## Understanding the multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalism in Mexico

A southern perspective on the deep influences of Neoliberalization processes

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"Neoliberalism should be understood as not simply a bundle of economic policies that extract surplus capital, but as a network of policies, ideologies, values and rationalities that work together to achieve capital's hegemonic power."

- Faranak Miraftab

## Abstract

Urban scholars around the world are mainly concerned with ongoing political, economic and urban transformations that emerge from neoliberalization processes. However, most of these theoretical interpretations of contemporary urban restructuring have been developed based on the Global North context, specifically Europe and North America. Much less attention has been paid to the different political-economic and spatial transformations that have unfolded from neoliberalization processes in countries of the Global South, where most of the urbanization in the twenty-first century is taking place. The main concern of this thesis is to address the importance of studying the multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalism in Mexico, a country located in the southern region of Latin America that has been largely influenced by a neoliberal regime for more than four decades.

Some results of an analysis made of the neoliberal influences at different geographical scales, national, metropolitan, and local, in Mexico are presented and discussed. The issues investigated concern the changes in the economic geographies across the national territory, the manifestation of multiple mechanisms of neoliberal localization at the metropolitan scale (Guadalajara Metropolitan Area), and the emergence of spatial expressions of inequality at the local scale since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico.

Results confirm that the influence of Neoliberalization has manifested at different geographical scales in Mexico, and that Mexican cities have indeed become strategic areas in which several neoliberal initiatives have been articulated. But also, some particularities of the Mexican case obtained from the results reveal patterns that are characteristic from the historic, cultural, economic, and social context of this region. This clearly raises the necessity to continue developing empirical and theoretical studies that contribute to the academic knowledge on this field, specifically from the Global South perspective.

## Preface

### Acknowledgements

First, I want to thank God for His plan and purpose of this season in my life. I am extremely grateful to my parents for their love and sacrifices for educating me to be prepared for the future, and for their constant support and motivation to pursue my dream of studying for a master's-degree abroad. I owe a deep sense of gratitude to my sister Carolina and close friends both in Denmark and Mexico, for supporting me on this extremely challenging and yet incredible journey of professional and personal growth.

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### Sustainable Development Goals

This research is contributing to the SDG 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, and more specifically, to the targets 11.3 (Inclusive and sustainable urbanization) and 11.A (Strong national and regional development planning). The enhancement for inclusive and sustainable urbanization is achieved by first, analyzing the local economic, environmental, and social impacts of Neoliberalism in cities, and then, opening the discussion about areas of improvement to reach sustainable human settlement planning and management in cities of the Global South. Besides, strengthening national and regional development planning is achieved by developing the research on urban neoliberalism in Mexico, as this research intends to contribute to the knowledge on how to build positive economic, social, and environmental links between urban, peri-urban, and rural areas.

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### 1 Introduction

Neoliberalization processes have influenced the urban policy making and the urban landscape of many countries for more than three decades. Urban scholars have engaged in analyzing this phenomenon and developed theoretical understandings. However, most of the urban theories about how cities are being influenced by neoliberalization processes have been developed based on the Global North context, in specific European and North American cases. For this reason, there is an ongoing need to develop theoretical and empirical research on the various forms in which neoliberal regimes are influencing cities located in the Global South, where most of the 21<sup>st</sup> century urbanization is taking place.

Such is the case of Latin America, which has been largely influenced by neoliberal regimes since the 1980's. Indeed, Neoliberalization takes various forms at different times in different places, but as mentioned earlier, most of the studies of these forms have been developed in the context of countries located in the Global North. Neoliberalism in Latin America has been focused largely on financing, but not on the manifestations of neoliberal localization in cities. Mexico is one of the Latin American countries where political-economic transformations across the national territory have taken place as a result of the neoliberal ideology adopted since late twentieth century. But more specifically, the changes in the urban scale evidence the deep influence of the neoliberal regime, as economic, social, and environmental consequences in these areas have emerged.

This project aims to develop an analysis of the different spatial expressions of inequality that have been reproduced or reinforced in the city of Guadalajara as manifestations of Neoliberal localization in the urban scale, in a period of 40 years (1980-2020), since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico. Further, the dissemination intends to provide a discussion on how studying the case of Guadalajara, Mexico is contributing to the knowledge about how Neoliberal ideas percolate in the urban scale in the countries of the Global South, and in specific, the Latin American context.

### 1.1 Urban Neoliberalism

"Neoliberalization represents an historically specific, unevenly developed, hybrid, patterned tendency of market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring."

(Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010, p. 330)

Neoliberalism is the doctrine that considers that the most efficient allocation of resources is produced by market processes that stimulate economic growth and innovation, and it is based on the assumption that market provision will always be more efficient to provide services and goods than the public sector (Peck & Tickell, 2002). More than a pure economic posture, neoliberalism is an ideology, essentially conservative, that keeps the entrepreneurial right-wing principles: free market operations, deficit control and reduction of public expenses (Escalante, 2015). This ideology aims to sustain and expand the market logic, and at the same time, implies the privatization of services, companies, and land, by developing a group of institutional arrangements, criteria for economic policies and enactment of laws. Neoliberalism has become a "rascal" concept, "promiscuously pervasive, yet inconsistently defined, empirically imprecise and frequently contested" (Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2009, p. 184).

The concept of neoliberalism gained dominance in the late 1970's and early 1980's, which is also one of its international best-known phases; on one side, its ideological dominance is associated with the writings of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek; and on the other side, it was characterized in the political arena by the conservative leaders of U.S., Ronald Reagan, United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher and Chile, Augusto Pinochet, who operationalized this ideology with restructuring state strategies and projects (Brenner et al., 2009; Peck & Tickell, 2002). But this period was in fact the culmination of a much longer process (Peck, 2012). So, even though the origin of neoliberalism comes from the discussion of Keynesianism in the 40's, it was imposed globally from the 80's and prolonged until present (Escalante, 2015).

In the last four decades, neoliberal regimes have transformed the economic order, cultural horizon, political institutions and social contexts of the countries and regions where this ideology has percolated, and the urban context is not an exception. It is in this sense that Neoliberalization should be understood as a process (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Neoliberalization processes, which have a "constitutively incomplete, experimental, and ultimately polymorphic [...] and endemic path-dependent character" (Brenner et al., 2009, p. 217) have re-shaped the urban policymaking in many cities across the world, changing the landscapes of urban

development and producing spatial transformations that are worth analyzing both empirically and theoretically (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2013). As Miraftab, Wilson & Salo (2015, p. 1) certainly affirm, "gaping disparities in wealth redistribution, social misery and new forms of exclusion mark many societies and their cities, favoring economic elites, the racially privileged, and the gendered entitled in a process that we, with Harvey, refer to as 'the new imperialism'."

It is not surprising that this phenomenon attracted the attention of numerous urban scholars who have developed critical theories to explain how does these developments have evolved around the world (Brenner et al., 2009, 2010; Brenner & Theodore, 2002b, 2005; Goldfrank & Schrank, 2009; Guarneros-Meza & Geddes, 2010; Harvey, 2007a, 2007b; Miraftab et al., 2015; Pinson & Morel Journel, 2016) In particular, the scope of these critique urban theories have intended to follow the dominant configurations of global urbanization and the continually changing economic geographies (Peck et al., 2013). Nonetheless, most of the theories of urban neoliberalism have been developed on the basis of the North Global historical, political, social, cultural and economic context, particularly studying the cases of European and North American cities and countries (Brenner, 2004d, 2004b; Brenner & Theodore, 2002b). Of course, the extent of the application of these theories to other contexts out of these geographies is questionable and therefore, exposes its limitations.

But this is not new, the First World countries have been conceived as the models of global urban development for many decades now, and both planning practice and theory have been shaped by the Global North context (Roy, 2012). Until present, a great part of the Global South¹ still utilizes approaches to urban planning that where originated in the early twentieth century in Europe and United States, and adapted to completely different urban contexts (Watson, 2009). Undeniably, this raises the necessity of internationalizing urban theory to develop better understandings of the processes that are shaping the cities in the Global South, an argument that has been sustained by a current of diversity theorists (Crane & Roy, 2015; Kovats et al., 2014; Miraftab, 2009; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009).

Certainly, realities are different all over the world, and cities are facing multiple challenges that does not limit to the planning approaches originated in the Global North (Watson, 2009). As Roy (2012) states, most of the urbanization of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is taking place in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term Global South refers to the regions of Asia, Oceania, Africa and Latin America, and the family concepts of "Third World" (Dados & Connell, 2012, p. 12).

the developing countries, and the theories about how cities function are still grounded on the context of the developed countries. Indeed, the urban reality is now dominated by the growth dynamics of the southern cities located in the developing countries (Watson, 2009). Therefore, a Global South perspective is useful in questioning the taken for granted assumptions about how contemporary cities work and also how should the urban issues be approached (Crane & Roy, 2015; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009).

The Global South<sup>2</sup> term emphasizes on "an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources are maintained" (Dados & Connell, 2012, p. 13). This is increasingly relevant for understanding the meaning of the historical contexts in the developing countries, which are often related to processes as colonialism and imperialism (Watson, 2009), and are crystalized as patterns of inequality, more specifically in colonized territories such as Latin America. Even though there is a variety of processes other than Neoliberalism that shape cities (Parnell & Robinson, 2012), the debate on the city and the neoliberal process has only just begun, and analyzing the contemporary transformations that result from the application of neoliberal ideas in the context of Latin America is crucial.

### Developing a southern perspective

Latin America is one of the most urbanized regions of the world, a characteristic acquired after the second half of the twentieth century (UN-Habitat, 2012), in specific after the 1960's. Nowadays, around 80 percent of the population in the countries of this region live in urban areas, and according to the projections of the United Nations (2018), by 2050 the urbanization rate is expected to reach 90 percent. However, the expansion of the urbanized area in Latin American cities peripheries is now growing faster than the urban population (Vargas et al., 2017), and consequently, these areas are also experiencing the metropolitan phenomenon.

Some of the urban challenges that these Latin American countries face include urban informality, environmental deterioration, socio-spatial inequities and urban sprawl (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b, 2018a). This is not the exemption for Mexico as, in addition to these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The concept of Global South in planning was previously used with a focus on cultural or development difference, but is now being referred to emphasize on geopolitical power relations (Dados & Connell, 2012, p. 12).

issues, Mexican cities face poor air quality, deficient and overexploited water resources, lack of green areas and recreational spaces, high levels of violence and insecurity, low-quality transportation services, and high motorization rates, amongst many others (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015a). But these issues are the tip of the iceberg, insofar these are consequences of urban decision-making processes that have been shaped by different social, economic and political driving forces.

In fact, one cannot study contemporary urban development processes without analyzing the political, economic, cultural, historical, and social contexts in which these are embedded. As Miraftab et al. (2015) argue, "[p]ressing urban inequalities today—poverty, hunger, segregation, class marginalization, punishing identity ascriptions—appear to take many forms, have diverse place historical roots, and embody contingent sociopolitical processes". Indeed, historical processes of imperialism, colonialism and capitalism have largely influenced the current urbanization dynamics of Latin American countries (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b, 2018a).



Figure 1. Mexico located in the region of Latin America. Source: Self-made.

One of the main characteristics of both the historic and contemporary urbanization in Latin America is the monopolization of wealth and the administrative and economic functions in one single city, which in most cases is the political capital that holds the social, economic, political and demographic dominance (Trejo Nieto, 2019). This long tradition of centralization and concentration in a few territories has led to the emergence of megacities, and a large number of cities with more than 1 million inhabitants, another characteristic of this region (Angotti, 1996). Besides, Latin America has been exposed to neoliberal regimes for many decades, which has shaped the social and economic development of these countries,

but also its urban landscapes (Ciccolella, 2012). In this context, the region of Latin America deserves special attention to examine the essence and the nature of the urbanization, the urban growth and the accelerated metropolitan expansion of its cities, and its relation to specific historical, economic and political forces.

The academic research about the different contemporary transformations, as a result of Neoliberalization processes in this region, is still incipient. In Latin America, empirical research has been carried out to analyze the urban segregation and the social division of the space and globalization (Schteingart, 2001, 2007, 2012). In the case of Mexico, studies have been made to analyze the economic development and urbanization processes (Garza, 2000; Garza & Schteingart, 2010; Sobrino, 2003, 2012), metropolitan economy (Trejo Nieto, 2013, 2019), regional disparities (Trejo Nieto, 2020), and the multiple the effects of Neoliberalism (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018), but the impacts of the neoliberal ideas over the spatiality in urban areas has not been yet exhaustively addressed, neither the theorization of these processes in this context.

Within this frame, studying the case of Mexico stands out. Mexico is as one of the two most populated countries in Latin America<sup>3</sup>, and where one of the eight megacities of the region is located<sup>4</sup>. As other Latin American countries, Mexico has been under a neoliberalist regime for over 40 years and endured the multiple consequences of this ideology, nationally, regionally, and locally. In this context, studying different spatial expressions of inequalities, as a consequence of the Neoliberalism in Mexico can evidence something deep about the mechanisms of control and oppression embedded in the economic regimes and ideologies that have percolated in this region, which have impacted the urbanization processes in the last decades.

Indeed, the last three decades have evidenced the deep economic, social, political, and environmental transformations that Mexico has endured, as a result of adopting the Neoliberal economic model and its insertion into the global economy (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). In specific, the adoption of the Neoliberal ideology in Mexico in the late twentieth century has generated deep transformations in the national territory. After the country transitioned into the open market economy through the implementation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Together with Brazil, these two countries hold more than half of the population of Latin America, 18.5 and 33 percent respectively (UN-Habitat, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Latin American megacities are: Ciudad de México, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, Río de Janeiro (with more than 10 million inhabitants), Lima, Bogotá, Santiago y Belo Horizonte (with a population between 5 and 10 million) (UN-Habitat, 2012).

of different neoliberal policies. As a result, not only the entire economic structure of Mexico radically changed, but also the geographical distribution of the industry and investments across the territory. Nevertheless, the major impacts of these state spatial strategies were manifested in the contemporary urban transformations.

Indeed, countries with market economy are prone to concentrate their economic activities in a few areas of their territory (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b), and Mexico is not an exception (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). Global economic processes often exclude the most disadvantaged regions, metropolis and cities, because of the weaknesses of their markets limits them from being reliable investment recipients (Macías, Torres, & Gasca, 2001). The adoption of the Neoliberal economic model in Mexico triggered different processes of state spatial selectivity, and consequently, favored the economic development of a few "winner or priviledged" territories at the expense of others (Garza & Schteingart, 2010; Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018; Sobrino, 2012). Therefore, spatial development inequalities have been expressed territorially between winning and losing regions and cities, due to accumulated advantages over time.

This situation evidences the continual polemic discussion about the impacts of the Neoliberal economic model over urban areas, a controverse that rely on the dualities that this ideology and development model holds. On the one side, open-market economies increase the economic activities in a few cities that receive large amounts of investment, which at the same time obey greater market dynamics; globalized competitive cities promise to be the new centers of technological innovation, exchange of goods, capital, information, knowledge, and people. But on the other side, this economic model reinforces and reproduces spatial expressions of inequality that emerge as a consequence of the restructuring policies, that only benefit a few social-elite and dominant groups, while affecting the lives of the most disadvantaged groups, which represent the majority of the population in the metropolitan areas. (Garza & Schteingart, 2010)

As stated before, there is a clear on-going need to investigate the spatial transformations of the neoliberal policies, especially in the Global South, where the urbanization phenomenon of this century is significantly taking place (UN-Habitat, 2011). And studying the case of Mexico would contribute to both the national and international academic research on urban Neoliberalism and its spatial effects in Latin American cities. But also, this study positions Mexico in the southern turn in planning (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018b), as the intention is to develop an understanding of this phenomenon in one of the Global Southern countries. On this note, this research answers to the various calls to develop understandings of urban

processes based on the contexts and realities of countries of the Global South (Fainstein, 2014; Roy, 2011; Watson, 2009).

### Selection of the city: Guadalajara, Mexico

For a long time, Mexico City has been the city of major interest for academic research and urban studies in Mexico (Schteingart, 2012). Due to the weight of its history, as well as the particular characteristics that positions it as one world's megacities, the capital of Mexico attracts most of the attention for analyzing and discussing the multiple urban issues that continually take place there, as well as the effects of neoliberalism on this particular city (Pradilla, 2016). Even though other relevant urban areas in the country have been analyzed and researched, these remain unknown in the international scene insofar most of this work that has been published in Spanish (Galland & Elinbaum, 2018a).

Nevertheless, there are multiple cities in Mexico that experience issues worth analyzing from a path-dependence perspective to understand the different contemporary urban transformations since the rise of Neoliberalism. Such is the case of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, the second-largest city in Mexico in terms on population<sup>5</sup>, and the third after Monterrey in terms of economic development. Guadalajara is a dynamic and densely populated city in the central west of the country, that holds a great historical weight and that has been directly impacted by the liberal economic model.



Figure 2. Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. Source: Self-made.

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 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  With a current population of around 5 million inhabitants (CONAPO, SEDATU & INEGI, 2018), Guadalajara has the same population of Denmark.

Guadalajara plays a relevant role for both the national and regional economy, as it hosts a large proportion of the region's industry. Besides, the last decades have been testimony of the accelerated urban growth of the city, manifesting the negative externalities of an expansive development model. In 2010, United Nations positioned Guadalajara as one of the most unequal cities in the country ("Destaca la ONU a Guadalajara como ciudad dispersa y desigual," 2010; UN-Habitat, 2012). Indeed, this metropolitan area has gone through deep urban transformations due to the state strategies that the federal government has implemented since the Neoliberalization.

Guadalajara Metropolitan Area is a great example of these dualities, and therefore, an interesting case for studying the contemporary transformations that have taken place in the urban area in the last 40 years, according to the adopted restructuring policies since the Neoliberalization. Studying the case of Guadalajara with the lens of the spatial impacts of Neoliberalism is extremely relevant to uncover patterns and realities that might be present in other Mexican cities. But also, to contribute to the knowledge of the critical theories from a southern-global perspective of country located in Latin America. For these reasons, the present dissemination intends to contribute to develop an understanding of the spatial effects of the urban Neoliberalism in one of the largest cities in Mexico: Guadalajara.

### 1.2 Research questions

The purpose of the main research question is to analyze the multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalization in Mexico, by examining the changes in the economic geographies at the national scale, the urban transformations that have taken place at the metropolitan scale, and the spatial transformations emerged at the local scale, through a path-dependent historical perspective of a 40-year period (1980-2020).

The main research question is thus a *how* question, as it aims to develop explanations and understandings to a certain situation (Farthing, 2016), in this case of the multiple influences of the Neoliberalization process at different scales in Mexico, since the decade of 1980 until present. The reason for choosing a 40-year period of analysis is because urban neoliberalism draws heavily upon historical analysis (Harding & Blokland, 2014), the same is said about state theory, which analyzes path-dependent changes and patterns over time. On that note, the main research question is the following:

# How have the multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalization manifested in Mexico during the last four decades (1980-2020)?

The main research question was subdivided into three subquestions. This subdivision refers to the different geographical scales of Neoliberal re-configurations, by recognizing the multiscalar character of the contemporary Neoliberalization tendencies (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b). The subdivision follows a top-down perspective of the impacts of the Neoliberalization process in Mexico: starting with the national geographical level (first subquestion), followed by the city level, which in this case is metropolitan (second subquestion), and finishing with an even shorter level, the local level (third subquestion) (see Figure 3).

As mentioned before, this approach is based on the understanding that contemporary Neoliberalization processes percolate different geographical scales, insofar spatial impacts do not only reconfigure the national and regional landscape, but also the city geographies. In this sense, the gaps that the subquestions are trying to cover refer to the different spatial scales in which the Neoliberalism created territorial impacts and multiple transformations. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b)



Figure 3. Scalar approach of the three subquestions and units of analysis: national, metropolitan, and local level.

Source: Self-made.



How has spatial selectivity reconfigured the economic geographies in Mexico since the rise of Neoliberalism?

The first subquestion aims at analyzing the different political and economic transformations at the national geographic scale taken place in Mexico since the rise of Neoliberalism in the 1980's. This is done by examining the different state (spatial) strategies and projects adopted and implemented during this period, and the consequential changes in the economic geographies across the national territory, as well as the patterns of urbanization and metropolization in the country.



How have different mechanisms of neoliberal localization manifested at the metropolitan scale?

The second subquestion aims at examining the urban transformations taken place in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico. This is done by analyzing the destructive and creative moments within different mechanisms of neoliberal localization over the last forty years at the metropolitan scale.



How have spatial expressions of inequality emerged locally as a result of Neoliberalization?

The third subquestion aims at analyzing the diverse spatial expressions of inequality that have emerged in Guadalajara as a result of the Neoliberalization process. This is done by identifying processes of gentrification, suburbanization, and segregation, and examining these processes as manifestations of mechanisms of neoliberal localization. Even though this chapter does not intend to develop a detailed study of the identified spatial expressions of inequality per se, it aims at opening the discussion on this matter.

### 1.3 Reading guide

This thesis is divided in three parts and eight chapters. The **first part** constitutes the foundations of the research. **Chapter 1: Introduction**, presents the introduction to the research, which includes the problem analysis, the theoretical and practical justification of the research, the research questions. **Chapter 2: Theoretical framework**, introduce the selected theories and concepts that are used to carry out the analysis. **Chapter 3: Methodology**, introduce the research philosophy, research approach, data collection methods, and limitations and caveats.

The second part presents the research analysis, where each of the subquestions is answered. Chapter 4: The rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico, develops an explanation of the process of Neoliberalization in Mexico, the most relevant changes, and policies, as well as the implications in the economic geographies across the national territory. Chapter 5: Guadalajara Metropolitan Area under the influence of Neoliberalism, elucidates the urbanization and metropolitanization of the city since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico, and how is Guadalajara a strategic arena where neoliberalist ideas took place. Chapter 6: Spatial expressions of inequality in Guadalajara, develops an analysis on the processes of gentrification, suburbanization and segregation that have emerged as a consequence of implemented neoliberal policies.

And finally, the **third part** presents the *discussion and conclusion of the research*. **Chapter 7: Discussion**, develops a dialogue on the theoretical and practical implications of the research. **Chapter 8: Conclusion**, presents a concrete explanation of how the three research subquestions helped to answer the main research question, as well as reflections on the learnings obtained from the thesis.

## 2 Theoretical framework

This chapter aims at developing an in-depth presentation of the chosen theories and concepts that are used in the analysis of the research questions. It is divided in different sections that correspond to the theories, and each of these develops an explanation of the use of the theories according to each subquestion, the theory itself and the concepts that will mobilize the analysis. Hence, the presentation of the theories follows the same logic as the order of the research questions. State theory, urban neoliberalism theory, and urban sociology theory are used in this research, according to the purpose and the scope of the same.

First, state theory is used to explain the patterns of transformations of state change, insofar the adoption of Neoliberalism implied a group of changes that can be analyzed through the implementation of different state strategies and projects. In the same sense, state spatiality allows to analyze the geographies of statehood transformation, and the parameters of spatial selectivity are useful to understand in which ways did these transformations take form. Complementary to state theory, it is possible to carry out an analysis of the process of Neoliberalization with two intertwined distinct moments of creative destruction.

Second, according to the urban neoliberalism theories, processes of Neoliberalization hold a multiscalar character, and not only the national scale but the urban scale had become strategic places where neoliberal ideas evolve. In this sense, to examine the changes that take place in cities, creative destruction moments within different mechanisms of neoliberal localization that occur in cities are used to analyze the impacts of neoliberalism.

And third, as polarization and spikiness in cities has been argued to be a result of globalized economy, theories of spatial expressions of inequality, such as segregation, suburbanization and gentrification are useful to analyze the changes that have occurred in space during the last decades, as manifestations of mechanisms of neoliberal localization.

The following table summarizes the concepts used to carry out the analysis according to each theory.

Table 1. Theoretical concepts used to mobilize the analysis.

mı ·		
Theories	Concepts	
	State projects	
State theory	State strategies	
	Strategic selectivity	
	State spatial projects	
State spatiality	State spatial strategies	
	Spatial selectivity	
	Concentration and equalization	
Parameters of state spatial	Singularity and multiplicity	
selectivity	Centralization and decentralization	
	Uniformity and customization	
Creative and destructive	Creation moments	
moments	Destruction moments	
	Recalibration of intergovernmental relations	
	Retrenchment of public finance	
	Restructuring the welfare state	
	Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state	
	Privatization of the municipal public sector and the collective infrastructures	
Mechanisms of neoliberal	Restructuring urban housing markets	
localization	Reworking labor market regulation	
	Restructuring strategies of territorial development	
	Transformations of the built environment and urban form	
	Interlocal policy transfer	
	Re-regulation of urban civil society	
	Re-representing the city	
	Gentrification	
Spatial expressions of inequality	Suburbanization	
	Segregation	

Source: Self-made.

### 2.1 State theory: The strategic nature of the state

State theory studies the patterns of transformations of the statehood over a period of time. Theorists, such as Bob Jessop, have suggested that state is defined by social relations that exercise power. But the theorization of the state in relational terms has been mainly based on the context of both Western Europe and North America. This theory is used in the first subquestion to analyze the changes that took place in the Mexican state, such as the adoption of different types of policies and changes in the legal framework that gave place to the rise of Neoliberalism in the late twentieth-century.

The theorization of the state in relational terms is used to understand the path-dependent and evolutionary nature of the state. According to this theory, the state possesses a strategic nature insofar it offers unequal opportunities to different forces outside or within the state, to behave for different purposes according to specific interests (Jessop, 1990, 2008a, 2008b). Thus, the term strategic-relational approach builds on the claim that the state is a social relation (Polutanzas, 1978). Even though the state cannot not exercise power by itself, the power(s) of the state comes from different forces that act through and within the state (Jessop, 1990). The state is therefore a place of political strategy where agents, such as state officials and politicians, who are in different parts of the system, have the capacity to exercise their influence by decision making.

In this sense, the state, which is constituted by power relations, can be understood as a system of strategic selectivity. Hence, this approach "[...] introduces a distinctive evolutionary perspective into the analysis of the state and state power in order to discover how the generic evolutionary mechanisms of selection, variation, and retention may operate in specific conditions to produce relatively coherent and durable structures and strategies" (Jessop, 2008b, p. 428). The concept of strategic selectivity is therefore helpful for analyzing the role of the selected state policies, programs and initiatives in shaping the institutional structures and the forms of socioeconomic intervention (Brenner, 2004b).

Therefore, the strategic selectivity of the state can be interpreted by analyzing the emergence of state projects and state strategies (Jessop, 1990, p. 260). State projects and state strategies are initiatives that emerge in different times of history, as a result of mechanisms of selection. On the one side, state projects are initiatives or programs that intend to provide functional unity, operational coordination, and organizational coherence to state institutions; on the other side, state strategies are initiatives or programs that intend to promote or impose

specific forms of socioeconomic intervention, oriented towards the circuit of capital the hegemony of civil society (Brenner, 2004c).

Now, state spatiality finds its place in the state theory, by extending this theorization into an analysis of the geographies of state change. The strategic-relational approach is therefore expanded into a strategic-relational-spatial approach. This theory is used in the first subquestion to analyze the spatiality of the state projects and strategies, to examine the changes that took place both across the national territory.

State theorists and geographers have emphasized on the territorial character of the political power. In specific, Brenner (2004b) expresses the importance of analyzing the processes of state spatial restructuring to uncover the changing geographies of statehood, in specific, under what he calls modern capitalism, or neoliberalism. The restructuration of the state space therefore refers to the systematic transformation when forms of spatial selectivity create new geographies of state regulatory activity and territorial organization (M. Jones, 2001). Under this rationale, Brenner (2004b, pp. 450–451) develops the state spatiality concept, based on Jones (1999), which defines as "a dynamic, transformative process [...] an arena and an outcome of continually changing social relations [...] actively produced and transformed through sociopolitical struggles in diverse institutional sites and at a range of geographical scales".

In this sense, the state is not only a system of strategic selectivity, but also a place of spatial selectivity. The term spatial selectivity can be understood as "an expression of the continual, dialectical interaction between entrenched configurations of state spatiality and ongoing struggles to influence, modify, or transform such configuration" (Brenner, 2004b, p. 92 based on; M. Jones, 1997). While state spatial projects refer to initiatives or programs that directly or indirectly impact the geographies of the state policy and the state structures, state spatial strategies refer to the state's capacity to mold the geographies of accumulation and political struggle (Brenner, 2004c).

In this context, the author develops eight parameters to analyze the evolution of state spatial selectivity and the changes in the political-economic geographies (see Table 2). These parameters unfold in two dimensions of state spatiality: the scalar dimension (spatial organization) and the territorial dimension (spatial intervention).

Table 2. Parameters of state spatial selectivity.		
	$State\ spatial\ projects$	$State\ spatial\ strategies$
Scalar dimension	Centralization: the political authority	Singularity: a single dominant scale is
(spatial	is concentrated at one overarching	the overarching level for
organization)	scale of state administration	socioeconomic activities are the
	Decentralization: transfers of	Multiplicity: socioeconomic activities
	regulatory tasks away from the	are distributed among multiple
	central coordinating tier of state	spatial scales
	power	
Territorial	Uniformity: the administrative	Concentration: promotion of
dimension	coverage of levels of service provision	agglomeration of socioeconomic
(spatial	and bureaucratic organization are	activities and investments in
intervention)	extended throughout an entire	particular locations, places, and
	territory	regions within a territory
	${\it Customization:} \ {\it uneven administrative}$	Equalization: promotion of spread of
	geographies in which institutional	socioeconomic activities and
	arrangements and levels of service	investments as evenly as possible
	provision are established in specific	across a national territory and
	geographic zones within a territory	alleviate territorial inequalities.

Source: (Brenner, 2004c).

The parameters of spatial selectivity are thus defined by the changing forms of spatial intervention that seek to influence the geographies of uneven development and, by changing forms of the spatial organization that aim to reorganize the political authority within a given territory (Brenner, 2004b). These parameters are used to mobilize the analysis of the first subquestion.

### 2.2 Urban neoliberalism: Creative destruction moments

Brenner & Theodore (2002a) argue that contemporary neoliberalization processes are incentivizing multiple creative and destruction moments within the political and economic spaces at different geographical scales. According to the authors, the conceptualization of actually existing neoliberalism is a process of institutional creative destruction. For this reason, it is suggested that the analysis of how neoliberalization processes, which are multiscalar, take place should be carried out with two analytically and dialectically intertwined distinct moments. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a) Thus, these concepts are employed as a support to the use of state theory, to mobilize the analysis the first subquestion even more, but are used in the second subquestion as the main analytical concepts and in the third subquestion to support the urban theory. In specific, these are used in the second

and third subquestion to analyze the moments of neoliberal localization, which analyze how these processes are shaping the urban scale.

To begin with, the concept of creative destruction is therefore presented as "a useful means for describing the geographically uneven, socially regressive and politically volatile trajectories of institutional/spatial change [...]" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a, p. 349). The aim of this conceptualization is to explore the transformative impacts of Neoliberalism of capitalist states and economies' institutional and geographical infrastructures. According to the authors, this "double-pronged, dialectical" conceptualization is useful to elucidate the trajectories of institutional change that are produced through neoliberal policies at different spatial scales. Indeed, the dynamic creative destruction should not be conceived as an unilinear transition, but rather an open-ended and uneven restructuring process, that never happens on a blank page, where the "new order" completely destroys and eradicates the "old order" (Lipietz, 1992).

Table 3. Creative and destructive moments of actually existing neoliberalism.

(Partial) destruction	Extant political compromises and institutional arrangements through
	neoliberal reform initiatives.
(Tendential) creation New infrastructure for neoliberal economic growth and the rule of capital	
Source: (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a)	

Source: (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a).

In accordance to this theory, the political economy of actually existing neoliberalism is grounded upon the next premises: 1) the problem of capitalist regulation (wage relation, the form of intercapitalist competition, forms of monetary and financial regulation, the state and other forms of governance, the international configuration); 2) the unstable historical geographies of capitalism; 3) uneven geographical development; 4) the regulation of uneven geographical development; and 5) the evolving geographies of state regulation.

But as mentioned before, these theorists maintain that neoliberalization holds a multiscalar character which takes place not only at the national level of government, but also in regional and city level. As Brenner & Theodore (2002a, p. 349) state, "cities have become strategically crucial geographical arenas in which a variety of neoliberal initiatives -along with closely intertwined strategies [...]- have been articulated". Indeed, urban policymaking has been redirected towards the goal of strategically positioning cities in the last decades. On the basis of this theory, the analysis of the second subquestion which aims to analyze the influence of neoliberalization in the city of Guadalajara is mobilized through these concepts.

"[C]ities – including their suburban peripheries- have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus." (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a, p. 368)

For instance, some of the politico-institutional mechanisms of neoliberal localization in which (partially) destructive and (tendentially) creative moments occur within cities and city-regions are: recalibration of intergovernmental relations, retrenchment of public finance, restructuring the welfare state, reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state, privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures, restructuring urban housing markets, reworking labor market regulation, restructuring strategies of territorial development, transformations of the built environmental and urban form, interlocal policy transfer, re-regulation of urban civil society, re-representing the city (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a). However, these "manifold forms and pathways of neoliberal localization [...] must be viewed [...] as deeply contradictory restructuring strategies that are significantly destabilizing inherited landscapes of urban governance and socioeconomic regulation throughout the older industrialized world" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a, p. 375).

The next table provides an overview of the main ways in which contemporary processes of neoliberalization have influenced the institutional geographies of cities, which "unfold in place-specific forms and combinations within particular local and national contexts" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a, p. 368), distinguishing their destructive and creative moments.

Table 4. Moments of Destruction and Creation within Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization.

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
Recalibration of intergovernmental relations	Dismantling of earlier systems of central government support for municipal activities	Devolution of new tasks, burdens, and responsibilities to municipalities; creation of new incentive structures to reward local entrepreneurialism and to catalyze "endogenous growth"
Retrenchment of public finance	• Imposition of fiscal austerity measures upon municipal governments	Creation of new revenue-collection districts and increased reliance of municipalities upon local sources of

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
Restructuring the welfare state	Local relays of national welfare service-provision are retrenched; assault on managerial-welfarist local state apparatuses	revenue, user fees, and other instruments of private finance  • Expansion of community-based sectors and private approaches to social service provision  • Imposition of mandatory work requirements on urban welfare recipients; new (local) forms of workfare experimentation
Reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state	<ul> <li>Dismantling of         bureaucratized, hierarchical         forms of local public         administration</li> <li>Devolution of erstwhile         state tasks to voluntary         community networks</li> <li>Assault on traditional relays         of local democratic         accountability</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>"Rolling forward" of new networked forms of local governance based upon public-private partnerships "quangos" and the "new public management"</li> <li>Establishment of new institutional relays through which elite business interests can directly influence major local development decisions</li> </ul>
Privatization of the municipal public sector and the collective infrastructures	• Elimination of public monopolies for the provision of standardized municipal services (utilities, sanitation, public safety, mass transit, etc)	<ul> <li>Privatization and competitive contracting of municipal services</li> <li>Creation of new markets for service delivery and infrastructure maintenance</li> <li>Creation of privatized, customized, and networked urban infrastructures intended to (Re)position cities within supranational capital flows</li> </ul>
Restructuring urban housing markets	<ul> <li>Razing public housing and other forms of low-rent accommodation</li> <li>Elimination of rent controls and project-based construction subsidies</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Creation of new opportunities for speculative investment in central-city real estate markets</li> <li>Emergency shelters become "warehouses" for the homeless</li> <li>Introduction of market rents and tenant-based vouchers in low-rent niches of urban housing markets</li> </ul>
Reworking labor market regulation	Dismantling of traditional, publicly, funded education, skills training, and apprenticeship programs for youth, displaced workers and the unemployed	• Creation of a new regulatory environment in which temporary staffing agencies, unregulated "labor corners", and other forms of contingent work can proliferate

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
Restructuring strategies of	<ul> <li>Dismantling of autocentric national models of capitalist growth</li> <li>Destructuon of traditional compensatory regional policies</li> <li>Increasing exposure of local</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Implementation of work readiness programs aimed at the conscription of workers into low-wage jobs</li> <li>Expansion of informal economies</li> <li>Creation of free trade zones, enterprise zones, and other deregulated spaces within major urban regions</li> <li>Creation of new development areas, technopoles, and other new industrial spaces at subnational scales</li> </ul>
territorial development	<ul> <li>and regional economies to global competitive forces</li> <li>Fragmentation of national space-economies into discrete urban and regional industrial systems</li> </ul>	Mobilization of new "glocal" strategies intended to rechannel economic capacities and infrastructure investments into "globally connected" local/regional agglomerations
Transformations of the built environment and urban form	<ul> <li>Elimination and/or intensified surveillance of urban public spaces</li> <li>Destruction of traditional working-class neighborhoods in order to make way for speculative</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption</li> <li>Construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns</li> <li>Creation of gated communities, urba enclaves and other "purified" spaces of social reproduction</li> <li>"Rolling forward" of the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization</li> <li>Adoption of the principle of "highest and best use" as the basis for major land-use planning decisions</li> </ul>
Interlocal policy transfer	<ul> <li>Erosion of contextually sensitive approaches to local policymaking</li> <li>Marginalization of "homegrown" solutions to localized market failures and governance failures</li> </ul>	Diffusion of generic, prototypical approaches to "modernizing" reform among policymakers in search of quick fixes for local social problems (eg welfate-to-work programs, placemarketing strategies, zero-tolerance crime policies, etc)

Mechanisms of Neoliberal Localization	Moment of Destruction	Moment of Creation
		• Imposition of decontextualized "best practice" models upon local policy environments
Re-regulation of urban civil society	• Destruction of the "liberal city" in which all inhabitants are entitled to basic civic liberties, social services and political rights	<ul> <li>Mobilization of zero-tolerance crime policies and "broken windows" policing</li> <li>Introduction of new discriminatory forms of surveillance and social control</li> <li>Introduction of new policies to combat social exclusion into the labor market</li> </ul>
Re-representing the city	Postwar image of the industrial, working-class city is recast through a (re-)emphasis on urban disorder, "dangerous classes", and economic decline	Mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas

Source: (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a).

Note: Localized in the North American and western European cities during the two last decades of the twentieth century.

Cities are indeed strategic targets and central arenas in the reproduction, mutation, and reconstitution of neoliberalism. As the authors express, "mutations of neoliberalism", such as neoliberal politico-ideological projects, institutional innovations and policy experiments have unfolded in pronounced forms within major cities. However, the ongoing urbanization of neoliberalism, as the authors define it, is a confusing, complex and often highly contradictory process. Therefore, the causes, trajectories, and ramifications on how neoliberalism evolves in cities is a matter that remains of discussion among critical scholars. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a)

### 2.3 Urban sociology: Spatial expressions of inequality

To deepen even more on the influence of neoliberalization over the cities, theories of spatial expressions of inequality are used on this research to develop the analysis of the third subquestion. This theory is linked to the creative destruction moments, as spatial expressions of inequality manifest as mechanisms of neoliberal localization. Cities are becoming unequal (Dreier, Mollenkopf, & Swanstrom, 2012), and the connection between globalization and the

increasingly polarization in cities is still subject to discussion (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1992) and still motivating both theoretical and empirical research.

With the purpose of understanding this relation, urban sociologists and scholars since the late 1960s (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1973; Lefebvre, 1986) started to conceive spatial expressions of inequalities within cities as a product of advanced capitalism. These scholars critically studied the connection between economics, state power and urban dynamics. Based on political economy perspectives, which considered the role of politics and unequal power interests in the urbanization process, a "new urban sociology" was developed (Gottdiener & Hutchison, 2000). Therefore, three distinctive elements of this relatively new urban sociology stand out: the attention to the political-economic factors in urban development, the role of culture in urban life and the shift to a global perspective (Harding & Blokland, 2014).

Thinking the city as both the reproducer and the product of inequalities changed the conception of space. In particular, Lefebvre (1991), who defined space as a social construction, argued that the space is a social product constituted by social relations instead of only its physical, demographic, and territorial characteristics. According to Lefebvre (1986, 2003), space is produced on three interconnected levels: by the way it is lived, by a spatial practice of reproduction and production, and by planners, architects and politicians who create the city plans. But the reproduction of inequalities cannot only be understood with this perspective.

Social space is defined as "the distribution in physical space of different types of goods and services and also of individual agents and of physically situated groups" (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 127). Space is therefore a place where power is exercised, as it organizes and even strengthens inequalities. Indeed, "[t]o say that social space is inscribed in spatial structures means to see physical space as one of the sites were power is asserted and exercised" (Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 131). The relation between the distribution of resources and agents in the physical space gives form to the inequality in power, and therefore, the connection between inequality and space in cities thus relies on social space determinations (Harding & Blokland, 2014).

In this context, urban theory is interested on the different and possible ways in which space may organize spatial expressions of inequalities or even contribute to the same (Harding & Blokland, 2014). For this purpose, different explanatory frameworks have been developed in the cities political economy for better understanding on how spatial expressions of inequalities develop in urban areas. Theories of segregation, suburbanization, gentrification,

and ghettoization aim to explain stratification expressions in contemporary cities and make sense of different intra-urban inequalities. Within this context, the processes of segregation, suburbanization and gentrification will be explained below, as well as a short description of the state of the art of these theories.

### Segregation

Social space is impressed in the physical space and inscribed in the spatial structures. Cities reflect social stratification through the spatial manifestation of socioeconomic status differences. Within this context lies the term segregation, which implies a pattern that others impose through the exercise of power either cultural, social, political, or economical (Lloyd, Shuttleworth, & Wong, 2015). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, segregation is defined as "the separation or isolation of a portion of a community or a body of persons from the rest". Segregation, which is broadly defined as the degree of spatial differentiation of groups in a particular territory, can either allude to racial or ethnical segregation, which is the most known, or social segregation, which refer to social class. While social segregation refers to "the ways in which people who may reside in mixed neighborhoods have separate social worlds of institutions, networks and the like", residential or spatial segregation refers to "the question whether groups different in ethnicity/race or class are living separately from each other in the city" (Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 133). In the urban context, segregation is the social and spatial differentiation occasionally related to ethnic and racial segmentation and income or social class segmentation.

Segregation is a key theme of both political interest and academic research. It is multidimensional (i.e., exposure and spatial clustering-proximity-separation) and has multiple facets (cultural, occupation, education, residential) (Lloyd et al., 2015). Segregation has been theorized mostly by saying that it is either an expression of lifestyle preferences or a result of the structure. Studies of segregation have focused particularly on the different forms of spatial segregation, supposing that, apart from expressing social distance, spatial distance "acts as a basis for distinction in practices that reinforce the habitat, in the formation of social networks and in the generation of forms of capital" (Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 133). In fact, growing segregation studies have focused on questioning if polarization in cities (as an influence of globalization) is either linked to or a precondition for segregation (Arbaci, 2007; Musterd, 2005; Wessel, 2000).

Measuring segregation is very challenging because of its varied dimensions complexity (Yao, Wong, Bailey, & Minton, 2019). More than a half a century of research on segregation has

brought numerous measures propositions, mainly introduced by geographers since the 1990's, focused on spatializing segregation measures originally proposed by sociologists. Current used measures of segregation show spatial patterning in distribution of groups, and particularly these spatial measures have been the focus in the literature concerned on improving segregation methodologies. However, how segregation can or should be measured remains as a matter of theoretical and empirical discussion, as it is completely dependent on the used conceptualizations of segregation (Lloyd et al., 2015).

### Gentrification

Gentrification, a visible manifestation of how sociopolitical and economic processes shape contemporary cities, is generally understood as a process of urban change that comes with the displacement of users of the space, often from "lower-status" (Harding & Blokland, 2014). "It refers to the rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighborhood" (Smith & Williams, 2007, p. 1). In the words of Lees, Slater & Wyly (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008) the process of gentrification is "the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use". According to Clark (2010), it occurs when the built environment is changed through the investment of capital, which consequentially generates a change in the population of land users, providing certain socioeconomic status to the new land users. Indeed, gentrification connotes a process that operates mainly in the housing market (Smith & Williams, 2007).

The term gentrification, originated in London and in a number of U.S. cities, has been used since the 1950's and became quickly institutionalized and popular among media, academics, conservationist groups, businesses and political activists since (Lees et al., 2008; Smith & Williams, 2007). Much of the early research emphasized on the on the effects rather than the causes focused on empirical questions such as: who is it affecting? or where is this process occurring? However, the second phase of research focuses on causation over effect and attempts to deepen the understanding of the causes of a process much broader than only residential rehabilitation (Lees et al., 2008).

Now, residential gentrification research is often linked to urban renewal projects. Changes in urban landscapes are a result of specific economic, political and social forces, for a major reshaping of capitalist societies (Smith & Williams, 2007). Gentrification is thus a visible spatial component of social transformations (Smith & Williams, 2007). In this sense, it has been argued that the broad range processes that contribute to this restructuring should be

a matter of research and discussion regarding theorizing gentrification. Loreta Lees et al. (2008, pp. xvii, xvi), sustain that gentrification "is the leading edge of neoliberal urbanism, [...] has gone global and is intertwined with processes of globalization [and ...] is no longer confined to the inner city or to First World metropolises", and argue that gentrification has become a lens "through which to examine a variety of intersecting phenomena in a city and/or neighborhood context." The globalization of cities, and therefore, of gentrification, represents the victory of social and economic interests over others, a reassertion of neoliberal economic assumptions (Smith, 2012).

One of the central aspects of gentrification is the cultural production of aesthetics and symbols. This is because, in contemporary cities, the urban core has become "an important site of the consumption of culture" (Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 144). So, these dynamics, often combined with urban renewal projects, have generated new processes of marginalization and exclusion, and have limited the opportunities of the users of the urban space. In this way, urban marginalization and gentrification go hand in hand with the production of places that arrange resource opportunities for its users.

Displacement, understood as "the forced disenfranchisement of poor and working-class people from the spaces and the places to which they have legitimate social and historical claims" (Lees et al., 2008), directly contributes to reinforce the inequalities of the space. It can be exercised either in direct or indirect ways. The first occurs when people have to move because they cannot longer afford the rent, or they prefer to move because the quality of life decays due to lack of repairs; whereas the later takes place as a form of pressure, when exclusion is experienced through changes in the culture of neighborhood, the ways of behaving in public spaces and commercial infrastructure (Harding & Blokland, 2014). Exclusionary displacement is thus a form of indirect displacement where gentrification limits who is and who is not qualified to occupy a dwelling, by a change of conditions which affects the immediate surroundings of the dwelling, or the dwelling itself (Marcuse, 1986, p. 185). Gentrification is no longer confined to Europe and North America (Lees et al., 2008), but visceral direct displacements are taking place in the Global South (Lees, 2012).

In respect to the debates and discussion currently taking place, and state of the art, Smith & Williams (2007, pp. 3, 4) sustain that it is necessary a clarification of the theoretical issues in the debate and engagement of contrasting empirical data with theoretical propositions of gentrification, in specific, in regard to the following five themes: "a) Production-side versus consumption-side explanations; b) the question of the emergence of a "post-industrial" city; c) The relative importance of social structure vis-à-vis individual agency in the gentrification

process; d) Is there a "new middle class" and what is its role?; e) What are the costs of gentrification today and in the future?"

#### Suburbanization

Cities have become more contrasted as urbanization takes a metropolitan and regional form. Suburbanization is the process, generally understood residentially, by which a growing number of people move to the outskirts of the city, usually to single family houses (Harding & Blokland, 2014), from high or middle-class to working class-families, a result of policies that have stimulated home ownership (Dreier et al., 2012) However, different forms of suburbanization also include retailing (shopping malls), manufacturing (industry and tech hubs) and relocation of offices near convenient highways or airports, rather than the city center.

Sprawl is seen as the most serious consequence of suburbanization. Sprawl refers to the "outward development in a metropolitan area and the forms of such development" (Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 142), such as strip malls, drive-in fast food stores, highways, and different "car-centered users of space" (Williamson, Imbroscio, & Aplerovitz, 2005, p. 303). Some of the outcomes of sprawl are high environmental costs (poor air quality) due to the are large distances people have to travel by car, threat to nature and loss of land for farm production and therefore shortage food production, and racial segregation, to name a few.

Even though some theories have been developed to explain the efforts to keep cities from dispersing and the urban sprawl phenomenon (Bruegmann, 2011), these does not explicate the limited opportunities of those that are left behind. Certainly, suburbanization goes beyond individual's preferences, and is not just a matter of market demand and supply, but instead, about the power exercised in the social, economic, and political processes in cities, which is a critical factor to understand it (Harding & Blokland, 2014). Suburban development should thus be studied as a consequence of specific place and culture economic, social and political forces, and "must be understood increasingly as global in nature and consequences" (Clapson & Hutchison, 2010, p. 2). To a large extent, suburbanization is a class-based process and therefore it should be examined in combination with segregation and gentrification. In fact, both gentrification and suburbanization are processes that explain two forms of creating sites in the city where location and social position match (Harding & Blokland, 2014)

In suburbanization processes, gender, race, and class intersectionality are theoretically significant for intra-urban inequalities. First, suburbanization has been discussed within feminist urban theory, and has been linked to capitalism and patriarchy (Frank, 2009). Second, suburbanization helps to understand the creation of racialized spaces, with the rise of exclusive suburban gated communities that foster discrimination against minorities, a trend that is taking place in many corners of the world (Low, 2003). Third, suburbanization has been studied within cultural approaches, as a pattern that instigates particular identities and lifestyles: "suburbanism as a way of life" (Gans, 1991). And last, the consequences of suburbanization for urban governance have also been also, as it created problems of political participation by geographically disconnecting people's social, economic and political citizenship (Rae, 2003).

For too long, the academic focus for understanding suburbanization models has been was derived from Anglo-American cities (Clapson, 2004). In fact, until recently, most studies of suburban living have been based on the Anglo-American suburbs middle classes, while, working-class and ethnic suburban settlements have been largely ignored (Clapson & Hutchison, 2010) As a consequence, this has led to an interpretation of suburbanization as "a concept that suggests both escape from and dependence on the city" (Sassen, 2001, p. 210). But actually suburban growth has been more segregated in Latin American cities, were peripheral areas have been built for residential use, but also social housing development for lower income groups and informal settlements (Roitman, 2010).

In Latin America, suburbia became a place where people wanted to move to, which promised better life quality (close to nature, far from the air and noise pollution if the city). On top of this, given the rise of insecurity from 2000's onwards, security was a major factor for families when choosing to move to the peripheries, in addition to the growing number of gated communities (Roitman, 2010). Gated communities in Latin America, which can be defined as "closed urban residential settlements voluntarily occupied by a homogenous social group, where public space has been privatized by restricting access through the implementation of security devices" (Roitman, 2008, p. 8), are tightly linked to the suburban growth. Media and developers have encouraged the population of Latin American cities to live in fated communities, where they can have security and live in contract with families of similar values, interests and lifestyles (Roitman, 2010). Gated communities have been studied mainly because of its urban, political, and economic impacts. Besides, various authors argue that gated communities in the peripheries have contributed to fragmentation in cities, as the walls and fences increase social and spatial distancing.

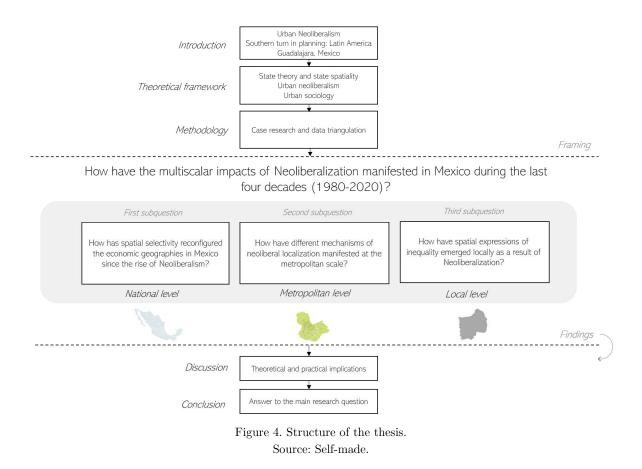
### Conceptual synergy

This research uses three theoretical approaches to develop the analysis. With the purpose of finding relations between the analytical concepts, and mobilizing the discussion even more, a short description of this synergy is developed. According to state theory and state spatiality, spatial selectivity processes influence the economic geographies in a given territory, which are transformed as a result of the adoption of state spatial strategies. These strategies, are therefore, favoring the selection of specific strategic areas for economic and industrial activity, and new industrial zones are developed. Thus, state spatiality theories and urban neoliberalism theories find synergies regarding the selection of territories for the application of neoliberal policies.

This selection of privileged spaces is consequently favoring the selection of "winning" cities, where a new wave of neoliberal ideas take place. Privileged cities are now new geographies where neoliberalism exists. The way in which it is possible to analyze the Neoliberal impacts on these territories is through the identification of destructive and creative moments, within different mechanisms of neoliberal localization, which are a result of processes of neoliberalization in cities. But it does not end there, insofar the emergence of spatial transformations, spatial expressions of inequality such as processes of gentrification, segregation, and suburbanization, can reveal another deeper influence. Hence, urban neoliberalism theories and urban sociology theories find synergies regarding the spatial manifestations of mechanisms of neoliberal localization within cities

## 3 Methodology

This chapter aims at presenting the approach utilized in the present dissemination to answer the research questions. It is divided in four sections, which include: research philosophy, research approach, methodology and research design, including triangulation, and sources of evidence, and limitations and caveats of this research, both in terms of COVID-19, as well as empirical and theoretical limitations. For better understanding of this dissemination, the following figure presents the structure of the thesis.



### 3.1 Ontological framework: critical realism

Critical realism is a philosophical science approach concerned with the causal nature of reality, that aims at identifying mechanisms of causation. This philosophy of science argues against empiricism and positivism, maintaining that more than recorded observable events, science is about existing (sometimes unobservable) objects and structures that give place to the events that we observe (Mingers, 2006). Through an ontological framework, critical realism offers a more convincing description of the nature of reality (Sorrell, 2018).

As etymology suggests, ontology is the study of being (Bricker, 2016). Social ontological questions are concerned with the social entities nature (Bryman, 2012), thus an ontological issue refers to the question of what there is. The ontological approach relies on the nature of the reality under investigation. Therefore, critical realism within ontology studies the "objective, stratified reality consisting of surface-level events and real entities with particular structures and causal properties" (Mingers, 2006; cited on Sorrell, 2018)

Ontologically, critical realism claims that underlying mechanisms generate the events we experience and observe. Social structures are the result of social activity albeit these are reproduced and transformed through the enabling social activities within themselves. (Mingers, 2006). In this sense, urban neoliberalism critical theory, state theory and urban theory have been developed under this philosophy of science, aiming at identifying the causal mechanisms and the nature of the evolution of the state.

### 3.2 Abductive research approach

Abduction is a form of reasoning, often employed in situations of uncertainty, when an understanding or explanation is needed in a situation that may be initially diffuse (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). An abductive approach refers to the process of collecting data to explore a phenomenon, explaining patterns by identified themes, to later either modify a theory or generate a new one, which is tested through additional collection of data (Saunders, Lexis, & Thornhill, 2013).

Hence, abduction moves back and forwards between deduction (theory to data) and induction (data to theory), combining these two approaches (Suddaby, 2006). This approach begins with the observation of a "surprising fact", followed by a theory that provides a possible explanation of how it could have occurred (see Figure 5). The relevance of this type of approach, is the infinite number of possible explanations for a phenomenon, so it is

important to decide which possible explanations to look at, the inference to the best explanation (Gimmler, 2019).



Figure 5. Abductive approach to explanation and development of theory. Source: Self-made based on (Gimmler, 2019).

Applying an abductive approach to this research of the analysis of the multiscalar impacts of neoliberalism in Mexico means that obtaining data that would help explore the phenomenon and identify patterns and explain themes regarding urban neoliberalism in the context of Latin America. These explanations can be integrated in an overall conceptual framework, thereby challenging existing theories based on the Global North context and contributing to the Southern turn in planning with the Mexican case.

Table 5. Characteristics of an abductive research approach.

Logic	Generalizability	Use of data	Theory
In an abductive inference, known premises are used to generate testable conclusions.	Generalizing from the interactions between the specific and the general.	Data collection is used to explore a phenomenon, identify themes and patterns, locate these in a conceptual framework and test this through subsequent data collection and so forth.	Theory generation or modification, incorporating existing theory where appropriate, to build new theory or modify existing theory.

Source: Self-made based on (Saunders et al., 2013).

As mentioned before, the theories selected to analyze the phenomenon were developed based in the Global North context. The selection of a research case from a different context, would contribute to understand how much of what has been theorized is context specific, and therefore, be able to inform the theory according to the results. On this note, known premises of the urban neoliberalism theories are somehow tested in a different context, to generate verifable conclusions about the implications of Neoliberalism around the globe.

### 3.3 Research design

Yin (2014, p. 16) defines case study research method as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident." Yin describes four types of designs of case studies: holistic (single-unit of analysis) and embedded (multiple units of analysis) and single-case and multiple-case designs.

The design of this project's case study research is a single case design with multiple units of analysis (see Figure 6). By developing different units of analysis within a single case study, it is possible to develop a better understanding of the same case within the same context. In this case, the three embedded units of analysis correspond to the three different geographical scales to be analyzed: national, metropolitan, and local, in a single case which is Neoliberalization in Mexico, within the context of Latin America. The reason for using different scales within the same case, is because the aim of the research is to analyze the multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalism in Mexico.

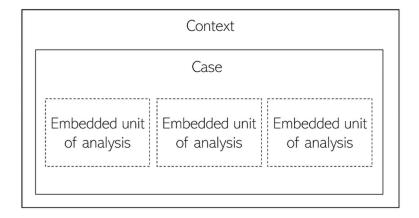


Figure 6. Case study research and embedded units of analysis. Source: Self-made based on (Yin, 2014).

Each unit of analysis was answered through different sources of evidence (see Table 7). This research utilized documents, archival records, and interviews for the analysis of the research questions, and by developing convergence evidence of these three sources, the construct validity of the results was strengthened (Yin, 2014). These sources of evidence were the most appropriate in accordance to the approach for answering the research questions, and each unit of analysis correspond to each research question. For the first unit of analysis, which is the national scale, documentation, and statistics from archival records where the main

sources of evidence. For the second and third units of analysis, the metropolitan and local scale, interviews were also used as sources o evidence, beside documentation and statistics.

The first source of evidence is documentary information, the main source of evidence, crucial for the whole project. Different documents were consulted, such as formal studies and evaluations related to the effects of Neoliberalism in Mexico. Consulting Mexican history books was determinant to understand the adoption of different group of restructuring policies regarding the transition to Neoliberalism in Mexico. Also, urban, and regional development studies to track the historical demographic changes in the whole country, and the relation with the economic changes. Local newspaper clippings and other articles published in mass media were used as evidence of some details or events.

The second source of evidence are archival records, public use files were consulted for obtaining statistical data, such as official census on Mexican data bases. Further, official government publications about the urban expansion in Mexico in the last decades were also consulted. Finally, national, and local planning instruments, such as the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area plans and programs, were useful to study changes in the city more carefully. This statistical information is supporting the documentary information.

The third source of evidence correspond to carried interviews. A total of four individual and semi-structured interviews were carried out online. Interviews are indeed relevant for increasing research validity, to support what has been analyzed from documents or archival records. The reason for developing semi-structured interviews is that these are more flexible and "less artificial" than structured interviews (Farthing, 2016).

Brinkmann & Kvale (2018) describe seven stages of an interview inquiry: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying and reporting. Each of these stages was followed to ensure a well-developed interview process. To develop semi-structured interviews, a few key questions were prepared in advance and asked in order of importance, allowing the conversation to develop depending on the interviewee's knowledge and expertise about the raised issues. These questions were linked to the main analytical concepts, to serve specific purposes and integrate the results obtained properly. All four interviews were recorded and transcribed, and these four transcriptions were integrated in the Appendix of this research. Table 6 summarizes the carried interviews for the analysis and presents a short description about the professional background of the interviewees, as well as the thematic guides used for each interview according to the area of expertise of each person.

Interviews were analyzed using meaning interpretation. This mode of interview analysis goes beyond structuring or codifying meanings of what was said (which often imply word or thematic repetition), to a more critical and deeper interpretation of the texts. This was done by interpreting beyond what was directly said, working out structures and relations of meanings not immediately apparent in the transcriptions or texts. This indeed was useful to interpret what was said by the interviewees, in a broader contextualization of the thematic being conversed. Relations between statements of different interviews were made, the interpretation of meanings was included in the analysis of the subquestions, quoting the different interviews made, accordingly. (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018)

Table 6. Carried interviews.

Professional experience and background	Th	ematic guide
Luis is a PhD researcher at <i>Universidad de Guadalajara</i> , lecturer of	-	Neoliberal
Urban Economy at the Bachelor of Urban Planning. He was one of		policies
the key actors that promoted the creation of Metropolitan	-	Metropolitan
Coordination Law. The purpose of this interview was to discuss the		government
different systemic impacts of Neoliberalism over the urbanization of	-	Housing
Guadalajara.		policies
Hector holds a PhD degree in social sciences. He has worked as a	-	Gentrification
consultant for universities, governments, and international organisms.	-	Social inclusion
His role as a social consultant for the project Ciudad Creativa Digital	-	Vulnerable
was key to evidence the different social impacts of this urban renewal		groups
project. The purpose of this research was to gather information about		
the process of gentrification that the project of Ciudad Creativa		
Digital is generating and the implications of this issue.		
Rossana holds a master's degree in Sustainable Urban Planning and	-	Territorial
Design. She has collaborated in different strategic territorial projects		fragmentation
in the municipality of Zapopan, both from the public sector and as a	-	Social
consultant for UN-Habitat. The purpose of this interview was to		polarization
gather information about the challenges of Zapopan, such as	-	Gated
inequalities, segregation, and urban fragmentation.		communities
Beatriz is a PhD student in Development Studies at University of	_	Socio-spatial
Sussex (UK). Her research focuses on socio-spatial segregation and		segregation
road network in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. The purpose of this	_	Historical
interview was to collect data about the historical patterns and trends		growth
of socio-spatial segregation in the city of Guadalajara.	_	Connectivity
		and
		marginalization
I U C C I C I C I I I I C E I C I I	Luis is a PhD researcher at Universidad de Guadalajara, lecturer of Urban Economy at the Bachelor of Urban Planning. He was one of the key actors that promoted the creation of Metropolitan Coordination Law. The purpose of this interview was to discuss the different systemic impacts of Neoliberalism over the urbanization of Guadalajara.  Hector holds a PhD degree in social sciences. He has worked as a consultant for universities, governments, and international organisms. His role as a social consultant for the project Ciudad Creativa Digital was key to evidence the different social impacts of this urban renewal project. The purpose of this research was to gather information about the process of gentrification that the project of Ciudad Creativa Digital is generating and the implications of this issue.  Rossana holds a master's degree in Sustainable Urban Planning and Design. She has collaborated in different strategic territorial projects in the municipality of Zapopan, both from the public sector and as a consultant for UN-Habitat. The purpose of this interview was to gather information about the challenges of Zapopan, such as mequalities, segregation, and urban fragmentation.  Beatriz is a PhD student in Development Studies at University of Gussex (UK). Her research focuses on socio-spatial segregation and road network in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. The purpose of this interview was to collect data about the historical patterns and trends	Luis is a PhD researcher at Universidad de Guadalajara, lecturer of - Urban Economy at the Bachelor of Urban Planning. He was one of the key actors that promoted the creation of Metropolitan - Coordination Law. The purpose of this interview was to discuss the different systemic impacts of Neoliberalism over the urbanization of - Guadalajara.  Hector holds a PhD degree in social sciences. He has worked as a - consultant for universities, governments, and international organisms His role as a social consultant for the project Ciudad Creativa Digital - was key to evidence the different social impacts of this urban renewal project. The purpose of this research was to gather information about the process of gentrification that the project of Ciudad Creativa Digital is generating and the implications of this issue.  Rossana holds a master's degree in Sustainable Urban Planning and - Design. She has collaborated in different strategic territorial projects in the municipality of Zapopan, both from the public sector and as a - consultant for UN-Habitat. The purpose of this interview was to gather information about the challenges of Zapopan, such as - nequalities, segregation, and urban fragmentation.  Beatriz is a PhD student in Development Studies at University of - Gussex (UK). Her research focuses on socio-spatial segregation and road network in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. The purpose of this nterview was to collect data about the historical patterns and trends

Source: Self-made.

Note: Transcriptions of each interview can be found in the Appendix.

In order to increase the reliability and validity of the research, triangulation was deployed in the present dissemination. Triangulation is a research strategy useful to develop a comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomenon (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, & Neville, 2014). Patton (2002) distinguishes four types of triangulation: data triangulation, methodological triangulation, theory triangulation, and investigator triangulation.

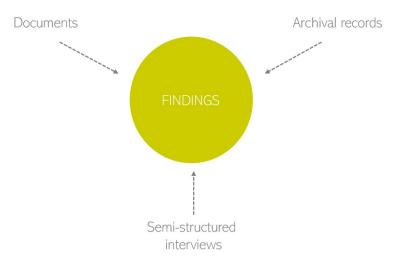


Figure 7. Data triangulation: convergence of multiple sources of evidence. Source: Self-made based on (Yin, 2014).

Data triangulation, which is the approach used in the present dissemination, refers to the use of multiple data sources to examine the studied phenomenon, ensuring an expansive look of the situation, to allow the contrast of information, and to avoid biases. Triangulation was carried out by collecting information from different sources, aiming to corroborate the same finding (see Figure 7). The findings were therefore supported by more than a single source of evidence.

Once that the case study research, the sources of evidence and the triangulation strategy for increasing validity were explained, the following table aims at summarizing the research design, which includes the methodological and theoretical approaches. It illustrates the main themes approached, literature review, research methods and data, and theoretical concepts used to analyze and answer each research question.

Table 7. Research design.

Research	Main	Literature	$Research\ methods$	Theoretical
questions	themes	review	$and\ data$	concepts
How has spatial selectivity reconfigured the economic geographies in Mexico since the rise of Neoliberalism?	Neoliberalism in Mexico  Urban, regional, and metropolitan growth	(Escalante, 2015) (Méndez, 2010) (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018) (Pradilla, 2016) (A. Ortiz, 2000) (Puebla, 2002) (Vázquez Castillo, 2004) (Puebla, 2002)  (Garza & Schteingart, 2010) (Unikel, Ruiz, & Garza, 1976) (Garza, 1999) (Garza, 2000) (Garza, 2002) (Garza, 2003) (Sobrino, 2003) (Sobrino, 2012) (Macías et al., 2001) (Trejo Nieto, 2013) (Trejo Nieto, 2020) (UN-Habitat, 2011) (OECD, 2015a)(OECD, 2015b) (ONU-Hábitat & SEDESOL, 2011)	Document analysis  Statistics on archival records (CONAPO, SEDATU & SEGOB, 2018) (CONAPO, SEDATU & SEGOB, 2012) (SEDESOL, 2012) (ONU-Hábitat; SEDESOL 2011) (SEDATU, CONAPO & INEGI, 2018) (SEDESOL CONAPO & INEGI, 2012) (SEDESOL, 2012)	State (spatial) projects and strategies  Spatiality parameters: Concentration and equalization Singularity and multiplicity Centralization and decentralization Uniformity and customization Creative and destructive moments

$Research \\ questions$	${\it Main} \ themes$	$Literature \ review$	$Research\ methods$ and data	$Theoretical \ concepts$
How have lifferent nechanisms of neoliberal ocalization nanifested at the netropolitan scale?	Urban growth  Industrial development	(IMEPLAN, 2015) (IMEPLAN, 2016) (Ríos, 2020) (López Moreno, 1996) (Jimenez & Ayala, 2015)  (Palacios, 1992) (Hisamatsu, 2008) (Inter-American Development Bank, 2015) (Rodriguez & Cota, 2005) (Chávez, 2015)	Document analysis  Statistics on archival records (IIEG, 2017) (SEDATU, CONAPO & INEGI, 2018) (SEDESOL CONAPO & INEGI, 2012)	Creative and destructive moments  Mechanisms of neoliberal localization: recalibration of intergovernmental relations, retrenchment of public finance restructuring the welfare state reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state, privatization of the municipal public sector and the collective infrastructures, restructuring urban housing markets, reworking labor market regulation,
	Metropolitanization	(Gómez-Álvarez, Rajack, López-Moreno, & Lanfranchi, 2017) (Armendáriz, 2019) (Quintero & Fonseca, 2015)	Interviews (Álvarez, 2021) (Aguirre, 2021)	restructuring strategies of territorial development, transformations of the built environment and urban form, interlocal policy transfer, re-regulation of urban civil society and re-representing the city.

$Research \ questions$	$Main \ themes$	$Literature \ review$	Research methods and data	$Theoretical \ concepts$
	Segregation	(Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009) (Cabrales & Canosa, 2001) (Cabrales, 2005) (ONU-Hábitat, 2016)		Spatial expressions of inequality: gentrification, suburbanization, and segregation Creative and destructive
How have spatial expressions of inequality emerged locally as a result of Neoliberalization?	Gated communities	(Pfannenstein, Anacleto Herrera, & Sevilla Villalobos, 2018) (Pfannenstein, Anacleto Herrera, & Sevilla Villalobos, 2017) (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, Anacleto Herrera, & Sevilla Villalobos, 2018) (Cabrales, 2006) (Cabrales & Canosa, 2002) (Miranda, 2007)	Document analysis  Statistics on archival records (INFONAVIT, 2009) (CONEVAL, 2010) (CONEVAL, 2020)	moments  Mechanisms of neoliberal localization: recalibration of intergovernmental relations, retrenchment of public finance, restructuring the welfare state, reconfiguring the institutional infrastructure of the local state, privatization of the municipal public sector and the collective
	Housing policy	(OECD, 2015a) (Cruz Solís, Jiménez Huerta, Palomar Anguas, & Corona Medina, 2008) (Harner, Jiménez, & Cruz, 2009) (De Mattos, 2002) (Jimenez & Ayala, 2015)	(INEGI, 2005) (INEGI, 2020) Interviews (Castañón, 2021) (Valdivia, 2021)	infrastructures, restructuring urban housing markets, reworking labor market regulation, restructuring strategies of territorial development, transformations of the built environment and urban
	Gentrification	(L. Ortiz, Ruiz, Perez, & Castañon, 2013) (Marcuse, 1986) (García, 2019) (ITDP, Cuadra Urbanismo & USAID, 2016)		form, interlocal policy transfer, re-regulation of urban civi society and re-representing the city.

Source: Self-made.

### 3.4 Limitations and caveats

COVID-19 and the consequences of the lockdown of society and the university since March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2020, until present have influenced which activities have been possible to carry out as or not part of the thesis work. Due to the lockdown restrictions in Denmark and the travel alert, it was not possible to carry out some data-gathering methods for this research. For this reason, the methodology does not include site visits to the city of Guadalajara, Mexico. Even though the use of more data sources would have increased the validity of the research even more, field observations and face-to-face interviews were not possible to perform.

In respect to the caveats of this research project, the application of selected theories for this research has some limitations. As mentioned before, most of the urban neoliberalism theories, the state theory, as well as segregation, gentrification, and suburbanization theories, have been developed in the base of the Global North context, in specific, European (mostly UK) and North American (mostly U.S.) countries. Even though these theories are useful to analyze the identified phenomenon, applying them to the Latin American context would not be complete precise, and rather, expose its limitations. However, these limitations are also an opportunity used in this research to build on theory from the Global South.

Besides, due to the time available to develop this dissemination, there are some limitations on the scope of the Chapter 6 for answering the third subquestion. The analysis of segregation, suburbanization and gentrification was not developed on detail, as each of these processes might need a whole study by itself, insofar it requires the application of different methods and specific data, in order to uncover them and develop a proper study of these processes.

Regarding ethical concerns, it is common that biases in research might influence the design and interpretation of the research, and therefore question its validity. To avoid these biases, it was important to maintain objectivity, being aware of personal beliefs, knowledge, and assumptions. This own reflexivity required the identification of preconceived ideas that could've been personally brought to the research project, and the awareness of the potential that these assumptions may impact the research design, carrying out the study and analyzing the results. (Nwomeh & Caniano, 2012)

# 4 The rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico

How has spatial selectivity reconfigured the economic geographies in Mexico since the rise of Neoliberalism?

First subquestion

### 4.1 Economic liberalization

Before the 1980's, the economic model of the country depended completely on the role of the state. As other nations did, Mexico followed an ideology of this period that conceived the state as the main conducer of its economic development (Méndez, 2010). The 1960's and 1970's decades were the last part of the period denominated "economic miracle", or import substitution model (see Table 8), in which Mexico experienced a process of rapid industrialization and accelerated economic growth (Garza & Schteingart, 2010). During this time, the territory of Mexico City played an important role in the industrialization process (Pradilla, 2016).

However, the country's economic model radically changed, as a result of multiple factors, such as the global energy crisis in 1974 and the national economic stagnation that began in 1982. The 1980's in Mexico was marked by a deep financial crisis with two main recessions (1982 and 1986) (Sobrino, 2012). Among many of the consequences of the economic crisis, the increased external debt of the country was one of the most severe. This situation led the government of Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) to sign agreements with the International Monetary Fund (Fondo Monetario Internacional, FMI) with the purpose of renegotiating the payment of the external debt (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). But these agreements were made with the compromise of implementing a series of state strategies (neoliberal policies) to induce the neoliberalist model in the country, which completely transformed the Mexican economic structure. Besides, a group of austerity measures were implemented during the government of Miguel de la Madrid aiming to reduce public expenses (Méndez, 2010), a moment of destruction.

In this setting, Mexico shifted into the Neoliberal economic model amidst the economic recession that was facing during this decade (Méndez, 2010). But Mexico was not the only country that followed the international economic policy tendencies. Thus, the gradual transition to Neoliberalism in Mexico at the end of the twentieth century occurred both as a response to the influence of a movement that was occurring globally during this decade and a reaction to tackle its own economic challenges by adopting the market economy model (Escalante, 2015). The first group of state projects and strategies that facilitated the country's transition towards the liberal market economy were adopted during the government of Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988); these included numerous legal and institutional changes, a couple of international agreements, and different types of national neoliberal policies (Méndez, 2010).

Table 8. Political, economic, industrial, financing, demographic, and urban cycles in Mexico, 1940-2011.

Period (Political party)	Policy	Economic fluctuations	$Development\\ strategy$	Financial cycles	Population growth	Migratory flows	National urban system evolution	
1940-1955 (PRI)	Economic growth	Economic	Import substitution		ANL USA <sup>b</sup> (61-			
1954-1970 (PRI)	Stabilizing development	development 1970-1980	policy		70): 27.5			
1970-1976 Luis Echeverría Álvarez (PRI)	Populism	GDP 6.6% AAGR <sup>a</sup>		First cycle (76-82) ends with the external debt crisis (1982	1970 Total pop. 49 mill Urban pop. 22	Rural areas>>>cities	Accelerated and preeminent urbanization	
1976-1982 José López Portillo (PRI)	Populism	1980-1990 Crisis GDP 1.6%	Transition	1	mill Ud <sup>c</sup> 45% ANL EUA (71- 80): 137.5			
1982-1988 Miguel de la Madrid (PRI)	Embryonic neoliberal model	Annual Average Growth Rate		Second cycle (83- 88) ends with the stock market crash (October 1987)	1980 Total pop. 66.8 mill Urban pop. 36.2			
1988-1994 Carlos Salinas de Gortari (PRI)	Consolidation of the neoliberal model			Third cycle (88-94) ends with the bank crisis	mill Ud 54 % ANL EUA (81- 90): 235.0			
1994-2000 Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (PRI)		recuperation 1990-2005 policies GDP 3.5% oriente Annual exporti Average (open Growth Rate	recuperation adj 1990-2005 pol GDP 3.5% ori Annual exp Average (op Growth Rate	Structural adjustment policies oriented to exporting (open market)	Fourth cycle (92-2006)	1990 Total pop. 81 mill Urban pop. 48 mill Ud 60% ANL EUA (91- 95): 296.0 ANL EUA (96- 00): 360.0	Large cities>>medium- size cities>>United States	Moderated and diversified urbanization
Neolibera 2000-2006 model Vicente Fox Quezada (PAN)	Neoliberal model	NAFTA NAFTA			2000 Total pop. 97.5 mill Urban pop. 62 mill Ub 63% ANL USA (01- 04): 395.0			
2006-2012 Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (PAN)		Global crisis		Fifth cycle (2007-2010) Global financial crisis	2010 Total pop. 112.3 mill Urban pop. 80.4 mill. Ud 72%			

Source: Self-translation from (ONU-Hábitat; SEDESOL 2011).

Note: <sup>a</sup>AAGR: Annual Average Growth Rate <sup>b</sup>ANL: Annual Net Loss due to migration to the United States of America in thousands of people. <sup>c</sup>Ud: Urbanization degree is the percentage of the population of cities with respect to the national population.

Under this transition, the government began to implement a series of state strategies, which set the course of for this new economic model. The market liberalization, privatization and

deregulation were the immediate state strategies of the liberal market economy (Trejo Nieto, 2013). Amongst these interventions, stand out: the reduction of the state's participation in the economy through a process of privatization of public companies; the opening of borders to international trade and foreign investment; the elimination of subsidies for production, services, and various consumer goods for the population; the decrease in public expenses; the reconfiguration and greater intervention of the national business groups in the national economy; all these were facilitated by modifications made in the legislative and institutional framework (Méndez, 2010; A. Ortiz, 2000)

In 1984, Mexico signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and officially became part of the trade two years later. The Mexican government was no longer directly involved in the planning and boosting of the economic development, and the private initiative was now responsible for promoting economic services and goods through competitiveness, letting market mechanisms act freely (Escalante, 2015).

Although the adoption of state strategies (neoliberal policies) started in Mexico during the 1980's, this transformation gained impetus more evidently during the 1990's decade, under the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994)<sup>6</sup>, when the state was openly and undoubtedly committed with the market economy (Méndez, 2010) and the most influential state strategies were adopted. In the context of the international political economy, the tendency towards a market economy was consolidated through the adoption of one of the most influential state strategies, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed in 1992 and implemented from 1994 onwards. The application of this agreement legally formalized the introduction of the neoliberalism in Mexico, a pivotal moment in the economic policy of the country (Escalante, 2015; Méndez, 2010; Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). While some scholars argue that the economic liberalization in Mexico started in 1988, others maintain that it officially begun in 1994, with the implementation of the most significative state strategy, the NAFTA. Unquestionably, the most important junctures for the implementation of state strategies occurred during this period.

The NAFTA supposed the custom union between Canada, U.S. and Mexico, which implied the freedom of movement of goods, but not of people (Méndez, 2010). The coming decades manifested what the relations with these two countries would cause. On the one side, this agreement increased Mexico's dependency on the U.S, as in the coming decades, more than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The elections of 1988 that gave the presidency to Carlos Salinas lacked legitimacy (Méndez, 2010).

three quarters of its international market was made with its northern neighbor; and on the other side, favored the investments coming from its main commercial trading partners, in specific the mining and aeronautic industry with Canada, which has cause great environmental deterioration and socio-cultural iniquities (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018).

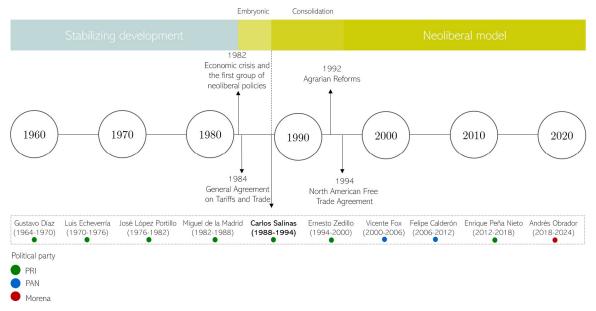


Figure 8. A general overview of the Neoliberalization process in Mexico. Source: Self-made.

Even though the NAFTA is one of the most known state strategies of the Neoliberalism in Mexico due to its profound influence on the country's economic structure and dynamics, the spatial planning in the national territory was also impacted with a set of state spatial strategies that complemented this agreement. These include the agrarian reforms, which significantly influenced the urban and regional development in the next decades The first one was the reforms to the Agrarian Law in 1992, which allowed the *ejidatarios*<sup>7</sup> the selling of their lands to the real estate companies in the peripheries of the cities (Pradilla, 2016); the second one was the reform to the Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution which allowed indigenous communal landholding to be sold and privatized<sup>8</sup> (Garza & Schteingart, 2010);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "The ejido system is a land tenure system created during the colonial period that provided land to indigenous populations to be labored and owned collectively" (Peña, 2021, p. 6). The ejido system was also reinforced from the Mexican Revolution in 1910 (Vázquez Castillo, 2004). Ejidatarios are the owners of the ejidos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This agrarian reform generated political tensions with the indigenous community, giving place to the Zapatista movement or the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, EZLN) in the South of Mexico, who declared war to the Mexican Government since 1994. (Bizberg & Zapata, 2010)

and third one was the reform to the legislation of the state organisms for workers housing, Institute of the National Housing Fund for Workers (Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores, INFONAVIT) and Housing Fund of the Institute of Social Security and Services for State Workers (Fondo de la Vivienda del Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado, FOVISSSTE), which started to function as financing organisms for acquiring housing from the private sector (Puebla, 2002). From these three, the reforms to the Article 27 was the most significative, which implied the deregulation, privatization and investment opening of communal lands (ejidos) (Vázquez Castillo, 2004). These reforms were not achieved without much fair social resistance due to the coming consequences, specially coming from indigenous communities whose lands were vulnerable to privatization.

In the long term, these policy changes had a great impact in the urban scale, generating the urban sprawl phenomenon now seen across the national territory. First, the reforms to the Article 27 allowed the selling of land which was not available before, the privatization of ejidos, which consequently provided most of the urbanized and industrialized space (Vázquez Castillo, 2004), specifically in the peripheries of cities. Besides, ejidos provided affordable land for housing, which lead to the second point. Second, the national housing policy, mainly conducted by INFONAVIT, was focused on financing and developing housing (OECD 2015a). And third, the municipal actor's capacities were weakened, strengthening the capacity of the private sector. Thus, the real-estate market emerged as the actor capable of producing housing. The combination of these changes led to the consequences we now see, dispersed, disconnected and unequal cities, such as the case of Guadalajara (Álvarez, 2021).

### 4.2 Urbanization and metropolization

The 1980's was a pivotal decade for Mexico, not only because of its economic model transition, but also regarding the urbanization of its territory. The urban transformation that the country has experienced are closely associated to the changes in the national economy (Sobrino, 2003), insofar the economic development and urbanization are two inseparable and organically connected processes that characterize the structure of society (Garza & Schteingart, 2010).

Table 9. National population, urbanization degree and number of cities in the three economic phases during the twentieth century.

Period	$Economic \ model$	$Total\ national\ population\ (million\ inhabitants)$		population (million growth r		$Annual\ average$ $growth\ rate$ $(\%)$	$Urbanization \ degree \\ (\%)$	
1900-1940	The emergency of a	1900	1940	1	1900	1940		
1900-1940	new national state	13.6	19.8	1	10.5	20.0		
1940-1980	Import substitution	1940	1980	9.1	1940	1980		
1940-1960	model	19.8	66.9	3.1	20.2	55.0		
1000 2000	On an manket accomens	1980	2000	1.0	1980	2000		
1980-2000	Open market economy	66.9	97.5	1.9	55.0	63.4		

Source: Self-made based on (Garza & Schteingart, 2010; Sobrino, 2003).

During the twentieth century, the country's total population multiplied over 7 times (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, Consejo Nacional de Población, & Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2012), it increased from 13.6 million in 1900 to 98.1 million in 2000, while its urban population multiplied 44 times. In general, the demographic dynamics in Mexico throughout this century went through three phases that also relate to the evolution of the national economy: from 1900-1940, from 1940-1980 and 1980-2000 (see Table 9). These phases were largely influenced by the demographic dynamic of Mexico City, which was mobilized by the industrialization process that the capital went through between 1930 and 1970 (Pradilla, 2016). Hence, it's easy to conclude that the characteristics of the national urbanization were also heavily determined by the urban expansion of the capital of the country (Sobrino, 2003).

The most relevant characteristic of the demographic growth is that it specifically occurred in the urban areas of the country. In particular, Mexico acquired its urban predominance in the last two decades of the last century, a characteristic that remains until this day. The economic stagnation of the 1980's decade barely affected the demographic dynamic in the country, and the rural-urban migration continued because the urban areas, which concentrated most of the economic activities and customized services provision, still promised better life conditions than the rural side could offer (Garza & Schteingart, 2010).

As the economic and demographic profiles of Mexico were being transformed, its urban hegemony was consolidated. By 1980, the country's population was 66.8 million people, and the 55 percent of the total population in the country already lived in cities, corresponding to 36.7 million; but in 1990, the total population in Mexico was 81.2 million, and the urbanization degree grew to 63.4 percent, representing 51.5 million people, leaving behand the country's rural character that held at the beginning of the twentieth century (Garza &

Schteingart, 2010). As more people lived in urban areas, the national urban system<sup>9</sup> increased from 227 cities in 1980 to 304 in 1990. By 2000, the country's total population reached 97.5 million, and a total of 349 cities concentrated the 67.3 percent (Garza & Schteingart, 2010). In 2010, the number of cities in the national urban system increased 368, which concentrated 81.2 million people, representing the 72.3 percent of the national population (Consejo Nacional de Población; Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario Territorial y Urbano; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2012). By 2018, 401 cities were identified, with a total of 92.7 inhabitants that represent the 74.2 percent of the national population (Consejo Nacional de Población; Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario Territorial y Urbano; Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2018).

The origin of the metropolization process<sup>10</sup> in Mexico dates to the 40's, when the physical expansion of the urban areas first exceeded the administrative limits of one or more states or municipalities. The metropolitan phenomenon was largely driven by the impulse of industrial development from 1930 to 1970 and was characterized by a strong centralization of manufacturing production and employment in Mexico City. This economic centralization stimulated the migratory movement from the countryside to the cities.

However, it was after the Neoliberalization when the urban population extended mainly in the metropolitan areas, in specific, between 1990 and 1995, the demographic growth occurred mostly in the metropolis (Garza & Schteingart, 2010). The average population in the metropolitan areas increased from around 750 thousand people in 1990 to more than 1.1 million in 2010 (Trejo Nieto, 2013). During this time, the national urban system was then transformed from a monocentric (with Mexico City as the core) to a polycentric character. In 1930, only Mexico City was the only urban area with more than 1 million inhabitants, but at the end of the twentieth century, eight more cities exceeded this number: Guadalajara (3.7 million), Monterrey (3.2 million), Puebla (1.9 million), Toluca (1.4 million), León (1.3 million) Tijuana (1.3 million), Ciudad Juárez (1.2 million) and Torreón (1 million) (Garza, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The National Urban System is the set of cities with 15 thousand and more inhabitants, that are functionally related. Any significant change in any of them leads, to a greater or lesser extent, to alterations in the others (CONAPO, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The first definition of metropolitan area in Mexico was elaborated by Unikel et al. (1976, p. 118), who defined it as "the territorial extension that includes the political-administrative unit that contains the central city, and the political-administrative units contiguous to it that have urban characteristics, such as workplaces or places of residence of workers engaged in non-agricultural activities, and who maintain a socio-economic interrelation direct, constant and intense with the central city, and vice versa."

Table 10. Indicators of the metropolization process in Mexico, 1960-2010.

Indicator	1960	1980	1990	2000	2005	2010
Number of metropolitan areas	12	26	37	55	56	59
Number of metropolitan municipalities	64	131	155	309	345	367
Number of states	14	20	26	29	29	29
Metropolitan population (million)	9.0	26.1	31.5	51.5	57.9	63.8
Metropolitan population over national population (%)	25.6	39.1	38.8	52.8	56.0	56.8
Metropolitan population over urban population (%)	66	71	68	77	79	84.5

Source: Self-translation from (CONAPO, SEDATU & INEGI, 2018; SEDESOL, 2012; Trejo Nieto, 2013).

Until 2010, 59 metropolitan areas were recognized in Mexico, in which 63.8 million people lived, representing 56.8 percent of the national total population (see Figure 9). This indicates that, in addition to holding an urban hegemony, Mexico is predominantly metropolitan (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2012). Of the 32 states, only three of them, Baja California Sur, Campeche and Sinaloa, does not have a municipality that is part of a metropolis (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social et al., 2012).

Table 11. Mexico's National Urban System, 2018

Population		Total	Metrop	olitan areas	Con	urbations	Urba	n centers
size	Unities	Population	Unities	Population	Unities	Population	Unities	Population
National								
Urban	401	92,609,144	74	78,290,408	132	7,017,935	195	7,300,800
System								
5 million or	2	26,861,070	2	26,861,070				
more	2	20,801,070	2	20,801,070				
1 million to	13	23,807,517	13	23,807,517				
4,999,999	13	23,807,317	13	23,007,317				
500 thousand	22	17,103,639	22	17,103,639				
to 999,999	22	17,103,039	22	17,103,039				
100 thousand	64	15,080,328	37	10,518,181	14	2,781,828	13	1,780,318
to 499,999	04	15,000,526	31	10,516,161	14	2,761,626	13	1,700,310
50 thousand	46	3,033,754			22	1,466,501	24	1,567,253
to 99,999	40	3,033,734			22	1,400,501	24	1,507,255
15 thousand	254	6,722,834			96	2,769,605	158	3,953,229
to 49,999	204	0,122,004			90	2,709,009	190	0,300,429

Source: (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2018).

Currently, the national urban system of Mexico is composed by 401 cities that hold 92.7 million people, which represents 74.2 percent of its total population (see Table 11). From the 74 metropolitan areas, a total of 13 have more than 1 million inhabitants: Mexican Valley (20.89 million), Guadalajara (4.89), Monterrey (4.69), Puebla-Tlaxcala (2.94), Toluca (2.20),

Tijuana (1.84), León (1.77), Juárez (1.39), La Laguna (1.34), Querétaro (1.32), San Luis Potosí (1.16), Mérida (1.14) and Aguascalientes (1.04) (CONAPO, SEDATU & INEGI, 2018). The metropolitan areas are highlighted by the urban system as the element with the highest hierarchy, since these generate 71 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and have the potential to positively influence development economic and social of their respective regions.

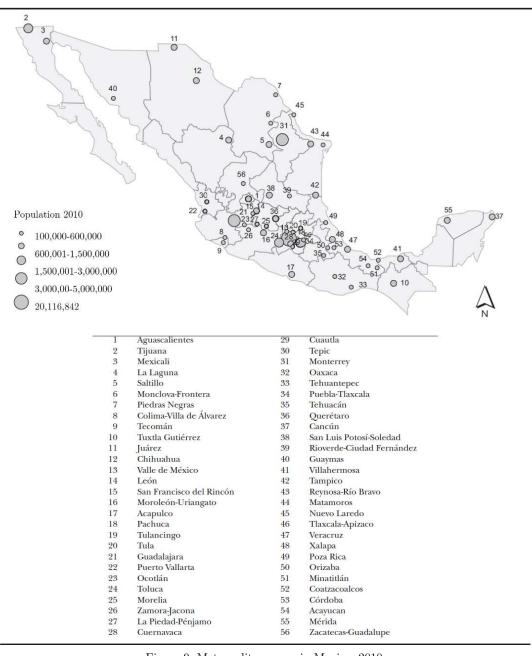


Figure 9. Metropolitan areas in Mexico, 2010. Source: (Trejo Nieto, 2013).

In the last decades, Mexican cities' urban growth has occurred predominantly in the peripheries of the urban areas (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015b), which has accelerated the metropolitan phenomenon, insofar cities have not only grown in population, but most predominantly, in surface. According to SEDESOL (2012), the greatest increase in the surface of urban areas in Mexico occurred between 1980 and 2000; the population in urban areas of Mexico doubled, while the extension of urban areas grew on average ten times. In some cities these figures have reached worrying levels; while the urban area had an increase of 25 times the population grew only 3.3 times. Low-density, dispersed, disconnected and unequal urban areas started to develop, generating negative externalities that have impacted the lives of millions of people (ONU-Hábitat; Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, 2011; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015a).

## 4.3 Reconfiguration of the economic geographies

One cannot understand the urbanization phenomenon in Mexico without describing the urbanization and industrialization of Mexico City, as well as its consequential challenges. During the industrialization process, most of the industrial activities were concentrated in the capital, which led to the accelerated demographic growth of the city. Besides, Mexico City has always played a relevant role in the political, economic, and cultural history of Mexico. As a matter of fact, the centralized and concentrated character of Mexico City dates to the colonial era. Since the sixteenth, the Viceroyalty's capital of the New Spain constituted the administration and religious center of the country, and had a central function in the politico-military control and organization of the colonial territory, as well as in the economic activities (Garza, 2003; Unikel et al., 1976), role that the city maintains to some extent until present.

After 1980, a large percent of the country's population was living in urban areas, and yet, the national industrial and economic activities remained concentrated in the capital of the country. In 1990, the Metropolitan Area of the Valley of Mexico<sup>11</sup> (Zona Metropolitana del Valle de México, ZMVM) became one of the biggest cities in the world with a population of 15 million, which increased to 18 million by 2000 (CONAPO, SEDATU & INEGI, 2012), positioning it as the second largest city in the world behind Tokyo, Japan (Hoornweg & Pope, 2017). Clearly, the growth phenomenon in Mexico City evidenced the great challenges

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  The Metropolitan Area of the Valley of Mexico comprises 16 alcaldías (previously called boroughs) of Mexico City, 59 municipalities of the State of Mexico and 1 municipality of the State of Hidalgo.

in additional requirements of infrastructure and public services that the capital of the country has been facing as one of the largest cities in the world (Garza & Schteingart, 2010).

In this context, the necessity for equalizing the economic activities and developing uniformity to the administrative coverage across the national territory led to the implementation of efforts on this matter. Different state spatial strategies were conducted with the purpose of alleviating the growth pressure over the capital of the country. Amongst others, these strategies included the enactment of laws and elaboration of spatial planning instruments for industrial equalization (Garza, 1999). Although, the process of deindustrialization that the capital underwent allowed the development of new industrial areas, this negatively impacted its economic growth between 1993-2012 (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018), and the economy of Mexico City became predominantly informal (Pradilla, 2016).

The territorial distribution of the economic activities in Mexico was directly and indirectly influenced by the combination between the application state spatial strategies as well as political and economic successes such as the prolonged economic crisis in the 80's, the implementation of the NAFTA in 1994, the peso devaluation in 1995, and the recession of 2000-2001, to name a few (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). Even so, the Neoliberalization in Mexico has been the main point of inflection considered in many of the regional disparities' studies and spatial inequalities which argue and justify that the open market economy in Mexico increased the urban and regional inequalities (Garza & Schteingart, 2010). The spatial inequities are evidenced in the different regional economies growth rates, as the biggest dynamism was registered in the first seven years of the NAFTA (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018).

At the spatial level, the economic globalization produced changes in the location of the economic activities and intensified the economic development concentration processes and welfare of a few territories, intensifying the economic and social disparities at different geographical scales. The geospatial transformations have been expressed in the differences between the level of technological modernization; the level of productivity; the reconfiguration of the industrial capital, as a consequence of the privatization of public companies; and the creation of complex territorial developments of exporting industry, which have transformed the urban landscape of more than fifty cities in the country, where the most important market corridors, and industrial parks were stablished (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018)



Figure 10. Mexican Economic corridors.
Source: Self-translated from (ONU-Hábitat; SEDESOL 2011).

Since the Neoliberalization, the patterns of industrial localization and foreign investment and economic development were modified in respect to the markets' proximity, according to the competitive<sup>12</sup> and comparative advantages of specific territories. The extensively documented spatial changes evidence a clear shift: from a pattern strongly concentrated in the traditional industrial centers – mainly Mexico City – towards the concentration of industry, more predominantly, in the NAFTA corridors.

Thus, instead of achieving the equalization of economic activities, the industrial development and foreign investments were geographically concentrated in the most dynamic economic states, as the center, the north-east and the central-west of the country, but also in the largest metropolitan areas, the touristic areas, and regions with competitive financing and manufacture advantages, and specifically along the north border, where the main potential markets are located, due to its proximity to the U.S. market (Garza & Schteingart, 2010; Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018) Consequently, the transformed exporting economic model and the trades with the U.S. beneficed particularly the northern region, not only the cities expanded significantly during the 90's, but the income per capita of this area increased 31 percent from 1990-2004 (Garza & Schteingart, 2010). The southern regions were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Competitiveness is a relative concept that refers to the capacity of an entity to incorporate into the market in which it operates, either internal or external (Marquez, 1994, p. 101). However, the urban competitiveness has been a controversial concept, as it is argued that competition occurs only between companies, so cities do not compete with others, but only operate as spaces of location of economic activities (Krugman, 1994).

practically abandoned during this period, whereas the "winner" regions of these state strategies—the north border, central-west and tourist cities—started to experience new urban transformations (Garza, 2000; Macías et al., 2001; Trejo Nieto, 2020).

As multinational companies occupied the territory, foreign investments increased and new industrial zones were developed, the urban and regional landscape of the country completely changed. While the old industrial regions and centers of the state political economy lost importance, new industrial zones were stablished. In particular, the metropolitan areas of Guadalajara and Monterrey, along with Querétaro, Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí (see Figure 10), experienced new processes of industrial restructuration that incorporated and organized industrial sectors for the exporting economy (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). As a consequence of the new established industrial parks and corridors, the same spatial state strategies implied land use changes, and therefore, urban transformations on these regions and cities.

Indeed, the spatial distribution of resources and economic activities, as well as urbanization processes, are important elements reflected in the territorial differences that affect a country's development processes (Trejo Nieto, 2013). In the case of Mexico, the selection of the spatial strategies that have favored the adoption of Neoliberalism had different environmental, social and economic consequences (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). Some of these negative impacts include the exacerbation of regional inequalities, the demand of more financing resources from the largest cities, indirect and direct environmental and social costs; and a complex urban and social problematic in the human settlements (Garza & Schteingart, 2010).

# 4.4 Discussion: first subquestion

Spatial selectivity processes have strongly influenced the transformation of the economic geographies across the national territory, privileging certain regions and territories, over others, since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico. But the influences of Neoliberalism at the national scale are also seen on the creative destruction moments within different sites of regulation.

First, in respect to the spatial selectivity, the geographical economies of the country were strategically transformed through the selection of specific territories, where economic activities and industrial development were concentrated. The reconfiguration of the economic geographies in Mexico occurred through the selection of state spatial strategies, by spatial

selectivity, that aimed to strategically select where would the development of industry and foreign investments occur. At the national scale, these territories, mostly located in the north and the central west of the country, were privileged sites of capital accumulation at the expense of the underdevelopment of other territories and regions of the south of Mexico.

In this sense, there is one clear parameter of spatial selectivity that manifested more evidently. This parameter refers to the concentration of industry development and foreign investment in specific territories. Even though, the purpose of the government was to equalize the economic activities throughout the national territory by deindustrializing Mexico City, the new industrial zones were concentrated in a few "lucky" or "winning" territories, according to their strategic proximity to the NAFTA market corridors. These state interventions not only evidenced the state's capacity to force the adoption of a specific form of economic development, but also its capacity to influence the geographies of accumulation. Thus, the uneven development of the Mexican territory is an expression of the capitalist regime, where just a few sites were mobilized as forces of production.

Second, different creative destruction moments unfolded in Mexico throughout the whole period at the national scale, within different sites of regulation. Regarding the form of intercapitalist competition, the destructive moments are evident in the first adopted group of neoliberal policies that dismantled national barriers to foreign direct investment through the free open market; and the creation moments are seen in the adopted new trade liberalization policies such as the NAFTA in 1994 and the establishment of global markets with the GATT in 1984. In regard to the state and other forms of governance, the destructive moments are represented in the imposition of austerity measures that pursued the reduction of public expenses during the government of Miguel de la Madrid, and the "hollowing out" of the capacities of the national state to regulate trade, investment flows and money; and the creation moments are evident in the selection of state strategies that promoted internationalization, territorial competitiveness and technological innovation. Regarding the uneven spatial development, the creation moments include the encouragement of capital investment within strategic industrial districts and regions, and generation or reinforcement of forms of sociospatial polarization, regional inequalities, and territorial competition at the national scale.

One moment of destruction that might have not been theorized by Brenner & Theodore (2002a) are the policies that changed the availability for land privatization. In the case of Mexico, this was seen in the removal of protection of indigenous lands and sacred territories allowing its selling and privatization through the reforms of the Article 27 of the Mexican

Constitution and the Agrarian Law in the mid-90's. These changes created socio-political tensions since that decade and gave place to the rising movement of Zapatistas in the south of Mexico. But the impact of these policies in the urban scale was reflected in the accelerated expansion of the urban areas towards the peripheries. Land privatization allowed the real estate developers and other private investors to build social housing projects and other types of urban projects that fostered urban sprawl. Thus, this creative destruction moment of land privatization accelerated the expansion of urbanized surface in the peripheries of the Mexican cities during the last three to four decades and generating multiple negative consequences. Thus, land privatization, along with the new industrial areas, represents the connection between the restructuring policies and the spatial transformation in cities.

The existing patterns of uneven development in Mexico were maintained despite the supposed intentions to alleviate the regional disparities. Through the selection of different state spatial strategies, the national state aimed to spread the population and industry concentration character of Mexico City and reduce the sociospatial polarization with the introduction of a series of regional policies and spatial initiatives. However, the patterns of accumulation in specific areas of the territory evidence that this was not achieved, and instead of equalizing the economic activities across the national territory, spatial selectivity concentrated the economic activities in strategic territories according to the neoliberal policies. This concentration tendency aggravated the regional inequities that Mexico historically faced and triggered a series of urban transformations that have had multiple negative socio-environmental consequences.

The changes in the economic geographies are one of the most significant transformations occurred at the national scale since the rise of Neoliberalism. However, the Neoliberalization process in Mexico has not only impacted the national scale. Within the broader geographies of neoliberalism, cities are strategically crucial arenas in which neoliberal ideas unfold and take root. The fact that the spatial selectivity benefited a few territories for industrial activity in Mexico, meant the privilege of a few "winning" cities, selected with purpose of raising competitiveness and economic activity. This is where the connection between the national and the metropolitan scale is, as well as the synergies between the state theory and urban neoliberalism theory. In this context, a deeper understanding on the influence of adopted state spatial strategies over the urban dynamics is needed. Hence, the next chapter analyzes the neoliberal initiatives that have influenced in the city of Guadalajara at the metropolitan scale.

# 5 Guadalajara Metropolitan Area under the influence of Neoliberalism

How have different mechanisms of neoliberal localization manifested at the metropolitan scale?

Second subquestion

### 5.1 Historical urban growth

Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (GMA), commonly referred to as the city of Guadalajara, is the second most populated city in Mexico. In 2010, its total population was 4.5 million in (Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara, 2016), but it reached almost 5 million (4.89) by 2018 (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2018; Instituto de Información Estadística y Geográfica, 2017). Guadalajara, the capital of Jalisco, is located in the Central-West Region of Mexico (El Bajío), an area that includes parts of the states of Aguascalientes, Querétaro and Guanajuato (see Figure 11). Due to its historical relevance, demographic weight, accelerated growth, dynamic economy and new metropolitan government, Guadalajara plays a very important role in the country that is worth analyzing through the lens of the influence of neoliberalism.



Figure 11. Location of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. Source: Self-made.

The urban and demographic growth of Guadalajara can be analyzed throughout the Mexican history, as different social, economic, and political processes influenced its conformation, evolution, and transformation. Since the foundation of the city in the sixteenth century, Guadalajara held an important role in the country. It was one of the most important colonial urban settlements of the Spanish colonization, partly due to its cultural and religious character, and was strategically stablished for different administrative and political purposes (Garza, 2003).

The colonization process in Mexico during the sixteenth century had a great impact on the design and planning of the Mexican cities (Irazábal, 2009 in Galland & Elinbaum, 2018a), and the urban form of Guadalajara is a clear example of these influences. As happened in many other Latin American cities, the way in which Spanish colonizers planned Guadalajara had a great influence on the patterns of socio-spatial inequality that repeated for many years<sup>13</sup> and that remain until present, but also on the way in which its citizens conceived the city, and the approach in which urban planners oriented its growth (Aguirre, 2021).

Throughout history, Guadalajara has experienced uncontrolled migration waves that have had a great impact on its demographic growth and consequently, on its urban development. This abrupt arrival of thousands of people has been a challenge for urban planners to provide appropriate opportunities to accommodate the new inhabitants (Aguirre, 2021). The largest and most evident migrations of people from the rural side to the city occurred in two periods of the Mexican history: The Independence War (1810-1821) and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). It was right after the Independence War, when Guadalajara became one of the three largest cities in the country (along with Monterrey and Mexico City), with 63,000 inhabitants in 1857.

Later, the foreign market expansion combined to the mining export, ports development and the national railway during the government of Porfirio Díaz (1884-1911), continued to stimulate the demographic growth of the city (Unikel et al., 1976). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Guadalajara went from being the third to the second largest city, as it was one of the only two cities in the country (besides the capital) that concentrated 100,000 inhabitants (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2018). But the consolidation of Guadalajara as one of the largest and most important metropolitan areas in fact occurred after the midcentury (see Table 12), during the period of fastest urbanization in Mexico and Latin America. Particularly, the industrialization process in the country, which occurred during 1930 and 1970, significantly influenced Guadalajara population grow during the second half of the last century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Spanish colonizers built their colonial city away from the native indigenous communities and established in the west side of the River San Juan de Dios, that functioned as barrier between them. However, even after the city kept growing, this old river, now Avenue *Calzada de Independencia*, still culturally, socioeconomically and physically divides the city in two sides, evidencing the deep differences between the west (wealthy area) and the east (poorest area) of the metropolitan area (Ríos, 2020).

Table 12. Urban population growth of Guadalaiara, 1900-2010.

Year	Population	Year	Population
1900	101,208	1960	878,973
1910	119,468	1970	1,518,428
1920	128,136	1980	2,244,715
1930	184,826	1990	3,003,868
1940	236,557	2000	3,699,136
1950	398,543	2010	4,434,878

Source: Self-made based on (Garza, 1999; IMEPLAN 2015; Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, 2012; Secretaría de Desarrollo Social et al., 2012; Trejo Nieto, 2013).

Resembling the national trend, Guadalajara's urban growth during the twentieth century can be divided into three main historical periods (López Moreno, 1996): 1) Early development and rapid urbanization, from 1940 to 1976, 2) Consolidation and metropolitan urbanization, from 1976 to 2000, and 3) Expansive development and transition to a metropolitan urban governance and, from 2000 to 2016 (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017; Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara, 2015; Quintero & Fonseca, 2015). The political regime, the legal framework, population, and the shape of the urban area changed during these phases.

During the first decades of the twentieth century was characterized by slow urbanization and a rural predominance (López Moreno, 1996). Before the 1940's, Guadalajara consisted only of one municipality, and agriculture was the main activity practiced on its surrounding rural municipalities (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017). But the greatest demographic growth happened during the period from 1940 to 1976, when the city surpassed one million inhabitants, and its first metropolitan ring was established with the integration of three municipalities as part of the city. The population of Guadalajara tripled in a period of 20 years: its almost 400,000 inhabitants in 1950 increased to practically 1 million by 1964, and 1.5 million in 1970 (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social et al., 2012). By 1970, only Monterrey, Mexico City and Guadalajara had more than one million inhabitants, concentrating the 47.6 percent (11.31 million) of the total national population. This demographic growth between the 60's and the 70's was influenced by the industrialization process, which attracted the next large wave of migration of people from the rural areas to the city (see Table 12).

The urban conurbation process of Guadalajara with the adjacent municipalities of Zapopan and San Pedro Tlaquepaque began in 1964, when the city almost reached one million

inhabitants. Since that time, the marked increase of neighborhoods and gated communities<sup>14</sup> that expanded the surface of the city started to be noticed (IMEPLAN 2015). These transformations in the built environment and urban form represent (tendential) creative moments of actually existing neoliberalism. Besides, although irregular settlements in Guadalajara started to appear in the 40's, these became more frequent since the decade of 1970, coinciding with the neoliberal period, and with the emergence of the greatest socioeconomic inequality in Guadalajara (Aguirre, 2021).

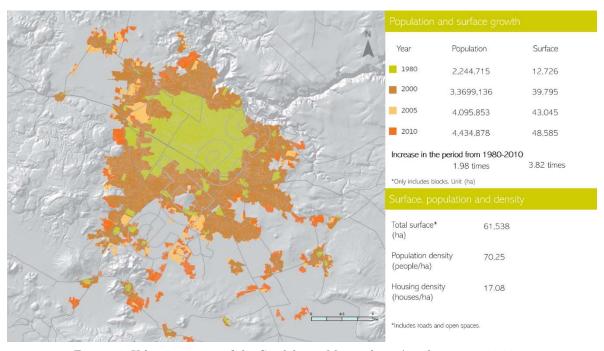


Figure 12. Urban expansion of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area between 1980-2010. Source: Self-translation from (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2018).

The period from 1976 to 2000 is mostly characterized by an increased and accelerated surface expansion of the city. The major urban surface growth in Guadalajara occurred in the last two decades of the twentieth century, a trend that occurred in the urban areas across the national territory (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social, 2012). It was precisely during this period when Guadalajara started to experience the metropolitan phenomenon (IMEPLAN 2015), and the city became one of the five metropolitan areas in the whole country (Unikel et al., 1976). From 1980 to 2010, the urbanized surface of the city increased 3.82 times while its population only grew 1.98 times. In respect to the institutional framework, different

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  During this decade, about 73 more gated communities were registered. These are referred to as *fraccionamientos*, often built by the same real-estate developer.

governance mechanisms were created during this period, due to the challenges of coordination that the city was facing amid its accelerated growth. And total of 27,069 hectares grew in a very dispersed pattern (see Figure 12).

What is more, these dispersed tendencies continued in the next decades, as from 2000-2016 an increased number of territorial municipalities became part of the now extensive metropolitan area. The greatest growth in metropolitan municipalities in Mexico occurred in the periphery of several metropolitan areas during the first decade of the twenty-first century. In the case of Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, this peripheral growth phenomenon took place specifically in the municipalities of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga (12.5 percent) and Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos (6.4 percent). In the same period, 17 metropolitan delegations and central municipalities in Mexico registered negative population growth rates; such is the case of the municipality of Guadalajara (see Table 13), which lost 151.1 thousand inhabitants between 1990 and 2015 (Secretaría de Desarrollo Social et al., 2012).

Table 13. Guadalajara Metropolitan Area: population, growth rate and average urban density.

	Population			Annual Average Growth Rate $(\%)$			Surface	Urban Average	
Municipality	1990	2000	2010	2015	1990- 2000	2000- 2010	2010- 2015	$(km^2)$	$Density \ (people/ha)$
Guadalajara Metropolitan Area	3,058,220	3,772,833	4,521,755	4,887,383	2.1	1.8	1.6	3 560.6	123.4
Acatlán de Juárez	14,450	20,236	23,241	22,261	3.4	1.3	-0.9	154.0	45.4
Guadalajara	1,650,205	1,646,319	1,495,189	1,495,189	0.0	-0.9	-0.5	151.2	149.5
Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos	16,674	21,605	41,060	53,045	2.6	6.4	5.5	201.2	60.6
Juanacatlán	10,068	11,792	13,218	17,955	1.6	1.1	6.6	138.1	44.1
El Salto	38,281	83,453	138,226	183,437	8.2	5.0	6.1	92.8	72.0
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga	68,428	123,619	416,626	549,442	6.1	12.5	6.0	674.0	95.0
San Pedro Tlaquepaque	339,649	474,178	608,114	664,193	3.4	2.4	1.9	116.4	122.4
Tonalá	168,555	337,149	478,689	536,111	7.2	3.5	2.4	158.0	127.9
Zapopan	712,008	1,001,021	1,243,756	1,332 272	3.5	2.1	1.5	1,156.3	110.2
Zapotlanejo	39,902	53,461	63,636	68,519	3.0	1.7	1.6	718.8	53.9

Source: Self-translation from (Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario Territorial y Urbano, Consejo Nacional de Población, & Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2018).

Note: The municipality of Acatlán de Juárez is included to be part of the GMA by the national Delimitation of Metropolitan Areas.

The political-administrative circumstances reached a new level in 2009, when the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area was decreed, configured by the municipalities of Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, El Salto, Juanacatlán e Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos (IMEPLAN, 2015). By 2016, Zapotlanejo was also included

in the politico-administrative borders of the metropolitan area. As the territorial tendencies generated new coordination challenges, new forms of governance were promoted and created to facilitate the transition from top-down to bottom-up ongoing processes, beginning with metropolitan law and followed by new governance structures.

Indeed, the formation of the current metropolitan area of Guadalajara is a result of the historical economic and demographic growth processes that have given place to a rapid expansion of the central city over the adjacent territories. Nowadays, the territory of the metropolitan area extends through nine municipalities (see Figure 13), accounting for a total of 326,546 hectares. But only the 22 percent (72,463 ha) of this surface is urbanized. The rest of the surface (274,083 ha) corresponds to agriculture, forest, grassland and vegetation areas (IMEPLAN 2016).



Figure 13. Municipalities of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area and urbanized surface. Source: Self-made.

Three main municipalities, Guadalajara, Zapopan, and San Pedro Tlaquepaque, concentrate the 75 percent of the total population (see Figure 13 and Table 14). Guadalajara and Zapopan are two of the eleven municipalities in the whole country that have more than 1 million inhabitants (CONAPO, SEDATU, INEGI 2018). Besides, the municipalities with the highest population density are Guadalajara in the first place with 106 inhabitants per hectare of urban area, followed by Tonalá and San Pedro Tlaquepaque, both with 70 (IMEPLAN 2016). The density of population patterns in the city are concentrated in the

low-income areas, areas with deficiencies in services provision such as health, education, water and security.

Table 14. Population and urbanized surface per municipality, Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, 2010.

Municipality	Population	Population of the metropolitan area (%)	ropolitan area surface		Urbanized surface of the metropolitan area (%)
Guadalajara	1,469,140	33	6,723	43	9
Zapopan	1,225,003	28	22,129	22	31
San Pedro Tlaquepaque	602,729	14	8,568	72	12
Tonalá	471,117	11	13,815	92	19
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga	404,197	9	11,711	17	16
El Salto	137,629	3	4,404	48	6
Zapotlanejo	63,549	1	2,284	3	3
Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos	41,039	1	2,396	13	3
Juanacatlán Total	13,215 <b>4,427,618</b>	0.3 <b>100</b>	432 <b>72,463</b>	3	1 <b>100</b>

Source: Self-made from (IMEPLAN 2016).

Although different political and economic processes in the Mexican history have had a direct effect in the demographic growth of Guadalajara, the Neoliberalization process in Mexico has been one of the most influential forces that impacted the city in a whole new different level. This is because the expansion phenomenon and consequences of the urban sprawl can be examined as a result of the different implemented neoliberal policies. First, favoring strategic areas where industry developed; second, by allowing the privatization of communal lands (ejidos) through the set of agrarian reforms which resulted in growth towards the peripheries; and third, through the federal national housing policies and the real-estate market strategic role on the provision of housing. For this reason, it is relevant to take a closer look to the strategies that were developed in the city and led to the multiple political, socio-economic, and environmental implications. The privatization of land that compromised the peri-urban areas and enabled the rapid expansion of the urbanized surface, could be considered a non-theorized creation destruction moment within the restructuring policies of territorial development or another mechanism of neoliberal localization, that stands out in the case of Mexico.

### 5.2 A new industrial space: the Mexican Sillicon Valley

After the Neoliberalization process began in Mexico, cities became strategic areas where neoliberal policies and experimentation ideas took place (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a), and Guadalajara was one of these "privileged" sites. As seen in Chapter 4, the clearest state spatial strategy since Neoliberalization was the restructuration of industry across the national country, and the concentration of economic activities in specific urban areas according to its strategic proximity to the NAFTA corridors. This new received industrial role generated profound changes in Guadalajara.

Guadalajara's technological incubation took various decades. It's incipient industrial role started in the 1960's, during the industrialization process in the country, with the establishment of Motorola Mexico and Mexican Industries Boroughs, both in 1968 (Palacios, 1992). But the arrival of new foreign companies extended in the 1980's, during the Neoliberalization adoption, and as a result of the creation of new industrial parks and corridors in the city for transnational capital investment. International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) was the first company to settle in the mid 80's (Chávez, 2015). It was then followed by other multinational companies such as Hewlett-Packard (HP), Intel and Foxconn. It wasn't long until Lenovo, Kodak, Motorola, Unisys and Siemens, among many others<sup>15</sup>, joined the former, also driven by finding cheap manufacturing labor (Selee, 2018). In the 90's, Guadalajara hosted all of the companies that integrated the electronic industry in Jalisco (Palacios, 1992)

Hence, since the mid-1980's, Guadalajara became a new technological hub given the large concentration of companies, mainly multinational, that operated in diverse areas of electric industry, automotive industry, IT sector and real estate services and businesses. Indeed, Guadalajara was chosen as the place where high-tech multinational industries would stablish, transforming the city into the country's most important hub for technological innovation and IT industry development in the next decades. In fact, references in North America began to occur about the emergence in Guadalajara, Mexico of a phenomenon with features that resembled the Californian case, so the attributed adjective to the city was Mexican Sillicon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Now, the two largest plants of Flextronics, one of the multinational companies of the maquila export industry with thousands of workers in Mexico, are located in Guadalajara, with 20 thousand and 11 thousand workers (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018).

Valley<sup>16</sup> (Palacios, 1992), a title that has been reinforced over time and that maintains proudly until present. Different industrial parts were created in order to install foreign capital companies that intended to develop the Mexican Silicon Valley. Of the 20 existing industrial parks in the city, two are located in El Salto, six more were created in Tlaquepaque and other six in Zapopan (Rodriguez & Cota, 2005).

But in contrast to the Sillicon Valley in California, U.S, the Mexican Sillicon Valley was not transformed into an innovation and research development center, but instead, it functioned only as a manufacturing base (Hisamatsu, 2008). The Mexican government's lack of compromise to improve this, is still reflected in the low budget that the federal government dedicates to research and development, which continues to be 0.5 percent of the national GDP (Chávez, 2015). While national innovation projects, such as Center for Research and Advanced Studies (*Centro de Investigación y de Estudios Avanzados*, Cinestav)<sup>17</sup> still depend on the scarce funds of the federal public administration to develop research and innovation, the multinational companies have developed high-level technological centers with this purpose<sup>18</sup> (Chávez, 2015). This situation, however, could be considered as other distinguishing creative destruction moment within the mechanism of neoliberal localization, as these strategies of territorial development with the creation of a new industrial space in Guadalajara aimed to create an area for transnational companies manufacturing, but not of innovation and research centers for local capacity building, training, and education.

As a result of the state strategies that were taken to convert the Guadalajara-El Salto corridor and other industrial parks into the Mexican Silicon Valley, the state of Jalisco, the axis of the economy of the Central-Western region (through the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area), captured between 3.4 and 3.1 percent of the national foreign investment income in 1989-2000 and 2001-2012 respectively (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). To date, the Mexican Silicon Valley is the sixth with the highest attraction of foreign capital, with a 77 percent in the electronics sector (Inter-American Development Bank, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> During the 80's, high-tech centers and technological parks became models of the forms of territorial organization of leading industries in North America, influenced by the Sillicon Valley in California, U.S. which was one of the references of the production model in the post-industrial era (Palacios, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Cinestav is a Mexican public institution dedicated to the development of science, technology and education, part of the National Polytechnic Institute (*Instituto Politécnico Nacional*, IPN).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For example, in 2014 HP invested in data, Intel in design and research and Lenovo set up an operations center for knowledge and technology (Inter-American Development Bank, 2015).

As a matter of fact, the industrial role as a technological hub was implemented with such determination, that Guadalajara is now acknowledged as the Western industrial capital of the country. Whereas the state of Jalisco holds 40 percent of the IT industry in Mexico (Inter-American Development Bank, 2015), Guadalajara has 75 percent of Jalisco's industry (hosting 40 of the 500 largest companies of the country) (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017). Besides, the industrial area in Guadalajara is one of the biggest in Mexico, with the agglomeration of about 636 industries (Sánchez-Salazar & Gutiérrez de MacGregor, 2018). Increasing Guadalajara's exposure to global competitive forces represent destruction moment as part of the restructuring strategies of territorial development mechanism of neoliberal localization. The creation of this new industrial space at a subnational scale, and the increased local economy's exposure to global competitive forces, represents clear creative destruction moments within the mechanism of neoliberal localization of restructuring strategies of territorial development.

Apart from its technological innovation and industry manufacturing role, Guadalajara has been given other types of roles through the adoption of different strategies that have influenced its development and global positioning, such as the cultural capital of the region<sup>19</sup> (Ramírez, 2019). Besides, the brand "Guadalajara, Guadalajara", a recent strategy initially coordinated by the Municipality of Guadalajara but later assigned to the management under the Metropolitan Planning Institute, was released in 2016 with the purpose of increasing tourism by highlighting the cultural relevance of the city (Gobierno de Guadalajara, 2016). Besides, numerous large-scale urban projects have been developed in the city over the last decade, often connected with tourism attraction, sports development, foreign investment, and commonly incorporating the design of world-famous architects. The construction of large-scale projects with the aim of attracting capital investment and reconfiguring local land-use patterns is indeed a moment of creation within the mechanism of Neoliberal localization of transformations of the built environment and urban form.

Although these strategies have been presented as necessary to position Guadalajara as a global city, intending to enhance the economic development, negative implications in the urban territory have been generated. For instance, the demographic changes created new demands of housing and transportation due to its industrial role which attracted another wave of migration of people from the rural side to the city. This phenomenon accelerated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The cornerstone of this strategy is the International Book Fair (*Feria Internacional del Libro*, FIL) which takes place every year since its creation in 1987 (Saavedra, 2019).

the surface expansion towards the peripheries, and the urbanization of rural areas that were previously destined to agriculture. In this context, large residential developments of middle-income housing and social interest emerged during the 1970s (Miranda, 2007).

In addition to this, great environmental conflicts been generated. One of the most known is the pollution of the Santiago River, due to the illegal runoff coming from industries located in El Salto corridor Industrial Park. Indeed, the municipality of El Salto has been the one that has paid the highest social and environmental costs (Rodriguez & Cota, 2005), insofar its population has been exposed for decades to the toxic heavy metals in the river, generating chronic diseases and putting people's lives in danger<sup>20</sup>. It is clear that the city has been a place of experimentation and application of neoliberal, and with no doubt, has suffered the multiple economic, social and environmental implications of these strategies. But the influences of Neoliberalization have not only been over the spatial intervention, but also the spatial organization, and therefore, its metropolitanization process.

## 5.3 Metropolitan reform initiatives

Throughout the country's metropolization process, one of the most important challenges has been the need to develop mechanisms to articulate, coordinate and manage the expansion of the urban areas that have surpassed administrative boundaries, as well as to elaborate a clear legal framework that defines responsibilities and competences for the authorities at different levels of government. In terms of metropolitan governance, Guadalajara is the most advanced city in Mexico (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017), because its metropolitan process did not only occurred through the demographic growth dynamics, but also in the evolution of the institutional and legal frameworks, as well as planning instruments that seek to regulate the urban development (see Table 15) (IMEPLAN 2015).

Table 15. Evolution of the legal framework for metropolitan governance in Guadalajara since the institutionalization of planning in Mexico.

Year	Planning instrument or enacted law		
1976	Enactment of the General Law of Human Settlements (Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos)		
1977	Law of Human Settlements of the State of Jalisco (Ley de Asentamientos Humanos del Estado de Jalisco)		
1978	Declaration of the formal establishment of the Guadalajara Region and Conurbation Zone and that determines the ordering and regulation regime of human settlements		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> So far, over 628 people living near the river have died (Graham, 2020).

Year	Planning instrument or enacted law	
1979	Law of the Partial Plan of Urbanization and Building Control (Ley del Plan Parcial de Urbanización y Control de Edificación)	
1980	Law that Approves the State Plan for the Management and Regulation of Human Settlements (Ley que Aprueba el Plan Estatal de Ordenación y Regulación de los Asentamientos Humanos)  Law that Approves the Regional Urban Plan of Guadalajara 1979-1983 (Ley que Aprueba el Plan Regional Urbano de Guadalajara 1979-1983)	
1981	Law that Approves the Partial Plan for Urbanization and Construction Control of the Central Zon of Zapopan (Ley que Aprueba el Plan Parcial de Urbanización y Control de la Edificación de la Zona Centro de Zapopan)	
1982	Law that Approves the Zoning Plan of the Guadalajara Conurbation and Declaration of Reserves, Uses and Destinations of its Areas and Premises (Ley que Aprueba el Plan de Ordenamiento de la Zona Conurbada de Guadalajara y Declaratoria de Reservas, Usos y Destinos de sus Áreas y Predios)	
1983	Article 115 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States is reformed, modifying the legal structure of the urban planning law of the State and modifying the rules inherent to urban management.	
1984	The State Law of Housing Subdivisions is reformed, which specifies the norms to which new developments should be subject, establishes the modality of Social Purpose Housing Subdivisions ( <i>Fraccionamientos de Objeto</i> , FOS) as an alternative to progressive urbanization in response to the increasingly frequent spontaneous settlements.	
1985	The Law of Public Works the State of Jalisco is issued (Ley de Obras Públicas del Estado de Jalisco)	
1989	The Guadalajara Metropolitan Council is established as the coordinating body for inter-municipal actions	
1993	Jalisco State Urban Development Law (Ley de Desarrollo Urbano del Estado de Jalisco, LDUEJ) that establishes the concurrence of state and municipal governments to order and regulate human settlements, as well as the creation of the State Council for Urban Development (Consejo Estatal de Desarrollo Urbano, CEDU)	
1995	Agreement that establishes the Zoning Regulations of the State of Jalisco, which includes the set of technical and procedural standards to formulate and manage the planning and regulation of the territorial ordering of population centers.	
1997	Agreement for the Regularization of Housing Subdivisions or Irregular Settlements in Private Property Properties in the State of Jalisco	
1999	Reforms to the Article 115 of the Mexican Constitution, the municipalities' authority is recognized to associate for planning and management purposes within the conurbation	
2001	Enactment of the Organic Law of the Attorney General for Urban Development of the State of Jalisco (Ley Orgánica de la Procuraduría de Desarrollo Urbano del Estado de Jalisco)	
2007	Creation of the Legislative Commission on Metropolitan Affairs, to improve the metropolitan legal framework in order and foster better coordination mechanisms.	
2008	Reforms to the Article 80 of Jalisco's State Constitution, and inclusion of the Article 81 Bis.	
2008	Issuance of the Urban Code for the State of Jalisco (Código Urbano para el Estado de Jalisco, CUEJ)	
2009	Approval of the declaration of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, integrated by eight municipalities: Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, El Salto, Juanacatlán and Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos	
2011	Jalisco State Metropolitan Coordination Law (Ley de Coordinación Metropolitana del Estado de Jalisco, LCMEJ)	

Year	Planning instrument or enacted law
2012	Ratification of the declaration of Guadalajara Metropolitan Area
2015	Approval of the declaration of the Guadalajara Metropolitan, integrated by nine municipalities: Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, El Salto, Juanacatlán, Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos and Zapotlanejo
2015	Reforms to the Urban Code of Jalisco
2016	Enactment of the General Law of Human Settlements, General Law of Human Settlements, Land-Use and Urban Development ( <i>Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos, Ordenamiento Territorial y Desarrollo Urbano</i> , LGAHOTDU)

Source: Self-translation from (IMEPLAN 2015) and (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017).

Guadalajara's transition from a top-down to a bottom-up governance is still in consolidation. This metropolitan planning and governance transition began when the state of Jalisco structured the Metropolitan Coordination Law (Ley de Coordinación Metropolitana) in 2011, after the approval of the declaration of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area two years before, which made possible the formation of three levels of metropolitan representation to promote the management of urban area (see Figure 14): the political entity, the Board of Metropolitan Coordination (Junta de Coordinación Metropolitana, JCM); the technical entity, the Metropolitan Planning Institute (Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara, IMEPLAN); and the citizen participation entity, the Citizen Metropolitan Council (Consejo Ciudadano Metropolitano, CCM). (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017; Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018)



Figure 14. Guadalajara's Metropolitan Coordination Entities. Source: Self-made based on (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017).

Each entity plays an important role in the metropolitan planning process. First, the Board of Metropolitan Coordination is integrated by the majors of the nine municipalities of the

GMA, the state governor, and a technical secretary, who is the Managing Director of the Metropolitan Planning Institute. Some of its most important responsibilities include approving the metropolitan planning instruments, setting the metropolitan agenda, and developing the annual work and investment plan. Second, the Metropolitan Planning Institute<sup>21</sup> is a public and decentralized inter-municipal body. Its main responsibilities are to elaborate metropolitan planning instruments<sup>22</sup>, develop the metropolitan information system and stablish partnerships to develop further technical studies. Third, the Citizen Metropolitan Council is an advisory body integrated by a group of citizens of neighborhood associations, as well as academic, professional, and civic organizations, that represent the nine municipalities. Its main purpose is to monitor and evaluate the metropolitan agenda, as well as to provide inputs from civil society. (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017)

Under the approval of the Board of Metropolitan Coordination, the Metropolitan Planning Institute has created and coordinated the work of different Metropolitan Commissions (Mesas Metropolitanas). Each of these Commissions is specialized on different subjects, such as mobility, waste management, and security, among others, and are composed by one or two representatives from each municipality. The main purpose of the different Metropolitan Commissions is to create Metropolitan Agencies, new decentralized and public intermunicipal bodies. To this date, three agencies have been configurated as part of the metropolitan governance restructuration, these include the Metropolitan Security Agency created in 2017, recently dissolved due to its ineffectiveness and converted into the new Metropolitan Police ("La Agencia Metropolitana de Seguridad se integra al nuevo cuerpo de Policía," 2019), and the Metropolitan Mobility Infrastructure Agency and Metropolitan Urban Forests Agency created in 2019 (Armendáriz, 2019).

However, some of the most challenging issues of metropolitan coordination is transport and mobility. The main reason is because the public transport service is provided by different private owners who operate distinct bus routes, which often belong to politicians. Currently, more than two hundred bus routes are operated by different owners in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara (Robledo & Cano, 2020). These privatized routes complicate the coordination and standardization of different factors that can improve the quality of public transportation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> There are 63 planning institutes inscribed in the Mexican Association of Municipal Planning Institute (Asociación Mexicana de los Institutos Municipales de Planeación, AMIMP), but to this day, IMEPLAN is the only institute in the country coordinated by a metropolitan authority.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Such as the Metropolitan Development Program (*Programa de Desarrollo Metropolitano*, PDM), the Metropolitan Zoning Plan (*Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial Metropolitano*, POTmet) and the Risk Atlas (*Atlas de Riesgos*).

systems in the city, such as price regulation, service provision, buses maintenance, route planning, and renovation of payment schemes. In fact, this public transport management scheme, which represent municipal services privatization and competitive contracting, locally known as "hombre-camión", emerged precisely during the decade of the 1980's, according to which an individual can own no more than three units with the concession to provide the public transportation service (Robledo & Cano, 2020). This privatization of the municipal public sector and collective infrastructures represents another mechanism of neoliberal localization present in the case of Guadalajara.

Table 16. Metropolitan reform initiatives in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area during the 2010's.

Form of metropolitan regionalism in the 2010's	$Organizational\ embodiment (s)$	Major political-economic forces behind metropolitan regionalism
Oriented towards the goal of	Board of Metropolitan Coordination	Mexican national
coordinating the nine	(2015)	government
municipalities that integrate	Citizen Metropolitan Council (2015)	State of Jalisco
the metropolitan area.	Metropolitan Planning Institute	government
	(2015)	Guadalajara
Aims to transform Guadalajara	Metropolitan Security Agency (2017-	municipality
into a compact, connected,	2018)	Zapopan municipality
equal, integrated, and	Metropolitan Mobility Infrastructure	
sustainable city through	Agency (2019)	
planning instruments.	Metropolitan Urban Forests Agency	
	(2019)	

Source: Self-made based on (Brenner, 2004a).

The current metropolitan governance structure in Guadalajara is a great example for the cities in Latin America. Nevertheless, there are still some significant challenges to overcome, concerning funds, performance, and representation, among many others (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017). For example, local governments of the metro area are learning how to cooperate rather than compete, as this competition has been highly inefficient for collaborative governance. Besides, there has been a clear and public political resistance of many levels of government, different actors within the land-use and transport sectors (Del Castillo, 2016), to hand power to a new authority in the metropolitan level. Indeed, better policy coordination is not guaranteed by the creation of a metropolitan authority. In this same sense, the Metropolitan Planning Institute is an autonomous and decentralized organism with an unfavorable and weak national legal framework.

Besides, short budgets and the lack of financing for research and projects is a current challenge for the Metropolitan Planning Institute ("Imeplan, sin dinero para investigación ni proyectos," 2015). But local austerity measures, a moment of (partial) destruction, is a problem that has greatly affected the financial capacity of municipalities. The limited own-revenue sources for sub-national governments is actually an issue in the entire country (OECD 2015a). Due to their limited finances, municipalities rely upon local sources of revenue, a moment of creation, such as parking revenue recovery services. This retrenchment of public finance is another mechanism of Neoliberal localization present in Guadalajara.

All this evidence the necessity for continuing reforms and arrangements at the national level in order for these metropolitan structures to function without limitations. Although the amendments to the General Law of Human Settlements, Land-Use and Urban Development (Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos, Ordenamiento Territorial y Desarrollo Urbano, LGAHOTDU) in 2016 provided a general framework for attending the metropolitan phenomenon in the country (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017), there's still a legal vacuum for metropolitan concerns at the national level. This is because the Mexican Constitution does not yet recognize the existence of an intermediate government figure between the state and the municipal authority, which is limiting the action capacities of the metropolitan authorities (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018). Reforms to the Article 115 of the Mexican Constitution, which still propitiates the individualism of municipalities in the planning process, is therefore needed for the metropolitan level to operate without problem.

This situation turns the Mexican context into a place where private actors have the power to take advantage of the legal weaknesses and continue to develop neoliberal practices that seek to benefit economically from the material recourses that the city offers, without caring about the territorial effects in the decision—making processes. With no doubt, the Metropolitan Zoning Plan of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area is a great planning effort in which metropolitan municipalities must update their planning instruments to a zoning proposal. However, the interests and necessities of each territory, the market pression that is exercised upon them, and the intentions of each public administration to respond to different involved actors remain. (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018)

## 5.4 Discussion: second subquestion

Cities have not only been affected by Neoliberalism, but at the same time, these have become strategic areas where neoliberalism is evolving (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b). The city of Guadalajara is a clear example of how the Neoliberalization process in Mexico is influencing

metropolitan scale. Indeed, different mechanisms of neoliberal localization have manifested in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

First, as analyzed in the previous chapter, the state spatial strategies implemented at the national scale concentrated the industry in specific areas across the territory. Guadalajara was selected as one of these "lucky" privileged cities where new national industrial areas developed, due to its strategic closeness to the NAFTA corridors and its competitive potential for a globalized economy. These strategies intended to position the city of Guadalajara within the global circuits of capital accumulation, pursuing economic competitiveness and positioning the city to attract transnational capital for infrastructure investment and industry development. In particular, the most outstanding state strategy was transforming Guadalajara in the Mexican Sillicon Valley. This clearly represents one of the mechanisms of neoliberal localization, restructuring strategies for territorial development, through the destruction moments of dismantling of autocentric national models of capitalist growth, increasing exposure of local and regional economies to global competitive forces, fragmentation of national space-economies into discrete urban and regional industrial systems, to then adopt creative moments of new development areas and new industrial spaces at subnational scales (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a). But the fact that the Mexican Sillicon Valley was consolidated as a manufacturing place, but not as a research or innovation center for building local capacities, reveals another creation moment within a mechanism of neoliberal localization that might not be yet theorized.

Second, the greatest urban expansion phenomenon in Guadalajara occurred in the period from 1980 to 2010, a tendency that happened in many Mexican cities since the rise of Neoliberalism (SEDESOL, 2012). The dispersed urban growth that occurred towards the peripheries of the city during these decades was greatly stimulated by the agrarian reforms in the mid-90's regarding land privatization availability. A more dispersed, disconnected, and unequal Guadalajara Metropolitan Area has been the result of these changes. Indeed, inherited patterns of uneven spatial development in Guadalajara have been intensified with the application of neoliberal ideas. However, land privatization that come from restructuring policies at the national scale, through which all these spatial changes were possible, is another creative destruction moment that might have not been theorized in the Global North context, but actually an outstanding particularity of the Mexican cities, or even the region of Latin America.

Third, the accelerated urban growth towards the peripheries during the last decades, and the surpassed administrative borders of the adjacent municipalities inevitably created coordination challenges for the planning and management of the metropolitan area and created a great necessity for new forms of governance. In this sense, the globalization of economy has made the introduction of metropolitan governance necessary. Aiming to deal with territorial disparities, new metropolitan institutional arrangements have been developed in the last decades. The case of Guadalajara metropolitan governance is unique in Mexico. It is the only city that has been experimented a transition into a new type of metropolitan structure. However, analyzing the nature of the emergence of this metropolitan structure contributes to understanding if this government emerged as a response to tackle the neoliberalism impacts such as accelerated urban expansion and municipal coordination challenges, or rather, part of the strategies to position the city in the global economy. It is an interesting case to compare to the upcoming metropolitan governments in other Mexican and Latin American cities.

In respect to other the mechanisms of neoliberal localization, retrenchment of public finance, regarding to fiscal municipal austerity measures as a moment of destruction and increased reliance upon local sources of revenue, as a moment of creation, can describe what is occurring in Guadalajara. Also, the privatization of the municipal public sector, which is evidenced in the public transport services in Guadalajara, represents another mechanism of neoliberal localization in the city.

The different mechanisms of neoliberal localization at the metropolitan scale reveal the influences of Neoliberalization in the city, and the connection between the emergent spatial expressions of inequality at a local scale. Indeed, Guadalajara is one of the Mexican cities that has been exposed to the influences of the neoliberal ideology since the 1980's. The Guadalajara Metropolitan Area has become a relevant site of spatial intervention and organization transformations. Studying the impacts of neoliberalism at the metropolitan scale is thus relevant to understand the deeper influences of this ideology. However, these influences can influence an even smaller scale. The mechanisms of neoliberal localization can be manifested spatially. This is where the connection between the metropolitan scale and the local scale is, as well as the synergies between the urban neoliberalism theories and the urban sociology theories. Hence, the next chapter aims at analyzing the spatial expressions of inequality that have emerged as part of the neoliberal ideas implemented in the city, examining the influence of the Neoliberalism in the local scale.

# 6 Spatial expressions of inequality in Guadalajara

How have spatial expressions of inequality emerged locally as a result of Neoliberalization?

 $Third\ subquestion$ 

# 6.1 Segregation: privatized spaces as the materialization of the globalized economy

Zapopan is a municipality of great contradictions. Even though it is place of one of the most dynamic economic areas in the country, and presumed to be the economic engine of the Jalisco (Barros, 2019), Zapopan is one of the most unequal metropolitan municipalities, not only in the state, but in the whole country ("Apremia designaldad en Jalisco en el último lustro," 2014; Valdivia, 2021). According to the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social, CONEVAL), Zapopan is the fourth municipality with the most economic asymmetries in Jalisco ("Zapopan, de los más designales económicamente," 2014). Nowadays, about 22 percent of its population (295 thousand people) lives in poverty (Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social, 2020). But ironically, it is the second municipality in Mexico with the most expensive land value, after San Pedro Garza García in Monterrey ("San Pedro Garza García y Zapopan, los lugares más caros para vivir en México," 2019). In fact, Zapopan has the highest Gini Coefficient in the whole metropolitan area, with 0.465 reported in 2010 (CONEVAL 2010).

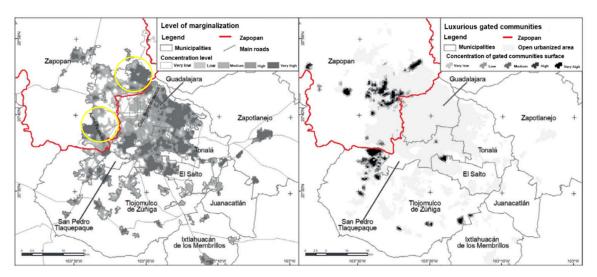


Figure 15. Spatial distribution of the level of marginalization and luxurious of gated communities in Zapopan and the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

Fuente: Self-translation from (Pfannenstein et al., 2017).

The actual configuration of the territory in Zapopan reveals strong disparities (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009). This municipality has grown with asymmetries that are reflected in the differences of the Human Development Index (Índice de Desarrollo Humano, IDG) (Gobierno de Jalisco; COEPO, 2010) of luxurious gated residential areas such Valle Real,

Las Cañadas and Puerta de Hierro, and wealthy neighborhoods such as Providencia in the west-center of Zapopan, and irregular settlements such as Las Mesas<sup>23</sup> and Santa Ana-El Briseño ("Apremia desigualdad en Jalisco en el último lustro," 2014) (see Figure 16). While the later are characterized by high levels of poverty and marginalization, deficit in public basic services and infrastructure, lack of connectivity, as well as violence and insecurity (Valdivia, 2021), the first ones have high lifestyle levels. These sharp contrasts between wealth and poverty in Zapopan are a reflect of many Latin American cities' realities (Schteingart, 2001).





Figure 16. Irregular settlement Mesa de los Ocotes (left) and luxurious gated community Puerta de Hierro (right) in Zapopan, Jalisco.

Source: (c13studio, 2017) and (Hernández Cruz, Ledezma Escalante, & Orozco Seifert, 2021).

Transformations on the built environment is one of the clearest mechanisms of neoliberal localization in Guadalajara. For instance, *Puerta de Hierro*, one of the most known luxurious gated communities in Zapopan which includes a residential area with wealthy apartments in nineteen skyscrapers, a business district, and a shopping mall (*Andares*), is a clear example of the creation of new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption.

The housing development model that has proliferated in Mexico plays a big part in the creation of these spatial inequalities. As a symbol of exclusivity, security and lifestyle, gated communities are the materialized result of the private sector's role at promoting this housing model, and a result of a transition to a Neoliberalized economy that has influenced the reorganization of the real-estate market role on this sector during the last decades in Mexico (Pfannenstein et al., 2017). According to Cabrales (2005, 2006) there are three factors that have contributed to this isolation practice: 1) the incapacity of the state to guarantee basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> This area includes the neighborhoods of Colorado, Lomas del Centinela, Mesa Colorada Poniente, Mesa de los Ocotes, San Marino y Villa de Guadalupe. Besides, a great part of the territory of Las Mesas correspond to an indigenous community of Mezquitán (Hernández Cruz et al., 2021; Valdivia, 2021).

citizen rights, 2) the weaknesses of a legal framework unable to regulate its formation, and 3) the imposition of this model as a principal housing scheme from the real estate market.

Although the phenomenon of gated communities has multiplied in the whole metropolitan area<sup>24</sup> (Pfannenstein et al., 2017), Zapopan is by far the territory with the largest number of gated communities, specifically targeted to social high and medium classes (Jimenez & Ayala, 2015). Around 20 percent of the municipality's urban area is privatized (1,449 units), deepening the contrast of poverty and wealth adjacent to each other (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018). Besides, the fact that only 20 percent is urbanized (IMEPLAN 2016), makes it vulnerable of land speculation and great pressure from the real-estate market to continue developing this housing model (Valdivia, 2021). The creation of gated communities, urban enclaves and other "purified" spaces of social reproduction, as well as the consequential intensification of sociospatial polarization, are indeed (tendentially) creative moments within the transformations of the built environment, the mechanism of neoliberal localization.

This phenomenon emerges as a voluntary or involuntary physical isolation, a forced exclusion that rise as a form of social and spatial segregation. According to a report from ONU-Habitat (2016), the deep social contrasts in terms of quality of life, as well as lack of equality in access to basic public services, generate an evident socio-spatial segregation in Zapopan that is produced under three dynamics: a voluntary segregation that seeks exclusivity and physical and symbolic distancing of the city; an involuntary segregation that respond to the socioeconomic logics that operate as barriers to certain social groups, distancing these from goods and public services; and pre-colonial settlements that remain isolated, excluded from formal urban development. Territorial fragmentation is the result of the real-estate market activity which has generated socioeconomic differentiated developments, in most cases privatized, without integration to the urban network (ONU-Hábitat, 2016). This fragmentation has generated multiple urban issues, such as transport and mobility problems and other types of inequalities of access that result from the privatization of the public space (Valdivia, 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> By 2016, the estimation of the number of gated communities in the metropolitan area was of 2,973 units, with a surface of 11,325.98 ha. (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018) About 15 percent of the built metropolitan area is characterized by the modality of limited access due to physical barriers (Pfannenstein et al., 2017)

Table 17. Socio-spatial segregation in Zapopan.

Degree	Inhabitants	Households
Very high	17,265	3,403
High	33,808	6,716
Medium	417,307	82,629
Low	321,246	77,272
Very low	191,139	49,866
Total	980,765	219,886

Source: (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009).

Spatially, the degree of segregation<sup>25</sup> in Zapopan follows a concentric pattern that increases from the center to the peripheries (see Figure 17). Segregation and socio-spatial inequalities are produced with more intensity towards the peripheries. The low socio-economic level and restricted access to basic services hinders this population to enjoy a satisfactory quality of life and limits its development conditions. About 42 percent of the population of the municipality (417,307 inhabitants and 82,626 households) present medium conditions of socio-spatial segregation (see Table 17). But more than 50 thousand inhabitants in Zapopan live in conditions of high segregation (equivalent to 5.21 percent of the population, and 10,119 households) (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009). Even though, segregation might be present the whole metropolitan area, the contrasts in Zapopan are sharper, and more evident compared to other municipalities of the city.

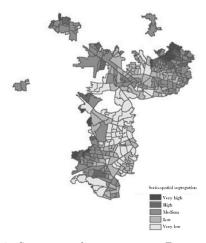


Figure 17. Socio-spatial segregation in Zapopan, 2009. Source: (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Socio-spatial segregation summarizes the differences in social level, urbanization and inequality of the urban population of 15 indicators that describe the economic situation and the conditions of life that are reproduced inside the households (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009).

Zapopan's territory has been configured under the pressure of great capital investment that was spatially materialized in the form of skyscrapers, shopping malls, business districts, residential areas and privatization of the public space, all of these characteristics of a global city that was influenced by the neoliberal ideas and a capitalist modernization process. (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018) The creation of these new privatized spaces of elite and corporate consumption represents a moment of creation within the mechanism of neoliberal localization of transformations of the built environment and urban form. This model has fragmented the territory, privatized the public space, and increased the socioeconomic disparities, which are a result of the combination between the global capitalism and significant segregation processes (Sabatini & Brain, 2008). However, the promise of a better quality of life is only given to a minority, the social elites, politics and the businessmen who can afford this lifestyle (Ruiz Velazco Castañeda, 2009), revealing the dualities of a city positioned in a globalized economy, that segregates and marginalizes the most disadvantaged.

# 6.2 Suburbanization: gated communities and the federal housing policies

The proliferation of gated residential areas in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area has also influenced the dynamic of expansion towards the outskirts of the city, and therefore, contributed to the suburbanization process. This phenomenon started in 1967 with two settlements in the peripheries of Guadalajara, close to one of the most important natural areas near the city (*La Primavera* forest), specifically in the municipalities of Zapopan and Tlajomulco de Zúñiga (Cabrales & Canosa, 2002). Until now, these two municipalities remain as the territories with the largest concentration of gated communities.

At the beginning, this housing model intended to attract the high-income population, but throughout the years, it was gradually positioned as a product for clients from different socio-economic classes, which amplified the opportunities of the private sector to raise their economic benefits. Hence, the real-estate market have had two principal targets: high-income population, who were offered an attractive lifestyle, to increase their social status by living out of the city near the natural areas; and low-income population, who was relegated to precarious urban areas, to live in social-interest housing with lack of connectivity, infrastructure and basic services (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018), in specific, low-density, and single-family horizontal housing, most of which is now abandoned.

Suburbanization in the metropolitan area has occurred with great predominance in the southern peripheral municipalities, and Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, is one of the two municipalities that conform the so called second periphery<sup>26</sup>, where most of this early century's urbanization of the metropolitan area occurred (Cruz Solís et al., 2008). Between 1999 and 2010, this municipality experienced average annual growth rate of 8.5 percent (IMEPLAN 2015). Besides, during the first quinquennium of the twenty-first century, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga became the second municipality that contributed with more population to the metropolitan area, after Zapopan. Between 2000 and 2005, the construction of around 22,000 new houses implied the duplication of the total housing stock in Tlajomulco (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2005).

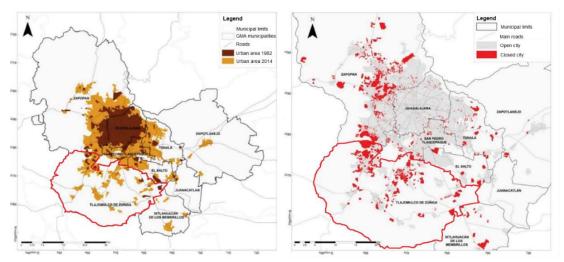


Figure 18. Urbanization from 1984 to 2014 (left) and closed urbanizations 2018 (right) in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga and the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

Source: (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018).

A large percent of the urbanization in Tlajomulco was built under the model of gated communities, privatized residential areas with restricted access (see Figure 18). After Zapopan, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga is the second municipality with the largest proportion of gated residential areas in the whole metropolitan area, which represent 34.83 percent of its urbanized area (Pfannenstein, Martínes Jaramillo, et al., 2018). But unlike Zapopan, where luxurious gated communities were built, most of the urbanization in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga has been mainly social-interest housing areas, specifically targeting low-income population

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Zapopan, Tonalá and Tlaquepaque conform the first periphery (urbanization from 1970 to 2000). Tlajomulco de Zúñiga and El Salto represent the second periphery (urbanization from 2000 onwards) (Cruz Solís et al., 2008).

(Pfannenstein et al., 2017). This housing intended to allocate the urban labor force of the city who lived in the peripheries of the metropolitan area.

What is interesting of the housing dynamic in this municipality is that the residential suburbanization in Tlajomulco is a direct result of the adopted federal policies in the early 2000's. As a matter of fact, the construction of housing in Tlajomulco clearly reflects the federal policy of the first national opposition government, *Plan de Acción Nacional* (PAN), which governed during the first twelve years of this century. With the purpose of alleviating the national housing deficit, the federal housing policy implemented by this conservative right-wing government was focused on the construction of massive housing in charge of the private sector (real-estate market), targeting the working-class population. These federal housing policies and tendencies have manifested more clearly in the second periphery of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, the south of the city (Cruz Solís et al., 2008).

Besides, housing ownership, either through an informal or formal market, was greatly stimulated in Mexico and contributed to this phenomenon. Changes to facilitate home ownership and consumption as the economic driver were the development paradigm of the central policy of Vicente Fox's administration (2000-2006) (Harner et al., 2009). Also, real-estate investment became the main viable alternative to some social groups due to the lack of secure saving alternatives in the country (Cruz Solís et al., 2008). INFONAVIT granted more than 2 million credits from 2001 to 20007, over 85 percent of all loans granted in the program's entire history (Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores, 2009) This federal administration gave more than 83,000 credits toward housing purchases in the state of Jalisco, mostly in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara.

The scale of housing proliferation in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga can be appreciated easily appreciated by the number of requests received by the municipal council in different periods and the surface of the promotions (Cruz Solís et al., 2008). Between 2000 and 2006, the requests from the developers were the most significant, 75 percent of the urbanization requests were made by the private initiative to promote 3,029 hectares.





Figure 19. Isolated settlement (left) and abandoned homes (right) in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga. Source: (Cruz Solís et al., 2008) and (Hernández, 2020).

Nonetheless, the massive construction of housing policy was merely implemented from a financial logic, without considering essential elements for these developments, such as transport connectivity, basic services, public spaces (Nájar, 2019). The application of these national housing policies resulted in a housing vacancy problem that remains nowadays, not only in Tlajomulco but throughout the Mexican territory. According to a study of INFONAVIT, 12 percent of the loans granted between 2006 and 2009 were destined to homes that are currently in a situation of abandonment (CTS Embarq, IMCO, Centro Mario Molina 2013). It is estimated that approximately one-seventh of the total housing stock in Mexico is uninhabited (4.9 million homes) (OECD 2015a), and Tlajomulco is the third municipality nationwide with the highest rates of housing vacancy (Guerrero, 2020). Around 69,000 homes in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga are abandoned, and face multiple problems such as insecurity, violence and other issues (Barajas, 2020; Hernández, 2020; Martínez, 2020).

Even though social-interest housing has been the tendency in Tlajomulco, there are also a few closed communities in the municipality, high or medium-social class gated residential areas located near to La Primavera forest, such as Bugambilias, Palomar, El Manantial and Bosques Santa Anita. But the suburbanization process in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga is not only characterized by residential areas. Along the Avenue López Mateos Sur, one of the most important roads in the city, the urban sprawl issue that resulted from the suburbanization process is more than perceptible. During the last decades, several types of developments started to pop up, changing the landscape of this area and causing congestion during peak hours in one of the exit roads of the freight transport. A mixture between vacant lots and businesses, shopping malls, bars and restaurants, gas stations, drive-out fast food, country clubs, and offices, among many other types of car-centered use of space, are part of the chaotic urbanization occurring on the south of the city.

The combination between the complicity of the real-estate developers and the municipal authorities, the availability of housing loans and the federal housing policies at the beginning of the twenty-first century, induced one of the most fragmented and accelerated urbanizations in the recent history of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area: the suburbanization in Tlajomulco de Zúñiga (Cruz Solís et al., 2008). It was since the late twentieth century when G. Jones, Jimenez & Ward (1993) sustained that the changes in the macroeconomy would have demonstrable effects on land and housing markets in Mexico in the coming years. After two or three decades, these effects are noticeable. Under the transformed economic conditions since the rise of Neoliberalism, the structure of the land market in Mexico favored the conditions of the real-estate investment.

# 6.3 Gentrification: the displacement of the most disadvantaged

While the metropolitan area grew towards the outskirts of the city during the last decades, the city center of Guadalajara became abandoned. This pattern of population decrease in the central city and growing peripheries (see Table 13) is often seen in Latin American cities since the 90's (Cruz Solís et al., 2008). Currently, while the historic center of Guadalajara is a playground for tourists and a site for cultural consumers who neither live nor work in the city, at the time that the urban space is tertiarized<sup>27</sup>, there is also another reality behind this heritage site attraction: empty buildings, insecurity, drug selling, housing vacancy, and indigence. In this context, the municipal government has tried to implement different strategies to revitalize this area and bring solution to these issues. However, these efforts have reproduced and triggered issues such as gentrification (Ibarra, 2021), a problem that contemporary cities face around the world as a result of the globalized economy.

Gentrification in the center of Guadalajara is a problem that has persisted through decades now. Although the central municipality housing occupation has increased, it has been losing population for 15 years now (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy; Cuadra Urbanismo; United States Agency for International Development, 2016). Developers, along with the government, have fostered a model that has benefited the most privileged due to the rising housing costs, and slowly, have forced the displacement of the most disadvantaged to the peripheries of the city. The population variation rate from 2000 to 2010 indicates the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Tertiarization of urban space refers to the substitution of residential areas for commercial, administrative or tourist uses, often in historic city centers.

readjustments of the population in the metropolitan area, showing a process of expulsion of the population from the center to peripheries (see Figure 20). In fact, the most recent statistics reveal that Guadalajara does not longer occupy the place of the second most populated municipality in the whole country (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, 2020). In the last decade, Guadalajara had a loss of 109 thousand 560 inhabitants in a decade (Martin, 2021), according to the Population and Housing Census between 2010 and 2020.

This loss of inhabitants is due to the neoliberal housing policies focused on market profit. At the same time, these policies have fostered the development of housing in the outskirts of the city, to municipalities as Tlajomulco, while real estate, commercial and tourist developments in the center of the city are only accessible for high-income population. Urban land in Guadalajara has been monopolized by large real estate companies construct apartment towers and shops at prices unattainable for low-income sectors (Martin, 2021). During 2018, Guadalajara Metropolitan Area was ranked as the city with the highest increase in housing price. According to data from the Federal Mortgage Society Price Index (Sociedad Hipotecaria Federal, SHF), the city had an accumulated annual increase of 11.9 percent (Rosas, 2019). Between March and September 2020, Guadalajara was the city with the highest increase in housing prices in Latin America, with value increase of 9.7 percent, resulting in US \$1,535 dollars per square meter ("Guadalajara es la ciudad latinoamericana con mayor alza en el costo de vivienda," 2020).

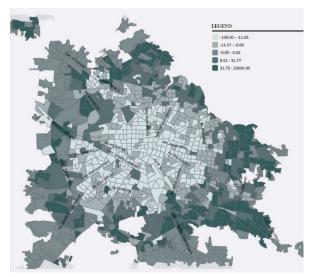


Figure 20. Intercensal relative variation rate of the population between 2000-2010. Source: (ITDP, Cuadra Urbanismo & USAID 2016).

Within this context of housing vacancy, displacement, real-estate market and neoliberal policies lies the not so new urban renewal project located in the city center of Guadalajara:

Ciudad Creativa Digital (Digital Creative City). This project, is an initiative of the federal government released in 2010, is an excellent example of the issues regarding gentrification as the result of neoliberalization in the urban scale. With the purpose to position the country in the digital industry global economy, Ciudad Creativa Digital aims at contributing to the efforts of continuing the transformation of Guadalajara into a "smart city" (Agencia para el Desarrollo de Industrias Creativas e Industriales, 2021).

In fact, this project was presumed to be one of the cornerstones of the country's economic growth agenda (Carlo Ratti Associati, 2012b), aiming to "advance Mexico's natural position as a global creative leader" (Carlo Ratti Associati, 2012a). By 2012, it was announced that Guadalajara was selected as the strategic place where this project would develop, presented as a sustainable urban ecosystem, and of interaction between creative talent, IT industry and digital media, local businesses and residential areas with the purpose of becoming the biggest technological hub of Latin America (Sánchez Onofre, 2014). The logic of this project indeed follows the role given to Guadalajara as a Mexican Sillicon Valley. This project is an example of the mobilization of entrepreneurial discourses and representations focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation within major metropolitan areas, as a creative moment within the re-representing the city mechanism of neoliberal localization.

Ciudad Creativa Digital is in fact part of a greater project, an urban strategy that employs the concept Urban Mosaic (Mosaico in Spanish), which seven urban renovation operations in the city center of Guadalajara which are aligned around axis and transformation nodes, aiming to revitalize the historical center. The digital hub is the principal axis of this Mosaico, it physically occupies an initial area of around 43 hectares of the historic center, and has the Parque Morelos in the center of the project (Carlo Ratti Associati SRL, 2012). The digital hub, Ciudad Creativa Digital was planned be developed in a length of three phases<sup>28</sup> (Ciudad Creativa Digital Guadalajara, 2014), nonetheless, the project has not been developed as planned as it is currently on pause. This urban renewal project represents another moment of creation within the transformations of the built environment and urban form, with the construction of large-scale megaprojects that intend to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Phase 1, project catalyst (year 0-3); phase 2, project mobilization (years 4-7); phase 3, more projects consolidation from (year 8 forwards).

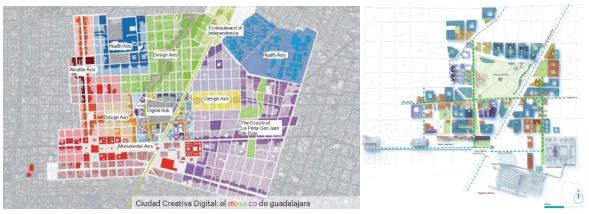


Figure 21. The *Mosaico* urban strategy in detail (left) and Plan overview of the Digital Hub (right). Source: (Carlo Ratti Associati SRL, 2012).

Due to the potential problems that Ciudad Creativa Digital could trigger, in particular, the gentrification process, this project has been subject to criticism from academics, non-governmental organizations, and urban scholars (Castañón, 2015). It has faced strong resistance and skepticism of this intervention, both from inhabitants of this area and citizens of the metropolitan area, not only because of this market logic, but also given the failure of past urban projects implemented in the city, such as the Pan American Villages in 2011 (Villas Panamericanas in Spanish), a project that had great environmental and social impacts<sup>29</sup>, and ended up becoming abandoned lots (Bareño, 2018; Partida, 2015; "Villa Panamericana contamina mantos acuíferos," 2011). Besides, it is not the first time a large-scale urban renewal project, a strategy led by the federal government, generates such long-term negative consequences at the local scale (L. Ortiz et al., 2013).

Parque Morelos and its surrounding areas face many challenges (Rivera Avelar, 2016), such as insecurity, drug sale and consumption, sex work, informal market, and indigence (Castañón, 2021). According to a study of the consultants for planning and social management of the project, there are around 500 families, 250 sex workers, 150 indigenous people selling and 150 informal market workers identified in the area of the digital hub (Sánchez Onofre, 2014). This represented great social challenges as there was an initial interest from the leaders of the project to forcing the displacement of these communities, out of fear that the international companies would not want to settle in this space if they found out the social problems of this area. The neighbors were also interested in displacing these populations through the implementation of the project, which they considered problematic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Socially, it affected neighbors due to the pressure exerted by the authorities for the sale of their properties; environmentally, it was built in an area not suitable for urbanization, as *El Bajío* is an area for underground water recharge.

Even though there was a social strategy developed to avoid and prevent the displacement of these populations and assuring that the development of the project would offer opportunities for them, the politicians, who were also owners of the real-estate companies, imposed a real-estate market logic to lead this project. However, with the changes in administration, this project was paused, and the question of what will happen remains unanswered (Castañón, 2021).

Even though the project Ciudad Creativa Digital aims to position Guadalajara as a global city, boosting the economic development of the region and the country, the potential negative consequences of this project reveal the weaknesses of the market logic. A gentrification process could be triggered if the land-use value increases, forcing the direct displacement of the neighbors (Castañón, 2015; García, 2019), mostly low-income and working-class population. Around 60 percent of the people living in this site are not owners, which makes them vulnerable to displacement (Castañón, 2021). Besides, indirect displacement remains also as a risk, through the transformation of the built environment would change the immediate surroundings and create aesthetics, not only in terms of infrastructure, but will also the culture of the neighborhood and the urban dynamic of the area. Unfortunately, these social consequences are often seen as one of the inevitable outcomes of this type of urban projects in the globalized economy. "Rolling forward" the gentrification frontier and the intensification of sociospatial polarization are (tendentially) creative moments within the transformations of the built environment and urban form mechanism of neoliberal localization.

One more time, with the discourse of economic growth, the implementation of a large-scale project will benefit some social elites, at the expense of the most disadvantaged groups. Ciudad Creativa Digital, a project that aims to strengthen the technological role of Guadalajara, is actually a project of exclusion and marginalization. It seems like there is no place for the poor in the global city, but Guadalajara as a smart city show the weaknesses of a global economy that leaves no place for the vulnerable and disadvantaged.

## 6.4 Discussion: third subquestion

Different spatial expressions of inequality, such as gentrification, suburbanization, and segregation, have emerged locally in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara since the rise of Neoliberalism in Mexico. These processes have been a consequence of the different neoliberal ideas and policies that have influenced the development of the metropolitan area during the last decades, generating multiple social, economic, and environmental consequences.

First, the process of segregation in the city has been in part result of the gated communities housing model that has proliferated in the metropolitan area, a phenomenon that has generated territorial fragmentation and deepened socio-spatial segregation. Second, Tlajomulco is a clear reflection of the national housing policies implemented at the beginning of the twenty-first century, a policy territorially operated by the private sector, which promoted certain types of developments in the outskirts of the city and has played an important role in fostering a suburbanization process. Third, multiple processes of gentrification have been triggered by different urban renewal projects in Guadalajara. One of the most interesting cases is the project of *Ciudad Creativa Digital*, as the contradictions this project, which strengthens its role as a technological hub, the Mexican Sillicon Valley.

However, often these spatial expressions of inequality do not manifest separately, as it was presented in this chapter. Quite the opposite, reality in fact is much more complex. Indeed, there is a spatial complexity distant from the idealized categories theorized from the U.S. context. The emergence of these interlinked processes in cities of Latin American evidence the limitations of theories developed based in the Global North context. Segregation, gentrification, and suburbanization in Mexico, and in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area are not separated spatial expressions of inequality, but these processes are usually interlaced in a much more complex way in the urban territory, and even sometimes, in a single neighborhood, district, settlement or barrio.

For example, gentrification inside the city, and suburbanization in the peripheries are both a result of a housing market that satisfies the needs of the high-income population at the expense of the most disadvantaged. While the land use value has increased inside the city often a result of urban renewal projects- this has pushed the low-income population to the peripheries. The outskirts of the city thus represent an opportunity for disadvantaged groups that seek affordable housing opportunities, often provided by the same real-estate market who pushed them to these areas.

Besides, the gated communities' model, so characteristic of contemporary Latin American cities, has fostered both segregation and suburbanization processes. On the one side, this voluntary or involuntary isolation, which implies the privatization of the public space, has generated segregation. On the other side, these housing model has been, to a large extent, reproduced in the outskirts of a city, as a promise of lifestyle, security, and exclusivity, or as a response of the social housing federal policy. Most of the housing developments in the peripheries of Guadalajara during this century have been built under this model, both inside

and outside the city, which contributes to spatial segregation, and consequently, territorial fragmentation.

These spatial expressions of inequality manifest as moments of creation that result from mechanisms of neoliberal localization. The creation of new privatized spaces of corporate or elite consumption such as *Puerta de Hierro* in Zapopan, the construction of large-scale megaprojects intended to attract corporate investment and reconfigure local land-use patterns such as the urban renewal project *Ciudad Creativa Digital*, the creation of gated communities, urban enclaves, and other "purified" spaces of social reproduction in the whole the metropolitan area, and finally the intensification of sociospatial polarization and advancing the gentrification frontier, represent (tendentially) creative moments in Guadalajara within the mechanism of transformations of the built environment and urban form. Besides, re-representing the city is another mechanism of neoliberal localization, as different entrepreneurial discourses are mobilized, focused on the need for revitalization, reinvestment, and rejuvenation to position the Guadalajara as a global city. (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a)

Finally, even though this chapter does not include a deep and detailed analysis of the segregation, suburbanization and gentrification processes, the intention, as mentioned in the rationale of the subquestion, is to open the discussion of its local and complex occurrence. Even though these processes are not exclusive of Guadalajara, zooming in to this city has been useful to understand its complexity. For instance, the discussion on gentrification in Latin America, and in Mexico, is still incipient and needs to be continued, to overcome one of its current obstacles which is the ambiguous and extremely flexible use of its term (Díaz-Parra, 2020). Besides, the measurement of segregation, which remains a matter of global academic discussion, is still a potential opportunity of empirical research to uncover the reality of inequalities in space. And the specificities of the consequences of the federal housing policies on the suburbanization process in Guadalajara, but also other Mexican cities, could provide a better understanding of the impacts of neoliberalization in the urban scale. Indeed, these local spatial expressions of inequality within the city of Guadalajara are a product of modern capitalism, a result of the neoliberal experimentation in the urban areas.

## 7 Discussion

Neoliberalization processes are global and territorial processes that do not take the same form at the same time at the same scale throughout the world. Unlike the processes of neoliberalization that took place in the Global North, neoliberal regimes entered Latin America in the late twentieth century. In specific, the rise of neoliberalism in Mexico started in the mid 1980's and took specific forms according to its particular historical, cultural, political, economic and contextual characteristics. There are some particularities that stand out from the results obtained, at different scales. The present discussion intends to guide the dialogue on two specific matters that stand out the specificities of the studied case: the privatization of land as a key creative destruction moment characteristic from the Mexican case and the nature of the first metropolitan initiative in Mexico located in Guadalajara.

### Mexico: land privatization

First, let us begin the discussion with the particularities of the Mexican national case. There are two specific forms of state intervention that stand out from the neoliberal restructuring policies. The first refers to the North American Free Trade Agreement, the most influential state spatial strategy that deeply transformed the economic geographies across the national territory and generating uneven spatial development. This represents a moment of creation within the site of regulation form of intercapitalist competition. The second, and the one that will be discussed, refers to the group of agrarian reforms implemented in the mid 90's, in specific the reforms to the Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution which deregulated *ejidos* and allowed its privatization. These reforms had a great impact over the land-use changes in cities, which consequently generated the urban sprawl issues that occurred decades later as a common pattern in most of the Mexican cities, which grew towards the peripheries in unsustainable ways.

The land privatization reforms are indeed a particularity of the Mexican case (and Latin America), which is not mentioned, present or theorized in the Global North urban neoliberalism theories, and therefore, challenges the same. The importance of this moment of destruction relies on its influence over the land-use patterns in the local scale, insofar the agrarian reforms represent key changes to the selling and privatization of land for urbanization and industrialization. The deregulation of land and its privatization is indeed a moment of creative destruction of actually existing neoliberalism in Mexico, within a site of regulation that might have not yet be identified, so I would name it myself Form of land regulation.

Extensive national academic theoretical and empirical research has been carried out regarding land privatization in Mexico. In specific, analysis of the multiple impacts (social and environmental conflicts) of the agrarian reforms, the indigenous communities living on those lands whose well-being have been affected, literature on urbanized *ejidos* in specific cities (Beraud-Macías, Sosa-Ramírez, Maya-Delgado, & Ortega-Rubio, 2018; Jimenez & Ayala, 2015), and the urban and rural dimensions of the Article 27 reforms (Vázquez Castillo, 2004). In fact, land privatization is not an issue present only in Mexico, or even a new process, but also in many other countries of Latin America (Hvalkof, 2008). Definitely, land privatization is not a new topic being brought to light, but a topic that needs to be positioned within the international theories regarding urban neoliberalism, in specific answering the various calls to develop theorization based on the Global South (Crane & Roy, 2015; Koyats et al., 2014; Miraftab, 2009; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009).

This means that, land privatization is just one of the possible multiple moments of creative destruction to be uncovered from the southern realities. These specificities of the land privatization of the Mexican case are in fact mobilizing (not opening) the discussion regarding the different multiform impacts of Neoliberalism in Latin America. This makes us question, what other creative destruction moments withing mechanisms of neoliberal localization and site regulation could we find in other countries of Latin America or other regions from the Global South, such as Africa and Asia? Particularities not seen in Europe, or North America, particularities of regions with a history of colonialism and imperialism, particularities of regions in which neoliberalism, the new imperialism, might be percolating in new ways and forms not seen, studied, or written about... yet.

#### Guadalajara: metropolitanization

Second, in respect to the particularities of Guadalajara, which stand out in two specific ways. The first refers to its not so tangible role as the Mexican Sillicon Valley, which fostered the city's development as a technical hub since the late twentieth century, and the formation of urban policies under this discourse. Shortly, opening some brackets, the fact that the Mexican Sillicon Valley functioned only as a manufacturing base, but not as an innovation or research center, reveals another creative destruction moment within a mechanism of neoliberal localization that might have not yet been theorized either. The fact that cities are chosen as new industrial zones, only as places for transnational companies to develop, generating social and environmental impacts, but not for capacity building of the local labor workforce on the cities which economies are positioned globally. Only providing this opportunity or role to the private sector, but not the public sector, is more than enough to open a discussion, that might as well be started already. Closing the brackets, the second refers to its role as a front-runner in relation to the metropolitan government structure, which has consolidated during this century, but that is obviously still in experimentation. The discussion regarding the particularities of the case of Guadalajara will be focused on the later.

The metropolitan initiatives that have consolidated in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area during the last two decades are certainly a matter that deserves discussion. It has been said locally that the purpose of the emergent metropolitan government initiatives is to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, referring to the uncontrolled expansion of the urban surface and consequential issues, urban sprawl issues, and rather incentive sustainable urban growth (IMEPLAN, 2016). But the discussion regarding neoliberalism makes us question the nature of these initiatives: to what extent does metropolitan initiatives in Latin America have emerged as part of neoliberal policies that intend to boost the economic growth of cities and position these as competitive strategic sites within the global economy?, as occurred lately in Europe (Brenner, 2004a), versus to what extent are metropolitan initiatives helping to tackle the deep influences of neoliberalism and bringing solution to the consequences and impacts that this economic model has generated in cities around the world, and in particular Mexico? Maybe the answer is not either one or the other, a result of or a response to Neoliberalism, but actually the combination of both.

Perhaps, the case of Guadalajara's emerging metropolitan efforts and initiatives does not reflect the particularities of the theorization developed on the European context, specifically contemporary efforts of pursuing competitiveness and boosting their economies at the metropolitan scale (OECD, 2015b). In fact, the time scales between Europe and Latin America in terms of rising metropolitan initiatives might be different, considering that the metropolitan governments that emerged in Europe during the 1970's, which were concerned with regional planning practices and policies (Friedmann, 1963; Zimmermann, Galland, & Harrison, 2019), find more similarities to the current case of Guadalajara (Gómez-Álvarez et al., 2017), than the contemporary metropolitan governments of this region (Brenner, 2004a). These efforts in the 70's Europe were abandoned with the rise of Neoliberalism, and redirected its efforts towards an economic logic, focused on competitiveness and global economic integration. Maybe, what is now happening in Guadalajara might not alienate to what is currently happening in Europe. Either way, it is important to know what is happening in Latin America, countries such as Chile, Argentina and Peru, because Neoliberalization regimes entered almost at the same time in this region (Ciccolella, 2012), and the manifestations of its influence might be slightly different to the Mexican case.

Still, the own actual specificities of the case of Guadalajara reflect that its metropolitan efforts are in fact a genuine response to the multiple impacts of the neoliberal ideas over its urban area, and indeed, an opportunity to change the rules of the game. This is not an intention to idealize or even romanticize the case of Guadalajara, as if saying that neoliberalization did not influenced this front-runner metropolitan structure in Mexico. But instead, this discussion is rather an invitation to continue the discussion on this matter, to evaluate how are different metropolitan processes emerging in countries of the Global South, and the nature of these responses, compared to the cases of the Global North. With no doubt, studying the case of Guadalajara contributes to remove one more layer to uncover the realities of what is happening in the region of Latin America.

Despite the differences between Latin America and European nature of metropolitan initiatives, it is clear that metropolitan regions represent a new spatial framework for analysis in relation to globalization and neoliberalization processes (Gross, Gualini, & Ye, 2018; Harrison & Hoyler, 2015; Jonas & Moisio, 2018). In order to continue developing research on this matter, and contributing to the academic knowledge from the Latin American region, I consider that the next three areas need to be attended, a) first, to deepen even more the research on analyzing the nature, the context, the specificities and the characteristics of the first metropolitan initiative in Mexico; b) second, to examine how will different metropolitan initiatives unfold in other Mexican metropolitan areas, and to what extent will these cities be either influenced by the first exercise in the country or actively learn from the strengths and weaknesses of the first example in the country and build their own path; c) and third,

to analyze the diverse efforts of metropolitan governments that have emerged, are now emerging, or will emerge -knowing that we are living in a metropolitan century that has nearly started- in Latin American metropolis in the coming decades.

#### Closure

The synergies between the analytical concepts also reflect the synergies between what is happening at different scales. The theories about state spatiality find synergies with urban neoliberalism theories, regarding the selection of cities are new arenas of neoliberal policies. Also, urban neoliberalism and urban sociology theories find synergies regarding the spatial manifestations of mechanisms of neoliberal localization. The changes that are taking place in the local scale, are a reflection of the transformations that are happening in the metropolitan scale, and these, at the same time, are an example of what is happening at the national geographic scale. Studying the case of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area as a unit of analysis is useful to open the discussion of the different impacts of Neoliberalism in Mexico.

Indeed, the results of the analysis of the research intend to contribute and open an invitation for mobilizing and continuing the discussion about how processes of neoliberalism are unfolding in the Global South urban areas, through the Mexican case. Undoubtedly, realities are very widely in Latin America, but studying the multiscalar dynamics of neoliberalization in Mexico is indeed contributing to the academic knowledge of this country and region.

## 8 Conclusion

The multiscalar impacts of Neoliberalization in Mexico are seen through the political-economic and spatial transformations at different scales during the last four decades (1980-2020). These impacts have manifested through the changes in the economic geographies across the national territory, the mechanisms of neoliberal localization that have manifested at the metropolitan scale in the case of Guadalajara, and the spatial expressions of inequality that have emerged at the local scale. The results obtained in the analysis of the three subquestions precisely show these dynamics, which are summarized in the following paragraphs.

The Neoliberalization process that Mexico has been undergoing since the 1980's has influenced the economic geographies at the national geographic scale, as a result of spatial selectivity processes. These changes were a result of the adopted state spatial strategies that created new industrial zones, but concentrated this industrial and economic activity, as well as transnational investments, in a few, privileged and "winner" territories in the north of the country, according to its closeness to the NAFTA corridors, and exacerbating the regional disparities in Mexico. Besides, changes in the legal framework, such as the agrarian reforms regarding land privatization, were also part of the restructuring policies that generated deep transformations and had great cultural, social, and environmental impacts. Consequently, these changes at the national scale also generated an impact in the urban scale, insofar new industrial areas were developed in strategic selected cities, and land privatization played an important role in accelerating the urban growth in the peripheries of the Mexican cities during the coming decades.

At the metropolitan scale, the influences of Neoliberalism are seen through the mechanisms of neoliberal localization. It could be said that the impacts of neoliberalism on this scale are

slightly more tangible than the ones in the national scale, or at least, the consequential impacts. The uncontrolled surface expansion between 1980 and 2010 is a proof of this. Guadalajara's growth towards the peripheries is an evidence of the influence of land privatization on this city. Besides, the selection of Guadalajara as the Mexican Sillicon Valley evidences the strategic role that this city has played as a technological hub, where transnational companies were allocated, positioning it within the global economy and pursuing competitiveness. This indeed is a moment of creation within the mechanism of neoliberal localization of restructuring strategies of territorial development. The case of Guadalajara highlights the transformations that different Mexican cities have gone through and confirms what the urban neoliberalism theory assures: cities have indeed become strategic areas where a set of neoliberal initiatives articulate.

These neoliberal initiatives generated spatial transformations in an even smaller scale. Different spatial expressions of inequality, such as gentrification, segregation, and suburbanization, which represent manifestations of neoliberal localization, have emerged in the local scale, sometimes even being reinforced, or reproduced, during the last decades. The creation of gated communities, new privatized spaces for elite consumption, construction of large-scale megaprojects and intensification of sociospatial polarization and gentrification, are moments of creation within transformations of the built environment and urban form. In fact, these processes that are present in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, reflect what is happening in contemporary Latin American cities.

Indeed, the impacts of Neoliberalization process in Mexico have been diverse and does not restrict to a single scale. What is happening in the local scale, reflects what is happening in the metropolitan scale is an example of what is happening in the national scale. Neoliberalization does not take the same form, at the same time, at the same scales around the world. Mexico has been indeed influenced by a neoliberal regime that has been operating for about four decades now. The impacts have had an influence over its economic, political, cultural, social, and urban context. Particularities from the Mexican case were brought to light from the analysis results at different scales. These specificities challenge the theories used to mobilize the analysis and intend to contribute to the academic knowledge and open discussions about the multiple impacts of Neoliberalism in countries of the Global South.

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# Appendix

#### Beatriz Aguirre Martínez

- De acuerdo con la retícula urbana y los resultados del método de percolación que coinciden al comparar con los indicadores socioeconómicos, las zonas con mayor desigualdad y donde se concentra la pobreza son: la colonia Jalisco, Polanco, Echeverría, los barrios de Tlaquepaque y Las Mesas, en los municipios de Tonalá, Tlaquepaque y Zapopan.
  - o Las desigualdades socioeconómicas se pueden reflejar en acceso a la salud, educación, ingreso, desempleo.
- Guadalajara fue abiertamente construida para que ciertos barrios fueran para cierto nivel socioeconómico. Todo comenzó desde la fundación de la ciudad de Guadalajara. La forma en la que los españoles concebían la ciudad influenció muchísimo en los patrones de desigualdad socioespacial que permanecen ahora.
  - Cómo los españoles tenían pensado que la ciudad debía crecer, influenció mucho en los patrones de segregación que se perpetraron a lo largo de los años, y también que influenciaron en cómo los tapatíos concebían la ciudad, y como los planeadores urbanos consideraron cómo debía crecer la ciudad (siguieron la influencia colonial de dónde se iba a asentar quién).
  - o Mezquitán, Mexicaltzingo y Analco eran colonias indígenas que estaban asentadas mucho antes de la colonia. Pero cuando llegaron los españoles, querían estar lejos de las poblaciones indígenas y se asentaron al oeste del Río San Juan de Dios.
  - El nivel de riqueza de un lado de la calzada (lo que antes era el Río San Juan de Dios) y del otro es muy diferenciable. Fue en 1800 por primera vez se junta lo que estaba a los dos lados del río.
- La estructura de la ciudad seguía la jerarquía de los asentamientos del centro hacia la periferia. La riqueza estaba concentrada en el centro y los pobres a la periferia. Porque los españoles pensaban que ese era el modelo a seguir para que la provisión de servicios fuera la adecuada. Se aceleró el desarrollo urbano y se incrementó la segregación espacial, y esas desigualdades quedaron profundamente enraizadas. Zapopan es el municipio con la desigualdad en el ingreso más alta en todo el país.

- Con todas las corrientes modernistas que venían sobre todo de Estados Unidos, se les hizo buena idea hacer colonias de clase media, o media alta como la Colonia Americana y la Moderna, de gente que iban a ir al centro de Guadalajara a trabajar. La colonia Americana, la Francesa, la Moderna y la Reforma en el oeste de la ciudad fueron construidas después de 1901. Planeadores urbanos que habían estudiado en Europa o en estados unidos y traían estas ideas que aplicaron en Guadalajara.
- Guadalajara sufrió de unas olas de migración tan grandes que no supieron como contenerlo y como acomodar a la gente, y tenían que construir soluciones de planeación urbana rápidas y fáciles. En la Guerra de Independencia y en la Revolución Mexicana. En el movimiento de independencia fue el primer pico de crecimiento demográfico, que afectó mucho cómo creció la ciudad por lo rápido que incrementó la población en Guadalajara que venía de otras ciudades. En 1852, Guadalajara era la tercera ciudad más grande de México en términos de población, con 63,000 habitantes. Poco después se volvió la segunda más grande. La segunda ola de migración fue durante la Revolución Mexicana, las ciudades que más sufrieron migraron a las ciudades como Durango, Veracruz, Orizaba y Guadalajara.
- El problema es que a partir de los 60's comenzaron a construir de manera arbitraria como podían y donde podían por la ola de gente que llegaba a vivir a la ciudad. De 1960 a 1970, la población creció de significativamente, desde el modelo de sustitución de importaciones.
- Las zonas irregulares comenzaron a aparecer en los años 40 pero se hicieron más frecuentes desde 1970, que coincide con el periodo neoliberal y coincide donde surge la más amplia desigualdad socioeconómica en Guadalajara.
- El problema comenzó con las políticas neoliberales. Además del problema de los ejidos, no dejaba que los planeadores urbanos, porque eran zonas grises que no dejaban. Fue un error haber construido las zonas industriales porque son muy problemáticas. Los corredores industriales son unas naves que quedaron en medio de la ciudad.
- El problema desde el punto de vista de la conectividad es que los corredores no dejan que se conecte de la ciudad desde el norte al sur. Cómo aspectos de la morfología urbana, como las vías del tren o los corredores industriales, rompen un montón con cómo había sido construida el resto de la retícula urbana, pueden fragmentar el territorio, y causar a la larga, fragmentaciones a nivel socioeconómico y muchas implicaciones en el desarrollo social de la zona.
- Nos encontramos también con problemas como Tlajomulco, cómo los mandaron a las afueras de la ciudad, donde están desconectados. Alguien que vive ahí se tarda 2 horas

de ida y 2 de regreso. Ese es otro gran problema de Guadalajara. Los usos de suelo fueron muy distintos, conforme crecía la ciudad y los tipos de población desde una perspectiva sociodemográfica eran tan distintos, eso tampoco ayudó a que se generaran varias centralidades económicas en el territorio. Pero ahora la gente tiene que ir a trabajar al centro de Guadalajara o al centro de Zapopan.

• El problema de Guadalajara es que hay un presidente municipal por cada municipio y eso impacta mucho en cómo se distribuyen los recursos para la ciudad. Y en Guadalajara, las diferencias de recursos humanos y financieros son muy grandes en los municipios como Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tlajomulco y Guadalajara, y el resto de los municipios.

#### Rossana Valdivia Pallares

- Proyectos Estratégicos Zapopan
  - o Proyectos como las Colmenas: Miramar, Villas de Guadalupe; Bosque Pedagógico del Agua; Corredor Aurelio Ortega.
  - o Lomas del Centinela: una colonia de suelo irregular, sin servicios básicos, con un sólo parque, sólo sube un camión, sólo hay una escuela. Asentamientos informales, en los 80's y al inicio de los 90's. Derrame poblacional inmenso, la gente llegó del campo a la ciudad. Son en su mayoría familias jóvenes. Comunidad indígena de Mezquitán, Tabachines. La Mesa Colorada, la Mesa de los Ocotes, el Centinela: 330 comuneros que no viven en México. Cuando el suelo es irregular, el municipio no puede invertir. El municipio busca regularizar porque cuando regularizan las calles son del municipio.
- Los mayores problemas de Guadalajara son:
  - O Primero, la desigualdad. Zapopan es el segundo municipio más desigual en el país: tienes el suelo más caro, pero también el suelo más irregular, los más pobres. El coeficiente Gini del municipio es el más alto del área metropolitana.
  - Segundo, la fragmentación. Zapopan es el municipio más fragmentado por cotos. Fue un municipio que creció en los 80's, porque el poniente de la ciudad era el caro. Más o menos el 20 por ciento del municipio está amurallado y esto genera bastantes problemas. Todo está cerrado, esto genera mucha fragmentación, problemas viales, desigualdad de accesos. En términos de transporte, hay gran parte que vive muy lejos y no llega, y hay otra parte que está encerrada en muros y tampoco llega. La gente que trabaja en esos fraccionamientos tiene que caminar

- más. Esta idea de encerrarse en los cotos tiene que ver con esa diferencia, pues allá está feo y entonces mejor me encierro.
- o Tercero, es uno de los municipios más rurales. Sólo el 30 por ciento es urbano y el resto es rural. Entonces la mayor parte de su suelo es rural. Esto le da mucho valor ambiental que le da al área metropolitana, por la Primavera, la Barranca, el área agrícola, pero también tiene mayor especulación de suelo. Mucho que cuidar, pero al mismo tiempo no se está cuidando.
- Lo que puede hacer el municipio es, por ejemplo, en el tema de regularización, regularizar a los que no están regularizados y llevar servicios básicos. Por otro lado, no permitir fraccionamientos cerrados, y si los permites, regularlos. Por ejemplo, tener fraccionamientos de máximo 2 manzanas, o sea 2 hectáreas, para que las bardas que amurallan no sean más grandes que eso. Entonces reglamentos de la vivienda nueva para garantizar la conectividad. También mezclar más el costo de la vivienda. En el suelo que es del municipio, hacer ese tipo de proyectos. Y por último, cómo le das valor a los servicios ambientales.

### Luis Fernando Álvarez Villalobos

- En términos de planeación metropolitana, el primer esfuerzo fue el Plan intermunicipal y regional lanzado por el gobierno panista que buscaba actualizar el Plan de Zona Conurbada de 1982, que fue un plan fallido. Después operamos la Ley de coordinación metropolitana, hicimos algunos talleres que la impulsaron. La Ley de Coordinación Metropolitana es una ley vigente. Sin embargo, llevarla a efecto implicaba que los actores políticos destinaran recursos y operar la ley. En este contexto nace el IMEPLAN, como el Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación. Se convierte un referente nacional porque todo lo que se tenía era institutos municipales de planeación
- En este proceso detectamos el proceso de expansión urbana y la deshabitación al centro de la metrópoli, eran las mayores preocupaciones. Lo que había era una sinergia tanto de los desarrolladores inmobiliarios como de los ayuntamientos. Cada municipio tenía su propia proyección de crecimiento.
- El gobierno de Peña Nieto establece los famosos perímetros de contención urbana. Había una conciencia a nivel federal de la presión del crecimiento. Es la primera vez que el promotor inmobiliario se encuentra con una fuerza capaz de contenerlo. Desde muchos años atrás en México, se estaba presionando para generar una nueva Ley de

Asentamientos Humanos por parte de varios actores. Pero hasta que coinciden todos estos elementos, el *sprawl* está dañando, los perímetros de contención tienen que contener esto, la política tiene que buscar una coordinación, y entonces viene una reforma nacional a la ley.

- El hecho de que las demandas de suelo estén estimadas, los planes parciales tengan un sentido común, es un gran avance. Canalizamos esfuerzos en una ruta, y dejamos otras cosas al margen. Por ejemplo, el caso de transporte público es un tema que ha quedado rezagado.
- Detrás del modelo neoliberal está la creencia de que el mercado es capaz de resolver los problemas urbanos. Los impactos más importantes de las Neoliberalización en el ámbito urbano van en materia primero de suelo y luego de vivienda.
- Por ejemplo, primero la regularización del suelo. La reforma consistía en modificar el artículo 27, separando los derechos de los ejidatarios. Con el derecho a poseer la tierra se abre la puerta para que la gente pueda comprar y vender suelo que antes no se podía comprar y vender. Aquí tenemos el primer elemento.
- El segundo elemento viene con la modificación de la política de vivienda. Entonces el INFONAVIT, que actualmente financia el 75 por ciento de la vivienda a nivel nacional, deja de ser un productor de vivienda a ser un financiador de vivienda. Esta otra premisa de que hay que organizar la demanda y ahora de financiar la demanda a fin de que el mercado pueda optar por las opciones de vivienda es otra premisa neoliberal.
- Pero quizás la presión que debilitó a las instituciones municipales con más fuerza dentro de las premisas neoliberales era la de regulación. Hay una política muy fuerte de regulación. De tal manera que se cuantifica dentro de cada uno de los procesos de desarrollo urbano, ¿cuál es el impedimento de las instituciones locales para que se desarrolle tal o cual actividad? Por ejemplo, industrial o de vivienda. Esta regulación en realidad nos lleva a un debilitamiento de los actores municipales.
- Entonces tenemos condiciones para que haya un mercado de vivienda abierto, una liberalización del mercado de suelo; segundo, un empoderamiento de los actores económicos, entonces el promotor inmobiliario es el que surge como el capaz de producir vivienda, ante un debilitamiento del actor local, entonces tenemos una asimetría entre estos dos actores. Lo cual nos conduce a excesos del promotor inmobiliario. El actor municipal se convierte en un actor proactivo del desarrollo del promotor inmobiliario. La política neoliberal lo que hizo fue someter el actor municipal ante el promotor inmobiliario.

• Entonces las consecuencias que se tienen en el espacio urbano, claramente el *sprawl* por un lado y por otro la vivienda basura. Para los actores que la están comprando es una vivienda de desecho, porque no satisface las necesidades.

## Héctor Castañón

- Esos terrenos se adquirieron en su mayoría muy forzadamente, por presión de la autoridad, con una operación agresiva, para que cedieran los propietarios. Finalmente se vio que construir la Villa ahí iba a ser muy caro, hubo oposición de los vecinos, y cambió el proyecto. No avanzó el proyecto de las Villas Panamericanas, pero se quedaron los predios y se quedó un crédito que el Ayuntamiento tenía que pagar, el dinero que pidió prestado estaba generando impuestos importantes, entonces había que hacer algo con esos predios.
- Se abrió una convocatoria porque se pensaba que una ciudad mexicana podía tomar el liderazgo en la producción de contenidos digitales en español, desde un mercado en América Latina. La CANIETI estaba funcionando bien como ecosistema. Las empresas electrónicas habían llegado ya hace 15 o 20 años. Pensaron aprovechar estos terrenos para hacer la Ciudad Creativa Digital. Parte del concurso era hacer un Plan Maestro, por despachos internacionales, pensando que se necesitaban voces y técnicos confiables, que dijeran y vieran que estaba bien planeado y cuidado.
- Habiendo conocido la pésima experiencia de las Villas y la mala visión para construir la ciudad. Entonces pensaron que tenían que cuidar un montón de aspectos para que funcionara. Se hizo todo un proceso de certificación como Desarrollo Integral Sustentable. Para que dieran esta certificación DIU, tenía que tener un fuerte componente social. Entonces nos encargaron a mí y a un grupo de antropólogos y psicólogos sociales hacer un estudio del impacto social que podría tener un desarrollo como CCD, y de ahí se obtuvieron cuatro ideas principales de vecinas y vecinos.
  - o El derecho a permanecer. Si van a hacer algo no me obliguen a irme. Se tomaba como principio.
  - O Beneficios concretos para la zona. Si van a hacer algo, que sea para resolver los problemas del centro, no para crear más problemas. Por ejemplo, había problemas de seguridad, de abandono, de convivencia, de falta de oportunidades y espacios para los jóvenes.

- O Queremos ser partícipes de los beneficios. Que todos tengamos internet gratuito, que nuestros jóvenes tengan oportunidad de emplearse y capacitarse, que nosotros tengamos empleos, que generen oportunidades para nosotros.
- Cuando se les dio la certificación, el compromiso era observar estos principios. Era posible observarlos porque no se tenía un plazo definido. Se supone que daba tiempo para generar un marco en el que hubiera algunos esquemas como captura de plusvalías, congelamiento de rentas, o créditos para que la gente pudiera vivir ahí porque el 60 por ciento de la gente de la zona rentaba, no era propietario. Quienes rentaban iban a ser los primeros desplazados. Tenía que haber un esquema de congelamiento de rentas. Y había tiempo para todo esto.
- No toda acción de mejora urbana tiene que ocasionar gentrificación, porque si no
  entonces el abandono genera devaluación, lo captura el mercado y entonces se gentrifica.
  Pero también la revitalización, la intervención urbana genera mejoras que genera
  plusvalías y entonces se gentrifica. Tendría que ser posible concebir esquemas de
  intervención urbanas sin que genere gentrificación.
- Si no había un compromiso real y una inversión por configurar esa mezcla, no iba a caminar. Y al final de cuentas es lo que pasó. El Plan Maestro se ignoró, no se puso atención en ese tipo de esquemas. Los distintos actores, como quien coordinaba el fideicomiso y el gobernador, impusieron una lógica inmobiliaria en el proyecto. Lo único que demandaba era la inversión en infraestructura para construir torres y meter oficinas y vivienda, a eso se redujo el proyecto. Entonces no tuvo el peso de los vecinos, ni el peso de la cámara para construir ese ecosistema.
- Por otro lado, no eran solamente los vecinos los que querían quedarse. Pero ellos querían el proyecto para que se desplazara a otras poblaciones que ellos veían como problemáticas en la zona. Indígenas, trabajadores ambulantes y sexoservidoras.
- Por ejemplo, había una escuela, Basilio Vadillo. Había personas que vivían en Tonalá, trabajaban en el centro histórico, y llevaban a sus hijos a esa escuela porque era la única en que no los *buleaban* por ser indígenas. Había mucho interés en que esas poblaciones no perdieran ese espacio. Las trabajadoras sexuales también decían que, si sus hijos podían tener oportunidades, ellas dejarían ese negocio.
- En todas las poblaciones había caminos, había salidas. Decían órale, le entramos, si ofrece posibilidades, porque sabemos que trabajamos en un entorno que se ha hecho conflictivo, que no ofrece lo que podría ofrecer.
- Pero querían hacer una operación de limpieza y sacar estas poblaciones porque si llegaban las empresas internacionales y veían todo el bajo mundo, no iban a querer

- permanecer. Pero esto iba a generar más resistencia. Pero debía ser un proyecto que generara beneficios para todos los grupos sociales, y no sólo a las inmobiliarias.
- Todavía no se alcanza a percibir un deterioro acelerado, y una migración importante de la gente que está ahí. El proyecto todavía no tiene la capacidad de desplazar, porque ha ido muy lento, sólo se han hecho dos proyectos. El mercado todavía no está actuando en esa zona, hubo un intento de la empresa Bosch pero se salió.
- Es un peligro latente. Con el cambio de gobierno, aparentemente la lógica inmobiliaria que estaba desde dentro ya tenían ellos el negocio a la mano. El gobierno actual, aunque está muy influenciado, son políticos, pero no son dueños del negocio. Entonces cambió la lógica, porque saben que el lente inmobiliario no los llevó a ningún lado. Siguen teniendo la deuda de esos predios, sigue la pregunta abierta de ¿qué hacemos en estos terrenos? Sigue como las miles de cosas en la ciudad que nunca se materializan, sigue buscando una fórmula financiera, social, ambiental. Las empresas grandes de tecnología se están asentando en otros lugares. El motor que generaban de ese sector no va a caer ahí.
- Cómo hacer que la gente siga viviendo ahí y no se siga expulsando la gente a los municipios periféricos con todos los costos que ya se conocen. Una estrategia de vivienda social podría replantear el asunto, sin embargo, la fórmula financiera sigue siendo dominante.
- Esto nos habla de imaginar una forma de hacer ciudad que no precisamente dependa de estas piezas. La amenaza latente, un potencial latente.
- Es muy cierto que las finanzas son las que definen la forma urbana. La fórmula financiera es la que te define la forma arquitectónica y la localización. Este es un problema cuando estas finanzas son especulativas. En un contexto financiero global de incertidumbre, tiene una lógica de comprar terrenos y edificios. Es una fuerza difícil de contrarrestar. Tenemos el ejemplo como Barcelona. Las reglas de juego dicen si tienes lana y te alcanza para comprar, compra lo que quieras. Esas reglas no meten ningunos límites, restricciones, otros valores, otros factores.
- CCD es un buen estudio de las resistencias que hay para innovar en políticas públicas y
  para cambiar el juego. Quizá que demuestra que la lógica inmobiliaria, o bien el mercado,
  no es la que debe guiar un proyecto.