

The Transformative Irenic Rebellious Power of

Street Art in Colombia



(Oswel, 2021a) 'Precursora de la Independencia' (Herald of Independence).

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Abstract

Concerns are growing within the field of development as global democracy rates decline. As a solution to how to rebuild democratic systems is currently unclear, this thesis looks at the case of Colombia and the national protests (colloquially referred to as *El Paro*) that began in April 2021. The nation, suffering from increasing political polarisation, rising poverty rates and crippling structural inequalities, was forced to stop all normal activities. For two months, the protestors campaigned for more just democratic systems. Interestingly, street art proliferated during this time across urban spaces. A topic as of yet mostly ignored within development, this thesis focuses on understanding what the significance of street art was to protestors during the national strike. Guiding the research were previous studies on street art in South America from a variety of disciplines and a conceptual framework which consisted of the meta theories Right to the City, Social Movement Theory and Anomie Theory. By interviewing 10 protestors in total, 5 each from the cities of Bogotá and Cali, this thesis uses an iterative coding process to build the meta-framework Typologies of Rebellion. Using this framework, the middle-range grounded theory Irenic Rebellious City Transformation was generated which aided the analysis of the primary data collected to be able to provide evidence that street art was significant during El Paro because it acts as a non-violent, rebellious tool which works for the collective good.

Key words: Street Art, Transformation, Development, Colombia, El Paro, Cali, Bogotá.

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Dedication

As I wrote this thesis, the anniversary that marked one year since the start of El Paro 2021 passed. I dedicate my thesis first and foremost to those who lost their lives fighting for a better future and a more just Colombia.

A huge thanks to my mother, Natascha, and my stepdad, Julian, for supporting my hop-scotching around the globe when other parents would have stopped their child in fear. Your trust and belief in me has helped me become the person I am today. To my father, Miklas, with whom I have had the joy of reconnecting while living in Sweden, I also give thanks. Your support and unwavering love, despite our differences, is something I hold dear. I also add thanks to Lina, Mauricio, Mateo, Salomé and Magdalena for welcoming me into your family so graciously. You shared with me your love of Colombia and the importance of family.

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Definitions of Terms

Artivism: The use of art explicitly for activism. This can encompass any form of art such as preformative, visual or experiential.

Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia: The collective term used for the Colombian paramilitary groups, translated 'United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia'.

Broken Window Hypothesis: The theory that small criminal actions will lead to larger ones. It became predominant in New York as graffiti took over the city and law enforcement began tackling it (Young, 2016).

Barrio: The Spanish word for neighbourhood or city quarter.

Buffing: The act of the police/law enforcement covering graffiti or street art. Common methods include painting over and dissolving paint with chemicals.

Cacerolazo: A Latin American Spanish term which describes the act of banging pots and pans in protest.

Claim Making: A conscious articulation of political opinions by an individual either verbally or through physical action. This can inspire others to do the same (Ryan, 2016).

Crew: A group of graffiti or street artists who work together. They usually have a crew name and/or symbol and have a style of work that makes them easily identifiable. The crew is almost always exclusive and does not work with other crews. Working together within a crew allows for much greater projects to be executed quicker which helps avoid law enforcement.

Cultural Framing: Collectively constructed, held and maintained beliefs within a society which can be utilised to initiate societal change (Morris, 2000).

Deliberative Democracy: A form of democracy which centres discussion and deliberation as essential between citizenry and government in order to be able to make decisions that benefit the population (Dabène, 2020).

Difference Democracy: A form of democracy which favours or focuses on the needs of traditionally marginalised voices (Dabène, 2020).

ELN: An abbreviation for the guerilla group *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* or translated 'National Liberation Army'.

ELP: An abbreviation for the guerilla group *Ejército Popular de Liberación* or translated 'Popular Liberation Army'.

El Paro: An abbreviation for 'El Paro Nacional', or translated 'A National Strike'.

ESMAD: An abbreviation for the *Escuadrón Móvil Antidisturbios* or in English 'Mobile Anti-Disturbance Squadron'.

FARC: An abbreviation for the guerilla group *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* or in English 'The Revolutionary Armed Forces'.

Graffiti: The illegal writing of names in different styles. Graffiti is part of a subculture which places value on the most daring and creative designs. Commonly, those most known and respected in the Graffiti community are those that have produced the best and most daring *tags*.

Grass Root Democracy: Democratic actions that occur on a miso scale, usually involving only local actors in a geographical location (Dabène, 2020).

Infrapolitics: The study of how infrastructure and politics impact urban space. Political actions impact the urban space and actions within the infrastructure of urban space (such as street art) impact politics (Ryan, 2016).

La Violencia: Spanish for 'The Violence', it refers to the time period between 1948 to 1958 in Colombia.

Memoing: The act of recording notes during research through either electronic or physical means. This may include keeping a journal, audio recordings and the use of software (Robson and McCartan, 2016).

Minga: An indigneous term used across regions in South America that describes the action of working together and to build community. This is often used synonymously with a peaceful march/demonstration done by indigenous peoples in Colombia.

Mobilising Structures: Pre-existing organisations or groups that campaign for change prior to the start of a social movement (Morris, 2000).

Narcotraffico: The Spanish term for 'Drug Trafficking'

Narco: Spanish word for 'drug'.

Paste-ups: Street art made from paper which is glued in public locations, usually on walls. These may be in the form of posters as well as more abstract shapes and designs. They dissolve fairly quickly in the rain and therefore do not have much longevity.

Piece: A graffiti or street art design.

Political Opportunity Structures: Disruption or change within the political landscape of a nation which can be taken advantage of to push through new policies or agendas (Morris, 2000).

Political Street Art: A form of street art intervention that has political meaning. Some scholars believe that all street art is political due to its illegality, as is the definition in this thesis.

Positionality: A term used within sociology which describes how a person's position and power in society will impact how they are viewed, treated and move through society (Charmaz, 2006).

Right to the City: A meta-theory based on French sociologist and philosopher Lefebvre's work which described the right to benefit from urban life without exclusion or unfair treatment. This theory developed over time to include many more rights such as the right to change the city (Purcell, 2014).

Snowball Sampling Technique: A sampling method where initial research participants help in recruiting further research participants which is particularly beneficial within subcultures where access is difficult (Parker et al., 2019).

Social movement: A large group of people who wish to achieve a specific goal(s) which may be working either individually or/and in an organisation. This may be to reverse, resist or encourage action.

Stickers: A form of street art which uses adhesive labels with a design/word(s). The method is easy to disseminate quickly and obscurely and is found commonly on lamp posts, bins, hand railings and other common items within an urban space.

Street Art: The illegal creation of art in the streets. There are a plethora of methods included in this category, but the main styles include spray painting, paste-ups and stickers.

Tags: A name or symbol that represents graffiti or street artists. In graffiti culture, it is common to just spray your tag. In street art, your tag usually just indicates a piece of artwork is yours.

Throw-up: A form of tagging which is not heavily time intensive and uses two colours.

Tienda: The Spanish word for shop/stall or stand which sells goods. In the Colombian context, these can be informal businesses.

1. Introduction

Democracy is in decline (Freedom House, 2022), national polarisation is rampant (United Nations, 2019) and press impartiality is under duress (UNESCO, 2022). As these three elements interact, a positive feedback mechanism has begun, with current trends indicating the momentum by which it operates is increasing.

This is a threat to development as, although still in part contested, development organisations operate under the assumption that democracies lead to improved development. Having transcended simplistic narratives of economic growth being the sole purpose of development, the argument for democracies is that they provide a more conducive system for human rights and civil liberties (Sen, 1999). Therefore, the following thesis will be working within this paradigm also.

1.1. Research Scope

To better understand how people in urban spaces try to improve the democracies they live in, this thesis looks at the national protests that occurred in Colombia in 2021, colloquially known as *El Paro*. The protest was an accumulation of decades of political polarisation, abuse of human rights and corrupt institutions. In response, protestors took to the streets all around the nation and fought for their rights through different methods, the one of interest within this thesis being *street art*.

Bogotá, Colombia's capital, and Cali, the location with the most activity during El Paro, are the focus of this study. The justification for these two cities is that Bogotá has a history of street art research whereas Cali has of yet had little. Bogotá is therefore used as a reference to better understand street arts use in Cali.

1.2. Research Question

By conducting semi-structured interviews, the following research question will be answered using inductive reasoning in order to produce qualitative data:

What significance did street art have during El Paro 2021 in the opinions of protestors in Cali and Bogotá?

1.3. Research Rationale, Aims and Objectives

Overall, the purpose of this research question is to investigate whether street art, a previously neglected area of study, holds significance in enhancing democratic systems in urban spaces. This thesis works under the assumption that it is important that less orthodox cultural expressions are researched as current attempts to understand why democracy is in decline have been limited thus far (Freedom House, 2022).

Thus, the first objective of the research is to conduct 10 in-depth interviews (5 from each city) with protestors who were engaged in street art during El Paro. This is to gain understanding as to what they believe was significant about the use of street art during this period. An additional objective is to create a middle-range, grounded theory in order for future researchers to be able to better analyse the use of street art within protest going forward. Lastly, the analysis of findings will lead to the ability to answer the research question, the third objective.

1.4. Delimitations

It should be acknowledged that it is beyond the scope of this thesis to make claims as to whether street art enhances democratic systems or give evidence as to why they are failing. It should also be taken into consideration that this thesis does not try to explain why there is a difference, if there is one present, between the use of street art in Cali and Bogotá during El Paro. Also beyond the scope of this investigation is to understand how the media portrayed street art during El Paro– any mention of this topic is purely for context. Lastly, this paper does not claim to gather all protestors' opinions on the use of street art, but rather a general understanding in order to develop theory for future research.

1.5. Disposition

This thesis begins with a short account of the level of development currently achieved in Colombia, as well as a short historical background of political division and context as to why El Paro occurred. Next is an exploration into existing research, beginning with a comprehensive explanation of the differences between forms of art which are found on the street. Succeeding this is a distilling of three previous pieces of research of the use of street art in South America. As they do not provide enough context to enable research of street art during El Paro, the conclusion is drawn that there is a need to build a grounded, middle-range theory within this thesis.

To do so, a detailed review of what meta theories and concepts will shape the grounded theory methodology is presented through the conceptual framework. This is followed by the methodology itself where an iterative coding process was undertaken of ten primary interviews which were conducted in three cycles. Ethical considerations of the research are also outlined. Next, an elaborate analysis of the final coding results is provided whereby a new meta-theoretical framework is developed as well as a middle-range theory, both grounded in the data collected. Limitations are then outlined and followed by the conclusion which summarises findings, the created framework and theory as well as propositions for further necessary research.

2. Background

2.1. A History of Division

The reason for the hindrance of Colombia's development, despite physical and cultural assets, is multifaceted. Since the nation's independence from Spain in 1810 (Garavito, 2022), institutionalised inequality has led to violence and poverty which ultimately resulted in political divides (Oxford Business Group, 2013). The polarisation between conservatives and liberals can be traced back to the 19th century and has resulted in mass violence which has prevented development (Bailey, 1967).

Yet, Colombia has been growing economically at a steady rate since the mid-1940s (Richani, 2013) and is regularly praised for its economic growth by development practitioners (OECD, 2022). This hints at the overwhelming inequality experienced in Colombia, demonstrated by its Gini Index of 54.2 as of 2020 (World Bank, 2022). An important area of focus that has led to inequality, and is deeply rooted in Colombia's violent past, is land ownership. Conflicts over land have been present in the nation for decades. A small upper class currently owns the vast majority of Colombia's land, and therefore natural resources, and there is little trickle down to the working-class population. Less than 1% of the population owns more than 50% of Colombia's land (Land Links, 2017). The struggle over land has contributed to 7.2 million

internally displaced peoples who are predominantly Indigenous or Afro-Colombian, groups which in society are particularly discriminated against (IDMC, 2020).

This land inequality spans back to the time of La Violencia (Saab and Taylor, 2009) (see *A1.1*), often forgotten as the precursor to the famed conflict between the guerilla and paramilitary groups and the period of the notorious *Narcotraffico* (Meger and Sachseder, 2020) (see *A1.2*). The consequences of this period are still very much a reality within Colombia, as exemplified by the *Falsos Positivos* scandal that was brought to light in 2008 which shook the nation's trust in the government and law enforcement (Gordan, 2017) (see *A1.3*).

2.2. Promises Unfulfilled: The Resurgence of Political Tensions

Despite decades of violence and unrest, it was hoped both nationally and internationally that the signing of the historical peace treaty between guerrilla groups and the government would allow for the conflict to come to an end and for inequalities within Colombia to finally be addressed (Rettberg, 2020) (A1.4). The inclusion of topics such as the Sustainable Development Goals, land distribution and gender equality seemed to many development organisations like a step in the right direction (Meger and Sachseder, 2020).

Yet, changes towards improved rights for minority groups as well as other promises were met with little speed, if at all (Rettberg, 2020). Thus, after a period of celebration, discontent returned quickly within Colombia. Indeed, for many working-class people, the peace treaty had meant little as they didn't believe it would work in benefiting their day to day lives (Esparza, 2020). Today, poverty rates and unemployment are still high and minority groups continue to be persecuted. Ultimately, due to the continued complacency of the Colombian government to enact changes, anger and dissatisfaction led to three years of protest at varying scales and degrees from 2018-2020 (see *A1.5* and *A1.6*). This tension finally accumulated so that in 2021 there came a protest like no other in Colombian living memory.

2.3. Reaching Breaking Point: El Paro 2021

The accumulation of human rights violations both within and outside of previous protests, the neglect of the government to act in response and decades of violence ultimately led to the extraordinary events of El Paro 2021 (Álvarez, 2022). Beginning on April the 28th in

response to a new proposed tax reform which would increase the cost of basic goods (e.g. eggs, bread, butter), a nationwide protest began which would stretch out for months. As a result, the nation experienced complete and total disruption.

2.3.1. The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic

For many, the COVID-19 pandemic had exacerbated the existing inequalities in Colombia to such an extent that a mass of people felt they had little to lose by protesting, despite curfews imposed by the government (Shultz *et al.*, 2021). Indeed, 4 million people had lost their jobs by the end of 2020 after experiencing almost one year of the pandemic, and over 42.5% in the country were below the poverty line (DANE, 2022). Due to 48% of Colombians working in the informal sector, there were also no social protections in place for those who really needed financial assistance.

This dire job market is one factor which contributed to 30% of young Colombian people reporting strong feelings of fear, rage, and sadness (Zhongming *et al.*, 2021) and why the youth were so active during El Paro 2021. Notable actions taken by the public included refusal to attend university/school, open letters, street performances, marches, street art and street blockades (Zhongming *et al.*, 2021). The latter in particular had a great impact as food trucks were unable to enter the city, people were unable to drive and fuel began to run out (International Crisis Group, 2021). This built anger in those who were politically opposed to the protestors and were being impacted in their day to day life. Indeed, there were instances of civilians enacting violence on protestors with deadly weapons (OHCHR, 2021).

2.3.2. State Violence

Even more concerning was the use of violence by government authorities and the inaction of the police and ESMAD in cases of citizenry violence. There were over 80 deaths at the hands of security forces (Álvarez, 2022) and 76% of deaths during the protests were the result of gunshot wounds (OHCHR, 2021). There was an additional 60 allegations of sexual abuse, the majority of which were reported to have been perpetrated by law enforcement, and at least 16 of which have been confirmed officially. Particularly impacted was the city of Cali which has a large Afro-Colombian and indigenous population with deep-rooted inequalities (DANE, 2022). The collision of right-wing extremists and these minority groups caused a particular escalation in the city unlike anywhere else (Amnesty International, 2021a).

Meger and Sachseder (2020) argue that the prevalence of such violence is a result of the merging of economic interests between the elite, paramilitary and Colombian state. After decades of training the nation's forces to see those acting against the government as threats, in particular during the height of the guerilla period, a hypermasculine and trigger happy force was constructed where violence is the modus operandi (Amnesty International, 2021b). The paramilitary works for the agenda of the government, which has vested interests in structures that benefit the elite who ultimately want unhindered access to land, resources and political influence (Meger and Sachseder, 2020). These conflicts of interest were demonstrated in Cali when police officers were present as wealthy civilians shot at indigneous protestors during a *minga* that passed through the bourgeoisie neighbourhood of Ciudad Jardin in the south of Cali, yet did not intervene (Peace Brigades International, 2021). Yet, citizens who protested peacefully but garnered attention and support from others were targeted and falsely criminalised. Such was the case of Lucas Villa who died of his head wound injuries after being shot by a group of unknown people on motorbikes who approached him, shot and drove away (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

2.3.3. The Significance of Street Art

Interestingly, out of extreme violence and conflict came an explosion of street art in towns and cities across Colombia. *Pieces* emerged and caught national attention throughout the nation as images were being circulated online (Bridges, 2021). However, not everyone liked the messages being conveyed across the walls and there were many instances of artwork being painted over by both police forces as well as unknown individuals/groups (El Espectador, 2021). This was met with volunteers repainting the walls and them being re-censored and so on. The 'battles' on the streets were being reflected on the walls also.

3. Existing Research

Research on street art is still a fairly recent development, despite its existence spanning back through human existence (Blanché, 2015). The terms graffiti, street art and murals are often used interchangeably, however, each has specific characteristics that set them apart (Young, 2016). The following provides a brief explanation of the differentiation of each art form and continues with an exploration of previous research on street art within Latin America.

3.1. Art Styles and Cultures

It should be noted that in Colombia the terms 'street art' and 'graffiti' are used interchangeably as 'arte callejero'. Therefore, although the research question is focused on the use of street art and during interviews the differences were defined, the non-binary classification makes it difficult to distinguish in all instances what the interviewee was referring to. Occasionally, a participant said graffiti to refer to street art and visa-versa. Therefore, this paper takes a broad approach that street art is the illegal painting of the street (Young, 2016). Despite this, the differences between each art form is still vital for analysis, therefore are expanded on in the following subsections.

3.1.1. Graffiti

It is essential to understand what defines graffiti as a style, subculture and how it is received by the public as these factors impact the development and perception of street art. The satirical naming of Kimvall's (2014) doctoral dissertation 'The G-Word' is an acknowledgement of the confusion and misuse of the term graffiti. The word's origins are believed to have derived from the artistic technique 'graffito' whereby from two existing layers of material, the top is partially removed to reveal the surface underneath (Blanché, 2015). Similarly, the term 'graffiato', the Italian word for 'scratched', was often used to describe words engraved into walls in the archaeological discoveries made in Pompeii.

In recent history, the term graffiti has been used to describe the stylistic and subcultural developments that began in New York in the late 1960s (Kimvall, 2014). There is an abundance of literature that enthusiastically describes this emergence as a bold artform which concentrated on creating *tags*, *throw-ups* and *pieces* in the most daring places (Novak, 2017). Within the subculture, the aim is to create styles of calligraphy that are complex, show understanding of painting technique and are to be understood only within the graffiti community (Bengtsen, 2015).

In the subculture, the more dangerous a location for a piece of graffiti is (in terms of being caught or to one's own safety) the higher the respect is for the artist (Macdonald, 2001). Graffiti is by definition illegal as it is done without permission on property not belonging to the artist, and its illegality is part of the appeal for many artists. In response, strict laws

against its dissemination have been implemented around the world. For fear of the *broken window hypothesis*, the *buffing* of graffiti is a tool used to try and counteract graffiti presence (Young, 2016).



(Smoke Gheto Kids, 2021) 'El País del Desangrado Corazón' (The Country of the Bleeding Heart).

3.1.2. Street Art

Street art is the creation of illegal artworks in the streets (Young, 2016). Although its roots lie in graffiti, the purpose of the artwork is not only for personal artistic expression but for the public–an important distinction. Artists take into account the environment they are working with, intellectually engaging with limitations and natural factors. It is not uncommon, for example, for artists to incorporate elements from a building within the artwork or to take into consideration how natural light will change the way the street art piece is viewed throughout the day. These are clearly different objectives to graffiti, as aforementioned.

The definition of street art is also more flexible than graffiti, with some choosing to include free public performances as a form of street art (Love and Mattern, 2013). In this thesis, I choose to class this as performance art and therefore irrelevant for the following discussion. Included are *paste-ups*, *stickers*, *painting* (with tools like chalk, wall paint and spray paint) and sculptures.



(Oswel, 2021b) 'Una pieza colaborativa' (A Collaborative Piece).

3.1.3. Muralism

A brief note on muralism is needed so as not to be confused with street art. With the proliferation of street art as a tourist attraction, having gained popularity through social media and acceptance of its presence within (predominantly) city landscapes, the private sector has harnessed the momentum to advertise its products (Bogerts, 2022). Murals are easily mistaken for street art as they are created to fit within a landscape, are artistic and made for general consumption (Bengtsen, 2015). The differentiation is that a mural's location has been approved and is often paid for by a client, therefore making its creation legal. Today, many street art tours contain a huge number of murals, rather than street art, because the placement has been approved by local councils and in cases even financed/sponsored to enhance the local landscape (Young, 2016).

To those outside the street art community, the differentiation is unimportant because the interest is in the beauty of the artwork. However, for street artists who struggle with the stigmatisation of their art as an illegal practice, the development of murals has become problematic. A hierarchy is often established between artists who are commissioned for their

work and are able to make a living and those who either reject being paid for ideological reasons (resistance to censoring and purism of the subculture) or whose art is not popular.



(Crisp, 2019) A Tribute Mural for the Australian Colombian Dialogue.

3.2. Street Art Research in South America

Research on Latin American street art, particularly any available in English, has been dominated by only a handful of researchers within the last few decades. The following explores this existing foundational research while analysing its relevance in explaining El Paro in 2021. It concludes that, although useful, additional research is required to develop a grounded theory to better answer the research question and future research cases.

3.2.1. Street Art and its Role within a Democracy

Dabène (2020) analysed in his innovative book 'Street Art and Democracy in Latin America' how street art can be used as a tool for *deliberative democracy*. He makes the argument that it provokes reflection and enables discussion, therefore enhancing *grass-root democracy*. This is an important claim because, as previously mentioned, democracy is declining internationally which threatens the current framework within which development works (United Nations,

2019). Without it, there is an increase in human rights violations, anger towards those in positions of power and frustration with the current economic systems in place (Sen, 1999). This democratic decline is demonstrated clearly in Colombia by the attacks against minority groups, the growing number of violent protests and anger over tax proposals. Therefore, if street art enhances democratic systems, it could provide value within development discourse and practice.

Dabène (2020) is able to justify and build a grounded theory that collaboration between the government and street artists enables an overall enhanced democracy. However, he expands on several outcomes as to how this interaction could alternatively develop (see *Table 1*). More frequently, he finds that the imbalance in power between collaborative governance and street-level democracy can lead to very different outcomes and therefore prevent street art from having as positive of an effect.

Authorities/Artists		Street-Level Democracy	
		Strong	Weak
Collaborative Governance	Yes	1. Collaboration	2. Recuperation
	No	3. Conflict	4. Domination

Table 1. After Dabène's (2020) Table on Authority and Artist Collaboration.

To come to his conclusions, Dabène (2020) interviewed artists from 5 cities in Latin America who were well known and influential in the street art community. Although he argues that their status gives them better access to knowledge within the street art subculture, a criticism of his work is that their popularity removes them from the struggles and the reality of most street artists and the local communities they inhabit (Young, 2016). Today, those who find success are often travelling internationally, being paid for their work and have a cult following so may be less inclined to start a democratic discussion through their work.

Additionally, as the focus of this thesis research is on how street art during protests is significant, Dabène's (2020) research during times of peace is limiting. There are, however, three key findings of the relationship between street art and its contribution to democracy which are applicable to all forms of street art research: Firstly, the claim that street art always

signifies a political expression, even if this is simply through the illegality of where the artwork is placed. Secondly, street art gives a platform for the empowerment of urban citizenry as its use strengthens '*difference democracy*' (Dabène, 2020, p21) which is the ability for the marginalised persons to have an amplified voice. Thirdly, street art strengthens the public sphere through *sociological*, *spatial* and *technical* means. This is through the engagement with persons who may otherwise not be politically engaged, the increased use of public space to engage the public sphere and the recent development of street art discussion through technological means, thus bringing deliberative democracy from the streets into online spaces.

Overall, Dabène's work provides a good foundation to build on, but is not able to explain the significance of street art during a protest specifically. This thesis explores this gap in the current street art research.

3.2.2. Defining Political Street Art

Ryan (2016) explores street art from a *social movement* framework. She finds that street art has been under-researched in its role within social movements, much like Dabène's opinion within deliberative democracy, suggesting that street art as a whole needs further exploration across the social sciences. She defines *political street art* rather loosely as a form of intervention with a political meaning that is designed and created to be placed in the street (Ryan, 2016, p5).

From a social movement studies perspective, Ryan (2016, p3) emphasises that through political action, culture is created. This is because street art can be classified as a form of *claim making*. Those that feel disenfranchised by a political system are able to express themselves authentically without censoring, and thereafter potentially create an impact on others. This is much like Dabène's (2020) claim that street art can enhance *difference democracy*. However, Ryan (2016, p6) addresses a misconception of street art as a tool that is always democratic and participatory. As described previously in *Art Styles and Cultures*, street art (and by extension graffiti) crews can be exclusive and difficult to join and therefore may not feel accessible to those outside the community or subculture. Additionally, by illegally painting a wall, the damage done to private property can be seen as a threatening action to the property owner(s). Street art, therefore, is deeply intertwined with *infrapolitics*

(Ryan, 2016, p141). This term is important while researching El Paro 2021 as an understanding of the complexity of urban spaces and street art's political nature will enhance the communication between the interviewees and the researcher as well as later analysis.

3.2.3. The Aesthetics of Resistance

Bogerts' (2022) work addresses the current shortfall of a visual culture perspective within social science research. They preface their work pointing to the importance of understanding visual communication as this makes up an individual's worldview and therefore impacts how they engage within society (p5). This influence is particularly important to consider when analysing issues of aesthetics of rule and resistance as these areas are interacting, fluid and have a substantial impact on how populations interact with politics and protest. Resultantly, the inclusion of a visual culture perspective is beneficial to research on El Paro.

The framework outlined by Bogerts (2022, p19-46) considers 7 analytical levels (see *A2*.) that should be considered when researching dimensions of visual resistance. This provides a tool to analyse findings within this thesis to better categorise and understand participants' responses. Interestingly, Bogerts explores how politicians are able to appropriate dimensions of aesthetic resistance to their own benefit and gives examples from across Latin America. Although not the focus of this research, the pursuit of understanding how private and political organisations took advantage of El Paro would provide a great additional study to build on Bogerts' work (see *A Call for Further Research*). Overall, Bogerts' analysis of street art during times of resistance is a helpful foundation to analyse El Paro from a development and sociological perspective.

3.2.4. The Case of Bogotá

A brief note on previous research on Bogotá is required to better delineate and contextualise what this thesis builds on. Unlike across the rest of Colombia, Bogotá is the only city to have decriminalised the production of street art and graffiti under decree 075 and 529 (although this should not be mistaken with legality– the act is still illegal but the artist is not held accountable by criminal charges) (Dabène, 2020). This was enacted under a liberal governor in Bogotá in response to several incidents of violence against artists, including the murder of Diego Felipe Becerra by two policemen in 2011 (Ortiz and Sletto, 2019). Since then, street art has been a tourist attraction and therefore economically profitable, as well as improving the

overall aesthetics of the city through the process of gentrification (Ryan, 2016). Ergo, a trend of muralisation and control over produced artworks has led to tensions within the street art community who feel the authenticity of street art in Bogotá is under threat (Bogerts, 2022).

This phenomenon has been well investigated, Dabène and Bogerts being two prominent qualitative researchers in this field. However, a critical reading of this body of literature indicates that many papers cite the same street artists, most of whom hold a high profile and are internationally known. This causes concern over the possibility of an existing echo chamber within Colombian street art research as unintentionally having the same participants in each study prevents new findings being discovered. This is especially in areas that may address the realities of less famous artists, such as during El Paro. In response, the interviews conducted in this research purposefully sought to execute a *snowball sampling technique* amongst protestors with low profiles as the aim of the research is to find out what the significance of street art was to protestors in the street art world in general.

4. Conceptual Framework

As previously stated, research on street art thus far is few in number and therefore, there are no previously used frameworks which adequately allow for research to commence. Instead, this thesis operates under a conceptual framework, built on relevant meta-theories that relate to aspects of the case of El Paro 2021 and the use of street art. After an explanation of the role of meta theories and those chosen for this thesis, it is concluded that a grounded theory methodological approach is needed to establish a new theory on a middle-range (mismo) level, as current theories are unable to explain why street art was so significant. Additionally, the creation of a new theory is an attempt to answer Ryan's (2016) call for more research in this area.

4.1. Macro Theory

Since the beginning of sociology, 'a social science that studies human societies, their interactions, and the processes that preserve and change them' (Faris, 2022), there has been deliberation and debate about scales of analysis (Serpa and Ferreira, 2019). Macrosociology looks at a large-scale unit of analysis which can range from interactions between groups to all of society. It was considered the primary scale of analysis within social sciences during each

field's early development, but was quickly identified as being limited. Meso and micro scales were developed which led to the ability to understand smaller scales of analysis. However, most theories are still developed and presented under the framing of a macro theory (Eisenstadt and Curelaru, 1977).

This is the approach that is implemented in this thesis also. It is important to note that these macro theories were not developed to be applied specifically to the Latin American continent, nor for the understanding of street art. What they do provide, however, is a framework that will allow for a better analysis of the collected data within this research.

4.1.1. Anomie Theory

Merton's research on how broad macro social conditions could produce crime and deviance, known as anomie theory, was a development of the original work of the sociologist Èmile Durkheim (Wickert, 2022). During the 19th century, industrialisation had taken hold within the global north and traditional institutions began to dissolve. Durkeim observed the social changes occurring and described anomie as the lack of shared values, commitment and rules that were required to be able to regulate and guide the aspirations of persons (Bernburg, 2019). These were supposedly a product of the dissolving of traditional institutions and resulted in criminality.

Merton, within the North American context, re-evaluated anomie theory and developed an argument that rather than the new economic order being to blame for the crime and deviance occuring, it was rather the poor creation of a well structured societal order (Wickert, 2022). As wealth increased for some, there were many persons disenfranchised from the process. As a result, Merton proposed there were different forms of deviance which emerged. He created two broad classifications which individuals responded to within society that determined how they deviated– institutional means (work) and cultural goals (materialism) (see *Figure 1*). He proposed that an individual who deviates from society rejects either one or both of these categories and therefore belongs in either the group of innovation, ritualism or retreatism. Those who followed the institutional means and cultural goals, Merton classed as belonging within the conformity category. Finally, those who entirely rejected both and wanted new means and goals belonged in a group of rebellion, (see *Table 2*).

Merton's postlude to his theory was the belief that by creating better social structures, crime will be reduced. However, due to his meta interpretation of society, there are many nuances that are not captured and therefore it is difficult to agree on the best way to change social structures. Purely due to the many classifications of persons there will always be those who will not agree with the means and goals. Additionally, and more in alignment with the focus of this thesis, Merton's categorisation of rebellion is a very narrow outlook on who may rebell and by what means. From background research on El Paro, it is apparent that there are persons who wish for new social goals and means without wanting as dramatic a shift as would occur with a new political system. Therefore, although incredibly insightful for a meta understanding of deviance, the theory of anomie needs to be developed to be able to describe rebellion within protest specifically, and not just society as a whole.

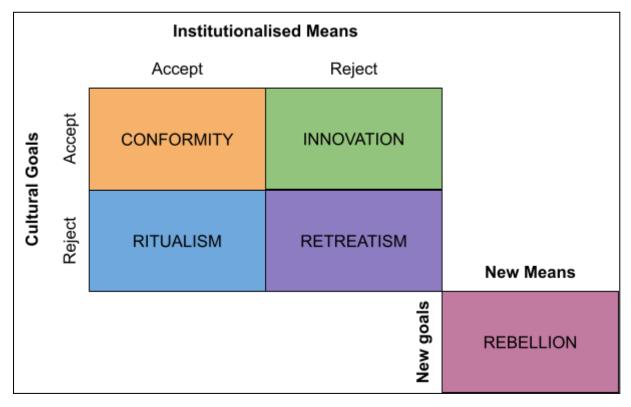


Figure 1. After Merton's (Wickert, 2022) Typologies of Deviance.

Typology of Deviance	Explanation	Example
Conformity	Those that accept societal means and goals. These are the individuals who cause no resistance to the status quo within a society.	Today, this may be someone who works a 9-5 occupation, believes in wealth accumulation and having a family.
Innovation	Although today the term innovation is associated with entrepreneurship, Merton's category of innovation is the acceptance of cultural goals but the rejection of the institutional means of getting there.	A person who wishes to accumulate wealth but does so by illegal means. For example, they sell illegal goods.
Ritualism	Those who abandon the cultural goals due to a disillusionment or disagreement with them, but still work within the institutional means.	Someone who accumulates wealth through work but does not aim to climb the career ladder.
Retreatism	Those who reject societal goals and means but do nothing to change them.	A person who decides to live off-grid in a self-sustained homestead. They do not work within the economic system and they do not have the wish to accumulate wealth.
Rebellion	Those who reject societal goals and means and work towards changing them.	This could range from a terrorist group to protestors.

Table 2. Explanations and Examples of Merton's (Wickert, 2022) Typologies of Deviance.

4.1.2. Social Movement Theory

A social movement can be broadly defined as 'a broad alliance of people whereby different actors work together to bring change in the existing social order' (Subedi, 2021, p118). El Paro, the consolidation of previous protests, became a powerful social movement as groups of people that have been historically discriminated against, such as indigenous peoples, women and the working class, came together and unified. Through their collective action, the nation was put on halt for two months and the protest has even had lasting impacts a year later.

El Paro, years in the making, can be analysed through several different macro-paradigms within social movement theory to better understand its causal mechanisms (Sen and Avci, 2016). Well acknowledged are the theories of deprivation, resource mobilisation, political process and structural strain (Morris, 2000). However, although each would create a rewarding lens of analysis within this conceptual framework, limitations and boundaries are required to be able to produce meaningful results. Therefore, the chosen theory for the conceptual framework is the political process model as it incorporates three relevant areas of analysis– *mobilising structures, political opportunity structures* and *cultural framing*.

4.1.2.1. The Political Process Model

The political process model was developed as a result of the identification that there were several factors that impacted when and how people protested. Initially, in the mid 20th century, it was believed that social movements were unplanned, a pure consequence of individual agency (Morris, 2000). This was because the increasing freedoms that were developing at the time were thought by some scholars to reduce an individual's rationality. This school of thought was replaced once it became clear to academics that during the civil rights movement persons had carefully and intelligently co-operated together in order for the social movement to occur rather than an accidental event.

Indeed, *mobilising structures* are important elements for the success of a social movement from a political process framework perspective (Morris, 2000). Another element that emerged from analysis of political social rights movements was that of *political opportunity* for change. This is a disruption within a political process that provides an opening for new issues to be brought to light such as a political election where a change in leadership is imminent or a scandal that emerges from a political leader's decisions. Lastly, an element that has only received due attention in the last two decades, is the *cultural framing* of a nation. People who feel that they are lacking in ways that could be politically resolved and see a means for success are much more likely to engage in social protest than individuals who are content with their lives and/or live in a system they see as difficult to change e.g. a communist regime.

Applying these three tools of analysis from the political process model will enhance the ability to code and classify interview respondents' results and aid general understanding of El Paro.

4.1.3. Right to the City

Introduced in Lefebvre's 1968 publication (Purcell, 2014), the right to the city was a vision for the overhaul of the neo-liberal prioritisation in urban spaces. Lefebvre described how the lives of urban citizens were diminished and replaced with the rights of corporations and the elite. His work was a call for this trend to be reversed and for the citizenry to once again become the focal point of the city.

Today there are many variations and takes on right to the city which are, on the whole, less radical than the original theory (Purcell, 2014). From small non-profit organisations (GPR2C, 2022), to the inclusion within the United Nations (IISD, 2016), the right the the city has been mainstreamed. The principles that prioritise urban citizens' rights remain the same, but now most proponents want to remain in the current economic system (Purcell, 2014). Instead, the prioritisation is on how the local and national governing bodies are able to include citizenry voices and needs within policy decisions to ensure that citizens' rights are what drives decision making.

Within a development context, this was successfully applied to a case in Brazil where slum dwellers' human rights were at risk of being violated in favour of property expansion (Purcell, 2014). After protest and consideration, a law was passed which recognised the occupants rights and acknowledged the social value the favella served. Cases such as these paved the way for development organisations to put issues of gentrification, city planning, urban investment and urban inequality on the agenda (IISD, 2016).

However, the right to the city goes beyond only socio-political questions and enters into philosophical and legal territories (Attoh, 2011). Often rights of one entity contradict that of others, which begs the question of whose should be prioritised. Of particular interest in the context of street art is whether one has the right to break the law as its use is predominantly illegal, yet it serves social functions within urban communities (Young, 2016). Dworkin (2013) argues that breaking the law is an essential component in improving rights for minority groups and for expression. He argues that through civil disobedience, the law is moulded and shaped. Therefore, from this paradigm, it is possible for street art to contribute to claiming the right to the city.

In sum, a right to the city perspective can be used in addition to that of the political process model in social movement theory and anomie theory, as it gives a framework in which to understand how on occasion illegal actions can, and are, beneficial within urban spaces for improving rights. These meta theories will guide the production of a middle range theory which will emerge from a grounded theory methodology to provide a new perspective on street arts use in protest.

5. Methodology

The following is a detailed description of the grounded theory methodology of this research study. To begin with, an explanation is given of the complexity, iterative and non-linear nature of the chosen methodology. This is in order to overcome the difficulty of describing a methodology in a chronologically written fashion which is near impossible as steps are not taken one after the other but in occurrence. With this taken into consideration, the order of steps taken to collect primary data is detailed and is followed by the coding process. Next, a brief overview of the later elaborated analysis is given and is followed by ethical considerations.

5.1. Developing Grounded Theory: Addressing The Unknown

Grounded theory, amongst other qualitative methods, emerged in the 1960s (Charmaz, 2006). It disrupted the until-then dominant positivist research methodologies and ideologies and therefore was initially met with much criticism and speculation. It applies an interpretive approach which emphasises subjectivity, understanding and an overarching belief that no one definitive answer is to be found within the social sciences, a very contradictory method to those used in the natural sciences. Furthermore, it supports the creation of a middle-range theory which aims to move away from macro and micro approaches that were so common previous to its mainstreaming, as explored later in this methodology (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2012).

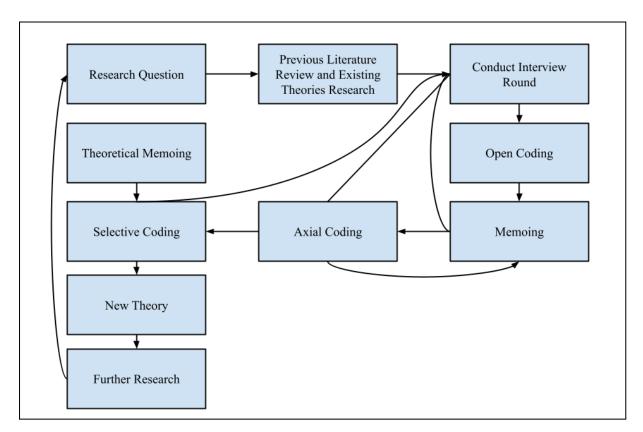


Figure 2. Overview of the Grounded Theory Process (Source: Author).

Grounded theory, deceivingly a methodology despite its name, is distinctive for its nonlinear process (see *figure 2*) (Charmaz, 2006). It systematically creates new hypotheses and theories through an iterative collection and analysis of data (Saldaña, 2013). For this reason, grounded theory is the most fitting methodology to address the gap in theories on street art research in protest contexts as was identified previously.

5.2. Primary Data Collection

To answer the research question, primary data was collected from protestors who were connected to the street art community or street art production in Cali or Bogotá during El Paro. This was done in the form of conducting 10 semi-structured zoom interviews. However, as street artists work together within a subculture, the legitimacy of the researcher first needed to be established to find access. The following describes the process from legitimacy creation to the completion of interviews.

5.2.1. Creating Legitimacy

Initially, potential interviewees were identified as those mentioned in articles published by online Colombian newspapers that explored the topic of street art during El Paro. They were contacted through social media and via email with an explanation of the research topic and information about the purpose of the inquiry (Asprilla, 2021; Bridges, 2021). However, after no responses, a period of reflection was required as to how best to engage with possible participants and as to why no one had been interested after the initial inquiry. An assumption was later made that it was an issue of legitimacy. As a result, a website (see *A3.1*) and social media platform (see *A3.2*) were built under the name 'Frontline Street Art' where photos, blog posts and information on the research were published. Although a lengthy process in their creation, they both provided fruitful as links to both were included when contacting other possible interviewees and positive responses came back.

Although its use is still considered unconventional within academic research, social media is a common tool used amongst street artists as online communities allow images, ideas and discussions to be shared (MacDowall, 2019). It was from observations of this phenomenon that the decision was made to create evidence of interest in the community using the said social media platforms.

5.2.2. Interviews

After having found an initial participant, a *snowball sampling technique* was used to gather more research participants (Parker *et al.*, 2019). Unlike traditional snowball sampling, however, there was not always a need to ask the primary informants directly for contacts. Through Instagram's 'Following' and 'Follow' feature, it was possible to find participants based on common interests with the primary interviewee.

The importance of conducting interviews as a method of primary data collection was paramount as the aim of the research is to understand better the significance street art had in the opinion of protestors. This required the collection of *thick description*, a rich form of data collection ideal for generating grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, p14). By taking note of the thoughts and feelings that are expressed, the relationship the person has to a topic can also be assessed, not just the literal meaning of the words (Ponterotto, 2006). This would not be possible through other means of data collection where responses are less elaborative such as through surveys. Although thick description can be enhanced through a mixed methods

approach, there were uncontrollable limitations to data collection, as expanded upon in section *Research Limitations*.

In order to enhance the ability for respondents to express themselves freely, semi-structured interviews were conducted (Robson and McCartan, 2016, p284-306). This allows for the freedom to sequence and formulate questions in a flexible manner that can be adjusted to what the interviewee says (Charmaz, 2006, p26). In the case of building grounded theory, this is much more advantageous because unexpected things may be said that can then be followed up on. In the same vein, excluding the use of unstructured interviews also ensures that the research question will still be answered.

5.2.3. The Importance of an Interview Guide

Assisting the flow of conversation was an interview guide (see *A4.1*) which laid out essential phases for the interview to be successful. However, this was only an aid to the researcher who was attentive at all times (Charmaz, 2006). It is their role to also be polite, sensitive, and listen to what is being said without interjecting in the conversation without due reason and this was a priority, especially as the research topic is a sensitive one after the violence that occured during El Paro. Sensitivity to these elements is part of *negotiations* which take place, unspoken, between the interviewee and interviewer (Charmaz, 2006, p27). Power dynamics play out and this is navigated by the interviewer by assessing their *positionality*. In the case of this research, the interviewer held a lot more power (see *A4.2*) and therefore this was compensated for by spending 20% of the interview introducing the researcher, the research, explaining what will be done with any information gathered and asking warm-up questions.

5.2.4. Advantages and Disadvantages of Conducting Zoom Interviews

The additional dimension of interviews being held over Zoom required consideration of the person, the method of recording, and the ability to communicate overall (Gray *et al.*, 2020). Although issues with internet connection did occur a couple of times as well as accidental self-muting of the microphone by the participant, fortunately the advantages outweighed the complications considerably. Using an online communication tool reduced research costs, required next to no commuting and in some cases allowed for the person to feel more comfortable as they were in an environment they knew and could be themselves in (one participant even introduced their cat and proceeded to hold it for a portion of the questions). Additionally, inbuilt software in Zoom meant that recordings were possible within the

application and were later saved on an encrypted hard drive. This eradicated the need to transfer files from an external device, through a computer and onto a memory storing device which can be time consuming and cause confusion.

5.2.5. Keeping a Field Journal

After each interview was completed, notes were taken to refer back to during memoing and to ensure that any thoughts or feelings that were had during the interview were not forgotten (Robson and McCartan, 2016). Being a grounded theory, interview groups were split into three rounds, the first including four participants and the later two, three participants each. Between each round, coding was undertaken to inform the restructuring of interview questions for the next set of interviewees. The number of total interviews conducted was a decision based on Strauss and Corbin's (1998) assessment that a minimum of 10 interviews are required for full saturation of answers (Saldaña, 2013, p104) which was possible in the given time frame for this research.

5.2.6. Hiring a Translator

During the last cycle of interviews, the snowball sampling technique led to all contacts having no or very little English language proficiency. This resulted in the unexpected need to hire a translator. This prompted much deliberation as it adds a lot of complexity to the feasibility and legitimacy of the research (Resch and Enzenhofer, 2018). However, as previous research has excluded many protestors and street artists for this reason, and the primary aim of the research is to understand what the significance of street art was to them, the decision was made to hire a translator for the remaining three interviewees.

The final selection of an appropriate translator was made on their proficiency and fluency in both Spanish and English and having previous experience in translating. Additionally, having been raised in Colombia, they were also aware of the culture and specific terms that may be used. Prior to the interview, they were briefed as to the context of the research, previous interviews and expectations that were had of them. They then had time to ask questions, go over the context again and practice using the Zoom software. They were paid in accordance with the living wage per hour for the country and city they inhabit.

During interviews, the interviewee was first introduced to the interviewer as well as the translator. Again, much time was taken to ensure everyone felt comfortable with the interview

process. The translator would proceed thereafter by translating questions asked by the researcher, listen to the one-two minute answer, before translating it from Spanish back into English for the researcher then to ask another question. Due to the time-consuming nature of this process, less information was gathered. However, this proved less problematic than expected as it became clear that saturation was being achieved through repetitions of themes from previous interviewees.

Although translated answers were not verbatim, the advantage of being able to access people that had not been interviewed previously within the street art communities proved more valuable than the word-for-word answers of participants who had been involved in prior research studies due to their aforementioned high-profiles and linguistic abilities. Considerations should be made for further research within the field of Colombian street art research with this bias of access in mind and how this may impact overall research costs.

5.2.7 Transcribing

Although a time-consuming process which requires between 3-8 hours of transcribing for one hour of audio, transcription is an essential tool and skill (McMullin, 2021). The process of listening to an audio recording of an interview and writing it down familiarises the researcher with the data and allows for reflection and memoing on new observed aspects of the interview (McGrath *et al.*, 2019). A decision on how literal a transcription should be is heavily dependent on the research question and what the purpose of research is.

As this study does not focus on the linguistics of answers but rather the content, an intelligent verbatim style was used (McGrath *et al.*, 2019). This allowed for the inclusion of fillers and mistakes as well as the exclusion of pronunciation errors and distracting grammar mistakes which was the case for some interviewees with less proficient English. A paid transcription tool named Otter was used for efficiency which picked up most of the words. However, due to accent and audio quality issues, each transcript required a fairly comprehensive re-write for each interview.

5.3. Analysis

The analysis of primary data requires skill, awareness and reflexivity due to the scale and scope it entails (Robson and McCartan, 2016). The additional grounded theory methodology

requires added awareness of space and time through an iterative coding process. By having techniques and tools in place, the process can become much more effective and avoid hitting large difficulties. The following reflects on how this was applied to the coding process within this research and the details of the undertaking itself.

5.3.1. Coding

The process of coding within grounded theory is a complex one. Data is not collected in one stage, as previously mentioned, but in several. This requires the researcher to constantly be analytical of new data and of their own subjectivity, as well as observant of any findings that may suggest the emergence of a new theory or concept (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2012).

A simplified illustration of the process is outlined in *Figure 3*. In the initial stages of coding, transcripts from the first round of interviewees are broken down into excerpts that are coded into a new category. In the second round of interviews, a further round of coding is conducted, but this time fewer new categories emerge. Instead, many of the excerpts fit into categories created in the first coding round. There is also the possibility that through reflection on the initial stage (see *Memoing*) the consolidation/merging of categories occurs as they are in some way connected and assist in the movement from explicit statements and meaning into the general/abstract. This is advantageous as this is required for the creation of a new grounded theory. In the third cycle of interviews, this narrowing down of concepts becomes even clearer.

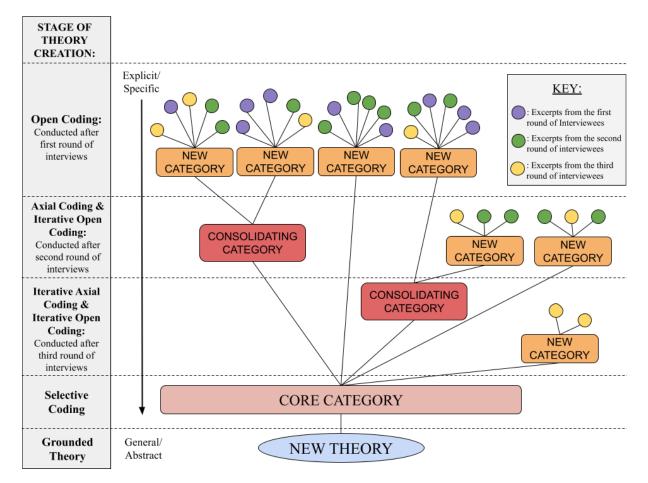


Figure 3. Simplified Stages of Coding within Grounded Theory Using Code Types Selected and Used within this Research (Source: Author).

5.3.1.1. Rounds of Coding

There are many different forms of coding for the first and second (and so on) cycles within grounded theory (Saldaña, 2013). Which form is chosen is dependent on what type of data was collected, if they were mixed methods and what the ultimate aim of the research being conducted is. The first cycle uses a different method from the second, and the researcher is responsible for making the decision as to what combinations are best.

Round 1- Open/ Initial Coding

Within this study, open coding, also known as initial coding, was selected for the first round of coding (Saldaña, 2013). This is because it is particularly suited to grounded theory by keeping codes open and creating the possibility for 'analytical leads' to emerge (p101). However, before it commenced, time was taken to reflect on the 4 transcripts that were to be coded and notes that were written to contribute to memoing, (see *Memoing*) a method suggested by Saldaña (2013) to enhance awareness and openness to new possibilities. After

initial contemplation, coding commenced in a quick and spontaneous manner so as not to overthink classifications. These are referred to as excerpts and were compiled into categories using the tool Nvivo (see *Tools for Analysis*). Codes are able to emerge in several ways (Robson and McCartan, 2016), but the most dominant ones in the first cycle were descriptive or related to theory (see *A5.1*).

Round 2 and 3- Axial Coding

Axial coding is a way in which links can be found between data previously coded (Allen, 2017). Topics which are relevant to each other merge under a broader categorisation, those that are obsolete disregarded and synonyms are combined. This process takes the specific themes from the first round of coding and creates a halfway point before one core category is created through selective coding (Saldaña, 2013). Within this research, axial coding was carried out twice before saturation was met and open coding was continued iteratively in conjunction for all three rounds (see *A5.2*).

Selective Coding

Once axial coding has commenced until only a few codes remain, the process of connecting these topics into one starts through a process named selective coding (Allen, 2017), (see A5.3). In this step, reflecting over memos made throughout the coding process can provide invaluable perspective and insight as to what the core category could be. The final outcome of this process is the new theory. In doing so, previous theories may be modified or an entirely new one may emerge.

5.3.2. Tools for Analysis

There are several ways to make analysis of data more effective in order to answer the research question through the best means possible. The following outlines two which were invaluable throughout the research.

5.3.2.1. Technological tools

Over the last couple of decades, technology has been developed that has made the coding process much more automated (Robson and McCartan, 2016). Specialist analytical tools for qualitative data can make the process faster, more organised and less prone to human error. Although more costly, most researchers prefer this method to traditional ones which involve

lots of highlighting, margin writing, printing, cutting, sticking and filing. However, there are also disadvantages that can come with the automatisation of graph creation and the simplicity of dragging and dropping phrases into categories. The researcher may lack the capacity to physically see the scale of analysis due to the simplistic compartmentalisation on a screen. Additionally, the researcher must learn how to use a software to take advantage of it and continue learning new updates.

Within this analysis, Nvivo was used as the advantages prevailed over the disadvantages. Possible pitfalls were constantly assessed through the use of *memoing*.

5.3.2.2. Memoing

Memoing is deeply interlinked with the coding process as is evident through several previous references to it (Saldaña, 2013). Essentially a form of free flow thinking by the researcher, it is the process of recording any idea that comes to mind during the research process either in written or audio format. It is used to make connections between codes and how they may be developing into a theory (Given, 2008). The process of focusing solely on data theorisation is named theoretical memoing, but is done simultaneously with standard memoing in most cases.

As the process requires considerable reflexivity, the researcher can also create memos as a way to ensure that technological means of coding do not prevent a simplification of the data (Robson and McCartan, 2016). In the case of this research, continuous notes were taken in a notebook dedicated to the research in question as well as on the transcription tool Otter and coding tool Nvivo.

5.4. Ethical Considerations

Throughout the entire research process, the ethical guidelines of the British Sociological Association (2017) were followed. This was to ensure that no harm came to research participants and that professional integrity was upheld. To protect interviewees, anonymity was given to each and a full disclosure of how their answers would be used. They were also informed that if they wished to at any time in the research process stop participating, all their information would be retracted. In doing so, this was not only moral, but Scheyvens (2014)

argues that it leads to better results as the participant is more trusting and therefore open to answering personal questions.

Precautions taken included ensuring information was stored on private devices not connected to the cloud and that consent had been given both before and during each interview. Furthermore, an emphasis was put on showing genuine curiosity, friendliness and interest in what participants had to say. This was important especially in instances when the translator was present. Even if it was not always clear what the participant was saying, ensuing to keep eye contact on Zoom, nodding and reacting to what was understood made the situation feel more comfortable for all those involved.

6. Results & Analysis

The following presents the results of the coding process, introduces the established theory and gives an extensive analysis of findings that explain what the significance of street art was during El Paro in the opinion of protestors.

6.1. Coding Results

The use of the computer software Nvivo for assisting in the production of grounded theory proved indispensable for the analysis of each round of coding. With its many abilities to view data throughout the process in several formats it was clear to see that after each cycle of interviews, the number of iterative open coding categories created decreased as topics began to repeat themselves and the number of axial codes (which can be perceived as sub-themes or sub-topics) increased. This created reassurance that the grounded theory methodology was working and insured the credibility of the process. Additionally, the process of narrowing down the focus area to establish a theory, meanwhile understanding the increased complexity, was also aided by the ability to create diagrams in Nvivo (see A6.1-A8.3).

Hierarchy Charts (see A6.1-A7.3), sunburst Diagrams (see A9.1-A10.3), word clouds (see A11.1-A11.3) and in-depth breakdowns of the most populated code in each stage of the coding process (see A8.1-A8.3) provided a visual overview to understand a total of 126 codes. Within each, there were between 1 and 42 excerpts. The assistance of Nvivo allowed for a clear

breakdown of which topics were discussed by the most participants, the most times and how they may be related to one another.

As a result, the remaining 6 categories in the selective coding step of the methodology could be interpreted (see *A5.4*) and analysed with the additional assistance of memos to create the final core category 'The Transformative Irenic Power of Street Art'. From these categories, a macro-framework which describes rebellious actions within an urban protest setting was developed. This then allowed for the establishment of a middle-range theory which serves as a tool for empirical research which aims to understand why rebellious acts that don't use violence in urban protest settings are more effective in transforming the city than other acts of rebellion.

6.2. Developing A Theory

Based on the research findings under the code 'Reactions of people during El Paro', a development was made on Merton's (1938) anomie meta-theory. As his classifications dealt with general societal deviance, this new proposed meta framework '**Categories of Rebellion** within **Protest'** identifies four sub-categories within rebellious acts of deviance during a protest, as seen in *Figure 4*. These categories are further expanded upon in *Table 3*.

Although the intention has not been to develop a meta theory based on Merton's (1938) work, categories of rebellion within protest became apparent while interviewees described what the significance had been of street art during El Paro in comparison to other manifestations of rebellion. Street art was partially so significant as it allowed for a less violent way for people to protest. From this, the middle-range grounded theory '**Irenic Rebellious City Transformation**' was developed which builds on existing research within right to the city, but with a specific focus on the use of street art.

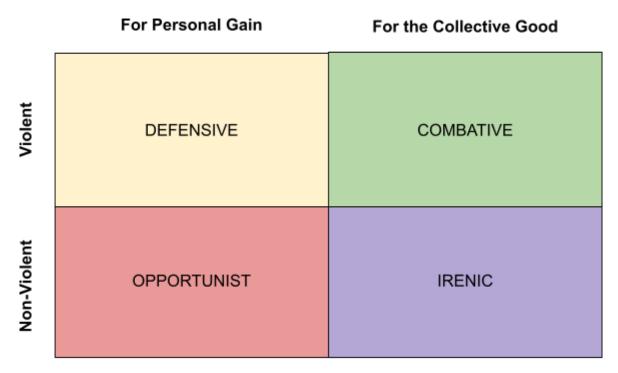


Figure 4. Categories of Rebellion within Protest: A meta theory, developed within the framework of Merton's (1938) category of rebellion within societal deviance. Applied solely within a protest setting. (Source: Author)

Classification	Description	Example of the Typology During El Paro
Defensive	The <i>defensive</i> rebels against legal protesting because they believe the government is not doing enough to protect their interests. This may benefit a group of people, but the action is taken with an individual's own interests in mind. They take matters into their own hands and decide to violently stop protestors. They too want new goals and means within society, but for the benefit of their minority.	Civilians who shot at protestors in Cali as they were reducing mobility around the city and they were prepared to use illegal means to disperse protesters.
Irenic	Those who protest illegally but peacefully. They wish for new goals and means within society but do not engage in violence. Such a person also fights for others' rights, not only their own. They wish for change for the collective good.	Those that produced street art can be categorised as belonging to the category of irenic rebellion as, although engaging in illegal activities, they did not commit any physical harm to others.

Table 3. Descriptions	and Examples of	Categories of Rebellio	n During El Paro 2021.
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Opportunist	The opportunist rebels, but is willing to take advantage of the chaos to further their own interests. Similar to Merton's category of 'innovation', the difference is that the <i>opportunistic</i> individual does not accept the cultural goals set out. They rebel in an egocentric manner, as opposed to those fitting the irenic category, and they prioritise self-gain.	Those who stole from large corporations as a means of financial gain as was the case in Cali. They took advantage of the chaos within the protest to gain what they needed/wanted.
Combative	The combative uses violent means within rebellion but for the collective good. They may themselves be satisfied with their lives (although not a requirement) but work towards a creative good that benefits those outside themselves.	The Primera Linea protected peaceful protestors who were attacked by the police and ESMAD through violent means. They did this to ensure the majority of protestors could remain within the irenic rebellion category.

6.2.1. Typologies of Rebellion

As emphasised by participants (each of whom will from here on out be abbreviated to 'P' and the corresponding participant number), there were many who protested in a peaceful manner and were integral to the ability for El Paro to last as long as it did such as 'the musicians going out' (P3), 'the *Cacerolazo*' (P4) and the people 'making food for all those on the streets' (P9).

However, it became clear throughout the coding analysis that there were several rebellious acts (those that were not legal or typically socially acceptable) that were also present. Street art was often referred to as a peaceful form of rebellion. In order to understand what made this category so unique, however, a context of all four rebellious categories are briefly outlined based on participant responses.

6.2.1.1. Combative Rebellion

'We had a frontline of mothers/.../Mothers that lost their kids because of police violence during a protest and that went out and put on the gear and put on the shields, and were out there in the middle'. (P3)

The combative category describes those who are willing to use violence for the collective good. This perfectly describes the group named the *Primera linea* (The First Line) during El Paro. They were composed of individuals who were willing to take the risk of injury and, in cases, even death to ensure that the majority of people were able to protest in peace. Roles varied from 'protecting medical staff' (P3) to actually 'fighting with the police' (P9). Kitted up in 'gear' (P3), it was often the case that they engaged in physical confrontations with the police and used violence as a means of defence or to deter the police.

The Primera Linea were seen as a force for good, despite the use of violence, because they worked for the people, a role which the police were failing at in the opinion of P5 who explained that 'it was scary' as 'the people who/.../[should] be protecting you is the people who was just hunting you.'. This feeling was not uncommon between respondents who explained that there was 'a lot of conflict between the ESMAD and the people' and that they used 'lethal weapons' (P8). Therefore, the primera linea, although controversial in their methods, exercised for most a necessary use of violence.

6.2.1.2. Defensive Rebellion

'They were very stressed out to see all the people protesting. And the streets were blocked, and they couldn't move to the other side. And those people like organised, some of those guys, to shoot [at the protestors]' (P9)

Unlike the combative category, the defensive form of rebellion is a category where people wish to protect their own interests and do not believe that enough is being done by the government. Therefore, they take matters into their own hands by illegal means. In the case of El Paro, this was done predominantly by the 'rich people' (P9) who had the means to act and the power to ensure they would not be held accountable for their actions. P1 gives the example that there are still a lot of people that are 'in the narco traffic' that are 'defending what they are/.../their needs/.../their life and their lifestyle' and that were therefore drawn to taking matters in their own hands to be able to continue their business as usual.

However, there was also a definite impression from interviewees that those rebelling defensively simply shot on the people protesting 'just because' (p9) they could. P7 explained that as 'police officers are actually like a type of shield for the higher class', that the wealthy

are able to use violence without consequences unlike those in the Primera Linea. These responses very much echo the class inequalities mentioned in the *Background* of this paper.

6.2.1.3. Opportunistic Rebellion

'And he said, a couple of guys in a big car just gave me the paint and a couple of bucks. And they said, just throw it over. And he was struggling! It was too easy for him. You know? He went, threw it and went!' (P5)

These inequalities are also echoed by those people that fell into the opportunistic rebellion category during El Paro. Within this group, individuals do not use violence against anyone, but they act out in illegal rebellious forms that are for personal gain and normally go against the collective good. During El Paro, these were individuals who mostly had incredibly poor living conditions and took the opportunity of the protest to improve their situation, even if only for a short moment.

There were a variety of manifestations of this opportunistic rebellion that were evident throughout the coding process. Firstly, there were opportunists who focused on vandalism as an outlet for frustrations. Groups of people who believed that they were less likely to be caught as the police were focused on the protests therefore engaged in activities such as smashing windows and destroying elements of the transport systems in both Cali and Bogotá because they 'just don't really care, they just hate the cops' (P3) and the system in which they live. However, there were also others who were motivated by financial gain, as was often the enticement of those who painted over street art. '[T]hey paid low-income women and low-income men to [paint over street art]/.../everybody was without money because there was no work' (P5) and they were easy targets, many of the interviewees explained. One participant described they had even caught a homeless person in the act of painting over their wall but that they had empathy with them as they were clearly struggling and 'a couple of guys in a big car just gave [him] the paint and a couple of bucks/.../it was too easy for him!'.

However, interesting as the opportunists are, their existence in the case of El Paro speaks more to the inequalities existing in Colombia and the class structures in place. Three of the ten participants explicitly recounted cases of opportunistic rebellion triggered by poverty, homlessness or historical inequalities. Although not the focus of this study specifically, the easy way in which people were manipulated to work against street artists' rebelling is an important detail.

6.2.1.4. Irenic Rebellion

'Urban art is to disturb, it is an action verb related to social causes, it breaks paradigms, it is irreverent, it is rebellious/.../art is life, colour, transformation, sensation.' (P10)

Irenic, meaning 'favouring, conducive to, or operating toward peace, moderation, or conciliation' (Merriam-Webster, 2022), was a fitting term to encompass the descriptions given by interviewees as to what street arts significance was during El Paro. With over 30 nodes categorised under *irenic rebellion*, it was implicit that the category was of importance. Perhaps, as P8 so succinctly put it, 'art is in total, a very sensible tool within social causes' and therefore for many it was an easy way to protest within El Paro. However, being illegal, street art has an additional dimension that makes its creation more complex.

From respondents' answers, however, this added risk seemed worth it. P9 explained that for many, they felt as if they 'have to say the truth' even if 'we think it could be dangerous for us'. Indeed, all interviewees explained or suggested that street art was a nonviolent way to protest that showed a rebellious force by acting outside of what was legal, yet did no harm to others. '[W]e are able to create something like this with no intention to harm anyone' P6 reiterated. Interestingly, harm to property was never mentioned. This suggests that individuals saw violence as purely an act which impacts a person physically rather than mentally which is often the pain caused by vandalism.

In total, there were 6 areas that encompassed why irenic rebellion was so significant and transformative of the urban space. These are elaborated on in the following sections after an explanation of the final theory established by grounded theory: Rebellious Irenic City Transformation.

6.2.2. Irenic Rebellious City Transformation

Definition of Irenic Rebellious City Transformation:

A middle range theory that describes defiant acts that are illegal, but do not cause harm to people and are enacted with the intention of improving the common good. Such acts change the urban sphere in either physical and/or societal ways as they are less polarising than violent and illegal methods of rebelling. Therefore, more people feel inclined to partake or support an irenic rebellious act to create changes in their urban environment.

From the meta-typologies created, the middle range theory *irenic rebellious city transformation* was developed which can be used to theorise why street art was so significant in the opinion of protestors during El Paro. Rooted in the macro theory of right to the city, irenic rebellious city transformation was developed from inferences of the data that street art was a defiant act that allowed for the transformation of the city to take place during the protest because it was a less violent method of rebelling and therefore more likely to win support. The transformations that occurred were both physical and societal within the urban context of Cali and Bogotá and are further explored in *The Significance of Street Art During El Paro 2021*.

6.2.2.1. The Importance of Creating a Middle-Range Theory

Merton (1945) was a proponent for the creation of 'middle-range' theories within sociology and called for a better understanding amongst academics of its use and implementation into their own work. Stemming from a frustration with what he perceived as a fairly hollow and meaningless definition of the term 'theory', a significant amount of Merton's work was focused on counteracting such vagueness and improving social theory to better understand social structures.

He emphasised in particular the need for middle-range theories because they bridge the gap between micro theories which describe what happens in society on a small scale and macro theories that generalise entire social systems. Middle-range theory allows for hypotheses that can be empirically investigated which can bridge the gap between macro theories where this is not possible, or micro theories where results are case specific.

In light of Merton's work, irenic rebellious city transformation proposes a middle-range theory which allows for an understanding as to why non-violent yet illegal actions take place in protest that have the ability to transform urban spaces unlike those that are more violent.

Although based on the research findings in Bogotá and Cali, this theory is also applicable elsewhere in urban protest settings.

6.3. The Significance of Street Art During El Paro 2021

The following 6 subsections correspond with the final 6 codes that emerged in the coding process. Each identifies ways in which street art was significant during the protest. When analysed in sum, the result is an understanding that street art caused urban transformation as it provided a non-violent act of rebellion within El Paro which ultimately was less polarising than other forms identified in the typologies of rebellion framework. This supports the irenic rebellious city transformation theory previously described.

Additional reflections on the connections between the conceptual framework and existing research will be incorporated throughout to demonstrate how irenic city transformation can be supported by other theories also.

6.3.1. Community Creation

Community creation was evidently an outcome of street art during El Paro with over 23 references made to it and an additional 21 in the category of collaboration. This is in part because 'the level of graffiti [and street art] is directly proportional to the level of inequality, injustice, violence' (P2) one participant explained, and therefore people who protest unite together through street arts dissemination.

Indeed, because so many people were frustrated with the inaction of the government after previous protests and a multitude of people had been pushed below the poverty line during the pandemic, there was a lot more incentive for individuals to look for and engage in alternative ways to protest in 2021. This is a clear demonstration of *cultural framing* (Morris, 2000) as people had more to lose by not engaging in illegal forms of protest than by joining in with street art. Additionally, because street artists began teaching and organising events to paint the streets, there were also *mobilising structures* in place for people to take part and thus spurring a street art centred social movement during El Paro. The street artists and the graffiti artists 'were the teachers' (P5) who saw a *political opportunity* to make a difference in their local communities, despite their artistic communities usually being exclusive.

'I think even the underground writers understood that at that point, it wasn't about that anymore/.../it was about joining the marches and joining in the way that you can, which is going out and painting.' (P3)

The accessibility that the mobilising structures created made a 'safe space in order to bring families together' (P6) which made street art also an accessible way for children to join in with their parents. This is interesting as it was clear that legal forms of protesting, such as peacefully marching through the city, were often highlighted by participants as a more dangerous form of protesting than the illegal creation of street art (P1, P5, P6). This was particularly because the ESMAD and police used a lot of illegal force against them, resulting in previously mentioned human rights violations (Human Rights Watch, 2021). From this, it can be inferred then that street art, although illegal, was perceived by many as a safer way to come together in community and protest than traditional and legal ways.

Lastly, communities across each city were connected through street art in ways not seen before. This was because those in marginalised spaces had more experience in producing political and expressive street art than working class participants in wealthier neighbourhoods and therefore there was a lot of knowledge and skill sharing across communities (P5, P7, P8). The study of the phenomenon of marginalised persons being more likely to engage in illegal and dangerous actions like street art and graffiti are discussed extensively within right to the city theories (Dworkin, 2013). This collaboration, however, between spaces was rather unique and perhaps a result of many people feeling like traditional protesting was useless as demonstrated by previous protests that did not yield any result (see A1.5-A1.6).

'I grew up in a very, how can I call it? Dangerous neighbourhood? So you know/.../in that kind of environment, Hip hop is the answer. But I wasn't any good at break dance/.../I wasn't good [at] singing. But I was good [at] drawing. So that's why I connected hip hop with graffiti.' (P5)

6.3.2. A Political Tool

As Dabène (2020) writes, street art can always be interpreted as political simply by being illegal. However, the street art used during El Paro was political in multifarious ways. Firstly, the *iconography* used was very much related to traditional images and symbols of resistance.

From simple pieces such as the repetition of 'graffitis that say all cops are bastards, ACAB' (P4) to the creation of whole structures such as the raised fist monument in Porta De Resistencia which was over two stories tall (P7). Furthermore, icons of resistance emerged that were unique to El Paro in 2021 specifically. Particularly popular was the tagging of Cali and Bogotá with the name 'Flexor' after the street name of a graffiti artist who was killed by the police during the protest to stand in solidarity with his family and other artists (P1).

It was also clear that street art became very politicised by the 'war' (P9) that took place in both cities between those painting and those painting over in white or grey in a bid to censor what was being shown (P1, P2, P3, P4).

'Like people actually painted over many graffiti, especially in Cali. It happened a lot. And it's people that were/.../with no fear saying that they were from the right wing political/.../side in Colombia. And they just were in favour of the government and because of that, they were painting white everything' (P4)

This was mentioned repeatedly by interviewees as a clear indication to them the power street art held (P1, P2, P3, P4). '[G]roups of right wing people started covering them up' (P2) because they did not like the encouragement it gave people to continue protesting (P9) or because of the political messages being spread (P4, P7).

Indeed, 'art lets the people talk' (P7) and during El Paro provided an important tool to hold discussions both in person and online (P3). Such deliberation enhances a democratic system, especially at the local grassroots level (Dabène, 2020). Therefore not only is street art political, but it also has the potential to enhance democratic systems as a means of connecting local actors with one another and creating discussion, as is demonstrated through the case of Cali and Bogota. The further development of theory on this phenomenon could produce fruitful results as globally democracy is in decline (Freedom House, 2022). Potentially understanding street art in urban spheres could therefore help rebuild grass-root democratic systems (see *A Call for Further Research*).

However, it is important to also understand the limitations of street art within politics. As P5 emphasises, '[A]rt is not a weapon. So if you are in a war against the government or the police, you're going to lose'. This statement was interesting, as well as powerful, as the prior 4

interviewees had only discussed the strengths street art brought to El Paro. P5 completely contradicted their enthusiasm for street art as a political tool due to their own experiences with art works being painted over several times by homeless people paid by unknown wealthy individuals.

'Sometimes we are really, really poetic. And we are like, ah! We can paint walls, we can paint the floor. And that's beautiful! But they don't care. Trust me/.../You can take it from a different perspective/.../I reckon they show us their power. Like when the Spanish people came here to colonise, they took the aborigions religion and put over church, the Catholic church. It's the same. Its fucking the same. So, I reckon it's my responsibility as an artist to say like, art is not a weapon. We can make a lot of things, we can make noise, but/.../when they came for us/.../they took us very easy.' (P5)

After this paradigm shift, the adaptability of a semi-structured interview process allowed for further questions to be included as to what the dangers or disadvantages of street art had been during El Paro to ensure a more exhaustive understanding of the power street art had during El Paro. Interestingly, this led to participants opening up about the complexities of producing street art. P7 explained that after they and their colleagues had been threatened and investigated by the police as dominant figures within Porta Resistencia, a few street artists stopped contributing their skills to the community efforts. Threats were also made via social media to a couple of interviewees which made them more conscious about how they presented their street art online.

P9 also emphasised that the safety of those creating street art was very much dependent on where in the city individuals painted.

'Because police shooting, people fighting with the police and they between, like, painting on the streets?! It's/.../something like, out of the reality! Yes. You see people painting right there in the streets. Even if they hear like bullets, explosions, bombs. All those challenges at the moment to paint? I think it's really hard.' (P9)

Although for most an activity that could be done consciously to get away from the police, there were those who took to the frontlines to paint political messages and to encourage the Primera Linea (P9). In turn, like a symbiotic relationship, the Primera Linea also employed people to protect street artists while they painted (P1). This was because they knew that the messages being painted would help motivate individuals as well as potentially spread political messages by being picked up by news channels (P1).

'[F]or you to paint the wall the way they did with this huge, amazing drawings and this huge, like, for example, faces and really specific things. You need time. Yeah. And time was something that was given by the resistance.' (P1)



Oswel (2021c) 'Asesinos a sueldo del estado–Alto al genocidio. Nos estan masacrando' (Murderers on the state's payroll. Stop the Genocide. They are massacring us.)

6.3.3. Societal Transformation in Colombia

Interestingly, there was a transformation in how older generations within Colombia perceived street art and its use within El Paro (P3). Previously having been associated with vandalism, crime and danger as tags had been used by guerilla groups as an intimidation tactic (P1), during the protests there was a growing acceptance of street art as a form of irenic rebellion (P3).

'Older generations are discovering that, oh, these kids are peacefully marching, and they're peacefully painting. And it's making an impact.' (Participant 3)

The growing support and societal shift in acceptance in street art, especially in Cali where it is still criminalised, was evident by the interactions that interviewees had experienced. In one case, simply the fact that elderly relatives and neighbours were asking questions about street art use in the protests was an acknowledgement that they were becoming more open to the societal change that El Paro was fighting for (P3). This was because questions about street art were just a bridge to further discussions about why so many people, especially the youth, were protesting. This contributes to deliberative democracy as previously discussed. Other examples given were that of people clapping and honking their horns in approval when passing artists as they painted (P9) and even some elderly joining in with the painting itself (P5).

Additional transformations which took place in El Paro were within the graffiti and street art communities themselves. As described in *Existing Research*, both communities do not normally collaborate with each other. However, during El Paro labels were cast aside and groups cooperated, collaborated and in some cases even developed new friendships (P5).

'[B]efore the Paro, it was actually more about each person on their own, like individualism/.../They wanted to show their dominance throughout their art/.../And by the Paro, it was actually like, there was a complete shift/.../the artists came together!' (P7).

Within the background reading, no literature has been found to suggest that a mass sub-cultural shift on this scale has ever taken place within these two communities. This alludes to the possibility that strongly held sub-cultural norms and beliefs can be altered under exceptional circumstances, as was the case during El Paro. Further investigation as to this hypothesis within the street art and graffiti subcultures would be novel, see *A Call for Further Research*.

Lastly, a re-emphasis on the collaboration between street artists, graffiti artists and the wider public should be made. There was a boom in those outside any form of artistic community participating in street art production as a result of professionals taking the time to teach and assist them (P1, P4, P5). This not only allowed for the proliferation of street art at greater speed and scale, but also meant a lot to those who never felt invited into such creative spaces before (P5).

6.3.4. Empowerment

With 11 categories on different forms of power, it was clear that street art had empowered interviewees and those they protested with in many different forms. Having so many categories insinuates that for each individual the use of street art was also very personal and had a unique significance to them.

One form of empowerment that was very striking was the power to remember those killed during El Paro. P8 explained how for them, the act of creating and painting was an important tool for momentary relief from the pain of losing people they knew as well as those unknown to them. This sentiment was echoed also by P1 and P3, the latter explaining 'that's how people kind of deal with certain situations', by being creative.

On a more joyful note, street art was also used as a way to empower whole communities to transform their space in ways they felt were reflective of the residents in the area.

'For example, here, the Portal America's/.../portal is like the terminal in a certain part of the city, is called Portal de Americas. It actually got renamed by the protesters as Portal Resistencia/.../the sign on the outside was completely changed and painted over/.../and so that was very important because these images of what people kind of identify with the state now have become for the people.' (P3)

This assertion of creativity and expression is a form of political *claim making* as urban citizens decided to re-shape the existing narrative of their own communities. This was emphasised as particularly significant as many places held a lot of trauma for people as former native inhabitants who previously resided there had been killed during Colonialism or pushed off their lands (P9). Furthermore, actions of protestors can also be analysed from an infra-political perspective as actions taken within urban infrastructure impacts politics, and political actions (such as protesting) impact

infrastructure. This gives a framework for being able to understand how street art can be used as a political tool for empowering the transformation of the urban space to claim more rights to the city.



Oswel (2021d) A piece to commemorate Nicolás Guerrera who peacefully protested but was shot in the face by the ESMAD and died of his wounds.

6.3.5. Media Influence on Street Art

The analysis of collected data thus far strongly suggests that street art was influential and powerful as a tool of community creation, political influence, social transformation and empowerment. Interestingly, seven of the ten interviewees mentioned that the scale and impact would not have been possible without social media which is why media was one of the six final categories in the coding process before a core category was created.

What social media provided was an ability for individuals to share their street art online so not only those in Cali and Bogotá could see them, but people all across Colombia and the world (P7). Furthermore, those who found an artwork in the streets they liked also circulated photos of the piece creating an organic momentum (P6). Not only was this an extension of being able to express emotions through street art as previously mentioned (P1, P3), but it was also a way to inspire others to create a similar piece or to demonstrate street art techniques so that the *artivism* could continue (P3). 'People would basically gather each other on social media, with their friends and family and then get resources and a couple days later, you have a whole, the whole plaza painted' p3 exemplified.

These interviewee responses very much echo the qualities of mobilising *structures* found in political process theory. Although social media platforms are not physical locations that aid political movements, previously existing online street art communities were able to come together during El Paro to use their networks to further the protests aims. Because of social media, political messages that were captured and shared on social media were 'multiplied to the streets, and [then] multiplied to the country. And that's the objective of using the wall' (P3).

However, with the positive online media attention protestors received, there were also those against El Paro who took the opportunity to use social media as a form of weapon.

'I had to do the Uribe hour. So that was to go in through all the posts that I posted throughout the day/.../and start erasing really aggressive messages from people who didn't like what we were posting.' (P3)

P3 explained that social media could allow for beneficial discussion between those both for and against El Paro. Indeed, they commented that on occasions there had been very interesting discussions about property rights, vandalism and artistic expression on their Facebook and Instagram accounts. However, 'if it's something very aggressive, like we're gonna kill you guys' (P3) then measures had to be taken to block accounts to protect the safety of the street artists and the momentum their work had created.

Interestingly, this backlash did not prevent a subcultural shift from occurring within the Colombian street art and graffiti scene during El Paro, despite the risks associated with street art production at the time. Reflecting on the last decade within both, P4 explained that 'social media changed forever the graffiti world and it/.../enhanced the way that graffiti was used during the protests'. An example given repeatedly was the way in which social media allowed for the development of new artistic styles through the use of drones (P3, P4, P6). Drones, a technology which allows photos to be taken from above at great heights, had until recently not been an affordable technology in Colombia (P4). As it had become more 'accessible' (P4), however, it allowed for street artists to re-think the scale and location of pieces they made (see *The Aesthetics of Resistance in Cali and Bogotá*). Coupled with social media, drone footage

created a ripple effect where artists began painting large pieces on the ground and sharing their artwork online.

'[T]hose messages on the floor cannot be as famous as they were if it was not for social media. I mean, who has the opportunity to see a photo taken by a drone?/.../ If you do not post it on social media?/.../it may be painted on the floor. But if you do not have the opportunity to say this thing is painted on the floor where you're standing right now, it means nothing.' (P4)

6.3.6. The Aesthetics of Resistance in Cali and Bogotá

The dimensions of visual resistance in Cali and Bogotá have been mentioned throughout the analysis as they are so closely tied with the other 5 codes in the selective coding stage. However, to fully understand the significance street art had for protestors, the 7 dimensions outlined by Bogerts (2022) are explicitly addressed in the following.

The dimension of *time* of course is paramount in a protest. How quickly street art is produced (P1) and how long it lasts are both factors which will influence how much impact a piece may have (P6). This is why the selection of *materials* was an important decision for protestors as they wanted to ensure that their work would exist for as long as possible (P6).

'Okay, if we want that this is going to be a message for some months, maybe one or two or three, we have to do it with traffic paint! Otherwise, this is going to be erased in three days!' (P6)

A *spatial* dimension was of course also a consideration as the type of materials and the time it takes to create a piece is location dependent. From interviewee respondents, this varied greatly depending on who was *producing* a piece. It was an experienced crew, it could be executed quickly (P6). However, if there was a collaboration between an artist and inexperienced artists from the local community, it could take much longer as technique needed to be taught and at times sections had to be repainted due to mistakes (P1).

Perhaps the most iconic street art creation throughout El Paro was El Monumento en Puerta de Resistencia (The Monument in the Resistance Gate/Door, referred to colloquially as 'El

Monumento') (P1, P3, P7). Spanning over two stories high, the monument is of a raised fist, lifted into the sky in resistance (P7). The *iconography* of this work has historical ties to other resistance movements and was intended to bring the community together in remembrance of those lost (Stout, 2020). Further symbolism is literally embedded in the monument as the metal poles used within the foundation of the arm were police poles that were illegally taken from a police station during El Paro (P7). Clearly there was no *legality* in the theft of material however, for the *audience* (in other words the protestors) this seemed insignificant compared to the lives that had been lost at the hands of the ESMAD and the police.

Additional significance was incorporated into El Monumento by including shields that were used by the Primera Linea, in most cases scrap pieces of metal from barrels, painted with the faces of those killed in Cali during El Paro (P7). Furthermore, different artforms were included to show the talent from the *barrio* (neighbourhood) that ranged from detailed fine art, to street art and graffiti. Besides the poles, most materials were gifted by Cali residents or bought with financial donations (P7) which enhanced a feeling of community and their right to the city.

Indeed, El Monumento triggered a chain of events within the neighbourhood such as the creation of a public library 'Biblioteca Puerto Resistencia' (P1), the building of *tiendas* (small shops or stalls) selling El Monumento souvenirs and a public square surrounding the monument for public events, such as art classes to give tools to the community to express themselves and come together (P7). The ability to describe so many dimensions of the monument is a reflection of how frequently it was referenced to by interviewees. Indeed, Puerta de Resistencia was by far the most referenced street art action which took over any city space in Cali or Bogotá. Further research into how this space develops would allow for the continued development of the theory irenic rebellious city transformation, especially as the community is now facing opposition from law enforcement who wish to take it down and are keeping track of the activities of social leaders who were responsible for much of the street art in the barrio.



(Oswel, 2021e) El Monumento en Puerta de Resistencia (The Monument in the Resistance Gate/Centre).

6.4. Research Limitations

There were several limitations that impacted this research process. Firstly, external factors forced a whole restructuring of the methodology process. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, travel to Colombia for face to face interviewing was very difficult. Flights and accommodation were more expensive and the socio-political situation made approval for travel with Lund University difficult. Additionally, grant and scholarship schemes prioritised Masters students and PhD candidates who were unable to conduct research in previous years or who had more experience in the research field.

Additionally, deficiencies of the researcher also limited the scale and scope of what could be achieved (Robson and McCartan, 2016). Not being a native Spanish speaker, research papers that may address El Paro and/or street art could have been missed, mis-translated or resulted in a loss of nuance. Additionally, working without a research team may have led to issues of personal bias, overlooking important points or overconfidence in oneselves' own judgement (Robson and McCartan, 2016). In order to counteract these concerns, the translation tool

Google Translate was used, self-reflexivity was practised through memoinga and feedback was received by the research supervisor.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

Street art during El Paro held much significance to protestors in Cali and Bogotá because it was a form of rebellion which was undertaken for the collective good and did not use physical violence. This allowed it to be used in a multitude of ways which suited individuals' own wants, needs and desires as protestors. This can be explained through the developed middle-range theory of *irenic rebellious city transformation* which proposes that irenic forms of rebellion are less polarising and therefore people feel more inclined to partake or support such actions. This, therefore, has an impact on the urban environment and, resultantly, local development socially and politically.

These attributes are very much opposed to the three other forms of rebellion which were included in the developed framework of *Typologies of Rebellion*. Resulting from the iterative coding of three interview rounds, the framework provides a development of Merton's typologies of deviance, with a focus on his category of rebellion within the context of protest. Within El Paro, there were also manifestations of combative, defensive and opportunistic rebellion which in cases hightended protestors want to rebel irenically.

Both the framework and theory that emerged, combined with previous research and a conceptual framework, resulted in 6 dominant categories of street art's significance to be identified and analysed. These were its ability to create community, serve as a political tool, spark social transformation, develop new ways of communication and transform urban spaces. Combined, they speak to the diverse range of reasons street art garnered so much attention and became popular as an irenic tool. They indicate that social, urban and political transformation took place which moved forward the protestors' political agenda to improve the lives of those in the city, build political power and peacefully fight for their rights –democracy in action.

7.1. A Call for Further Research

The three objectives (ob) within this research, conducting ten interviews (ob 1) in order to build a middle-range grounded theory (ob 2) to assist in answering the research question (ob 3), were met. Yet, the framework and theory developed also have uses in further research within the fields of development, sociological, urban studies and criminology.

Four topics were previously alluded to which would be meaningful continuations from this research. The first was an investigation as to how street art in urban communities could directly assist in the building of grass-root democratic systems. By combining Dabène's framework for classifications of street-level democracy and collaborative governance with the theory of irenic rebellious city transformation, a conceptual framework is now available to investigate this topic.

A further area of research which would be groundbreaking is that of the collaboration that took place between street artists and graffiti writers, as well as graffiti writers and the public during El Paro. As mentioned in *Art Styles and Cultures*, graffiti groups are normally very exclusive and work within a community that emerges from the subculture. The finding from this research that they collaborated with those outside the community, especially on such a scale, would be interesting to investigate both in the Colombian context as well as internationally, with a potential comparison of graffiti artists in the global north and those in the global south.

Additionally, also raised by interviewees, was the topic of the appropriation of the aesthetic crisis that emerged after El Paro. As without the research scope, this was not introduced previously. However, there were indications within interviewee responses of commercial businesses using street art as a form of attracting customers as well as attempting to erase their involvement with the ESMAD and the police.

Lastly, further research as to how irenic rebellious city transformation continues to be enacted in Colombia, as well as other South American Cities and beyond would allow for the continued development of the theory. Having been developed through the case study of Bogotá and Cali, the continued application of the framework and theory in these cities would provide a good basis to see if additional events or actions impact each. Having familiarised myself so thoroughly with existing research on street art in Colombia and having developed a unique framework and theory in order to progress research in this field, I would be eager to be part of any further research on the four areas outlined. Additionally, any research proposed or undertaken within the same subject field, I would be pleased to be a part of.

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9. Appendix (A)

A1. Further Historical Background

A1.1 La Violencia

Tracing back to the period of *La Violencia* from 1948 to 1958 (BBC, 2016), one can see that Colombia has long had issues with political polarisation. Although records from this time are poor and limited, an estimated 200-300,000 brutal deaths occurred in what was neither a civil war nor an official rebellion, but violent battles fought in Colombia's rural regions (Bailey, 1967).

The initial trigger was in 1948 when Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a popular Liberal Party leader and potential next president, was assassinated (Bailey, 1967). After an initial riot known as the *Bogotazo*, the country became ideologically divided. In general, the Liberals were supported by land workers and the conservatives by landowners. However, to split these groups into two distinct categories is too facile. Religion, for example, was used as a tool to further

conservative beliefs so even those who were directly disadvantaged by the conservative policies were in favour of the party. What emerged was a liberal (and a small communist) guerilla force against the conservative military which has impacted Colombian politics ever since (Ramsey, 1973).

The period came to an end with the signing of a 15-year agreement known as *Frente Nacional* (The National Front) which agreed to share political power and in doing so, put an end to La Violencia. However, politicians in both parties did not advance development for those who had been most impacted by La Violencia and were disadvantaged due to poor rural infrastructure. Resultantly, a new era of political conflict began.

A1.2 Guerilla Groups and Paramilitaries

Paramilitary groups were formed after the signing of the *Frente Nacional* (see *A1.1*), most notably the *FARC*, *ELN* and the *ELP* (Saab and Taylor, 2009). Meanwhile, the 'internal colonisation' (Meger and Sachseder, p958, 2020) of Colombia began to ensue in parallel with guerilla groups recruiting and strategising. Large populations were displaced as landowners began mining and profiteering from the resources found (IDMC, 2020). This disruption created more anger against the conservative government which did not recognise the rights of the labourers who were particularly of Indigenous and African descent and historically discriminated against by law enforcement. This resulted in more people either willingly or being forced to join guerilla organisations as a way to survive (Meger and Sachseder, 2020).

Narco trafficking was initially a means of financing guerrilla groups as they were severely disadvantaged financially (Sánchez and Raga, 2019). The paramilitaries, united under the name *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*, were being financed by the Colombian government as well as by the United States (Meger and Sachseder, 2020). However, as political interests changed and U.S. involvement increased, the violence grew. Guerilla groups were kidnapping and ransoming individuals as a means of income, meanwhile deadly force was used against them (Suarez, 2000). On both sides, there was much bloodshed. Most impacted were those living in rural areas as many resorted to producing coca as a means of income and were persecuted and pressured by both the guerillas and the paramilitary (Otis, 2014). It was the disregard for these individuals which partly allowed for the *Falsos Positivos* (False Positives) scandal to go unnoticed for as long as it did (see *A1.3*).

A1.3 Falsos Positivos

Former President Alvero Uribe Velez, known for his hardline approach to rooting out guerillas, was fairly popular amongst people in Colombia (Sánchez *et al.*, 2019). Serving from 2002 to 2008, he was respected and praised for his conviction to root out guerrillas and have the remaining sign a peace treaty. However, his methods also had consequences. Under his supervision, incentives had been put in place for a higher death rate of guerilla soldiers (Gordan, 2017). These included financial bonuses, extended holidays and pay rises, all of which were earnt corresponding to the number of lawful killings committed by paramilitary soldiers (Restrepo, 2021). This was effective and as the number of killed guerillas rose, so did Uribe's support.

However, in 2008, the news story broke that 22 men had been murdered and found dead miles away from their home town Soacha (Daniels, 2018). Hired for labour under false pretences, members of the Paramilitary had murdered them and used their deaths to falsify guerilla killings. As time went on, more bodies were uncovered. Initially, it was believed that there were between 2000 and 3000 victims (Gordan, 2017). This caused outrage and anger against Uribe as well as the, now tarnished, national hero General Mario Montoya. In the year 2007, the murder rate is thought to have been at its highest, corresponding to new incentives that were implemented that year (Restrepo, 2021). Later, in 2021, La Jurisdicción la Paz (The Special Jurisdiction for Peace) announced that they had found evidence of at least 6402 cases, a number echoed throughout El Paro later that year (BBC, 2021).

A1.4 The Peace Treaty

Despite the Falsos Positivos scandal (see *A1.3*), former President Uribe's popularity was less tarnished than one may expect (Restrep, 2021). This is because, for many, the signing of the peace treaty which occurred in 2016 was only possible due to his political actions (Meger and Sachseder, 2020). Indeed, from the beginning of his Presidential term in 2002 when active guerilla numbers were estimated to be 20,000 strong, by the time of the peace accords an estimated 6000 to 7000 remained.

During 52 years of conflict, there was a loss of approximately 220,000 lives (Meger and Sachseder, 2020). Within Colombia, as well as the watching world, the peace treaty seemed like the start of a new era. The topics included in the peace treaty were modern and diverse, touching also upon areas in society that were still contraversial like details of women's rights

and indigenous land ownership. This was a significant shift in focus for the country which for so long had neglected these areas.

A1.5 Protests in 2018

Triggered by speculation as to whether the state was going to cut teachers' pensions and by the announcement of the low budget for education in the coming year, over 200,000 people took to the streets (Grittan, 2019). At the time, there was an operational deficit of COP \$1.4 trillium per annum and students were protesting the current level and cost of public university education (Patiño, 2018). Students and teachers alike marched for more educational investment, with indigenous activists joining them to fight for an independent and autonomous education system.

Other protests were orientated around concerns over an economic reform package which would increase the cost of basic food items, coca-leaf producers who wanted governmental aid to finance the transition to legal crops (rather than have their illicit crop destroyed by mass chemical operations) and truck drivers who were protesting increasing toll and fuel prices (Patiño, 2018).

A1.6 Protests between 2019 to 2020

The momentum of the 2018 protests (see *A1.5*) built and in 2019, a new wave of protests broke out across the country. Additional topics of concern included the health system, corruption in government, inequality, use of violence by law enforcement and decreasing pensions (Grattan, 2019). Reports of 107 confirmed murders, the majority being Afro-Colombian or Indigenous, sent ripples of indignation across the country and anger as to why the government was still slow to implement measures against such incidences despite their commitments made in the 2016 peace accords (United Nations, 2020).

Additionally, violence used against protestors by the the ESMAD became another source of anger. Their murder of an 18-year-old student named Dylan Cruz who was peacefully protesting for a better education spurred on even more national protests (Grattan, 2019). Then in 2020, during a protest against police violence in September that year, 11 protestors were killed by the ESMAD and the police which sparked even more rage (Daniels, 2021).

A2. Dimensions of Visual Resistance based on Bogerts (2022) with Examples From El Paro

Dimension of Visual Resistance:	Description and Explanation in the context of Street Art:	Example:					
Time	When street art is made impacts how it is received.	In times of conflict, street art may be noticed/produced more than in times of peace as people wish to express themselves.					
Legality	The conditions under which a piece is made impacts the way its role within resistance is perceived.	A paid mural which has been sanctioned will be perceived as less rebellious than a street art piece which is by definition illegal.					
Producers	Who produces the work impacts the perception of resistance.	A company paying for the painting of a mural to celebrate Colombia's biodiversity will be received differently to persecuted indigenous activists painting a mural.					
Iconography	Visuals that represent or convey a specific meaning which can be created through elements like colours, logos or images.	The icon of a raised fist represents resistance.					
Material The form a piece of street art takes impacts how it is perceived.		A detailed street art piece will be viewed as more aesthetically pleasing than a tag by the majority of viewers.					
Spatial	Indicating resistance based on <i>where</i> a visual is located.	Street art on a government building holds more power than on a wall in a secluded street due to the meaning associated with the physical location.					
Audience	How an audience reacts to an image will also affect the perception of the resistance of a piece.	If protestors create street art against the government, and the government reacts, then the audience will perceive the street art as having more power, influence and therefore a greater form of resistance than had it been ignored.					

A3. Tools for Building Legitimacy

A3.1. The Frontline Street Art Website



Welcome to Frontline Street Art!

A3.2. The Frontline Street Art Instagram Page

Instagram	Q Search	⋒ 🁎 🕀 @ ♡ 💽
	30 posts 102 followers 14 Philippa Scholz she/her ≰Founder of the Frontline Street A	it Profile A 36 following Art Community. e National Colombian Protests in 2021.
THESE THESE Thesis Blog	About Podcast	
	SAVED	③ TAGGED

A4. Interview Material and Considerations

A4.1 Semi-Structured Interview Guide

		Interview Guide:				
Stage of I	nterview	Statements/Questions/Prompts				
Welcoming and	l Thanks	Give a warm welcomeThank the interviewee for their time				
Introductions Introduction of Interviewen Introductio		 Personal information e.g. nationality Affiliated with Lund University Area of studies is Development Studies with a major in sociology Where are you from? 				
	of Interviewee	- What do you do?				
Warm-up Ques	stions	 How are you doing today? What is your involvement with street art? What does street art mean to you? How do you define street art? 				
InterviewWhat wasQuestionsWhat wasthe role ofstreet artduring ElParo in2021?What wereyourreactions tostreet artduring El		 On morale? In the media? Duration? Long-lasting impacts? Within the art community? Outside of the artistic community? 				
		 What emotions did you have in relation to the street art during El Paro 2021? Was the street art different to previous protests? 				

Paro 2021? What was		- The same everywhere in Colombia?
the <i>public</i> <i>reaction</i> to street art during El Paro in 2021?		 Different in Cali and Bogotá? How do you know about others' reactions? How was it different between generations, if at all?
Concluding Thoughts and Thanks		 Explain the time is coming to a close Ask if they have anything to add Reiterate that everything is anonymous Let them know that they can get in touch whenever they like Ask for permission to contact with any possible follow up questions Thank interviewee for their time Say goodbye

A4.2 Power Held by the Researcher/Interviewer

Power Held by the Researcher/Interviewer	Power Held by the Interviewee
 Knowledge of the research process Power over questions asked Has the recording of the interview Language advantages as the interviews were held in English and participants spoke English as their second language. 	- Knowledge of the topic being investigated

A5. The Coding Process

Name ^	Files
> O Aesthetics of Resistance	1
🔿 After El Paro 2021	1
🔿 Bogota	3
🔿 Cali	3
> O Collaboration	3
O Colombian History and Street Art	2
> O Communication Tool	3
> O Culture	3
> O Dangerous in Making Street Art	1
O Decentralising Street Art	3
> O Democratic Tool	4
O Descrimination	2
O Inequality Within the Street Art Com	1
O Innovation	1
O International Community	1
> O Long Lasting Impacts of Street Art	4
> 🔘 Media Coverage	2
Opinions on Street Art	2
> O Power in Street Art	4
> O Proliferation of Street Art	2
> O Reactions of People During El Paro	3
O Resistance Through Street Art	4
> O Right to the City	4
○ Sensoring	1
 Sensoring Street Art 	4
Social Movement	1
> 🔿 Technology	2
O Types of Street Art	4

A5.1. Codes Created During First Round of Axial and Open Coding

A5.2 Codes Created During Second Round of Axial and Open Coding.

Name ^	Files
> O Aesthetics of Resistance	1
> O Colombian History and Street Art	3
> O Community	3
> O Culture	3
> O Dangerous in Making Street Art	3
> O Democratic Tool	4
> O Innovation	1
> O Long Lasting Impacts of Street Art	4
> 🔘 Media Coverage	3
> O Power in Street Art	4
> O Proliferation of Street Art	3
> O Reactions of People During El Paro	3
> 🔘 Social Movement	4

A5.3 Codes Created During Third Round of Axial and Open Coding Which Were Used to Create the Core Category

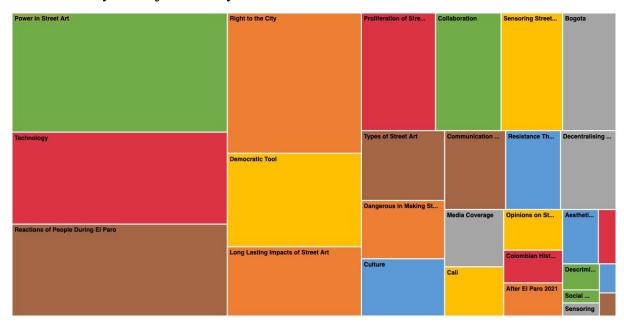
Name	Files
> O Power in Street Art	7
> 🔘 Media Coverage	5
O Danger In Making Street Art	4
> O Reactions of People During El Paro	3
> 🔘 Culture	4
Aesthetics of Resistance	2

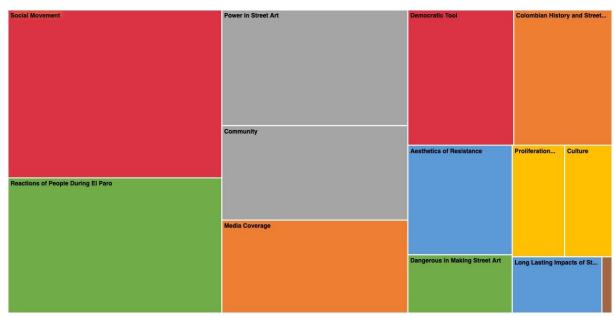
Name

- O The Transformative Irenic Power of Street Art
 - > O Power in Street Art
 - > O Media Coverage
 - > O Danger In Making Street Art
 - > O Reactions of People During El Paro
 - > O Societal Transformation in Colombia
 - > O Aesthetics of Resistance

A6. Hierarchy Charts Depicting Categories Created in Each Stage of Codings (Box Size Proportional to Number Of Nodes Coded Within Each Category).

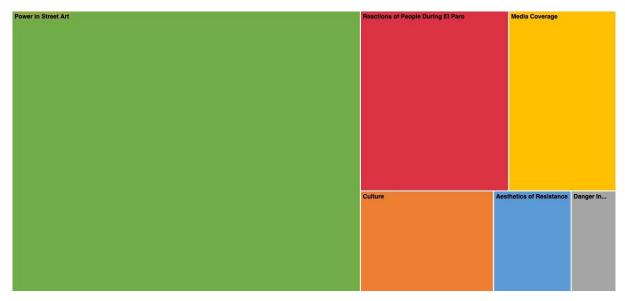
A6.1 Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 1



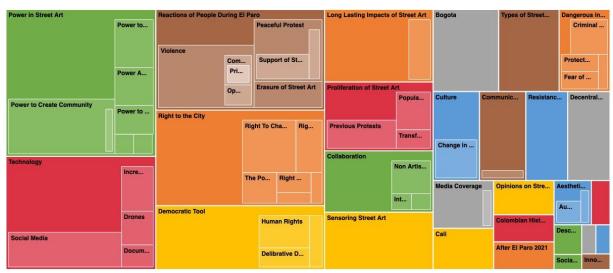


A6.2 Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 2

A6.3 Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 3

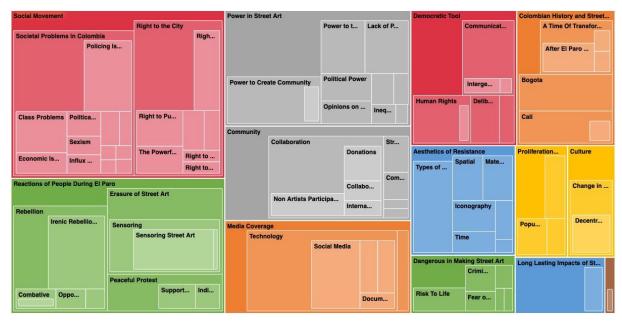


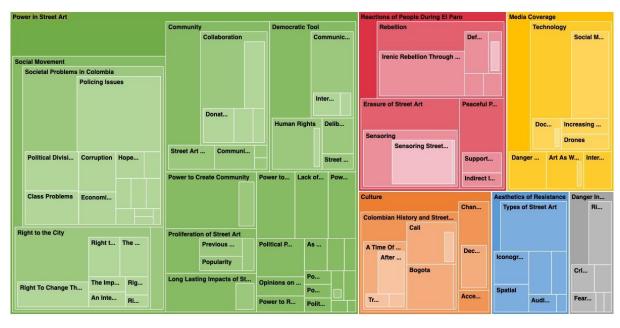
A7. Hierarchy Charts Depicting Categories Created in Each Stage of Coding and Subcategories– Box Size Proportional to Number Of Nodes Coded Within Each Category.



A7.1 Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 1 with subcategories

A7.2 Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 2 with subcategories

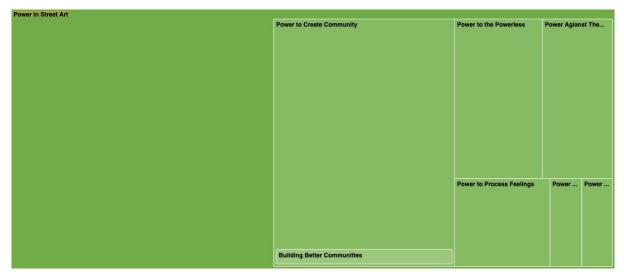




A7.3. Hierarchy Chart for Primary Codes Created in Round 3 with subcategories

A8. Hierarchy Diagrams of the Most Populated Code in Each Stage of the Coding Process

A8.1 Hierarchy Diagram of Power in Street Art, the most populated code in Round 1 of Coding.



A8.2 Hierarchy Diagram of Social Movement, the most populated code in Round 2 of Coding.

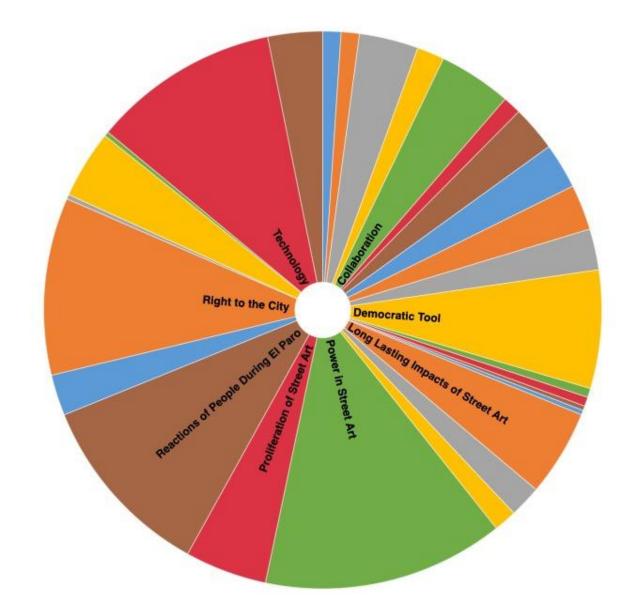
Social Movement						
				Right to the City	B	light To Change The
Societal Problems in Colombia						
	Class Problems	Eco	nomic Issues			
	Political Division	Corruption	Poverty			
				Right to Public Space	The Importa	nce An Interver
	_			right to Fublic Opace	The importan	
Policing Issues						
	Sexism					
		Rural Co	Inequality			
	Influx of Venezualans			The Powerful Control the Space	Right to Disc	Right to Build.
	innux or venezualans	Issues wi	Honele		girt to bist	ing it to build.

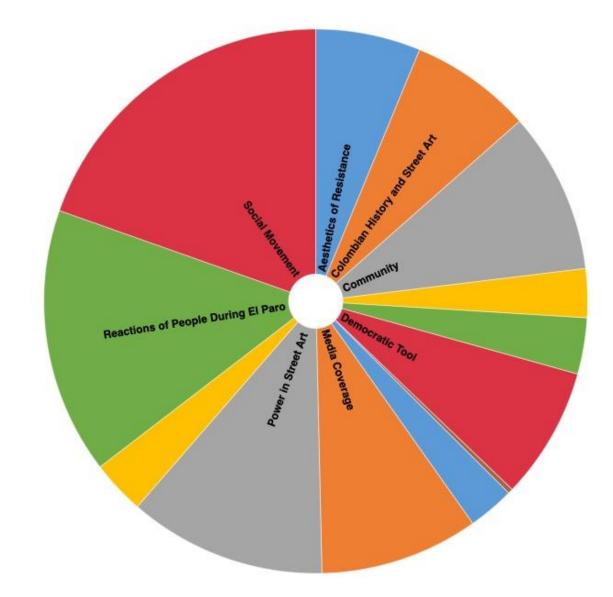
A8.3 Hierarchy Diagram of Power in Street Art, the most populated code in Round 3 of Coding.

					Community				Power to Create Com	munity	Proliferatio	in of Stre
								Street				Previ
Social Movement												
			Right to the City									
Societal Problems in	and the second second second second				Collaboration						Concernation of the second	
	Policing Issue	s				Do	onations				Popularity	y Tr
								Com	Building Better Com	mu		
									Long Lasting Impac	Power	to the L	ack of P
						Co	ollaborati					
			Right To Cha	Right t	Non Artists Participatin	g						
						In	ternation					
					Democratic Tool							
Political Division	Corruption	Econo					Human R	ights	Appropriation of			
									Power to Process	Opinions	Power	Asa
			The Powerf	An Inte								
				Rig	Communication Tool							
Class Problems	Sexism I	nflux	The Importa			Inter	Delibrati		Political Power	Street A	r	
										Power is		
	Poverty I	nequality	Youth Leading th	ne Way		Law Street				- ower is	Ineq	
			and a starting to	1.1		The				Power To		

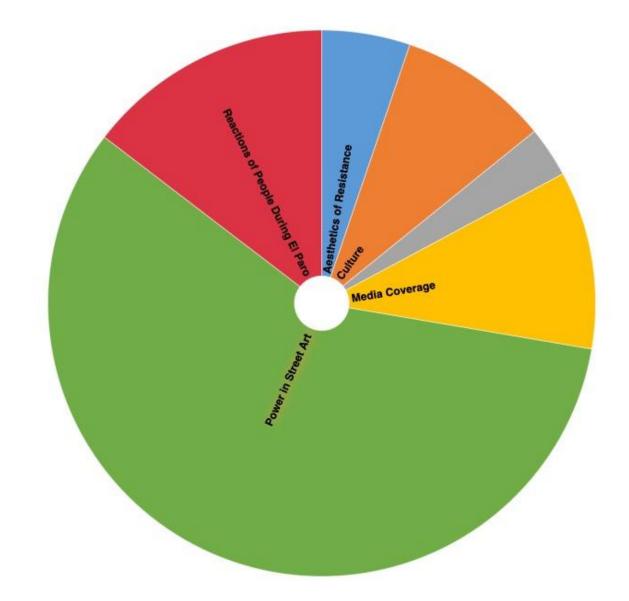
A9. Sunburst Diagrams of Core Categories in Each Stage of Coding

A9.1 Sunburst Diagram of Core Categories in Round 1 of Coding



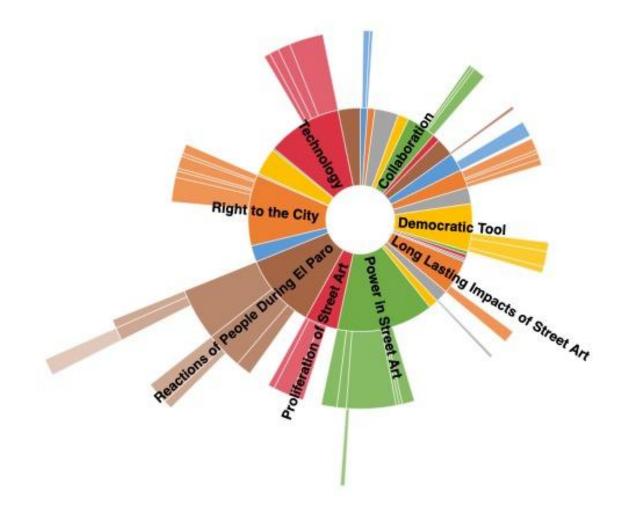


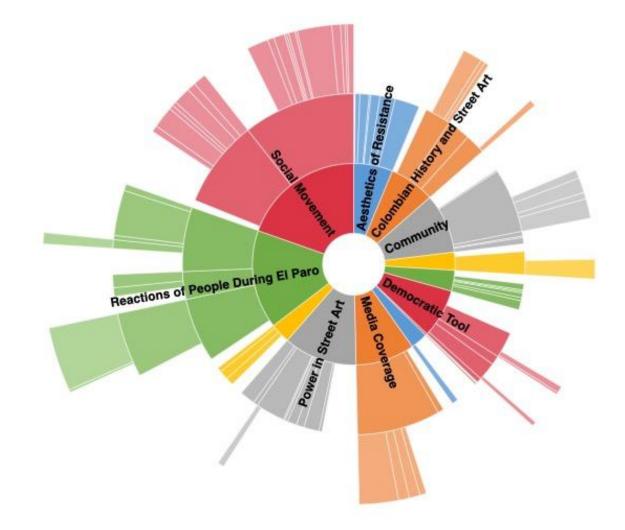
A9.3. Sunburst Diagram of Core Categories in Round 3 of Coding

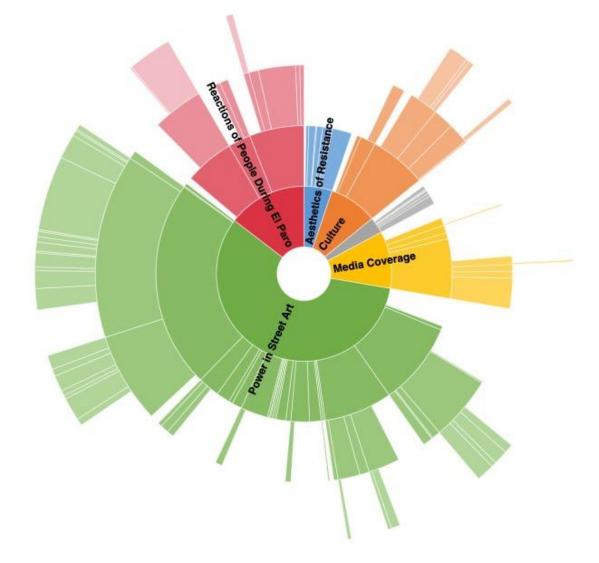


A10. Sunburst Diagrams of all Existing Categories in Each Stage of the Coding Process

A10.1 Sunburst Diagram of All Existing Codes in Round 1 of Coding

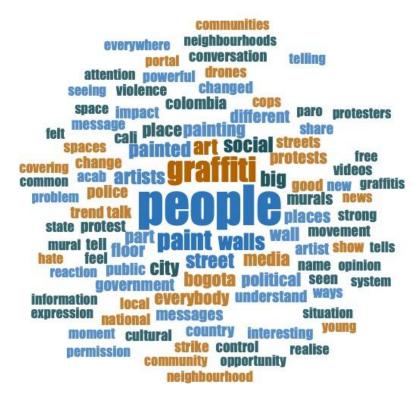






A11. Word Clouds of the 100 Most Frequently Recurring Words in Each Stage of the Coding Process

A11.1 Word Cloud of 100 Most Recurring Words in Round 1 of Coding



A11.2 Word Cloud of 100 Most Recurring Words in Round 2 of Coding

conversation share videos women class everyone interesting bridge local beautiful common generation country understand power felt movement government type impact streets protest thinking space political artists media cali trend action video painted Walls place tell paro scared drones talk message new good ci **CODS** area big feel trying killed centre protests places spaces change portrait floor name control show part 1013 street police public struggling food artist social wall messages mural ways acab murals painting instagram write changed different colombia project together everybody hate cultural officers violence community strike national powerful friend young neighbourhoods anyone information

A11.3 Word Cloud of 100 Most Recurring Words in Round 3 of Coding

problem instagram videos common democracy scared violence understand communities country information murals political new beautiful everyone urban powerful everybody bogota colombia seen friend cops places social artists floor tell paints nural feel street mainted police streets centre artist class **Walls** call trying impact wall good state flex control name part change write Γ Γ trend sho changed place graffiti art City protest local killed voice messages painting different acab portrait power government big media public paid family young message community national spaces felt paro protests thinking food beginning moment together drones hope officers protesters area movement exito generation neighbourhoods