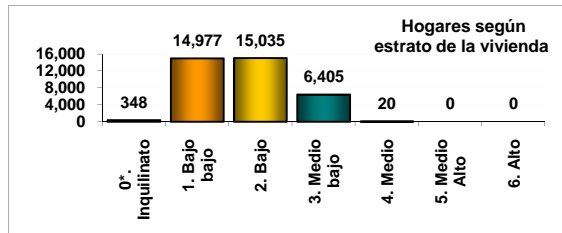
Base de Datos del SISBÉN a Junio de 2010

PERFIL SOCIOECONÓMICO COMUNA 8 Villa Hermosa

3. Hogares

Hogares clasificados por el SISBÉN según estrato socioeconómico de la vivienda

Estrato de la Vivienda	Hogares	%
0*. Inquilinato	348	0.95
1. Bajo bajo	14,977	40.71
2. Bajo	15,035	40.87
3. Medio bajo	6,405	17.41
4. Medio	20	0.05
5. Medio Alto		
6. Alto		
Total	36,785	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 001 % de los hogares habitan en viviendas de estrato 0 (Inquilinat)
- El 041 % de los hogares habitan en viviendas de estrato 1 (Bajo bajo)
- El 041 % de los hogares habitan en viviendas de estrato 2 (Bajo)
- El 017 % de los hogares habitan en viviendas de estrato 3 (Medio bajo)
- El 000 % de los hogares habitan en viviendas de estrato 4 (Medio)

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Hogares clasificados por el SISBÉN según tenencia de la vivienda

Tenencia de la vivienda	Hogares	%
En arriendo o subarriendo	16,520	44.91
Propia pagando	1,607	4.37
Propia pagada	14,633	39.78
Otra condición	4,025	10.94
Total	36,785	100.00



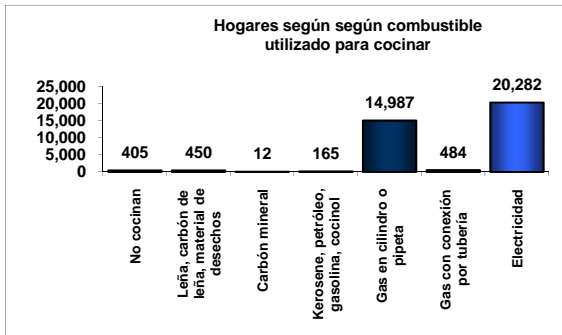
En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

- El 045 % de los hogares tienen vivienda en arriendo o subarriendo
- El 004 % de los hogares tienen vivienda propia pagando
- El 040 % de los hogares tienen vivienda propia pagada
- El 011 % de los hogares tienen vivienda otra condición

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Hogares clasificados por el SISBÉN según combustible utilizado para cocinar

Combustible utilizado para cocinar	Hogares	%
No cocinan	405	1.10
Leña, carbón de leña, material de desechos	450	1.22
Carbón mineral	12	0.03
Kerosene, petróleo, gasolina, cocinol	165	0.45
Gas en cilindro o pipeta	14,987	40.74
Gas con conexión por tubería	484	1.32
Electricidad	20,282	55.14
Total	36,785	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

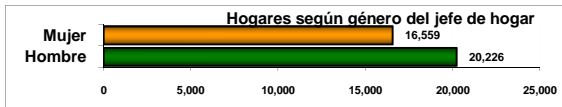
- No cocinan en el 001 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Leña, carbón de leña, material de desechos en el 001 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Carbón mineral en el 000 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Kerosene, petróleo, gasolina, cocinol en el 000 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Gas en cilindro o pipeta en el 041 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Gas con conexión por tubería en el 001 % de los hogares.
- Cocinan con Electricidad en el 055 % de los hogares.

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

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Hogares según género del jefe de hogar

Género Jefe de Hogar	Hogares	%
Hombre	20,226	54.98
Mujer	16,559	45.02
Total	36,785	100.00



En la comuna 8 Villa Hermosa

En el 055 % de los hogares el jefe de hogar es Hombre

En el 045 % de los hogares el jefe de hogar es Mujer

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
 Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Patrón de ocupación y calidad habitacional

Factor	Variables	Comuna 8
HACINAMIENTO	Datos Generales	
	Número de habitantes	155,354
	Número de viviendas	35,834
	Número de Hogares	36,785
SANEAMIENTO BÁSICO	Densidad	
	Promedio personas por vivienda	4.34
	Promedio familias por vivienda	1.03
	Hogares sin vivienda (Nº)	951
	% de hogares que comparten vivienda	2.6%
	Acueducto	
	Número de viviendas sin acueducto	1,054
	% de viviendas sin conexión al acueducto Municipal	2.9%
	Aguas residuales	
	Número de viviendas sin servicio de sanitario	236
	Número de viviendas con letrina	262
Número de viviendas sin conexión a alcantarillado	2,007	
% de viviendas sin conexión al alcantarillado Municipal	7.0%	
Desechos sólidos		
Número de vivienda que no tienen recolección de basuras	1,639	
% de viviendas que no tienen recolección	4.6%	
Factor	Variables	Comuna 8
CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA	Material de las paredes	
	Viviendas con materiales perecederos: guadúa, caña, esterilla, zinc, tela, cartón, latas o desechos y madera burda	3,299
	% de Viviendas con materiales inadecuados en paredes	9.2%
	Material de los pisos	
	Número de viviendas con piso en tierra	1,116
	% de viviendas con materiales inadecuados en piso	3.1%
Tipo de vivienda		
Cuartos	1,011	
Otro Tipo de Vivienda	10	
% de cuartos o refugios	2.8%	
Tenencia de la vivienda	En arriendo o subarriendo	16,520
	Otra condición	4,025
	Número de hogares sin vivienda propia	20,545
	% de Hogares sin vivienda propia	55.9%

FUENTE: Departamento Administrativo de Planeación de Medellín. Subdirección Metroinformación. 2.010
 Procesamiento: Unidad de Clasificación Socioeconómica y Estratificación

Appendix 2: Punctual findings in the thesis and some charts

1. Punctual Findings

1. In a situation of state absence and political complexities, parallel illegal private governments impose normative orders for domination and territory control, so inhabitants go to this creation due to the inexistence of other efficient alternatives.
2. Forms of expression, discomfort, and complaints on violence and social needs are suffocated by the authoritarian normativity used through threats and fear. The existing conflict in the zone, its poverty and social relegation make the comuna and its situation invisible for the rest of the country.
3. After demobilization different channels of expression and people's claims opened because: First there is a more present state law as a figure for redirecting social deficiencies even though it is not very effective in solving them; second: state brought a temporary sense of security; third: *bacrim*s have no interest in creating normative plurality (for now) so state law remains in the minds of the collectivity as the only entity in charge of providing security, so even though currently state is not efficient in accomplishing the task it is in charge of, the demands of security and defense of human rights are still directing towards the state, and other normative orders are no longer searched for security services, and no longer called *neighborhood protectors* (See Cotua, Ríos 2008, p. 14).
4. If State law continues the retreat in the comuna it takes the risk of being once more the cause of the emergence of a new parallel normative order which will create if *bacrim*s turn more complex, mutate or merge, following the so changing situation of the national complex normativity and country interlegality.

2. Tables

Table 1. Yearly Homicide rate for 100.000 habitants in Medellin and Colombia from 1990 to 2008. elaboration by Isabel Cristina Betancur Hinestrosa for her Economics Magister Thesis from Andes University July 23 2010. Betancur gave her explicit authorization to include her data in the present research

Table 2. Annual rate of homicides per comuna 2001 – 2005 (Giraldo, 2007)

Comuna	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Popular	293	286	121	40	28
Santa Cruz	250	193	123	62	28
Manrique	210	141	100	41	23
Aranjuez	147	146	105	63	44
Castilla	150	110	96	67	36
Doce de Octubre	107	125	61	40	23
Robledo	104	138	108	61	28
Villa Hermosa	132	141	104	47	43
Buenos Aires	142	148	86	35	28
Candelaria	588	396	341	233	152
Laureles-Estadio	66	59	61	52	27
La América	94	79	39	37	19

Table 3. Homicides in Medellín per comuna from 2006 to 2008 (Betancur 2010)

COMUNA	2006	2007	2008
ARANJUEZ	77	66	98
BELEN	49	41	74
BUENOS AIRES	42	39	39
CASTILLA	56	54	70
DOCE DE OCTUBRE	40	54	80
EL POBLADO	18	18	19
GUAYABAL	27	47	47
LA AMERICA	25	24	20
LA CANDELARIA	95	105	142
LAURELES-ESTADIO	32	30	41
MANRIQUE	36	35	60
POPULAR	20	22	44
ROBLEDO	47	46	67
SAN JAVIER	38	65	90
SANTA CRUZ	15	17	30
VILLA HERMOSA	37	48	60
TOTAL	654	711	981

Tables 4 and 5. Annual Rate of Homicides 2001-2005 (Giraldo, 2005)

Tasa anual de homicidios por comuna 2001 – 2005

Comuna	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Popular	293	286	121	40	28
Santa Cruz	250	193	123	62	28
Manrique	210	141	100	41	23
Aranjuez	147	146	105	63	44
Castilla	150	110	96	67	36
Doce de Octubre	107	125	61	40	23
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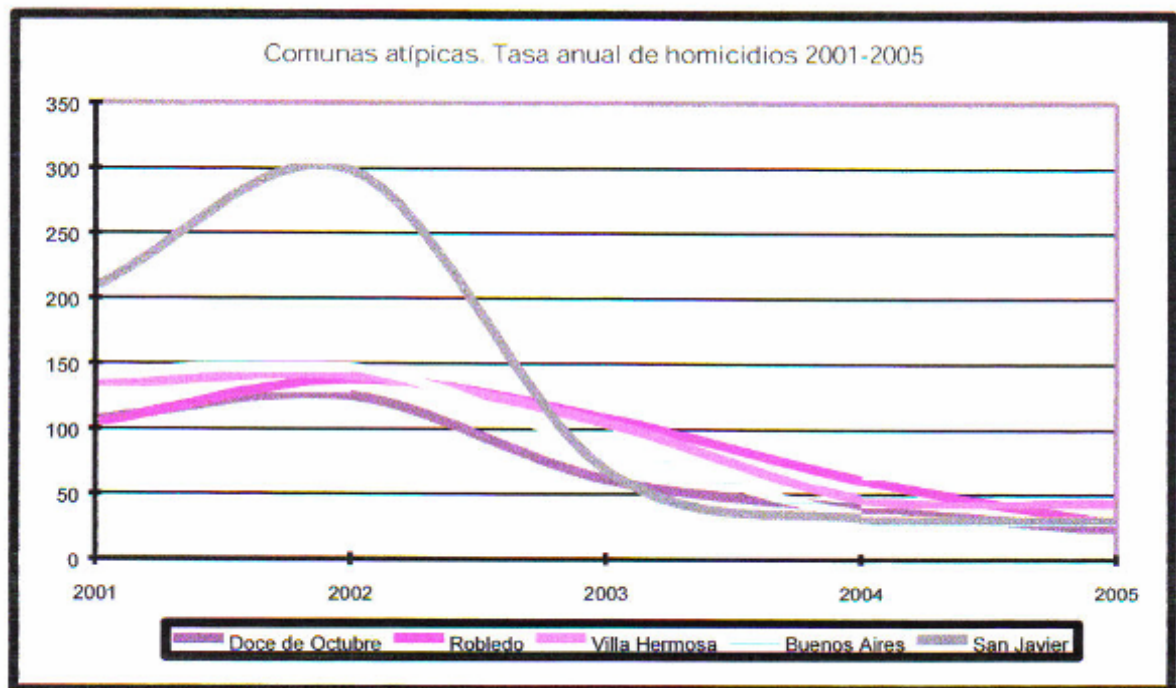
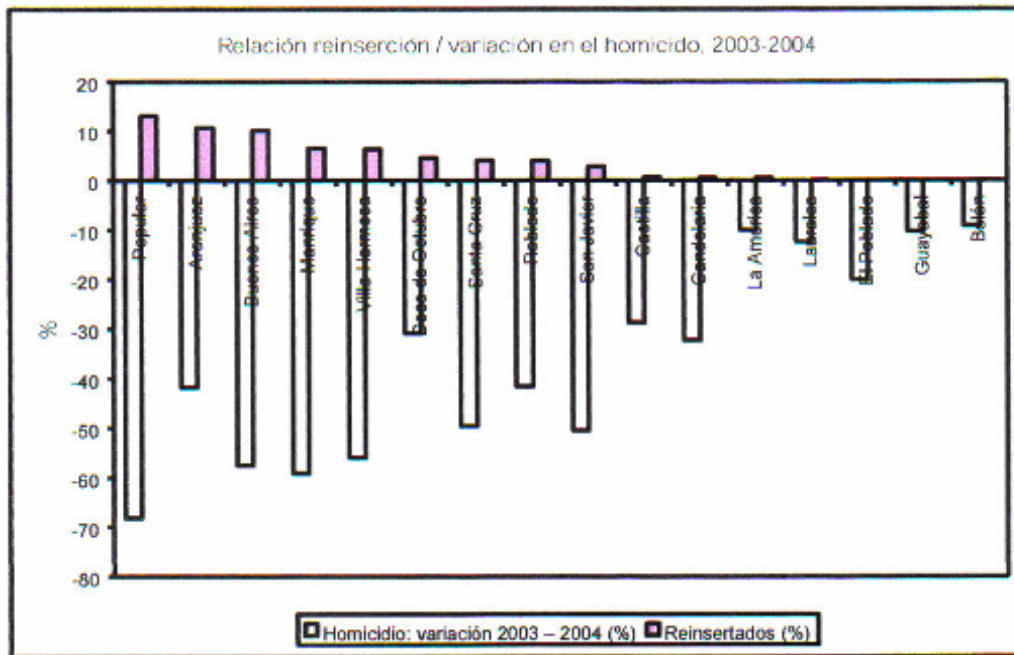


Table 6. Relation: Reinsertion/Homicide Variation0 2003- 2004 (Giraldo, 2005)



TABLES 7, 8 and 9, show the increase in the criminality rates in the Comuna 8 (MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. Information System for Security and Convivance- SISC).

Table 7. Type and crime number (Homicide, Car robbery, motorcycle robbery, home robbery), and Forms of intervention called by the SISC convivance (Family violence, **conciliation in Family Law, Intervention in family conflicts**, unprotected minor, common police contraventions)

Intervención	Delitos	2008		2009		Var 09/08	
		Nro	%	Nro	%	Nro	%
Criminalidad	Homicidios	13	30,2	24	43,6	11	84,6
	Hurto de carros	7	16,3	6	10,9	-1	-14,3
	Hurto de motos	15	34,9	17	30,9	2	13,3
	Hurto a residencias	2	4,7	5	9,1	3	150,0
	Lesiones personales	6	14,0	3	5,5	-3	-50,0
Total criminalidad		43	8,4	55	9,0	12	27,9
Convivencia	Violencia intrafamiliar	88	18,723	86	15,5	-2	-2,3
	Conciliación en derecho de familia	192	40,9	302	54,3	110	57,3
	Intervención en conflictos familiares	69	14,7	82	14,7	13	18,8
	Menor en situación de desprotección	19	4,0	26	4,7	7	36,8
	Contravenciones comunes de policía	102	21,7	60	10,8	-42	-41,2
Total convivencia		470	91,6	556	91,0	86	18,3
Total General		513	100,0	611	100,0	98	19,1

Table 8. Trimestral Homicide Registry 2004-2009

Table 9. Criminality 2008- 2009 (Homicide, car robbery, motorcycle robbery, house robbery, personal lesions)

Table 10. Number of captures in Medellín from 1995 to 2008. (Source DIJIN, elaboration by Isabel Cristina Betancur Hinestrosa for her Economics Magister Thesis from Andes University. Betancur gave her explicit authorization to include her data in the present research)