



The
University
Of
Sheffield.



**Middle-Class Gatedness:
A Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class Gated Communities in Mexico**

By:

Emma Regina Morales García de Alba

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisors:

Professor Hendrik Wagenaar and Dr. Stephen Connelly

*Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
The University of Sheffield*

December 2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	7
ABSTRACT.....	9
1. UNDERSTANDING GATED COMMUNITIES BEYOND THE GATES.....	10
1.1 Introduction.....	10
1.2 Research Background.....	10
1.3 Personal Motivation.....	14
1.4 Research Rationale.....	16
1.4.1 Research Aim.....	18
1.4.2 Research Questions.....	18
1.4.3 Implications and Contributions from Research.....	19
1.5 Thesis Structure.....	21
1.6 Conclusions.....	24
2 GATEDNESS, A PRACTICE-BASED ANALYSIS OF GATED COMMUNITIES.....	25
2.1 Introduction.....	25
2.2 Gated Communities... A Global Phenomenon.....	25
2.3 The Discussion about Gated Communities.....	28
2.3.1 Peace of Mind and Security.....	28
2.3.2 Status and Prestige.....	30
2.3.3 Lifestyles and Quality of Life.....	31
2.3.4 Withdrawal from the State.....	32
2.3.5 Privatisation of Public Space.....	34
2.4 Gaps in Gated Communities' Literature.....	37
2.5 Conceptualising Gatedness.....	39
2.5.1 Framework of the Gatedness Analysis: A Practice Approach.....	39
2.5.2 Defining Gatedness.....	43
2.5.3 Spheres of Gatedness.....	46
2.6 Conclusions.....	49
3 MEXICAN MIDDLE CLASSES IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY.....	50

3.1	Introduction	50
3.2	The Mexican Debt Economy	50
3.3	The Mexican Neoliberal Trance	54
3.3.1	The Washington Consensus and the Privatisation of Urban Development	55
3.3.2	The World Bank and the Enabling Markets Policies for Housing	60
3.4	The Indebted Mexican Middle Class.....	62
3.4.1	Privatised Keynesianism: Middle Class Responsibilities in a Diminished State	67
3.4.2	Middle Class Vulnerability in Uncertain Economic Contexts.....	69
3.5	Conclusions	72
4	MEXICAN HOUSING AND SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS	73
4.1	Introduction	73
4.2	Land in the Centre of Urban Development Challenges.....	73
4.3	Interrelation between Housing and Urban Policies in Mexico.....	75
4.3.1	Spatial Planning in Mexico.....	76
4.3.2	Mexican Housing System.....	79
4.4	Conclusions	87
5	METHODOLOGY	88
5.1	Introduction	88
5.2	Research Aim and Questions.....	88
5.3	Methods, Data, and Research Strategy	89
5.3.1	Case Study Selection	90
5.3.2	Data Collection.....	92
5.3.3	Data Analysis.....	100
5.4	Ethical Considerations, Challenges, and Limitations	102
5.5	Conclusions	103
6	MEXICAN GATED COMMUNITIES	104
6.1	Introduction	104
6.2	Evolution of Mexican Gated Communities	104
6.2.1	From Planned Neighbourhoods to Gated Communities	105
6.2.2	Typologies of Modern Mexican Gated Communities	111

6.3	Lomas de Angelópolis: A Suburban Gated Community in Puebla, Mexico	112
6.3.1	The Setting: Metropolitan Area of Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T)	112
6.3.2	Puebla: A History of Socio-Spatial Segregation.....	116
6.3.3	The Angelópolis Megaproject, the New Centrality	118
6.3.4	Lomas de Angelópolis: A Planned Neighbourhood/City for the Middle Classes 123	
6.4	Conclusions.....	132
7	MIDDLE-CLASS GATEDNESS: A PRACTICE-BASED ANALYSIS.....	133
7.1	Introduction.....	133
7.2	Middle-Class Gatedness in Lomas de Angelópolis	133
7.3	Gating Puebla’s Peripheral Area, a Story of Voluntary Displacement	134
7.3.1	Voluntary Displacement in Traditional Middle-Class Neighbourhoods.....	135
7.3.2	Understanding the Proliferation of Gated Communities in Puebla after the 1990s 140	
7.3.3	The Gating Up Process in Angelópolis.....	144
7.4	Spheres of Gatedness – A Practice-Based Framework of Analysis for Gated Communities.....	145
7.5	Conclusions.....	146
8	SPHERE OF STRUCTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INCENTIVES AND CONSTRAINTS (COMPETENCES).....	147
8.1	Introduction.....	147
8.2	Competences in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class Gated Communities	147
8.2.1	From Global Policies to Local Actions.....	148
8.2.2	Municipalities and the Rise of Privatised Governments	154
8.2.3	Financialisation of Housing and Gatedness	159
8.2.4	Dirty Money and Gatedness.....	164
8.3	Conclusions.....	166
9	SPHERE OF COGNITIVE AFFECTIVE DISPOSITIONS (MEANINGS).....	167
9.1	Introduction.....	167
9.2	The Role of Meanings in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class GCs	167
9.2.1	Aspirations and Expectations.....	169

9.2.2	Anxieties and Fears	176
9.3	Conclusions	184
10	SPHERE OF PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES AND CONTROL MEASURES (MATERIALS).....	185
10.1	Introduction	185
10.2	The Material Elements in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class GCs.....	185
10.2.1	Physical Borders and Contrasting Conditions between Neighbours	186
10.2.2	Security, Control and Surveillance Features	188
10.3	Traps of Middle-Class Gatedness.....	194
10.3.1.	Credit and Debt Trap	195
10.3.2.	Private Government Trap	198
10.3.3.	Security and Control Trap	199
10.4	Conclusions	201
11	ALTERNATIVES TO GATEDNESS?.....	202
11.1	Introduction	202
11.2	Mexican Middle-Class Gatedness (Summary)	202
11.3	Rethinking Policymaking through the World of Meanings.....	209
11.4	Future Research.....	213
11.5	Final Conclusions	214
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	216
	LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	229
	LIST OF TABLES	230
	LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	231
	LIST OF OBSERVATION EXERCISES	233
	LIST OF CASE-RELATED DOCUMENTS AND DIGITAL SOURCES	234
	ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN SPANISH.....	236

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the result of almost four years of doctoral studies at the University of Sheffield. This was a very hectic and time demanding process, but also an incredibly rewarding experience personally, academically, and professionally. The research undertaken was made possible by a grant from The Mexican National Council for Science (*Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología*, CONACYT), which I would like to particularly thank because it considered an urban planning research project a priority for the country. I am deeply grateful to all the people who had confidence in me; without their support, I would have never started this journey. From *Universidad Iberoamericana Puebla*, I would like to specifically thank David Fernández and Gonzalo Inguanzo, because they gave me the institutional and personal support I needed to drastically change my life in only three weeks and move to a foreign country and become a student again after almost 10 years. I also would like to thank Fernando Fernández and Aurora Berlanga, because of the administrative support allowed me to leave my academic responsibilities during my doctoral studies. I would like to thank those who helped me with advice, recommendation letters, and academic direction such as Roberto Eibenschutz, Martha Laura Ramírez, Georgina Sandoval, and Enrique Ortiz. Their support was crucial in important moments; from obtaining the scholarship, to defining the direction of the thesis. I would like to give special thanks to Víctor Hugo Hofmann, because it was after a conversation with him that I decided to pursue my doctorate, a dream I had given up a couple of years before. His confidence in my academic skills made me apply for the scholarship; he never doubted my capacity, even when I was not sure I was going in the right direction.

Finishing this thesis was only possible because of my family. My mother Paty and my brothers Óscar and Patricio gave me unconditional support from day one, even though they knew this break represented giving up professional and economic stability. I would also like to thank my extended family: sisters-in-law, cousins, nephews, and uncles, for always believing in me. I would like to thank Katherine in particular, because even when she was very busy with work and family, she helped me by proofreading when I needed it the most. I would like to thank everyone in Mexico that helped through the process, including interviewees who agreed to take part in this research. I want to express my gratitude to friends and work colleagues that helped me with observation exercises and contacting interviewees. I am sorry if I neglected friends and family during this process, but I want all of you to know that you were always present in my mind.

This thesis would not exist if it were not for all the wonderful people that made my time in Sheffield a fascinating and life-changing experience. I would like to start by thanking my boyfriend David because he gave me peace, love, and tranquillity when I was struggling the most. Every time I felt anxious and worried, he told me things would be Okay, making me feel better and continue. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Henk and Steve because they were always honest and critical of my work, but encouraged me to keep exploring and follow my instinct. I am particularly thankful for their honesty, because they told me when I was losing direction or when I had found something interesting and worth exploring. I felt accompanied by them from a personal, professional, and academic perspective the whole time. I would like to thank all the wonderful members of the Department of Urban Studies and Planning (staff and PGR students). I feel lucky because I was in a very academic environment with incredibly human and sensitive people. The long conversations with such a diverse group helped me to open my mind to new ways of understanding. I am particularly thankful to Keely, because her efficiency and initiative helped me arrive to the UK on time.

I would like to thank my entire PhD cohort, in particular Cissy and Timy, because their inquisitive nature made me pay more attention to details and gave me the motivation to write, but mostly because of their friendship. I am grateful because I found in Sheffield a family away from home. I am extremely thankful to Gulsah, my roommate, because she always made me feel at home treating me like a sister. I am also extremely thankful to Loli, because she was not only my travel partner, confidant, and closest friend, but the person that made it possible for this thesis to be ready for submission while I was away.

This thesis is dedicated to my family, in particular my father, not only because he was the one that got me into urban studies, but also because he was my inspiration to engage in research by motivating me to question everything and always dig deeper. His words, his love, and his memory are present in the whole document.

ABSTRACT

Gated communities are a global phenomenon - a common housing choice for middle-income groups in contexts of large socio-economic disparities. They have recently gained academic attention, and scholarly work since the late 1990s has focused primarily on drivers such as security, status, prestige, and social homogeneity. However, the proliferation of these enclaves is not only the result of individual motivations and choices, but rather a complex issue that goes beyond the gates. In this thesis, I propose that the discussion should focus not on the physical artefact (gated communities) but the policies, practices, and meanings that enable their existence. I centre the discussion on the concept of “gatedness”, which embodies the three elements of practice proposed by Shove et al. (2012): materials, competences, and meanings. The research took place in Mexico, a country with a history of debt-fuelled economy that affects individual households, particularly middle class families. The thesis provides elements for better understanding the complexity of the gated communities’ social phenomenon, where global economic forces affect national housing, land, finance, and planning policies, while shaping individual practices fed by aspirations and anxieties. The focus on the middle class population is mainly due to their role in the proliferation of these enclaves, and also because of the challenges to sustaining their lifestyle in a context of social, economic, and political uncertainty.

Research was conducted with a qualitative approach using the case study of Lomas de Angelópolis, a large-scale suburban gated community in Puebla, Mexico. This research adds to previous knowledge about gated communities by recognising how elements of practice shape the physical world. Understanding these spaces better could help planners and policymakers in countries with similar dynamics to Mexico, propose alternatives to make cities more equitable, addressing the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes without critically affecting access to opportunities to others.

1. UNDERSTANDING GATED COMMUNITIES BEYOND THE GATES

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will talk about the origins of the thesis *Middle-Class Gatedness: Practice-based Analysis of Middle Class Gated Communities in Mexico*. The chapter is organised in four sections. In the first section, I present some **research background** explaining my reasons for studying gatedness instead of gated communities, and why it is important to understand middle-class aspirations and anxieties if we aim to have more equitable urban planning strategies. In the second section, I talk about the **personal motivations** behind this research, and share how families like mine have struggled in the past to keep up during times of economic uncertainties in Mexico. In the third section, I present the **research rationale** and the implications and contributions of this thesis to gated communities, practice, and policy literature. Finally, I present the thesis structure, and provide a general view of the whole research.

1.2 Research Background

The emergence and proliferation of gated communities gained scholarly interest in the 1990s and early 2000s, particularly in the global north (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Davis M. , 1998; Low, 2001). Nonetheless, in recent years, the discussion has advanced worldwide, providing evidence of similarities and differences of these private residential developments depending on their location. For instance, literature from the global south, particularly Latin America (Caldeira, 2000; Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010) has discussed the connection between these enclaves and high-income inequality. The discussion of inequality and socio-spatial segregation in Latin America is part of a wider discussion on the privatisation of public space and the right to the city (Carrión, *Espacio Público: Punto de Partida para la Alteridad*, 2007; Segovia & Dascal, *Espacio Público, Participación y Ciudadanía*, 2000; Sassen, 2001). There are important coincidences between northern and southern literature in issues like security, status, prestige, or social homogeneity, but also important differences in relation to size, features, inner administration, and the role of the state and the private sector in their proliferation. Literature on the subject has provided important contributions in terms of typologies and organisations, however I am more interested in the practices and meanings around these enclaves, and therefore I propose in this thesis that the discussion should focus on **gatedness** rather than gated communities.

The interest in gatedness is looking at gated communities beyond the gates. The first step was to analyse the relationship between these fortified residential spaces and **macro-economic and political forces**. The second was to identify the influence these have had on national policies. Then I analyse the **limitations and constraints of local governments** with limited budgets and weak institutions in urban sprawling areas. Finally, I look at the **micro-level practices** of the actors involved in the process of **gating up** and the **meanings** attached to these fortified enclaves. In this thesis, I use **practice theory** to understand how these enclaves come into being and the **meanings** attached to them. In this research, I consider that policies and practices connect in such a way that they not only construct the physical reality but also the way people deal with everyday life. However, policies and practices can only exist if there is an operational enabler, in this case the role of financial (private or public) institutions.

The research is set in **Mexico** and the emphasis is on the **middle classes**, in an academic context that has focused mostly on working classes (González-De la Rocha, From the Resources of Poverty to the Poverty of Resources? The Erosions of a Survival Model, 2001; Escobar-Latapí & González-De la Rocha, 1995). I chose Mexico partly because it is my home country, where I have spent a few years analysing the planning and housing systems, but mostly because of the challenges derived from the proliferation of gated residential developments for middle-income groups in the past couple of decades. Findings in this thesis are an invitation to policymakers and planners to promote cities that are more equitable, by recognising how the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes help to define policies and everyday practices, and vice versa.

The **Mexican case** of proliferation of middle class gated communities is mostly seen in an **intrinsic way**, because of the particular interest in the contradictions and challenges Mexico is dealing with, such as large socio-economic disparities, political uncertainty, and the backlash of an unsuccessful war on drugs that has resulted in an increase in violence, crime, and corruption. It can also be seen as instrumental, in the sense that it contributes to the discussion of how international economic and political forces influence national policies and shape everyday lives. In that sense, the findings in this thesis can be useful in other countries dealing with debt-based economies and growing middle class, but also in countries in the global north where fear and uncertainty are driving originally open communities to ask for walls, access control and increased security.

The case provides a rich and complex setting of aspirations and anxieties. For instance, in Mexico, middle classes are assuming larger costs in order to obtain better security, health, education, and services, than those provided by the state. These middle-income groups have become more debt-dependent and easy credit has increased their expenditure on non-essential commodities. The conditions of insecurity and increase in violence and crime nationally have justified the emergence of ‘gated practices’ beyond the residential enclaves affecting urban navigation, social interaction, and the relation with local authorities. These gated practices are problematic for the middle classes, since residential gated developments for these socio-economic groups are often mortgage-driven and depend on job and economic stability. In Mexico, these groups are in a vulnerable position because of a long history of economic uncertainties, which I will describe in detail.

In this thesis, I start from the basis that neither gated communities (GCs) nor privately planned neighbourhoods are new in Mexico. However, I suggest that changes in national policies, resulting from recommendations of global economic institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after the economic crises of the 1980s, have contributed to the proliferation and normalisation of GCs in connection with the emergence of a debt-driven middle class. I pay particular attention to the economic and political guidelines summarised in the *Washington Consensus* (Williamson, 1990) and the policy designed in the 1980s and spread in the paper *Housing: Enabling Markets to Work* (The World Bank, 1993) that gave fundamental technical support to the privatisation of urban development and housing provision. The structural changes conducted during the 1990s in land, planning, housing, and financing policies were the root of thousands of peripheral housing developments that mutated into fortified defensive neighbourhoods. Middle-class GCs in Mexico are the result of a complex combination of economic, political, social, and infrastructural conditions and practices. Policy changes linked to global forces modified not only the Mexican landscape but also the aspirations, anxieties, consumption patterns, and housing practices of the middle classes.

This thesis is about *gatedness*, a concept that I have developed using previous literature but mostly the result from observation during fieldwork. I define *gatedness* as the ***complex, dispersed set of practise associated with gated communities, shaped by the interconnection of material and immaterial elements, such as policies that encourage exclusion, local and trans-national conditions that incentivise their development, physical features used for control and security strategies, and attitudes and actions moulded by the diverse meanings attached to these enclaves.*** In other words, these fortified spaces are shaped by material elements such as gates and fences, but also of immaterial elements such as policies, practices and meanings. I suggest that it is not only individual choices that define the built environment; but rather the combination of macro-level structural policies and practices that affect physical and behavioural patterns.

The emphasis on *gatedness* rather than gated communities, responds to an intention to move the discussion forward from what scholarly work has repeatedly argued about the exclusionary drivers and the negative effects of socio-spatial segregation. Through this concept, I attempt to better understand the proliferation of middle-class GCs, by paying particular attention to the policies that directly or indirectly enabled their existence, and the nested practices from those involved in the processes of shaping and sustaining this type of gated physical environments.

In the last thirty years, Latin-American metropolitan areas have sprawled significantly due to a combination of factors, such as population growth, urbanisation of rural areas, land speculation, and unsustainable housing provision strategies. In the early 1980s, most Latin-American countries in the process of industrialisation faced serious debt crises, which had strong negative effects on national economies. Nations were compelled to reform their economic and political system and adopt a neoliberal agenda, following recommendations by global financial institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The process of expansion in Latin-American metropolitan areas has happened with important differences between the rich and the poor, where GCs are a tangible expression of socio-spatial segregation.

The empirical data of this thesis was obtained using one single case study: *Lomas de Angelópolis (Lomas)*, a large-scale suburban gated community located in the metropolitan area of **Puebla, Mexico**. This case embodies the complexity of middle-class gated communities. Its uniqueness stands in the fact that *Lomas* is a gated community of several gated clusters. Data obtained show a rich variety of stories from different levels of middle classes, since clusters are aimed at different socio-economic levels. *Lomas* is a privately developed planned community that will house over 21,000 families. In a 10-year period, it evolved from a traditional high-income GC to a semi-city with its own commercial, sports, leisure, and social facilities. The case exemplifies the role of global economic forces, national and local planning and housing policies, sub-national and local incentives to private residential development after the 1990s, and the changes in middle classes lifestyles. This is a typical case of urbanisation of common farmland in Mexico and a megaproject aiming for global competitiveness supported by a regional institutional strategy, the *Programa Regional Angelópolis* (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008).

I studied *Lomas de Angelópolis* from a qualitative perspective, using grounded theory as the basic methodological approach. Fieldwork conducted between 2013 and early 2016 provided evidence of the connections between global economic forces in the definition of policies and practices, but most importantly it provided evidence of the role of aspirations and anxieties in decision-making processes. Meanings were a fundamental part in the development of this enclave, not only from the perspective of residents, but also of developers, investors, local authorities, and

nearby neighbours, in a context of social, political, and economic uncertainty. *Lomas* is only one of hundreds of gated communities built in the metropolitan area of Puebla in the past couple of decades. This case allowed the analysis of the national planning and housing systems, and the effects of privatisation of urban development. Gated communities are shaping not only the physicality of cities and metropolitan areas, but also the policies and relationships with the different levels of the state, the market, and society. In Mexico, substantial changes in the housing financing policies over the past three decades have contributed to new levels of social stratification within the middle classes based on access to credit. Housing options in the market target different strata, increasing tensions in an already highly unequal socio-economic environment.

1.3 Personal Motivation

When I started this research, my interest was in the lack of public participation in the development of new housing since the 1990s in Mexico. I had identified that new large-scale social housing in the outskirts of cities had been defined without the intervention of future residents. The ambitious federal plan to tackle housing deficit was quantitative instead of qualitative; consequently millions of houses were built without considering beneficiaries' needs and expectations. Thousands of low-income houses have been abandoned since then because the conditions were not favourable for residents. However, middle-class gated communities developed at the same time and in the same peripheral conditions have prevailed, and have become the most desirable housing choice in some regions. That situation prompted questions over what was behind the proliferation of these fortified enclaves. How did they become normalised? Moreover, how did the process of gating up happen? These questions resonated in my mind and made me aware of the housing choices of close friends, colleagues and family, and took me back to think about my own family experience.

I was born into a high-income middle class family in Mexico City. Although I lived in privileged circumstances, in what is today an upscale neighbourhood famous for its modern apartment buildings and high-end shops, I was a child from the crisis generation who saw how easy it was to lose everything that seemed certain, in very little time. As the 1980s and 1990s debt economy evolved, the neighbourhood began its transformation into a global affluent area. As a child, I was able to see the neighbourhood change, as inequality and insecurity increased. This shift was made clear by the appearance of tangible barriers such as taller fences, electrified gates, and CCTV cameras. The safe, walkable neighbourhood where I grew up suddenly became a securitised place where children stopped playing in the streets, private gardens could no longer be seen from the outside, armed private security personnel became commonplace, and most social activities took place in exclusive clubs, shopping malls, and inside houses.

My family and I moved to Puebla when I was a teenager. We moved into a house in an old traditional neighbourhood near the city centre. This represented a newfound freedom, because I was able to get around either walking or using public transport. It also represented a shift in social interaction as we got used to traditional local shops around us, and close relationships with our neighbours. Unfortunately, this did not last long, most families living in the area abandoned their old houses and sold them to schools, offices or banks, and the neighbourhood became insecure after office hours. Voluntary displacement from the inner city to the periphery has become a common practice in Puebla, particularly since the appearance of new housing estates in municipalities that had been absorbed into the metropolitan area. Despite the unfavourable conditions and lack of neighbours, we remained in that house for a few more years. This life experience was the seed of my academic and professional interest in displacement and neighbourhood transformations.

Since I started getting involved academically and professionally in spatial planning, I realised that the urban experience and everyday life problems varied considerably according to people's socio-economic levels. Furthermore, this was not only related to wealth or lifestyle, but rather to choices and access to opportunities. I became interested in the different layers, where we all move in the same city, but with different approaches to time and space. Just like a *snakes and ladders* game where players all travel around the same board, but have their journey shaped by the ladders and bridges they have access to, and the snakes they want to avoid. I began observing that friends and family living in peripheral GCs seemed to have different strategies for everyday chores from those living in open-street neighbourhoods in the city. I became fascinated not only by their actions but by their reactions when being questioned about their lifestyle, for instance the defensiveness shown every time they talked about why they were almost forced to move into these places, which made it even more attractive as a research topic. Although in my original research design I contemplated analysing affluent and middle-class GCs, I decided to focus only on the middle classes because this defensiveness revealed a strong link to their aspirations and expectations, but more notably to their fears and anxieties.

I became interested in aspects of a *gated* lifestyle of the middle classes because of the challenges of living in an uncertain social, economic, and political context. My personal family experience of extreme indebtedness during the 1980s and 1990s has made me more aware of the vulnerability of middle-income groups in a debt economy. We were one of the families that lost their house because of predatory banking variable rates. Although most of the reasons behind the economic meltdown of my family were a combination of specific events and unnecessary spending, the constant Mexican peso devaluations and the abusive banking system made the negative effects stronger. It made the risks of long-term mortgages evident, no matter how

attractive they can be, or how they can help people to purchase their dream house in a gated community. The current macro-economic stability in the country gives confidence, but a long history of economic meltdowns should make us continually aware of the risks. This is why I decided to pay particular attention to the vulnerability of the middle classes in a debt economy. Their choices are shaping the physicality of cities but there is not enough discussion about the implications and outcomes of middle class dreams coming true in unequal societies.

Finally, one important motivation for this research was that as I started reading academic literature on the subject, I realised that the majority of the studies criticise these enclaves because of the socio-spatial segregation they promote, and the negative outcomes linked to their existence. However, as I began approaching participants during fieldwork, I got a very different impression since residents and wishful future residents did not share those negative views. The discrepancy between academic writing and the perception of real people along with their aspirations and anxieties were a sign of the importance of understanding the phenomenon better, and the relevance of this understanding for future urban planning policymaking strategies.

1.4 Research Rationale

At first sight, it might seem that gated communities have become a *hot topic* as every month, new academic writing about the subject emerges worldwide. Nevertheless, a large percentage of this new literature confirms or reproduces previous findings, only in different settings. I consider that previous literature provides enough bases to engage in new discussions about these enclaves. I propose that it is time to move the discussion beyond the physical borders and into the (*im*) material space of policies, practices, and meanings. Mexican literature on the subject has focused primarily in two issues: socio-spatial segregation (Giglia, 2008; Cabrales-Barajas & Canosa-Zamora, 2001; Scheinbaum, 2010; Schteingart, 2001) and the failures and challenges of the planning and housing systems (Esquivel-Hernández, 2006; Velázquez-Leyer, 2015; Monkkonen, 2012). Middle classes usually figure in planning literature to question their lifestyles, particularly in gentrification literature. However, in economic literature, there is a recent interest in their vulnerability (Torche & López-Calva, 2013; Castellani, Gwenn, & Zenteno, 2014; López-Calva & Ortiz-Juárez, 2013). Therefore, this thesis is an opportunity to analyse the socio-economic group that is having such an important role in the shaping of our cities.

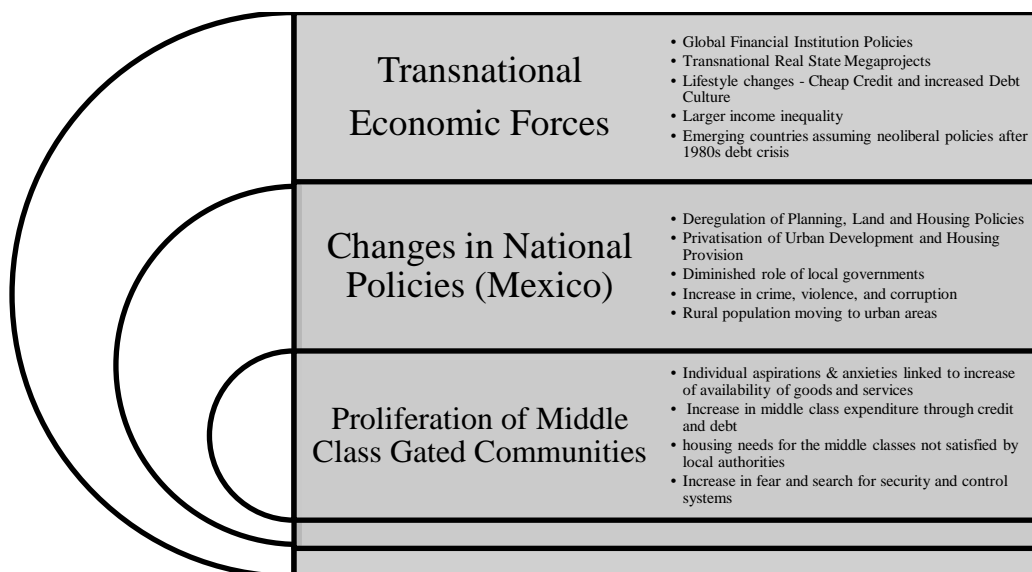
Conceptualisation in this research lies in the suggestion that **gated communities are not only physical configurations of urban space but also a social phenomenon where aspirations and anxieties interrelate with policy, and have an impact back in the physical world and on social interactions.** The research takes an **interpretive** approach because it contemplates

meanings and practices from the different actors involved in the process of gating up (Wagenaar, 2011). The main method chosen was **grounded theory** and the case study was *Lomas de Angelópolis*, a suburban GC in *in Puebla*, Mexico.

I decided to take an **interpretive analysis approach** to better understand the policies and the practices of the relevant actors in the proliferation of middle-class GCs in Mexico. I was interested in how high-level policymakers contributed to the definition of housing and planning national policies. I was also interested in how subnational and local public officials interpreted those policies to fit particular political or private interests. In addition to that, I wanted to understand the aspirations and anxieties that motivated residents to move into this sort of enclave. For that reason, my research interest is not in the policies in isolation, but rather the connection between these policies and the world of meanings that define the physical world.

The following schematic diagram (See Figure 1) shows a preliminary representation of the research problem seen as a multi-level structure where policies, practices, aspirations, and anxieties have an impact on the physical reality, which in turn impacts policy changes and implementation. For instance, transnational economic forces contribute both to changes in state-led urban development policies, but also on household lifestyles and individual consumption patterns. The proliferation of middle class GCs in Mexico is the result of the constant dialogue between policies and practices in this complex multi-level structure, where global forces affect everyday life actions, behaviours, and understandings.

Figure 1. Research Problem Schematic Diagram



Source: author (2013)

This problem is located within the discussion about neoliberal urbanism. According to Theodore & Peck (2012) ‘*neoliberalisation of urban policy and the shifting ideological locus of the urban policy “consensus” among the advanced industrial nations was not a matter of once-and-for-all “regime change”. Rather, the recalibration of urban policy has been incremental if cumulative, tracing a path of contradictory normalization*’ (Theodore & Peck, 2012, p. 22). The normalisation of gated communities in Mexico can be seen as part of this normalisation of ‘*market-oriented and pro-growth development*’ (p. 34). The authors frame this analysis on the type of works published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which they see as a “soft power” institution that does not impose policies but rather mediates and negotiates with the member states, which makes neoliberalism a flexible and adaptable system. Middle class GCs are not the result of a rigid neoliberal policy that directly states this is the best housing choice; instead, they are the product of implicit policies, which make these enclaves desirable, both from an individual and a state perspective.

1.4.1 Research Aim

The aim of this research is to use the concept of *gatedness* to better understand the **policies, practices, and meanings** behind the proliferation of **middle-class gated communities** in **Mexico**, a country with large socio-economic disparities and uncertainties. In particular, I am looking at how neoliberal transnational forces influence national policies and shape everyday lives.

In this research, gated communities are seen as a material expression of **neoliberal urbanism**, where these enclaves are part of a larger phenomenon that is not limited to the physicality of these fortified residential spaces. The research focuses on the middle classes because of these groups’ vulnerability in a context of **economic, social, and political uncertainty**. A better understanding of the practices behind the process of **gating up** the middle class in Mexico might provide a broader insight into neoliberal urbanism’s challenges, losses, and constraints.

1.4.2 Research Questions

The research questions derive from the underlying research question of “why” middle class gated communities have proliferated in Mexico in recent decades. However, in order to understand why these fortified spaces came into being, it is necessary to identify “how” this happened. Based on this premise and the research aim, I established three research questions:

- a) How have **neoliberal transnational forces** transformed **national housing and planning policies** in **Mexico** since the 1990s? How have these changes contributed to the proliferation of gated communities?
- b) How have global and national **economic, political, and social policies and practices**, moulded the **aspirations and anxieties** of the **middle classes in Mexico**? How have these aspirations and anxieties contributed to the proliferation and normalisation of gated communities for this particular group?
- c) How does **gating up** in a context of economic, political, and social uncertainty like Mexico shape middle classes' **everyday practices and meanings**? How does that connect back to policy?

1.4.3 Implications and Contributions from Research

When I started fieldwork in late 2013, I identified contrasting reactions when I talked about the nature of my research with friends, colleagues, and family. On one side, people who were involved in academic or social sectors immediately supposed I would write a highly critical thesis against these places with **strict suggestions for planning regulation** to stop their proliferation. Conversely, those living in this type of enclaves asked **not to be judged**, and invited me to try to understand the reasons behind this important life decision. During fieldwork, it was common to see finger pointing from different positions. Academics blamed developers profiting from fear and aspirations. Developers blamed government officials for their hypocritical discourse against the private sector while providing the policies, financial incentives, and tools to enable their projects. Residents and potential residents blamed the state for not providing the basic conditions for a safe and comfortable life in the city. Interviews conducted in *Lomas de Angelópolis* offered a wide range of attitudes towards GCs. Initial findings confirmed claims from previous literature about the search for security, status, prestige, etc. Nevertheless, in-depth interviews showed that the process of gating up was more complex, and combined policies, negative external conditions, aspirations and anxieties, where physical barriers meant dealing with social, political, and economic uncertainties, not just isolating residents.

I found the experience very thought provoking due to the immediate defensive attitudes people took as the topic came out. During observation exercises, I detected that people adopted a critical attitude towards these enclaves if viewing them from a purely rational perspective. However, the moment they turned to personal experiences, the assessment became more emotional, and ended up justifying the need for gated communities. These responses made me realise two things:

- a. The generalised predisposition from academics against these fortified residential developments might be affecting the possibilities for researchers to understand these places better; and
- b. The discussion about gated communities offered a rational examination of what should be, but has neglected the emotional reasons behind their emergence and proliferation.

These two reflections helped me identify that this research was aimed at not only those who are interested in knowing more about GCs, but the policymakers and planners that are constantly blamed for their existence and the problems these spaces provoke. Perhaps if policymakers, decision-makers, and public officials understand the larger supranational forces that shape their policies, along with the aspirations and anxieties that are driving middle-income groups to GCs, they might find alternatives to create more just, equitable, sustainable cities. With that in mind, the contributions of this research to the policy, practice, and gated communities' literature are:

- (1) Focusing on **gatedness** rather than gated communities, taking the discussion beyond the physical boundaries.
- (2) Focusing on **policies, practices, and meanings** connected to the process of **gating up**, rather than drivers, typologies, or negative effects.
- (3) Formulating the analysis from a **macro-level perspective** down to **micro-level behaviours**, identifying the interconnection between **materials, competences, and meanings**.
- (4) Focusing on the **middle classes**, considering their **aspirations and anxieties** in an uncertain social, political, and economic context like Mexico.

- (5) Addressing the **structural limitations and constraints of local governments** in contexts of aggressive national and international neoliberal policies.
- (6) Addressing the role of **transnational economic interests** in the shaping of everyday lives.

These six notions will contribute to the global discussion about gated communities, in a way that we can learn back from them, not considering the physical features, but rather the human condition of their presence. This way of reading gated communities can also allow better understanding of wider issues such as the privatisation of public space, urban fragmentation, and income spatial segregation.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis has been organised in **two parts**: the first half of the thesis (from Chapter 1 to Chapter 5), is based on **existing knowledge**, with the exception of a few quotes from high-level public officials obtained during fieldwork. The decision of using this data in the first section was due to the relevance and active role of these interviewees in the processes described. The first half of the thesis provides a preliminary discussion about gated communities as a global phenomenon, and the particular social, political, economic, and historic contexts where this research project takes place and the methodology used (Chapter 5). The second half of the thesis (from Chapter 6 to Chapter 11) is based on **empirical work and analysis** using the findings obtained through the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*. The analysis considers the particular conditions of this large-scale suburban gated community, but the discussion focuses on the interconnection between policies, practices, and meanings; and how this understanding can contribute to urban policymaking.

The thesis is organised the following way:

The **first chapter** is an introduction to the thesis. In this chapter, I talk about the origins and motivations that drove me to study middle-class gatedness in Mexico. The chapter is organised in four sections, which include some background information on why study *gatedness* instead of gated communities and why focus on the middle classes; I also talk about the personal motivations and the research rationale including the research aim, research questions, and the implications and contributions from research to literature about policy, practice, and gated communities.

The *second chapter* contains a general view on the state of the discussion about gated communities and propose a different approach of analysis. This chapter is organised in four sections. In the first section, I talk about the existing scholarly work about GCs. In the second section, I focus on the main issues addressed by different authors in relation to GCs, which provided the ideas to address differently the analysis of the proliferation of middle-class gated communities in Mexico. The third section is about the gaps I found in literature which helped define the fourth and final section, where I propose a conceptualisation of *gatedness* from a practice perspective and suggest the use of *spheres of gatedness* using Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice (materials, competences, and meanings) as a tool for identifying interconnections from macro-level events to micro-level practices and vice versa.

The *third chapter* is about the Mexican middle classes in a global economy, with a particular emphasis on middle class indebtedness. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is about the Mexican debt economy and the changes in policies after the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. The second section is about the Mexican neoliberal trance and the expectations of economic growth after the 1990s. It includes an analysis of international policy strategies such as the Washington Consensus and the World Bank housing policy recommendations. The third section is about the indebted Mexican middle class and their vulnerability in a context of social, economic, and political uncertainty.

The *fourth chapter* is about the interrelationship between housing and spatial planning systems in Mexico in connection with global economic forces and national economic policies. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is about land conflicts as the centre of urban development. The second section is about the interrelationship between housing policies and urban planning; and how the planning system is highly reliant on housing production. This section is also about the housing financial system, which has defined the physicality of modern cities and social interactions over the last three decades.

The *fifth chapter* is about methods. The chapter is organised in three sections: the first section is the research aim and questions. In the second section, I talk about grounded theory and methods chosen for data collection, the process of data analysis, and explain the rationale behind the use of a single in-depth case study. The third and final section is about ethical considerations, challenges, and limitations presented during this research.

The *sixth chapter* is about Mexican gated communities. The chapter shows the evolution of GCs in Mexico and introduce the case study used in this research. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is a brief description of the evolution from planned neighbourhoods to

gated communities. I also talk about the main typologies of Mexican GCs. In the second section, I introduce the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*, a suburban large-scale gated community located in the metropolitan area of Puebla.

The *seventh chapter* is the analysis from a practice perspective of the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* in Puebla, Mexico, using the concept gatedness. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is a discussion about middle-class gatedness, connecting the policies, practices, and meanings mentioned in previous chapters. The second section is about the stories behind voluntary displacement in Puebla, to explain the conditions that contributed to the proliferation of gated communities in this particular setting. The third and final section is a presentation of the **spheres of middle-class gatedness** inspired by Shove's (2012) elements of practice.

The *eighth chapter* is the analysis of the case study through the *sphere of structural and administrative incentives and constraints*. The chapter is organised in one main section divided in four subsections. The main section is about the competences involved in the process of gating up. The first subsection is about the interrelation between global policies and local actions. The second subsection is about municipalities and the rise of privatised governments. The third subsection is about the financialisation of the housing sector and the fourth and final subsection is about the presence of dirty money and money laundering in gated communities.

The *ninth chapter* is the analysis of the case study through the *sphere of gatedness cognitive affective dispositions*. The chapter is organised in one section divided in two subsections. The main section is about the role of meanings in the practice-based analysis of middle class GCs. The first subsection is about the aspirations and expectations that are driving residents inside gated communities. The second subsection is about the anxieties and fears that are contributing to people's need for isolation and search for protection.

The *tenth chapter* is the analysis of the case study through the *sphere of physical boundaries and control measures*. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is about the material elements in the practice-based analysis of middle-class GCs. In this section I talk about the physical borders and the contrasting conditions between neighbours. I also talk about security, control, and surveillance features. The second section is about the **traps of middle class gatedness**. These traps are the main issues that I consider make middle-class gated communities vulnerable places. The section includes: the credit and debt trap; the private government trap; and the security and control trap.

The *eleventh and final chapter* is a summary of the most important issues identified throughout this research on how policies, practices, and meanings intertwine in the process of gating up the middle classes in Mexico, and how understanding this process can bring valuable inputs to policymaking. This chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is a brief summary of the thesis. The second section is a reflection on how understanding gatedness from a practice perspective, particularly from the meanings attached to gated communities can be used to rethink urban planning and housing policymaking. The third section is a reflection of the issues that were not fully addressed in this thesis but could be developed in the future.

1.6 Conclusions

Gated communities are a global phenomenon with extensive literature developed in the past thirty years. The proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico shows that the complexity of these enclaves goes far beyond the gates. The research rationale of the thesis is based in the need to understand these fortified residential developments beyond their physicality and pay more attention to policies, practices, and meanings. Therefore, I propose the study of *gatedness*, rather than gated communities to move beyond the material artefact. I also propose to focus on the middle classes because of their vulnerability in social, economic, and political uncertainty. In the following chapter, I will present a critical literature review on GCs and conceptualise the concept of *gatedness* from a practice perspective to better understand this social phenomenon.

2 GATEDNESS, A PRACTICE-BASED ANALYSIS OF GATED COMMUNITIES

2.1 Introduction

Gated communities have become a popular subject for research since the 1990s. There is empirical work about these fortified residential developments from all continents, showing this is a global phenomenon with particular local implications and characteristics. In this chapter, I will talk about the state of discussions about gated communities, and propose a different way to analyse them through the concept of *gatedness*. This chapter is organised in four sections. The first and second sections are a **literature review about gated communities**, which includes the most common discussions about the subject. The third section is about the gaps found in literature. The fourth and final section is dedicated to the **conceptualisation of gatedness** using a practice theory approach combined with a proposal for analysis using **spheres of gatedness**, which I defined using Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice (materials, competences, and meanings) that enable the linkage between micro-practices to macro-events and vice versa.

2.2 Gated Communities... A Global Phenomenon

Gated communities (GCs) have received scholarly and public attention since the 1990s within the discussion of globalisation and neoliberal urbanism. Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000), when talking about global cities, suggest that '*boundaries between divisions, reflected in social and physical walls among them, are increasing and the result is a pattern of separate clusters of residential space, creating protective citadels and enclaves on the one side and constraining ghettos on the other, in hierarchical relation to each other*' (2000, p. 3). Socio-spatial fragmentation and the existence of physical barriers is not exclusive to modern times but the proliferation of exclusionary places like gated communities takes more relevance in the transition to a predominantly urban world where 6 out of 10 people will live in cities by 2030. The way we manage our territory and urbanisation can bring irreversible effects on population and natural resources (UN - Habitat, 2013).

From the different types of socio-spatially segregated spaces, GCs have a particular characteristic, which is the presence of material elements such as walls, gates, and fences that create a tangible border between the inside and outside world. One of the reasons why this topic has become so popular is because some authors consider GCs the exemplification of the privatisation of urban development (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 33), and because these places are a tangible expression of the withdrawal of the state in the provision of public services (Coy, 2006; Roitman, 2010). The academic discussion has evolved importantly since the 1990s. Some of the first analyses focused on the description of the gated phenomenon and the definition of typologies and main drivers (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; McKenzie, 1994; Low, 2003); within a decade studies became more comprehensive and included multidisciplinary viewpoints (Glasze, Webster, & Frantz, 2006; Bagaeeen & Uduku, 2010) challenging, comparing, or validating early assumptions in different contexts.

Scholars worldwide, in English-written literature, refer to private fortified housing developments as “gated communities”, which have structural similarities but particular physical differences depending on the setting where these enclaves are located. There is no universal definition of what a gated community is, but authors have provided a series of operational definitions that suggest that regardless of scale, context, housing typology or tenure, there are common elements: controlled access, social homogeneity, quality residential spaces, and physical barriers (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2003). Even though there is no unique definition, these enclaves can be easily identified. Perhaps, in order to understand GCs, instead of elaborating on the differences and categories it might be better to identify the *‘basic principles underlying in the category construction’* using the family resemblance idea where *‘members of a family resemblance categories tend to share properties with each other but have no properties that are singly necessary or jointly sufficient (defining) for category membership’* (Medin, Wattenmaker, & Hampson, 1987, p. 242). It could be said that the category “**gated community**” gathers different types of **enclosed and controlled-access residential developments**, and each of them will have different properties regarding amenities and facilities, administration system, size, tenure, etc.

Caution should be taken when talking about gated communities in a generic way, because a single definition does not represent all the different operational, physical, or practical elements. That is why the use of case studies is so useful; they provide real scale, social configurations, political contexts, architecture features, administrative regulations, financial conditions, etc. The richness of the academic discussion lies on the points of encounter and of contention. Some authors have proposed typologies and categories (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Blakely & Snyder, 1997) that represent a solid starting point of analysis. For

instance, Blakely and Snyder (1997) proposed a classification that represent ‘*differing physical characteristics and motivations of their residents, both of which are closely related to market segments*’ (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, pp. 39-44): **(a) Lifestyle communities; (b) Prestige Communities; and (c) Security-zone communities.** However, these typologies do not apply to every case. For instance, in the case of England, Blandy (2006) states that ‘*there are currently three main types of English gated communities: infill development, heritage conversion, and village. There appear to be few equivalents of the American “security zone” development described by Blakely and Snyder*’ (Blandy, 2006, p. 24).

One of the advantages of the existence of gated communities’ literature in all continents is that it provides regional perspectives with global implications. For example, Borsdorf and Hidalgo (2010) proposed a sort of ‘*mind map to provide orientation in the complex world of gated communities in Latin America*’ (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 28). Their typology characterisation is based on ‘*structure, location, and size*’ and probably the most important contributions in their work is the introduction of *Megaprojects*, seen as a rapidly growing segment ‘*due to the dynamics and internationalisation of the real estate market*’ (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 28).

Regional understandings of GCs can be identified through the names they receive, and sometimes these names come with attached meanings and implications. For instance, Glasze, Webster & Frantz (2006) talk about “*gated residential developments*” and “*secured neighbourhoods*”; Marcuse (1997) considers these places as “*fortified enclaves or citadels*”; Atkinson & Flint (2004) and Méndez-Sáinz (2004) talk about “*defended territories*” or “*fortress neighbourhoods*”. The choice of words is crucial because it provides a sense of the researcher’s own position towards the phenomenon and the sort of problem analysed. Talking about secured neighbourhoods does not sound as harsh as fortress or citadels, which suggest a wider conflict with the outside.

Names given to GCs can also have cultural and social connotations; some of them which are “lost in translation” because these can only be understood within the local context and language. Caldeira (2000) points out in *City of Walls* that there is a ‘*struggle over language*’ when talking about a process or concept because words and thinking are shaped in a certain way depending on the author’s native language. In Latin America, names given to GCs even suggest differences in debt, aspirations, or features. For example, the English word “*countries*” (short for “country club”) is used in Argentina; the name implies exclusivity and luxury usually linked to high-income groups (Svampa, 2001; Roitman, 2010). In Brazil, these places commonly known as “*condominios fechados*” or enclosed condominiums, which give higher emphasis on the

enclosed condition of the enclave. Other Latin American countries use “*urbanizaciones cerradas*” (enclosed urbanisations), “*conjuntos residenciales privados*” (residential private complexes), and “*fraccionamientos cerrados*” (enclosed fractions [of land]), which indicate a more spatial approach (Cabrales-Barajas & Canosa-Zamora, 2001; Giglia, 2008).

2.3 The Discussion about Gated Communities

Most of the discussion about these private residential areas has concentrated on the **main drivers**, which can be seen as a supply and demand process. On one side, there are political and economic interests that contribute to supply the means and the policies that enable these places to exist. On the other side, there are social, cultural, political, and economic processes that make these places desirable or even “necessary” for certain social groups, not just because of the lifestyle aspirations but the violence and crime present in a particular context. The discussion about GCs is also part of a wider debate about the privatisation of public space and the right to the city. I organised this section around five topics. The first three are inspired in Blakely and Snyder’s (1997) classification of GCs that focuses on drivers. The fourth topic addresses two interconnected issues, the increase in privatised governments and the decrease of presence of the state in the provision of basic goods and services. The fifth topic addresses the wider discussion of privatisation of public space which is constantly present in Latin American literature. These are the five topics:

- A. Peace of Mind and Security**
- B. Status and Prestige**
- C. Lifestyle and Quality of Life**
- D. Withdrawal from the State**
- E. Privatisation of Public Space**

2.3.1 *Peace of Mind and Security*

Search for **security** is often mentioned as the main driver for people moving into a gated community (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 2000; Low, 2001). However, the perception of security in these enclaves does not necessarily mean that they are safer than their open street counterparts. Recent research has defied the common assumption that GCs are secure residential areas (Cséfalvay & Webster, 2012; Atkinson & Smith, 2012; Addington & Renisson, 2013). Despite these findings, people’s perception of GCs as safe places has not changed. Fear of crime (Caldeira, 2000; Coy & Pöhler, 2002; Low, 2003) is a universal feeling that might be triggered by real or induced perception of insecurity linked to media portrayal or marketing strategies.

“Talk of crime”, as Caldeira (2000) discusses, promotes purchase of security (Addington & Renisson, 2013) which is not just about actually being in safe environments but rather the impression of feeling safer. A significant number of people, mostly in the middle- and upper-income groups are willing to invest an important part of their disposable income to obtain “peace of mind” which is not only linked to crime, but also protecting their privacy, and avoiding the nuisances of the outside world. The *peace of mind* approach can be applied for instance when people wish to sleep at night not worrying about a second home property (Blandy, 2006) or their vehicles being subject to vandalism or theft. Peace of Mind also represents a search for personal safety protecting residents from the dangers of the outside:

‘Residents associate living in a gated community with more freedom in opposition to what they perceive as the real jail: The City. [...] The City is unpredictable, insecure, asphyxiating, dirty, polluted, unhealthy, artificial, and ugly. [...] The new neighbourhood is more predictable, safe, clean, healthy, natural, and beautiful, and traffic is not a problem’ (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007, p. 56)

The need to avoid the outside seems to be in relation to not only insecurity or crime, but also the *‘apparent desire to avoid day-to-day incivilities and random social contact’* (Atkinson & Flint, 2004, p. 880). Therefore, peace of mind as a driver to move into a gated community, does not respond directly to burglary rates or crime data, but rather the interaction between a particular social group and the other members of society seen as dangerous or unpleasant, living in the outside. Empirical work in the last couple of decades suggests, from different disciplines, that GCs are not immune or exempt from crime (Vilalta, 2011; Atkinson & Smith, 2012; Addington & Renisson, 2013). Some authors even argue that the *‘enemy could be within the gates’* (Atkinson & Smith, 2012); or that there is no conclusive evidence that burglary is generated or hindered by the gates but rather associated with specific types of crime and violence in a particular local context. In that sense, Addington & Renisson (2013) conclude that their work *‘cannot speak to whether the savings in burglary risk is worth the cost of gated communities’* (p. 21). This suggests that there is no real cost-benefit evaluation of gated communities from a security perspective. However, the peace of mind might be obtained through privacy, which seems to be as valuable to residents as security.

The debate about security in GCs is part of a wider discussion about the *‘discourse of urban fear’* (Low, 2001) and the influence *‘talk of crime’* (Caldeira, 2000) has on everyday lives. Real estate developers have used fear of crime as a marketing strategy. However, one should not minimise the fact that in some countries GCs are located in places with real security threats because of wealth inequality, political unrest, presence of organised crime, or on-going violence. Another relevant issue is that whatever the actual security conditions, the search for security is mostly an emotional subjective feeling. Fear and search of security are immeasurable. Therefore,

there is a possibility that the success of gated communities is linked to the feeling of security rather than the real effectiveness of the security systems.

2.3.2 *Status and Prestige*

A vast part of the literature about GCs, particularly by those authors that argue that these enclaves increase social segregation, consider that people moving into these fortified residential areas are searching for distinction, recognition, and exclusivity (Giglia, 2008; Roitman, 2010; Blakely & Snyder, 1997). These exclusionary values are usually linked to status or prestige. Cséfalvay (2011a) reflects that *'security considerations, although important, are not the most decisive motivation for people moving to gated communities; the argument here is that security measures are often implemented to express prestige rather than to prevent crime'* (Cséfalvay, 2011a, p. 751). Therefore, the rationales of security on one side and status and prestige on the other can be pulled apart, for the purpose of analysis, but in fact, conceptually and in practice, they are not completely separable. In addition, one of the main reasons is that people find those who are not similar to themselves threatening. In Cséfalvay's work, aiming to understand the economic rationale of GCs and the role of the market in their proliferation, he identified that: *'people with similar status and interests are more willing to pay for goods and services for use in common than are the members of a community with a heterogeneous social structure, and this straightforwardly fosters segregation'* (Cséfalvay, 2011b, p. 736). This adds to the discussion regarding socially homogeneous exclusionary environments and the need for peers with similar socio-economic tastes, activities, and lifestyles.

The status and prestige condition of GCs is mostly linked to the upper-middle and high-income enclaves, in developments with sports amenities and private clubs. Some of the earliest examples of GCs in the US were *'country clubs, organised around sports, especially golf'* (Horta-Duarte, 2012, p. 440). This type of fortified enclave has become the symbol of exclusivity, luxury, distinction and prestige, linked to the accomplishment of becoming a member of a unique "club". The symbol has become so powerful, that even within the lower income groups there is an element of distinction for those who live in affordable gated communities, even if there are no amenities or country club. Status, in that sense could be seen as reaching a "better" or "higher" position within the socio-economic ladder, while prestige could be seen as a matter of achievement, either because of reputation, success, or access to high-quality exclusive possessions.

The discussion in literature about status or prestige focuses mainly in socio-economic disparities, segregation, and exclusion. However, a few authors address the possibility that GCs

foster social cohesion within these exclusive clubs (Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005). According to some authors, the exclusion factor is not denied considering the outsiders, but within the enclave, there are possibilities of increased community life. The large number of case studies of GCs worldwide suggests that the pursuit of status and prestige is present in places with large income inequality because GCs are tangible artefacts that differentiate socio-economic groups. The segregation can be linked to race, ethnicity, and even religion (Low, 2001; 2003) like the US case, or linked to socio-economic stratification (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Caldeira, 2000) like in Latin America. In both cases, there is a sense of accomplishment, materialised in a GC but built on aspirations and expectations.

This segregation, seen as a negative issue, has a slightly noble approach, which is people searching for a **community** (Blakely & Snyder, 1997) and to live with people like themselves (Schteingart, 2001; Giglia, 2008; Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005). Some authors argue that these places could even contribute to build social capital by having a group with similar lifestyles and interests (Salcedo & Torres, 2004). Others argue that gates are only a tangible expression of a social segregation that already exists and is present in society regardless of the presence of gates (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Scheinbaum, 2010; Ward, 2009). According to Salcedo & Torres (2004), citing Sabatini *et al.*, these enclaves even ‘*reduce the scale of segregation in the city, acting as a semi-open border between different social groups*’ (p. 28). The argument is based on empirical data in Santiago, Chile, ‘*a relatively safe and racially homogeneous city*’ (Salcedo & Torres, 2004, p. 41). Empirical evidence in some countries suggests that GCs ‘*may even foster integration*’ (Sabatini, Cáceres, & Cerdá, 2001; Smith-Bowers & Manzi, 2006), but most authors do not agree with this positive view (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Grant & Mittelsteadt, 2004; Janoshka, 2002; Le Goix & Webster, 2006).

2.3.3 *Lifestyles and Quality of Life*

As in the previous case, status and prestige, the lifestyle driver is the result of a search for homogeneity or common interest groups; that is why GCs are commonly referred as CIDs or Common Interest Developments in the US (McKenzie, 2011). The reference to lifestyle in GCs literature is mostly linked to leisure, sports, and social activities that require special facilities, such as country clubs, golf courses, and other distinctive amenities (Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005; Horta-Duarte, 2012). The considerations about lifestyle in these cases are irrevocably linked to status and prestige connected to facilities. Real estate developers use “quality of life” as often as the security and status marketing card to promote GCs. The combination of security, status, and access to a series of spaces that allow residents to peacefully enjoy open areas, exercise, meet friends and family, and distance themselves from the outside chaos has a strong market value.

The search to improve the quality of personal and family life can be exemplified in Álvarez-Rivadulla's findings (2007) where *'most respondents declared they were seduced by a greener and quieter life, far (but not too far) from the chaotic city and more suitable for raising children in freedom'* (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007, p. 56). The logic here is that people are willing to lose a certain amount of freedom inside the enclave accepting new rules by administrators and co-residents, in search of another type of freedom that would allow their children to grow up in a safe, clean, and quiet environment. This is a shift in balance between different sets of rules and freedoms. The search for maintaining or obtaining a particular lifestyle can be linked both to access to exclusive activities or places that will represent recognition, distinction, and prestige on the one hand, on the other, the opportunity to live inside a controlled environment that will, supposedly, improve the quality of life of a family.

2.3.4 *Withdrawal from the State*

In recent literature, some authors mention the state's incapacity to provide basic public services and adequate security as a contributing factor to the proliferation of gated communities everywhere. Others consider that gated communities have emerged because of real estate strategies. For instance, Cséfalvay (2011a) and Arceo (2012) have analysed the economic rationale of GCs and the role of real estate agents; their findings suggest that the logic of property value cannot be separated from external issues such as political unrest, environmental risks, economic meltdowns, or other situations that would affect the value of the property regardless of the presence of gates. A large portion of the literature regard **property value** is an important element in the decision-making process for those thinking about acquiring real estate inside a gated community (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007; Ward, 2009; Addington & Renisson, 2013), which indirectly implies that the outside city and the lack of rules and adequate services cannot protect the value of the property the same way.

Neoliberalism's withdrawal from the state has been linked to the proliferation of GCs because of the presence of **private inner governments** and the **privatisation of urban development**. The increase of urban population has local governments all over the world struggling to provide adequate public services and infrastructure. The changes to neoliberal economies and austerity policies have opened a possibility to the state to let go of certain responsibilities (Roitman, 2010; Cséfalvay, 2011a). Withdrawal from the state can be seen in two different ways in relation to GCs:

- A. As an opportunity to share responsibilities, some authors such as Foldvary see the '*growth of private neighbourhoods as an empirical proof of the economic feasibility of private residential governance – the economic basis of private neighbourhoods is the financing of the territorial civic goods (green spaces, security, parking lots, etc....) from the rentals generated by these goods*' (Glasze, Webster, & Frantz, 2006, p. 4)

- B. As a reaction from the private sector to provide, what the public sector is not able to do anymore (Libertun de Duren, 2006; Salcedo & Torres, 2004). In nations with extreme wealth inequality, this withdrawal can be more evident, creating conflict because of the large differences between life conditions.

The implications of withdrawal from the state have been identified, amongst other things, to the creation of private inner governments inside GCs. In Glasze, Weber & Frantz's (2006) book, there is a comment on the relevance of McKenzie's work *Privatopia* (1994) because it opened a line of discussion about urban governance in gated communities. According to the authors:

'The rise of common-interest housing can be seen as an important part of a larger institutional transformation of urban governance driven by the ideology of Privatism – the belief that corporate management is superior to liberal democratic governance. In his view [McKenzie], the gains in terms of economic efficiency that may result from this form of social and governmental organisation must be considered in the light of the apparent costs in the form of increased social, spatial and institutional separation and segregation, and diminished protection for liberal democratic norms of governance' (Glasze, Webster, & Frantz, 2006, p. 4)

On the same subject, Roitman, Webster and Landman (2010), suggest that there are two opposite positions regarding urban governance in GCs. The antagonists propose that '*the governance of shared space and facilities in cities be organised by public government*', while '*the extreme protagonists [...] argue that gated communities do not go far enough in privatising territorial governance*' (2010, p. 13). There are different views in this matter, particularly in relation to the rights and responsibilities of residents, not only within the enclave but also as citizens in the locality. Shared responsibilities inside sometimes can be seen as an act of democracy and social cohesion because collective ownership in gated communities requires cooperation and consensus. Self-governance raises questions about social contracts, codes of conduct, and the validity of '*self-regulation and secession from formal policing*' (Atkinson & Smith, 2012, p. 162). However, it is unclear if these social contracts pose a threat to overall governance in the city, or if this collective organisation could actually be an opportunity to create new ways to live together.

Withdrawal from the state is also visible when there is disinvestment in things like public services, infrastructure, or social housing provision; it does not mean that the state is not involved in urban development. According to Marcuse, *'the market produces and reproduces the divisions [gated communities, suburbs, gentrified areas, etc.] but the state is deeply involved in their creation and perpetuation'* (Marcuse & Van Kempen, 2000, p. 3). The actions of the state or the absence of the state has deep effects in the urban realm. Roitman (2010) suggests that:

'Structural causes influencing the development of gated communities can be organised into two themes. The first relates to globalisation of the economy, which leads to growing urban social inequalities, the processes of advancing social polarisation and an increase in foreign investment. The second theme is more specific and concerns the withdrawal of the state in the provision of basic services, which results in (among other effects) a rise in urban violence and the privatisation of security' (Roitman, 2010, p. 33)

Withdrawal of the state and the globalisation of the economy can also be responsible for other unintended consequences, such as money laundering or the purchase of housing only for investment purposes, affecting the possibility for low and middle-income groups to become homeowners in an overvalued land and housing market.

The four categories used above to describe the state of the discussion, address the *why* questions answering the motivations behind the decisions to move into gated communities. The answers provided by literature are that people are looking for safer and quieter lives; they like to feel special and experience exclusivity; they want to have a different lifestyle in good quality environments; the state is not satisfying the needs of the population. Nevertheless, literature provides less information about *how* this is done. In the following section, I will address the issues that I think are lacking in the literature about gated communities.

2.3.5 Privatisation of Public Space

Latin American authors have focused on a line of discussion about public space that does not only apply to gated communities, but all urban policies and practices that contribute to fracture urban structures, and segregate or exclude the most vulnerable. GCs are often seen as examples of privatisation of public space (Giglia, 2008). The discussion about public space is a contested issue because it considers spatial, symbolic, political, economic, and social elements that can be analysed from different perspectives. Segovia (2007) has examined the correspondence between urban public spaces and social construction processes, considering economic, social and cultural elements present in our "urban imaginary" and everyday lives.

Segovia argues that “social space” has been substantially transformed as a result of globalisation, and that *‘these changes and the spatial organisation of inequality, has produced fractured cities in diverse areas where different social classes and cultures have raised impenetrable walls (real or mental) that impede not only social encounters, but even the option to see each other, to imagine or think about each other as peers, neighbours or fellow citizens’* (Segovia, 2007, p. 15) (Translated by author). Many cities in Latin America are characterised by tensions between “tradition and global modernisation” and the increase in inequality is creating more polarisation in society. Segovia also raises the issue of “disguised modernisation” with the presence of “pseudo-public spaces” such as shopping malls, supermarkets, specialised areas for residence, production, consumption and recreation (2007, p. 16). This “modernisation”, in the Latin American context, is not only increasing the distance between socio-economic groups but also redefining their relation with public space, which depending on the type of neighbourhood, it can be perceived as a space of relaxation and recreation, or a space for violence and insecurity.

There is a growing tendency in Latin America, to prefer private options of “public space”: shopping malls are seen as “modern, secure, clean and tranquil”, in contrast public space is seen as “old, dirty, ugly, polluted and dangerous” (Segovia, 2007, p. 17). Borja & Muxi (2003) consider that “the history of a city is that of its public space”: *‘the relations between inhabitants, and between power and citizenship are materialised and expressed in the shaping of streets, squares, parks, and places for citizen encounters’* (Borja & Muxi, p. 8). The discussion of public space then recognises the “physical, symbolic and political space” which is constantly used as an element of valuation of “urban quality” (p. 9). The dynamics of privatisation of public space can be seen with the marketing of “urban products” such as theme-parks, gated communities and financial districts.

Privatisation of public space, according to Borja & Muxi (2003), is linked to the “crisis of public space” which is the result of the *‘incapacity to solve socioeconomic problems and the bombardment from the media of the dangers of public space [...] the quick solution is deciding if it is necessary to practice a certain “social hygiene” to sanitize the city’* (Borja & Muxi, 2003, p. 55) (translated by author). Gated Communities are one of the many options for “sanitizing” the city by isolating these residential areas from the dirt and chaos, creating a sort of “domesticated” space. The problem with this, according to Borja & Muxi (2003), is that cities lose their diversity and the risks are the potential “loss of citizen rights”.

Carrión (2007) points out that the importance of public space lies in the sense that it *'produces citizenship, generates social integration and builds respect for the other'* (2007, p. 79). Privatisation of public space is a sign of the weight of the market in public policies. The author recognises that the concept of public space is "diffuse, undefined and unclear" and that is why he suggests that it is *'an area containing social conflict, which also contains different meanings depending on the situation or the city in question'* (Carrión, 2007, p. 80). The author stresses how public space is seen with a different light under a "context of internationalisation" because globalisation is not seen as an external phenomenon but as a constitutive element of the local (Sassen, 2001).

According to Carrión (2007), in connection with gated communities, Latin American cities are struggling with "fragmentation", "segmentation" and "diffusion" amongst other problems. In relation to fragmentation, the city has become a *'mosaic of disconnected spaces that tend to dilute the sense of unity from a perspective of identities, the functionality of its components, and its government'* (Carrión, 2007, p. 89) (translated by author). The problem with segmentation is that the rich and the poor almost never encounter each other because they move in different time-space frames. The peripheral urbanisation model of many Latin American cities makes it hard to have a sense of belonging. Latin America has become fertile ground for the "Right to the City" discussion because of this growing interest in the privatisation of public space. Scholars and social fighters have found in Lefebvre's vision an opportunity to defend "the commons", the principles of the *Buen Vivir* (well-being) development approach, and the concept of "cities for all" which has become the keystone of the New Urban Agenda.

According to Harvey, *the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city'* (Harvey, 2008, p. 23). Perhaps, this is why it has resonated so much in Latin America, because it is not just a philosophical or theoretical discussion, but it can be easily understood by everyone aiming to have better living conditions. The concept, based on the "ideals of human rights" has permeated in discourse, policy and practice in many Latin American countries. Gated Communities are often mentioned as an example of urbanisation against these basic rights. The reason why literature does not solely focus on these residential fortified areas is because scholars in Latin America consider that these spaces are part of a much complex system, and that is why it has mostly focused on public space.

2.4 Gaps in Gated Communities' Literature

Since Blakely & Snyder's *Fortress America* (1997), literature about gated communities has flourished. Some of the assumptions provided in earliest literature have been either empirically proven or contradicted. The problem, in my opinion, is that current literature has become redundant providing newer case studies but presenting findings and conclusions that have been discussed before. In that sense, I have identified four gaps in GCs literature, which are mostly linked to how these enclaves come into being, and how policies and practices affect the physical space in connection with global economic forces and individual perspectives:

a) Global Policies Influence Local Urban Development

I found in the literature that globalisation and neoliberal ideas are often blamed for the emergence and proliferation of gated communities. However, in most cases, there is no elaboration on **how** this happens, of the mechanisms that link macro-trends with micro-developments. I suggest that there is a gap between the academic work done in housing and land policies and their connection with political economy, and the work on gated communities; a deeper understanding of these connections could give a clearer idea of the implications of this global phenomenon in local contexts. The works of Libertun de Duren's (2006) on neoliberal economics and land market in Latin America; Borsdorf & Hidalgo's (2010) on neoliberal practices, and housing production; and Zanetta's (2004) research on the World Bank influence in national urban policies are examples of how macro-level forces influence national policies. The challenge is to identify how these global forces and the influence on national policies translate into gated communities, and how they shape practices and meanings.

b) Financing Gated Communities

A crucial issue that only a few authors have analysed is the role of national and international financial institutions in the proliferation of this sort of private gated residential developments. Access to credit and debt has created new opportunities for thousands of families to acquire housing for the first time. This opportunity of mortgage-based housing development might be seen as a positive scheme, considering the increase in families able to acquire a house; however, it can also be seen as a threat, because of global or national economic uncertainties. In that sense, how do banks, financial global institutions, and market speculation contribute to the emergence and evolution of these enclaves? In Mexico, authors like Monkkonen (2012) have identified the importance of housing finance reform and its relation with increasing socioeconomic segregation. I suggest that literature about GCs addresses the role of real estate

developers and banks in a very superficial way, and there is a need to analyse examples of how these enclaves are financed. The challenge is, to identify the connections between global financial incentives, national housing financing policies, and private banking opportunities. Nevertheless, this is not the only issue, there is a gap on literature about other options to finance these enclaves like money laundering, housing bubbles and speculation, or other illegal activities.

c) **Practices of a Gated Life**

In most literature, residents in gated communities are portrayed as self-segregated individuals with particular lifestyles and exclusionary behaviours. There is plenty of empirical data on these attitudes. However, there is a lack of understanding of all the practices involved in the process of gating up. For instance, how do these places come into being? Who are the actors involved in their development? How do people make meaning? And how does this affect everyday practices? How do authorities implement policies or authorise the construction of these enclaves? The analysis in literature so far has focused on the practices, seen as actions and behaviours, of residents inside the gated community; the challenge is to identify the practices through all the process of gating up, including all the different actors, from developers, public officials, residents, and real estate agents. A practice-based analysis can give a wider understanding of GCs. For instance, if we analyse these enclaves according to competences, we might be able to learn how knowledge, skills, and policies shape the physical world. Also, if we analyse these spaces according to meanings, we could be able to identify the different values and understandings of material and immaterial elements.

d) **Gating up the Middle Classes**

One gap I found in gated communities' literature is that most authors focus on high-income gated communities. A few authors mention the existence of diverse gated options for different socio-economic groups, but the issue is addressed mostly in terms of typologies or features. I did not find discussions on how **middle-income groups** see these places, or the type of **aspirations and anxieties** this socio-economic group has. The challenge in this case is to analyse how these middle-class gated communities come into being, and how these aspirations and anxieties contribute to their emergence and proliferation.

This thesis incorporates these four issues in the *gatedness* discussion, a practice-based analysis described in detail in the following section.

2.5 Conceptualising Gatedness

In this section, I propose a conceptualisation of **gatedness** using a practice approach. After going through gated communities' literature, which is very rich and varied, I found that the study predominantly focuses on two areas: the physical features and the drivers or motivations of residents living in these enclaves. In order to contribute to the discussion about gated communities, I propose a practice-based analysis that considers the material and immaterial elements of this social phenomenon. If this thesis is aimed at planners and policymakers interested in making more just urban areas, then it is crucial to acknowledge that planning is a complex task. *'Planning work is both embedded in its context of social relations through its day to day practices, and has a capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practices; context and practice are not therefore separated but socially constituted together'* (Healey, 1997, p. 30). The study of gatedness then requires understanding different elements of practice and the particular global, national and local context, as explained further in the following subsections.

2.5.1 Framework of the Gatedness Analysis: A Practice Approach

The discussion about gated communities has evolved methodologically since the 1990s; nonetheless, there are many unanswered questions about these fascinating spaces. Some authors have proposed methodological frameworks to make the analysis more structured. For instance, Roitman *et al.* (2010) proposed a framework of analysis considering three specific themes: *'social fragmentation, spatial fragmentation, and institutional fragmentation'* (2010, p. 4). The advantages of this framework are that it provides a series of quantitative and qualitative elements to be measured and analysed. For instance, to evaluate social fragmentation, the authors propose considering *'income, race, religion, and degree of education'* as well as *'individual preferences, attitudes, and behaviour'* (2010, p. 5). Social practices are analysed in terms of how people consume, produce, work, and play, but also in their values, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, etc. (Roitman, Webster, & Landman, 2010, p. 4).

Roitman *et al.* (2010) also suggest that spatial fragmentation should be analysed considering tangible and intangible elements such as *'shape, texture, and size'*, but also how *'places are read or experienced'* (2010, p. 10). Perhaps one of the most important methodological contributions in their work is about institutional fragmentation, because this is an invitation to analyse *'the rules, the norms and customs that affect the allocation of shared civic goods and services'* (2010, p. 13). This innovative approach indicates an interest in urban governance within these residential spaces.

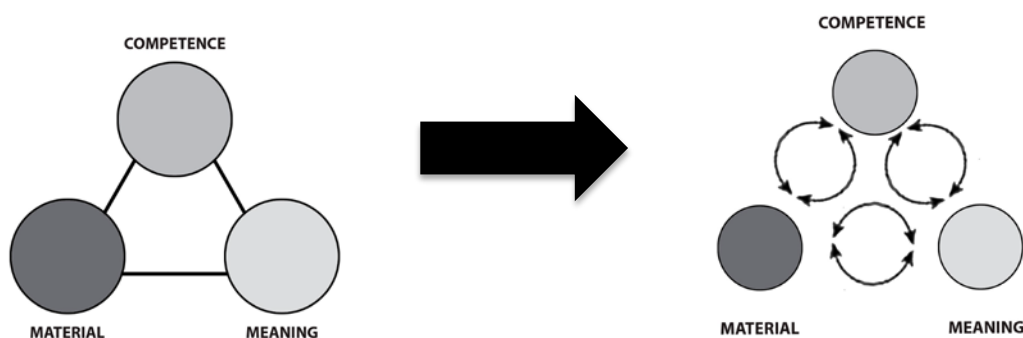
Although Roitman *et al.* (2010) do not present their methodological framework as a practice-based analysis, it is clear that they consider the importance of different elements such as the physical world, the attitudes, behaviours and understandings, as well as the technologies, infrastructure and legal and administrative constraints and limitations. However, my interest is in the interconnection between all these elements. Therefore, the definition of *gatedness* is built from an understanding of the policies, practices and meanings, using ideas from social sciences view of practices that will be developed in the next paragraphs.

Practice Theory is a useful tool to understand ways of operation or ways of doing things on an everyday basis (de Certeau, 1988). It has evolved significantly in the past years, going from individual ‘*devices, actions, and procedures people use every day on the micro-level*’ (de Certeau, 1988, p. 13) to deal with situations, limitations, challenges, etc., to more complex social phenomena analysis. In this thesis, I use a practice approach to analyse gated communities and define the concept of *gatedness*. For that purpose, I took direct inspiration from Shove *et al.*’s (2012) dynamics on social practice and Cook & Wagenaar’s (2012) epistemology of practice, because their approach is oriented towards the **relations and connections** between different elements. In Shove *et al.*’s (2012) case, the elements considered are ‘*competences, meanings and materials*’ whereas Cook & Wagenaar (2012) discuss the dynamic relation between ‘*context, knowledge and practice*’ (*Ibid.*).

Shove *et al.* (2012) suggest practice is defined by the active combination of three basic elements (p. 14):

- **Materials:** including things, technologies, tangible physical entities, and the stuff of which objects are made;
- **Competences:** which encompasses skill, know-how and technique; and
- **Meanings:** in which we include symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations.

Figure 2. Elements of Practice Shape Each Other



Source: author combining two diagrams by Shove *et al.* (2012)

Shove *et al.*' (2012) argue that '*practices are defined by interdependent relations between materials, competences and meanings*' and that '*practices emerge, persist, shift and disappear when connections between elements of these three types are made, sustained or broken*' (Shove, Patzar, & Watson, 2012, pp. 14-16). This statement indicates the need to analyse elements in relation to their connections and not only by themselves, which means that if we want to contribute to more equitable planning strategies, it is important to allow policymakers and planners to understand how these interconnections between elements work:

'Policymakers need to intervene in the dynamics of practice if they are to have any chance of promoting healthier, more sustainable ways of life. Patterns of stability and change are not controlled by any one actor alone, but policy makers often have a hand in influencing the range of elements in circulation, the ways in which practices relate to each other and the careers and trajectories of practices and those who carry them' (Shove, Patzar, & Watson, 2012, p. 19)

In the case of GCs, I suggest that the relation between elements of practice change from the process of gating up to the actual everyday practices of a gated life. Connections are not a linear causal relation; they change depending on how these links take place. Cook & Wagenaar (2012) propose a '*dynamic, relational understanding of practice*' (p. 3) which allows analysing practice from a **systemic perspective** that recognises that knowledge is not just a technical or specialised asset but it can also be obtained through **ordinary experience**. The authors consider knowledge in terms of what they call '*epistemic dimension of practice*' (2012, p. 9). Since the study of practice is seen as dynamic and relational, it is important to point out that '*context matters, in that it constrains and even shapes practice*' (2012, p. 10); therefore, context is not seen as something external but rather as a constituent of practice: '*Taken together, knowledge and context both impact on the way that practitioners (and ordinary people) go about addressing everyday situations*' (Cook & Wagenaar, 2012, p. 10).

Considering these views on practice, it is possible to say that practice is about relations or interconnections. Context and materials are not external factors or rigid containers; Knowledge or competences do not only come from professional training but also from everyday life; and finally, practices are built differently depending on the meanings attached to the actions, physical shapes, political, economic and cultural setting. It seems more adequate to use the term setting instead of context because '*if signifies both the active, on-going relationship that the actor maintains between herself and her environment, and the fact that this relationship is driven by the particular intentions and understandings of the individual as they emanate from the task that she engages in*' (Cook & Wagenaar, 2012, p. 15). Cook and Wagenaar (2012) consider that '*knowledge, context and practice as mutually constitutive*'. Context in that sense is not a 'fixed container' but a 'dynamically integrated system of relations':

'Context, used here as "setting" also has an inherently systematic character. The elements of a given kind of context (physical, social, cultural, policy, organizational, and so on) do not and cannot be simply thrown together randomly. Rather, a context's elements are related to one another systematically. Its systematic character is, in fact, how a context is constituted, how we identify it as distinct from other contexts or from an indistinct amorphous background' (Cook & Wagenaar, 2012, p. 15)

The authors (Cook & Wagenaar, 2012) add that a context is determined by our goals with the world. These purposes are themselves often the result of systematic elements, but are locked in by practices, configurations of materials, competences, and meanings. Context or the setting is largely influential, since behaviours and choices are determined by the incentives and constraints of the system. Shove, in a paper about climate change policy (2010) challenges the ABC framework commonly used as a tool to deal with climate change, in which A stands for attitude, B for behaviour, and C for choice (Shove, 2010 , p. 1274). Shove observes that this framework concludes that responsibilities *'lie with individuals whose behavioural choices will make the difference'* (Ibid.). The problem of considering that social change depends upon values and attitudes, which are believed to drive the behaviours adopted by individuals, is that policies are designed to privilege a psychological point of view and *'consumers often find themselves locked in'* (Shove, 2010 , p. 1274). Practices of a gated life are not only individual behaviours or actions; firstly, because they are a social phenomenon, and secondly, because this social phenomenon is deeply rooted in the conditions of the structure; therefore, the role of the state and the market are crucial to understand practices in relation to gated communities.

Bevir and Rhodes (2001), in relation to the concept of good governance, describe that with neoliberal reforms, there are *'new patterns of relations between the state and civil society'*. They suggest that a "decentred theory" is *'an alternative approach to political science; an interpretative approach based on a hermeneutic philosophy rather than a lingering positivism'* (2001, p. 20). The authors consider that *'we should begin to think of governance as the contingent product of political struggles that embody competing sets of beliefs'* (2001, p. 20). The advantage of a decentred analysis is that it does not privilege *'allegedly objective characteristics'* but rather the *'social construction of networks through the ability of individuals to create meanings'* (p. 23).

'A decentred approach would encourage us 'to examine the ways our social life, institutions, and policies are created, sustained, and modified by subjects acting upon beliefs that are not given by either an objective self-interest or by the institution itself but rather arise from a process within which these subjects modify traditions in response to dilemmas' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2001, p. 23)

With this in mind, the study of gated communities from a practice approach, and considering a decentred analysis, we can analyse *gatedness* through all the different connections, from global, national and local levels, to the different interpretations of policies, and the different meanings and actions of social groups and individuals: ‘*a decentred approach encourages us to learn by telling and listening to stories*’ (Bevir & Rhodes, 2001, p. 37). In the following section, I will propose a definition of *gatedness* using a practice approach and suggest a framework of analysis using Shove’s three elements of practice in the shape of what I call the *spheres of gatedness*.

2.5.2 Defining Gatedness

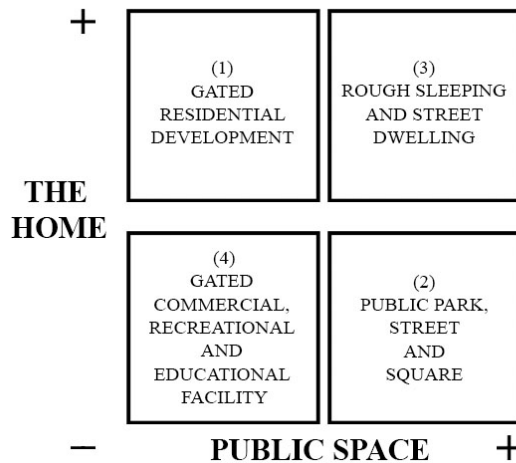
Within the gated communities’ literature, there have been suggestions on analysing the phenomenon from a different viewpoint. In that sense, I took Smith-Bowers and Manzi’s (2006) suggestion that the discussion should be about “gatedness not gates”. However, in their proposal, they suggest gatedness as a way to ‘*measure openness or gatedness of the facility in terms of its outer inner boundaries*’ (Smith-Bowers & Manzi, 2006, p. 9). I thought this was a bit narrow, so I decided to search for other authors using the same concept with a similar or a different perspective. I was not convinced that gatedness was limited to the physical spaces, since I was interested in looking at gated communities from different angles.

Most of the literature in the English language about gated communities or similar semantic constructions such as fortified enclaves or gated residential developments (GRDs) highlights the condition of enclosure of the **artefact**. I consider that, in order to analyse the **phenomenon** rather than the object, it is necessary to bring the discussion “outside the gates”. Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006), in their paper *Private Security and Public Space: New Approaches to the Theory and Practice of Gated Communities*, consider that our views on gated residential developments is too restrictive, and, in relation to gatedness, they suggest that ‘*one possible way to conceptualise gating is therefore not as a simple dichotomy between the public and private domains, but rather as a continuum of gating whereby a number of different categories of gating can be identified*’ (Smith-Bowers & Manzi, 2006, p. 8).

These authors provide a representation of Gated Residential Developments (GRDs) (see Figure 3) considering the relation of **home** with **public space**, which determines the levels of *openness or gatedness*. What I find interesting about this model is that the authors consider that ‘*gating is a physical manifestation of exclusionary practices, representing a direct challenge to public space and an institutional arrangement which undermines democratic control and*

communitarian obligations to the public realm' (Smith-Bowers & Manzi, 2006, p. 10). In their model, the level of gatedness can be applied not only in residential areas but also commercial, recreational, and educational facilities:

Figure 3. The Openness and Gatedness of the Home and Public Space



Source: Smith-Bowers & Manzi (2006, p. 10)

The limitations of this model are that the social, economic, or political implications are not analysed. Therefore, the conditions of gatedness seem disconnected from real circumstances such as extreme inequality, economic uncertainty, deficient housing and planning frameworks, corruption, or crime and violence.

Dixon and Dupuis (2010) use gatedness when talking about contemporary gated communities in New Zealand. The authors retake their own proposed typology (2003) and classify **gatedness** according to the following features (Dupuis & Dixon, 2010, p. 119):

- 1) Physical barriers
- 2) Technological barriers
- 3) 'Manned' surveillance
- 4) Signs
- 5) Design features
- 6) Natural surveillance
- 7) Implicit signals
- 8) Retro-gating (gates erected after the original construction)

In a very similar way, Li, Zhu & Li (2012) created a model to '*evaluate the degree of gatedness of a neighbourhood*' (p. 243) based on *physical boundaries, signs, manned surveillance, access control, and technological surveillance*; the proposal includes a score system. The problem with this scheme is that it does not address the *how* and *why* questions in relation to the emergence, proliferation, or consolidation of these fortified residential developments. More recently, Dupuis & Thorns (2008) suggest that gatedness goes beyond the physical expression and is '*a*

manifestation of a particular type of mentality' (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 149). These authors suggest 'moving from the specificity of gated communities to consider a broader concept of gatedness' (2008, p. 147). Their conceptualisation, situated within the risk society literature, introduces **behaviours** to the discussion:

*'We describe **gatedness** as a **psychological response** which results in and leads to a range of "forting up" **behaviours** that appear to share similar characteristics. To explain this transition, we draw on the risk society literature as the starting point for our argument. Within this literature, the problems cited as features of contemporary society are linked to an increased level of risk and flowing from this a **heightened sense of anxiety and a general decline of trust**. These features result in the weakening of the role and institutions of the state, with an attendant emphasis on the importance of markets and individual communities, not as gated communities per se, but rather as an empirical phenomenon which can be analysed through the risk literature. The connection is then made between risk consciousness, the development of widely held anxieties and the decline in trust evident in recent decades. Finally, the analysis explores the idea of the "**mentality of gatedness**" and the link between this condition and the growth in fortifying practices in everyday life which are responses to increased levels of anxiety and risk'* (Dupuis & Thorns, 2008, p. 147)

This view of gatedness is much closer to what I am looking at in this thesis. Their conceptualisation, unlike the first ideas shown, includes mentalities and practices of everyday life. However, it is limited to the risk society scope, which means there is more emphasis on anxieties than on aspirations. In addition, the discussion leaves policies, institutions, and other structural conditions out of vision.

Based on the views on *gatedness* mentioned earlier, and the elements of practice proposed by Shove *et al.* (2012) and Cook & Wagenaar's (2012) dynamic relational understanding of practice, **I define gatedness** as:

The complex, dispersed set of practise associated with gated communities, shaped by the interconnection of material and immaterial elements, such as policies that encourage exclusion, local and trans-national conditions that incentivise their development, physical features used for control and security strategies, and attitudes and actions moulded by the diverse meanings attached to these enclaves.

I suggest that gatedness is a multi-layered phenomenon of nested practices where individuals cannot extract themselves easily from the reality in which they are inserted. In that sense, not only individual choices define the built environment; but rather the combination of macro-level structural policies and practices that affect physical and behavioural patterns. In relation to the previous definition, I consider *gating up* as the **combination of activities executed by the different actors and institutions in the decision-making process and materialisation of gated communities**, and *gating* as the **practices of everyday life within these enclaves or similar gated structures**.

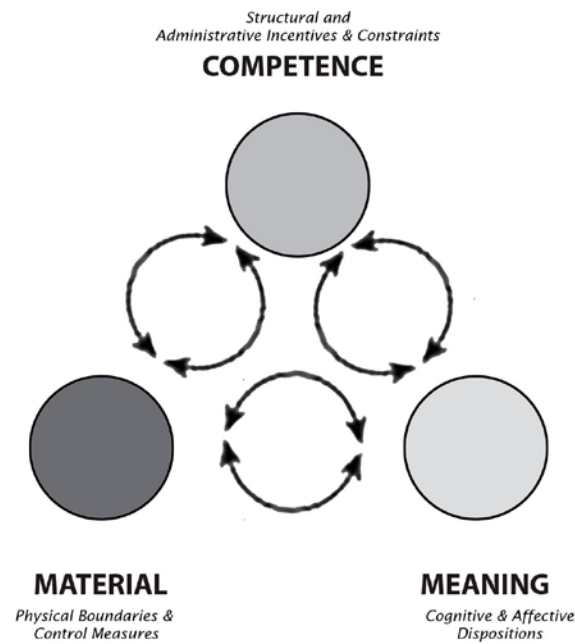
This definition of gatedness requires identifying the interconnection between the main material and immaterial elements. For that purpose, I took Shove *et al.*'s (2012) three elements of practice (*materials, competences, and meanings*) as the basis for a **practice based-analysis of gated communities**. I organised these elements in the shape of **three distinct but interconnected spheres located within a universe of global forces and strategies of exclusion** that I will explain in the following section:

1. **Sphere of Structural and Administrative Incentives and Constraints (Competences)**
2. **Sphere of Cognitive-Affective Dispositions (Meanings)**
3. **Sphere of Physical Boundaries and Control Measures (Materials)**

2.5.3 *Spheres of Gatedness*

In order to understand gatedness, I propose the analysis of three different elements or “spheres” that constantly overlap. The preliminary scheme of analysis is based on Shove’s representation on how “elements affect each other” (See Figure 4). I suggest that the three are inside a universe of **global forces and strategies of exclusion**. GCs are not seen as isolated spaces but rather as part of the urban fabric and the socio-political structure that enabled their emergence. This universe of forces and policies goes from macro-level structures to individual behaviours. In that sense, actions and attitudes of residents inside gated communities are not seen as the result of life within the gates. Residents’ *‘activities are shaped and enabled by structures of rules and meanings, and these structures are at the same time, reproduced in the flow of human actors, nor the determining force of given social structures’* (Shove , Patzar, & Watson, 2012, p. 2).

Figure 4. Spheres of Gatedness as Elements of Practice



Source: author (2015) using Shove et al (2012) diagram

In the following paragraphs, I will explain each one of the spheres of gatedness:

1) Sphere of Structural and Administrative Incentives and Constraints (Competences)

This sphere is inspired in Shove *et al.*'s element of practice "competences" that encompasses 'skill, know-how and technique' (2012, p. 14). In this sphere, I propose that the components of analysis should be the national, subnational and local capacity of public and private institutions to respond to the challenges. It also includes the skills of citizens, their ability to negotiate real estate markets, lenders, and competing demands on their time and emotions. The term 'competences' suggests activities, rules and skills as their administrative counterpart. These can certainly act as constraints. For instance, I propose to analyse the specific conditions of the localities where the gated community is located, such as administrative, technical, planning, and economic capacity of municipal governments. I also propose to analyse the relation between actors and stakeholders, such as public and private financial institutions, real estate agents, construction companies, etc. This sphere also includes the challenges and capacity of institutions to deal with organised crime and insecurity or provide public services and infrastructure.

2) Sphere of Cognitive-Affective Dispositions (Meanings)

This sphere is inspired in Shove *et al.*'s element "meanings" which contains 'symbolic meanings, ideas, and aspirations' (2012, p. 14) or what Dupuis & Thorn (2008) call the "mentality of gatedness". In this sphere, I consider not only **aspirations** but also a fundamental element that I suggest contributes to the emergence and proliferation of gated communities, which are **anxieties**. These two elements are shaped depending on the social, political, cultural, economic, and infrastructural conditions of the setting where the gated community is located. Moreover, they embody the (political) imaginations of the middle class, the meaning that GCs have for them, and the identities that they wish to project.

3) Sphere of Physical Boundaries and Control Measures (Materials)

This sphere is inspired by Shove *et al.*'s element "materials" which includes 'things, technologies, tangible physical entities, and the stuff of which objects are made' (Shove, Patzar, & Watson, 2012, p. 14). In this sphere, I consider **physical elements of gatedness** such as the ones used by Dixon & Dupuis (2003): *physical barriers, technological barriers, design features, signs, manned surveillance, etc.* In this sphere, I propose to analyse the artefact "gated community" itself. *Gatedness* is weighed according to the type of physical barriers such as fences, gates, signs, but also the control measures, or what Blakely & Snyder (1997) call "functions of enclosure".

The use of these spheres allow identifying the nature of each of the elements of gatedness, but they always need to be understood in their dynamic relation with each other in the scope of global forces. Healey (2012) writes eloquently about these 'general' and 'particular' issues that are folded into each other (Wagenaar, 2011). In the paper *Re-Enchanting Democracy as a Mode of Governance*, Healey argues that:

'Places cannot be confined to administrative jurisdictions. Nor are they separate bits of a physical or social "jigsaw" which can be neatly slotted together to create a wider picture. They are formed by complex multi-scalar processes of overlapping webs of material activity and social processes of identity formation and recognition' (Healey, 2012, p. 21)

In that sense, the challenges of gated communities are not only associated with the urban area where they are located or the physical space they use. The use of the spheres of gatedness as a tool for analysis is that they allow finding the connections between elements; for instance, the relation of spatial planning policies with stakeholders (builders, developers, residents, public officials) or the connection between global economic forces with aspirations and anxieties, amongst many others.

2.6 Conclusions

Gated communities are a global phenomenon that has attracted interest in research and in practice in the last three decades. The existing body of literature has enabled a large number of comparative works and the validation of initial assumptions, which have been used in the development of comprehensive theory. The discussion about gated communities has focused on its physical features and the motivations of its residents to move in. I suggest that there are some gaps in literature such as the role of global policies, the practices around these enclaves, and the role of public and private financing. I also suggest that there is not enough analysis of enclaves directly aimed at middle-income groups. With this in mind, I proposed three things: that the discussion should focus on *gatedness* instead of gated communities; that *gatedness* could be understood from a practice approach; and that in order to understand *gatedness* it would be useful to use Shove *et al.*'s (2012) three elements (materials, competences, and meanings) in the shape of the *spheres of gatedness*. Since the particular interest in this thesis is on middle-class gatedness, in the following chapter I will present the challenges and structural social, economic, and political conditions that define the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes in Mexico.

3 MEXICAN MIDDLE CLASSES IN A GLOBAL ECONOMY

3.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I am interested in the proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico, from a practice perspective. In order to do so, I analyse the global, national, and local structures that shape these practices. In this chapter, I will address the first two research questions of this thesis: (1) how have **neoliberal transnational forces** transformed **national housing and planning policies** in Mexico since the 1990s? And (2) how have global and national economic, political, and social policies and practices moulded the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes in Mexico? The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is about the **Mexican Debt-Economy** and the changes in national policies after the crises of the 1970s and 1980s. The second section is about the **Mexican Neoliberal Trance** and the expectations of economic growth and development after the 1990s. I also reflect on two **transnational policy strategies** that played an important role in the nation's neoliberal agenda: *The Washington Consensus* (Williamson, 1990) and the *World Bank Policy Paper "Housing: Enabling markets to work"* (The World Bank, 1993). The third section is about the **Indebted Mexican Middle Class** living in an uncertain political, economic, and social context. In this final section I talk about the challenges and vulnerability of the middle classes in Mexico, introducing the changes in responsibilities using the concept *Privatised Keynesianism* (Crouch, 2009) in relation to the role of the state as provider of basic public services.

3.2 The Mexican Debt Economy

The history of the Mexican economy has always been intertwined with global economic forces. However, since the economic crises of the 1970s to 1990s, the global influences have become more evident in individual households (De la Calle & Rubio, 2012). To comprehend the Mexican political economy of the 20th century, it is useful to consider the connection between policies and presidential periods, because, according to the reforms of the Mexican Revolution, no president can be re-elected after six-year term. Every presidency has different visions and strategies that affect international relations and national institutions. Mexico has a president-centred system that is often portrayed as a paternalistic figure supported by a clientelistic tactic using large-scale labour union groups, agricultural workers, organised merchants, and commerce and industrial chambers (Castañeda, 1995; Teichman, 2004). The strengths and weaknesses of the president-centred system have been put to the test during global economic meltdowns, which have provoked important changes in national policies.

Mexico struggled with economic problems in several ways throughout the 20th century. After the Mexican revolution, there was a specific effort in stabilisation and progress strategies, particularly since the 1940s. The nation's political economy before the 1980s relied mostly on three dominant factions: *'the private sector, organised labourers and the government'* (Castañeda, 1995, p. 293). The state played a supporting role in the process of industrialisation and growth of the private sector because of the convenient clientelistic relationship between government and labourers/agricultural workers' unions keeping their labour demands under control (Davis D. , 1993).

Even though Mexico had historically experienced economic challenges, it was not until the 1970s that economic crises reached middle class households directly. The middle classes got used to stability from the 1940s to the 1970s. During these three decades, Mexico had a *'period of unprecedented prosperity'* (Peña, 2012, p. 418), better known as the Mexican Miracle. According to Peña (2012), the *'miracle consisted of unprecedented rates of growth above 6 per cent per year'* (p. 418). The Mexican Miracle was characterised by industrial opportunities with the manufacturing of products during and after World War II, amongst other things. On the other hand, the implementation of "Import Substitution Industrialisation" (ISI) helped the internal market by promoting domestic production.

The economic stability of the Mexican miracle that allowed the permanence of the one-party regime of the Revolutionary Institutional Party (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, PRI), started tumbling in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The political system was affected to its core during the 1970s due to social, economic, and political uncertainty. According to Walker (2013), *'illusions of prosperity and stability, which had seemed possible during the Miracle dissipated'* (2013, p. 2) after the students' movement in 1968. The middle classes, including professionals, intellectuals, state workers, technicians, and small businesspersons and merchants, writes Walker (2013), *'woke up from the dream'* during the 1970s. President Echeverría (1970-1976) faced a period of anger towards the state and distrust. With the ISI (Import Substitution Industrialisation) strategy exhausted and urban guerrillas, state-led espionage, sudden and constant policy changes, rumours of devaluation, and the risk of massive capital flight compromised social stability.

'By 1973, the crisis in the economic strategy of ISI (Import Substitution Industrialization) manifested in rising inflation, made worse by the 1973 OPEC oil strike, which generated the "oil shock" of the first worldwide recession since the Second World War. In Mexico and other Latin American countries, this generated uncertainty, and the conservative segments of the middle classes reacted against perceived threats to their economic well-being' (Walker, 2013, p. 45)

The landscape of the 1970s and 1980s was grim: crisis, devaluation, and debt became central in the nation's reality. The stability and progress of past national policies, which supported the development of consumer goods industries with high protective tariffs, were not sufficient to protect the country from deep economic shocks. The first of many shocks happened in September 1976 when the Mexican Peso devaluated for the first time since 1954. The nation's high inflation, and the social and political dissatisfaction with the ruling party PRI, forced President Echeverría to make important social, political, and economic policy changes. His policies were progressive and with a deep root in left-wing discourses: the economic approach "shared development" (*desarrollo compartido*) aimed at increasing employment, maintaining the growth rate, improving Mexico's balance of trade, and '*prioritising the needs of the majority of the population*' (Walker, 2013, p. 48).

During this period, important social public institutions were created, such as the National Housing Fund for Workers (*Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores*, INFONAVIT) and the institutionalisation of planning, with the creation of the Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works (*Secretaría de Asentamientos Humanos y Obra Pública*, SAHOP). However, these progressive policies did not satisfy everyone. The private sector openly questioned the demagogic and populist approach, while left-wing opponents questioned the irresponsible spending and corruption. Opponents were forceful. According to Walker (2013), it was believed that the private sector '*deliberately fuelled*' fear and uncertainty to damage the government's image and undermine its accomplishments. The private sector was also blamed for affecting the economy by withdrawing their savings from bank accounts and promoting massive capital flight. The outcome of the "populistic" policies, the international economic shocks, and the actions by the private sector ended up in the first currency devaluation in more than twenty years (Ibid.).

With the devaluation of the peso in 1976, the bubble of false stability burst. The working classes (low- and middle-income groups) faced inflation, an increase in the cost of living, unemployment, lower wages and purchase power loss, amongst other problems. The bourgeoisie, used to economic stability, suffered important emotional impacts because their lifestyles and identity were threatened. Echeverría's presidency led Mexico's shift '*to a debt-based economy. The government's foreign debt increased but, so did business borrowing and household debt*' (Walker, 2013, p. 49). The change in presidency in 1976, and the arrival of José López Portillo to the presidency represented a shift in political economy. Echeverría's policies increased the size and spending in the public sector, but also foreign debt. President López Portillo put everything into turning Mexico into a petro-state; to accomplish this goal, Mexico took on a **debt-economy**:

*'An oil boom began in 1977, and then went bust in 1981. During these years, massive structural occurred at the national and household levels, as the nation began to rely on foreign loans to fuel oil extraction and families coped with inflation by turning to consumer credit. A **debt economy emerged**. Caught at the centre of these changes, in terms of political narratives and policy programs, **were the middle classes**' (Walker, 2013, p. 73)*

The oil boom from the late 1970s brought confidence, but eventually took Mexico into one of the worst economic crisis the nation experienced. The gamble of the petro-state left the country in debt: *'As private bankers lined up to lend Mexico money another dependency emerged, **debt dependency**'* (Walker, 2013, p. 102). Some have described the 1980s as the "lost decade" because of all the constraints and limitations derived from foreign debt. In 1982 Mexico's economy went into free fall (Walker, 2013), the country was unable to meet payments, and a new currency devaluation brought the nation down to panic and despair. The early 1980s crisis had a more tangible and deeper effect on the middle classes than the one in 1976 because of widespread debt-dependency and new consumption patterns, leaving thousands of families incapable to meet payments.

With the economic crisis of the 1980s, *'real wages underwent a severe contraction equal to around 30% for the 1982-85 period as a whole. In addition, the share of wages in total income declined from 42.7% in 1981 to 31.2% in 1985'* (Lustig, 1990, p. 1328). Mexico did not have any sort of unemployment benefits at the time, so this crisis pushed workers into informal sectors, including unremunerated family work. The 1980s is also recognised as the decade of economic policy changes shifting toward a neoliberal economic model. Large foreign debt and the need to bring public spending down justified a change of direction. Before López Portillo ended his term, he signed a letter of intent with the International Monetary Fund (IMF):

'This was an agreement whereby Mexico's debt repayments would be rescheduled in exchange for widespread structural adjustment of the economy, with particular emphasis on reduction of the public-sector deficit' (Walker, 2013, p. 144)

The president-centred father-like system of very high public spending by the ruling party PRI was about to change dramatically, opening the door to a market-oriented political and economic system. By the time Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) assumed the presidency, the number one priority was foreign debt. His economic policy had two important neoliberal strategies: on one hand, he cut public spending to the lowest possible level; on the other, he opened the door to trade liberalisation (Salazar, 2004). These major economic and political structural changes had a significant impact on individual households. During this period, some emerging middle class groups went back into poverty, while only a few found opportunities in crisis. According to Lustig *'in relative terms, middle-class families were seemingly hurt the most, given their reliance on wage income'* (Lustig, 1990, p. 1338). The outcome of these was the beginning of a process of sub-stratification creating greater gaps between socio-economic groups. Income

inequality contributed to violence and crime, but also to intensifying socio-spatial segregation (Ward, 2009).

De la Madrid's policies represented layoffs and loss of benefits for thousands of middle class state-workers due to austerity measures to cut public spending and the privatisation of state-owned companies. This presidential period is characterised by the opening of the country economically. One of the clearest examples was joining the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1986: '*Membership to GATT reduced the number of imports that require licences, from 95% in 1982 to only 6% in 1989*' (Jones, Jiménez, & Ward, 1993, p. 644). Although the country was in the middle of a profound crisis, the opening of the market brought new and exciting commodities that middle classes received favourably, even though sometimes it meant dependence on commercial credit. It can be argued that conspicuous consumption increased with the adoption of neoliberal policies, and with it, an increase in debt dependency. The crises of the 1980s, according to Walker (2013), were used by De la Madrid '*as an ideological tool that helped to justify economic restructuring [...] and allowed for the dismantling of the welfare state and the implementation of neoliberal policies that dispossessed large segments of the middle classes without provoking widespread protest*' (Walker, 2013, p. 149). The 1980s was a period of changes, where global economic forces played an important role. In the following section, I will talk about the openly neoliberal Mexican state and the connection between global financial directions and changes in national policies.

3.3 The Mexican Neoliberal Trance

In 1988, president Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), a Harvard graduate in political economy and government, started his presidency with strong citizen opposition due to a dubious electoral process, but with a promise of progress and economic growth. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) would be the main vehicle of development. In order to enable economic growth and international investment, there were important changes during this period to land tenure, housing, planning, financial, and social security policies. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank largely influenced these changes. In this thesis, I consider there are two important policies that contributed to middle-class *gatedness* in Mexico. On one hand, the *Washington Consensus* (Williamson, 1990), which had an important influence on national social, political, and economic policies; and the 1980s World Bank policies that were praised in the Paper *Housing: Enabling Markets to Work* (The World Bank, 1993), which legitimised and reinforced changes in housing policies in Mexico. In the following paragraphs, I will talk about some of the main issues about these two policies, and examine their connection to the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico.

3.3.1 *The Washington Consensus and the Privatisation of Urban Development*

The crises of the 1980s enabled larger involvement of external agents such as IMF and the World Bank in Mexican economic policies. However, caution should be taken when blame is laid, because national Mexican authorities often use these international financial institutions as scapegoats for policies they chose to implement (Zanetta, 2004). The Washington Consensus integrates the most important changes in economic policies since the late 1980s to the mid-2000s:

*‘During this period of analysis, the World Bank’s urban policies in Latin America were consistent with market-oriented reforms articulated by the **Washington Consensus**, focusing primarily on public sector reform, increased private sector participation and decentralization as a way of connecting the urban agenda to the broader objectives of economic development and macroeconomic performance’ (Zanetta, 2004, p. 40)*

In November 1989, the Institute for International Economics organised a meeting in Washington with Ministers of Economy from Latin America and the US government. According to Moreno-Brid *et al.* (2004/05), during this meeting these decision-makers identified a list of desirable reforms to economic policies with the support of the US government, the National Reserve, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. The main three policy directions taken by Latin American countries in debt, as a direct response to international crisis, since the mid-1980s were:

- 1) **Commercial liberalisation;**
- 2) **Privatisation of state companies; and**
- 3) **Reduction of state intervention in the capital markets and in economy in general, bringing down public investment.**

The “Washington Consensus” was first named in a book published by Williamson in 1990s which suggested *‘that the set of policy reforms that most of official Washington thought would be good for Latin American countries could be summarised in 10 propositions’* (Williamson, 1990). The US government and the international financial institutions considered *‘all countries should adopt [the 10 propositions] to increase economic growth. At its heart is an emphasis on the importance of macroeconomic stability and integration into the international economy, in other words, a neo-liberal view of globalisation’* (WHO, 2015, p. n/a). In the following table (see Table 1), I have synthesised the 10 propositions with the main characteristics:

Table 1. Washington Consensus Framework

#	Proposition	Characteristics
1	Fiscal discipline	Strict criteria for limiting budget deficits
2	A redirection of Public expenditure priorities	Moving away from subsidies and administration towards previously neglected fields with high economic returns
3	Tax Reform	Broadening the tax base and cutting marginal tax rates
4	Financial liberalisation	Interest rates should ideally be market-determined
5	A competitive exchange rate	Should be managed to induce rapid growth in non-traditional exports
6	Trade liberalisation	
7	Liberalization of inflows of foreign direct investment	Reducing barriers for foreign direct investment (FDI)
8	Privatisation	State enterprises should be privatised
9	Deregulation	Abolition of regulations that impede the entry of new firms or restrict competition (except in the areas of safety, environment and finance)
10	Secure intellectual property rights (IPR)	Without excessive costs and available to the informal sector
* WHO considers in its description of the Washington Consensus an 11 th proposition: <i>Reduced role of state</i>		

Source: Author with information from Williamson (2000, pp. 7-17) & World Health Organization (WHO, 2015) *

The propositions in the Washington Consensus meant a radical change in the development paradigm. According to Moreno-Brid *et al.* (2004/05), the origin of these policies was a narrow view of Latin-American economies in the 1980s. Economic crises in the region were seen as the consequence of distorted distribution of resources caused by protectionist politics and the persistent intervention of the state in the economic sphere. The state was seen as inefficient and therefore responsible for inflation due to fiscal deficit and high public spending. The global economic forces brought radical macroeconomic reforms in the whole region, having the private sector at the heart of the investment process, eliminating subsidies, and opening the market (financial, goods, and services) to external investment (Moreno-Brid, Pérez C., & Ruíz N., 2004/05). The aim was to allow Latin-American countries to compete successfully in international markets and promote economic sustained growth. However, the results were far from expected.

The Washington Consensus is often used as a synonym of **neoliberalism**. According to Williamson (2000), the inventor of the term, in his own words *'it was a misuse of my intended meaning. I had naively imagined that just because I had invented the expression, I had some sort of intellectual property rights that entitled me to dictate its meaning, but in fact the concept had become public property'* (Williamson, 2000, pp. 251-252). The implementation of these global economy policies brought important negative outcomes, such as an increase in poverty rates and growing inequality. According to the promoters of these policies, the failure is the result of poor implementation, governments not doing all the necessary reforms, or opening the market too much too soon. Whatever the case, the reality is that the Washington Consensus has been constantly blamed for Latin America's current inequality.

The failure of the *Washington Consensus*, according to some economists, was not only because of poor implementation, but also due to structural and institutional flaws from the beginning. The policies did accomplish macroeconomic stability goals and increased exports in the Latin American region, but this was done without accomplishing social development along with economic growth (Moreno-Brid, Pérez C., & Ruíz N., 2004/05). According to Vidal *et al.* (2011), Mexico is one of the countries that have suffered the most from the implementation of these policies. The authors observe that there was a clear dynamic of ‘*cutting spending and increasing taxes, while at the same time subsidising the external positions of large private sector companies and drastically reducing the capacities of state-owned companies*’ (Vidal, Marshall, & Correa, 2011, p. 428). In their eyes, the model favoured ‘*the financial interests of international banks and a small elite over all other considerations*’ (*Ibid.*).

Mexican implementation of the Washington Consensus policies is a case of macroeconomic success with terrible local and social consequences. In the 1990s, following international financial institutions recommendations, the government made important changes to land tenure, housing, planning, financing, and social security policies. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, an openly neoliberal advocate, focused on decentralisation, privatisation, and international investment during his presidency. One clear example was the changes in land tenure that would allow communal farmland (*ejidos*) to be sold or rented for urban and agricultural international or domestic investment (Monkkonen, 2011; Velázquez-Leyer, 2015; Teichman, 2004). The discourse at the time was that NAFTA would create jobs and contribute to increase the standard of living of the Mexican population, increase wages, and reduce migration to the US. In a student graduation speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1993 he pointed out how the success of NAFTA would bring prosperity not only to Mexico but also to the United States of America and Canada, in his words, it was a ‘*win-win-win situation for the three countries in the northern part of the American Continent*’ (MIT, 1993).

Salinas de Gortari, along with his ‘*technocratic policy elite*’ (Teichman, 2004) continued the process of liberalisation started in the late 1980s, and received positive evaluations from international financial institutions. The problem was that it brought one of the worse outcomes of the Washington Consensus, at least from the middle classes’ point of view, the strong **debt dependency**. The new open market promises brought confidence to consumers, and the reprivatisation of the banks (nationalised only a decade before) came accompanied by unregulated credits and mortgages that were attractive to the middle classes in search of recovery. To ‘*make things simpler and more practical*’ the national government introduced the New Peso in January 1993 (Banco de México, n.d.), just a year before a new strong economic shock. This would

actually serve them well because people eventually forgot the real loss of purchasing power and the deep devaluation of the currency (1000 pesos became one new peso).

The promise of Mexican economic growth and stability was shattered in what is commonly known as the “December Mistake”. Shortly after President Ernesto Zedillo took office in 1994 an intense economic shock arrived just when the country was supposed to be leaving the third world. The crisis brought the country to a major banking disaster that affected individuals and corporations with high level of debt. President Zedillo had to use the resources of the Banking Fund for the Protection of Savings (*Fondo Bancario de Protección al Ahorro*, FOBAPROA) created in 1990 to guarantee and protect the money that Mexicans deposit in banks to deal with the banking crisis, however it was not used to help debtors, but to bail out irresponsible banks, their owners, and prominent businesspersons (Teichman, 2004). FOBAPROA not only bailed out banks but also facilitated the takeover process of the national banks by transnational companies.

The devaluation of the peso in the 1990s was devastating, particularly for those who had mortgages, consumer credit debt, or businesses in American US dollars. During Zedillo’s government, middle class distrust in the government increased. In 1995, the value-added tax (*Impuesto al Valor Agregado*, IVA) on consumer goods went from 10 to 15 per cent (Salazar, 2004). This issue, along with the lack of support after the banking crisis, and the transformation of the pension schemes in 1997, were seen as direct blows against the middle classes. Here is an excerpt from the news annual summary of 1995 shown in the main TV channel in the country demonstrating the type of emotions people shared in coffee-shop conversations at the time:

‘In December 1994, Mexicans suffered the trauma of an unexpected and sudden economic catastrophe. We have lost the hope of doing well, of having an expanding economy and stable prices... In the twinkling of an eye, the country is in a new reality [...] with the wolves of insolvency howling at the door [...] We feel anger and resentment for being fooled again [...] Millions of Mexicans who believed the promise of growth and bought a ticket to prosperity have become castaways of the financial sinking [...] The car acquired on credit goes back to the bank... the house, the ranch, the apartment, the factory receives notice of seizure. Families feel mortified and the head of the household feels humiliated... The credit card, passport to a more relaxed life becomes a stone on the neck of millions when they realise that the interest rates elevated from 20% to a 100%...’ (Zabludovsky, 1995) (Translated by author)

The 1990s were times of contrast, contradiction, and polarisation. The Washington Consensus had enabled the emergence of new millionaires taking advantage of the privatisation of state companies in telecommunications, banking, and public services, and the free market and deregulation policies. Nevertheless, the remaining Mexicans had trusted the new privatised banks and taken advantage of the credit options (housing, cars, credit cards, personal loans, etc.). These new privatised banks had facilitated consumer debt (credit cards) rather than supporting industry

or development projects. This speculative approach contributed to the capital flight of December 1994. The credit obtained only a year before turned out to be unpayable debt for thousands. The combination of compound interest and devaluation increased exponentially the amount to be paid in only a few days after devaluation, forcing thousands of families to stop payments. Many families joined *El Barzón*, a political group defending families in debt against the predatory banking system. Others decided to renegotiate their debt even though the conditions were not favourable. A large number just decided to give up the car, the house, or were blacklisted until their credit card debt was written off.

Vidal *et al.* (2011) reflect on the protection of the national elite in Mexico. They consider this protection has been both '*direct and indirect*': '*the most direct form has been the bailout of large privately owned firms by state-owned banks*' (Vidal, Marshall, & Correa, 2011, p. 428) after the banking crash of the 1990s. On the other hand, state-run banks extended impressive credit lines to '*guarantee external debt payments of eight of Mexico's largest privately owned companies after the economic crisis of 2008*' (*Ibid.*). According to the authors (2011), Mexico has had a particular response to the Washington Consensus propositions:

'Mexico has hitched its wagon to the fortunes of the United States in terms of trade and employment, while in financial terms, it has left itself extremely exposed to the volatility of international credit markets and the interests of foreign banks operating in the country. As a result, Mexico has been particularly hit by the fist [sic] stages of the global crisis (...) as has been noted by organisations such as the World Bank, approximately half of all people thrown into poverty in Latin America as a result of the global crisis are in Mexico. The Mexican government's response to the crisis, based more on protecting and expanding the positions of a small elite than on protecting employment, has significantly aggravated a crisis that was of its own creation' (Vidal, Marshall, & Correa, 2011, p. 432)

The Washington Consensus, per se, cannot be blamed for the misfortunes of the country. But it can be argued that the economic forces behind the policies have had important effects not only on the definition of new national policies, but also on the social, political, economic life in the country from macro-level structures to individual households. In the following section, I will discuss the same global economic forces in relation to housing. This is crucial to understand the Mexican spatial planning and housing systems, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.3.2 *The World Bank and the Enabling Markets Policies for Housing*

Mexico embraced the Washington Consensus policies in a very open way, and one of the areas that were immediately transformed was the housing sector. Deregulation, privatisation, and market liberalisation were fundamental in its transformation. The Mexican approach was even praised by World Bank in 1993 in *The World Bank Policy Paper 'Housing: Enabling Markets to Work, with Technical Supplements'* (The World Bank, 1993). The content in this paper is crucial to understanding the connection between global economic forces and the changes in national policies that would contribute to the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico, as I will explain in detail later. The paper's aim was to set a 'new housing policy agenda' using examples from the implementation of World Bank policies in different countries from the 1980s to the early 1990s. The paper had clear political aims of how housing provision should be done:

'It [the policy paper] advocates to reform government policies, institutions, and regulations to enable housing markets to work more efficiently, and a move away from the limited, project-based support of public agencies engaged in the production and financing of housing. Governments are advised to abandon their earlier role as producers of housing and to adopt an enabling role of managing the housing sector as a whole' (The World Bank, 1993, p. 1)

The World Bank Housing Policy Paper (1993, p. 4) offered 'seven major enabling instruments' organised in three groups:

- 1) **Demand-side instruments**, which addressed the limitations and constraints from the side of individuals interested in acquiring a house. These instruments were mostly linked to land tenure and property rights, more options for housing finance, and how state subsidies should be implemented.
- 2) **Supply-side instruments**, which recognised the constraints and limitations from the state in housing provision. The emphasis was on infrastructure, regulation, and organising the building industry.
- 3) **Institutional Framework for Managing the Housing Sector**, which limits the role of the state as a manager of performance of the public and private housing sector.

The seven World Bank Operational Instruments had a particular accent on changing housing financing, not only from the state's role as housing provider, but also on the individual level, promoting mortgages and private ownership as the main vehicle for housing provision. In the following table (see Table 2), there is a short description of each of the seven instruments:

Table 2. World Bank's Operational Instruments of Housing Policy

Demand-side instruments:		
1	Developing property rights	Ensuring that rights to own and freely exchange housing are established by law and enforced, administering programs of land and house registration and regularisation of insecure tenure.
2	Developing mortgage finance	Creating healthy and competitive mortgage lending institutions, and fostering innovative arrangements for providing greater access to housing finance for the poor.
3	Rationalising subsidies	Ensuring that subsidy programs are of an appropriate and affordable scale, well targeted, measurable, transparent, and avoid distorting housing markets.
Supply-side instruments:		
4	Providing infrastructure for residential land development	Coordinating the agencies responsible for provision of residential infrastructure (roads, drainage, water, sewerage, and electricity) to focus on servicing existing and underdeveloped urban land for efficient residential development.
5	Regulating land and housing developments	Balancing the costs and the benefits of regulations that influence urban land and housing markets, especially land use and building, and removing regulations which unnecessarily hinder housing supply.
6	Organizing the building industry	Creating greater competition in the building industry, removing constraints to the development and use of local building materials, and reducing trade barriers that apply to housing inputs.
The instruments are to be supported and guided by developing the		
7	Institutional Framework for Managing the Housing Sector	Strengthening institutions, which can oversee and manage the performance of the sector as a whole; bringing together all the major public agencies, private sector, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) and community based organisations; and ensuring that policies and programmes benefit the poor and elicit their participation.

Source: author using data from The World Bank (1993, pp. 39-47)

As explained in Chapter 1, I use some empirical data to support some of the existing knowledge, because it comes from stakeholders that were actively involved in the processes analysed. In an interview conducted during this research, Enrique Ortiz Flores (personal interview, December 2013), a well-known housing expert and policymaker in Latin America (Housing International Coalition, HIC), considers that Mexico was eager to implement all of World Bank's recommendations in housing policies; and made important institutional changes in the early 1990s, except for one very important goal included in the last paragraph of the seventh operational instrument: '**ensuring that policies and programmes benefit the poor and elicit their participation**' (The World Bank, 1993, p. 47). Ortiz considers this is an example of how the Mexican government follows international policies that fit their purposes, but chooses to ignore those which are not aligned with internal elite interests.

In the housing policy paper (The World Bank, 1993), Mexico is shown as an example of how to organise the building industry and '*create greater competition by: eliminating regulatory barriers to entry; breaking up monopolies; facilitating equal access of small firms to markets and inputs; removing constraints to the development; use of local building materials and construction methods; and reducing trade barriers that apply to housing inputs*' (The World Bank, 1993, pp. 41-42). In the early 1990s, president Carlos Salinas de Gortari had high levels of approval by international financial institutions. In the paper, it is stated that:

'The government of Mexico has taken the lead in identifying key regulatory bottlenecks at the local level and designing reforms that structure local incentives to remove those bottlenecks [...] To encourage states to reform inappropriate standards, FOVI – a housing trust fund in the Central Bank of Mexico – has been signing agreements with state governors to identify and reduce bureaucratic bottlenecks. The agreements set out specific targets for reasonable standards, time limits for approving permits, and a schedule to reduce overall bureaucratic costs' (The World Bank, 1993, p. 41)

The World Bank recommendations promoted changes during the 1990s, but it was during the 2000s that the tangible expressions of these policies became more visible. During Vicente Fox's presidency (2000-2006), there was a particular interest in housing provision. After 70 years in power, the ruling party PRI had to leave the presidential seat, allowing the National Action Party (*Partido Acción Nacional*, PAN) to take office for the first time. The new president had an entrepreneurial background with large support from business chambers. His discourse was simple and directed towards the middle classes and poorest population. The country was in a moment of recovery after the mid-1990s crisis, and the new president had to deal with an increase in poverty rates, violence, organised crime, corruption, and loss of governability in several regions (Salazar, 2004). Along with social programmes aimed at the poorest population, Fox had a strong housing agenda for the middle-income groups. In order to do so, in clear alignment with the World Bank recommendations, the level of involvement of the private sector increased, having a strong impact on the Mexican territory (Isunza, 2010) and the spatial planning and housing systems, as will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

The combination of the policy changes proposed in the Washington Consensus and the World Bank housing policy paper had a crucial effect on the Mexican economy as a whole. On one hand, they had a major role in the consolidation of Mexican macroeconomic stability; on the other, they contributed to changes in lifestyle and consumption patterns of the middle classes, mainly through credit and debt, which I will address with more detail in the following section.

3.4 The Indebted Mexican Middle Class

Mexican stratification of classes goes back to Pre-Hispanic times and was reinforced under the castes system during Spanish ruling. Ever since, social stratification has shaped interactions and spatial differentiation in Mexican cities (Gómez-Izquierdo & Sanchez-D. de Rivera, 2011). The castes system has evolved from a race and lineage distinction to a socio-economic differentiation system. Since the 1990s, middle classes have become a crucial group in terms of economic development and political discourse; however, in Mexico there has been a constant discussion about the opportunities and limitations of the middle classes in a country with high income inequality.

The definition of middle class has been addressed from different perspectives using variables like income, spending, hierarchy and position in the labour market, as well as education. When Milton Santos wrote *The Shared Space* in the 1970s to explain the different classes and ‘circuits in underdeveloped Latin American countries’, he suggested the existence of the ‘circuit of the privileged classes, middle and working classes and the circuit of the marginal classes’ (Santos, 1979, p. 24). In the book, the middle class was ‘defined in a residual manner occupying an intermediate position between the lower class (poor) and the upper class (rich)’ (p. 24). This definition implicitly recognises that the middle class moves within the scope of wealth inequality with large distances between the rich and the poor. That is why some authors would rather talk about different levels of middle classes instead of just the middle class.

In recent years, Latin American scholars have focused on the poorest and most vulnerable population. With the dramatic growth of the most important cities, the urban poor have become more visible in cities and in research. Mercedes González de la Rocha (2007), has analysed the “myth of survival” of the poor under crisis. In her view this “fable” of adaptation, solidarity and survival has been a ‘useful tool for policy makers in their design for more aggressive economic policies’ (González-De la Rocha, 2007, p. 47). With the crisis of the 1980s, the structure and organisation of Mexican households changed dramatically. These household changes affected both poor and middle-class families. The author emphasizes that there was an increase in ‘participation of household members in the labour market, especially adult woman who worked mainly in precarious activities in the informal sector. It also included increasing domestic work, as households became extended and crowded, as well as restrictive consumption practices’ (2007, p. 52). The changes in structure in households was an opportunity for some families to “survive” or even improve their life conditions after crisis during the 1980s. However, in recent years the survival model has been “eroded”:

‘Urban poor households face significantly different conditions today. The current situation, characterized by new forms of exclusion and increasing precariousness, is unfavourable to the operation of traditional household mechanisms of work intensification. This erosion of social systems of support and self-help is due not to any inherent capacity of the poor to survive or to escape from poverty but to the increasing deterioration of labour markets’ (González-De la Rocha, 2007, p. 59)

Global forces and neoliberal policies have affected the capacity to recover and adapt after a crisis. Households have become more dependent on debt and private options to cover basic services and resources, which makes them more vulnerable to face future crises. In this research I recognise that the urban poor are facing important challenges and are in a very vulnerable position. However, since the focus of this research is about gated communities, I will address mostly the vulnerability of middle-income groups which have become, in recent years, the main target of these model of urban development.

In the past couple of decades, there has been an increase in the national political discourse aimed at the middle classes; however, there was no official statistical data on these groups until recently. In 2013, the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía*, INEGI) published the research bulletin “Middle classes in Mexico”. The aim of the bulletin was to ‘*share information about topics of interest for the public opinion which is not currently considered official statistics*’ (INEGI, 2013, p. 1) (*Translated by author*). INEGI decided to engage in this research bulletin without providing a definition because: 1) middle class status does not necessarily start where poverty ends; and 2) the lack of consensual definition of what middle class is, particularly if it needs to be measurable for statistical purposes. With this in mind, this institute decided to take a different path, less dependent on an ‘*aprioristic structured and closed definition*’ of what middle class is (INEGI, 2015).

The contribution to the discussion about middle classes by INEGI is that instead of providing a new definition that would probably get lost in the sociological debate, they decided to identify variables from their own database that would allow a better understanding of these socioeconomic groups. Another interesting contribution is that they decided to use variables on expenditure rather than income. This is particularly important, from a conceptual point of view, because the reality of expenditure is that it considers not only current income, but also savings and expected earnings. The second issue is operational, because during surveys people are more likely to talk about their expenses than their income (INEGI, 2015). INEGI used 17 variables to run the model and identified seven strata within the middle classes. INEGI obtained the data from the National Survey on Household Income and Expenditures (*Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares*, ENIGH) from 2000 and 2010, obtaining the following information:

*‘The results obtained at the end of the first decade of the 21st century show that **42.2% of the Mexican households, where 39.2% of the population reside, are middle class. Meanwhile, 2.5% of the Mexican households, where 1.7% of the population reside, are upper class; while on the other side of the social spectrum, 55.1% of the Mexican households, where 59.1% of the population reside, are lower class**’ (INEGI, 2013, p. 6) (Translated by author)*

The bulletin concludes that it is still premature to claim that Mexico is a middle class country, even though the population has access to a wide range of consumer satisfactions, previously unthinkable (INEGI, 2013). It also concludes that while there is consensus that macroeconomic stability fosters the creation of middle classes, Mexico is far from drawing millions out of poverty. Statistical data is useful to understand measurable elements, but does not give a full scope of what middle class everyday lives are like.

According to Walker (2013), middle class ‘refers to a set of material conditions, a state of mind, and a political discourse’ (2013, p. 3). In this definition, material conditions can be quantified and measured through different means including ‘income, assets, and expenditure patterns’. On the other hand, immaterial elements can be evaluated through the state of mind in things like ‘identity, lifestyle, and cultural world that can be longed for-and lost’ (*Ibid.*), while the political discourse, in the Mexican case, is full of middle class narratives that have ‘served ideological and political purposes’ during times of crises. If we take into account that INEGI decided to study the middle classes based on their expenditure rather than on current income, it gives us an idea of how middle classes in Mexico are not in an economic stable condition. There is a sense of precariousness of the privileges of living in constant uncertainty. That is why I consider that middle-class gatedness is not only linked to aspirations, but also anxieties, as it will be developed in detail. Debt economy, as mentioned in the previous section, has played a fundamental role in middle classes maintaining or achieving certain lifestyles. However, the risk is that it is closely related to the need for job certainty and national economic stability.

According to Walker (2013), in Mexico, after the economic downfall of the 1970s, the ruling party PRI ‘made a debt economy possible at the household level, to mitigate the inflation on middle class consumption [...] In this attempt, a new economic relationship emerged between the PRI and the middle classes, and the one-party state created a new political subject: **the consumer-citizen**’ (Walker, 2013, p. 105). As consumers became political subjects, the Mexican state promoted the creation of public institutions for consumers such as: the National Fund for Worker Consumption (*Fondo Nacional para el Consumo de los Trabajadores*, FONACOT), the Law for the Protection of the Consumer (*Ley Federal de Protección al Consumidor*), and the National Consumer Institute (*Instituto Nacional del Consumidor*, INCO). All of these institutions were aimed at the lower income salaried workers wishing to live the middle class life. FONACOT allowed low-income groups to acquire commodities such as televisions, washing machines, and refrigerators with low interest rates. Meanwhile, the INFONAVIT allowed low-income middle classes to acquire housing with low-interest rates. As the working classes were invited to achieve middle class status and have access to housing, commodities and services, they would also become crucial for the state in terms of tax revenue. In 1980, Mexico introduced the value-added tax (*Impuesto al Valor Agregado*, IVA) of 10% on consumer goods (*Ibid.*).

To understand middle classes in Mexico after the 1970s, it is important to connect them to consumer culture. During the 1970s and 1980s, the middle classes used credit to maintain their lifestyles and many families relied not only on state-led credit options like FONACOT or INFONAVIT, but on high interest rate commercial credit cards and mortgages. In both cases, with inflation and currency devaluation, thousands of families faced unmanageable debt in the

1990s. Credit cards had a major role in consumption changes. Before the 1960s, only a few families had access to department stores' credit cards. Since the first commercial bank credit card appeared in 1968, the number of credit card holders had increased notably by the 1970s (Walker, 2013). Unfortunately, thousands of families struggled to keep up with their payments, and that is why the Office of Federal Attorney for the Consumer (*Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor*, PROFECO) surfaced to protect consumers from abusive stores and banking institutions. Nevertheless, regulation and institutional support did not hinder abuses.

INEGI's report on middle classes (2013) included expenditure patterns in things like personal-care products, education, culture, leisure, gifts, and the use of credit cards in their variables. If a random middle class house were visited in Mexico, according to the report, this is what would be found:

'The house has at least one computer; the family spends about \$4,400 pesos [\$250 USD approx.¹] on food and beverages outside their home; someone in the household has a credit card, someone in the household works in the formal labour market; the head of the house probably studied at a higher education institution, is probably married and living in a nuclear family of four. Most likely, those who live in these households work for the private sector' (INEGI, 2013, p. 9) (Translated by author)

The INEGI report indicates that some of the most important issues that define middle classes in Mexico are *'access to housing, access to the formal labour market, occupational hierarchy, and level of education'* (INEGI, 2013). This shows the importance of housing financing. Due to the incentivising policies for private ownership, housing public funding has been essential in middle class housing provision: *'middle-class families depend more on government funding and family savings than commercial banking to buy housing'* (Ibid.). INFONAVIT became a predominant housing financing agency since the 1990s. Not all middle class homeowners received INFONAVIT support, but this institution is highly responsible for suburban sprawl and consequently the emergence and proliferation of modern gated communities. I will discuss this in more depth in the following chapter.

Middle class indebtedness can be seen in the normalisation of credit dependency to pay for not only lifestyle commodities but also basic needs such as private health, education, security, and even some public services. Marketers consider access to credit as important as disposable income in the definition of the five socio-economic levels used in Mexico (AMAI, n.d.), where middle classes are located between levels B and C in an A to E classification. Although Mexicans

¹ Exchange Rate December 2015

have lived economic meltdowns in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, middle classes seem to have regained confidence in commercial banking. De la Calle & Rubio in their report “*Poor no more, developed not yet*” (2012), argue that ‘*economic stability and the reduction in fertility rates have been key in the development of the middle class*’ in Mexico and ‘*families have reached middle status thanks to the combined incomes of multiple family members*’ (De la Calle & Rubio, 2012, p. 25). This is significant, because middle class stability might be a combination of illusion and reality. There might be a perception of increased purchasing power, but this could be the result of access to cheaper goods and compound salaries in a household. This perception of wealth and stability has encouraged thousands into a debt-fuelled home and car ownership spree.

According to De la Calle & Rubio (2012), Mexican middle classes have transformed their consumption patterns in recent decades. For instance, ‘*total health spending –including public, private and out-of-pocket-costs- has tripled in 18 years*’; access to credit ‘*has increased the capacity to purchase automobiles*’; and new expenditures have become indispensable such as ‘*cellular telephones, internet, and traveling*’ (De la Calle & Rubio, 2012, pp. 66-67). The problem with these consumption patterns is the requirement for job stability. Middle classes are acquiring large debts in things like private education, which has increased its cost dramatically in recent years, not only in tuition fees but newly imposed income taxes (*Impuesto Sobre la Renta, ISR*) (Patiño, 2015). If a middle class family wants to invest in education, the tuition in a renowned private university might cost around 11,600 USD a year (Hernández, 2014) in a nation where the monthly average minimum wage is around 130 USD (SAT, 2016).

Middle-class indebtedness is easily recognisable in the unashamed display of small long-term instalment deals in department stores, usually with high-interest rates. Credit dependence has increased in recent years. According to De la Calle & Rubio (2012), the number of credit cards increased in Mexico almost 4 fold in a 7-year period (from almost 7 million credit cards in 2002 to almost 25 million in 2009) (2012, p. 58). This is a sign on how debt-dependency has become normalised.

3.4.1 Privatised Keynesianism: Middle Class Responsibilities in a Diminished State

Indebtedness of the middle classes raises some concerns about long-term implications, particularly a context of global economic volatility and local financial constraints. In the previous section, I talked about how middle-income groups in Mexico are increasing credit dependence and assuming the cost of some public services. This, according to Crouch (2009) is a form of **privatised Keynesianism**; a concept proposed to describe how population are taking some of the state’s responsibilities. The author argues that after the Second World War, there have been two

policy regimes to deal with *'uncertainties and instabilities of a capitalist economy'* (Crouch, 2009, p. 382). The first policy regime is what we know as Keynesianism, based on John Maynard Keynes theories. The second policy regime is what Crouch considers a form of privatised Keynesianism, which *'was not, as often been thought, a neo-liberal turn to pure markets, but a system of markets alongside extensive housing and other debts among low- and medium-income people linked to unregulated derivatives markets'* (Crouch, 2009, p. 382). The recent crisis in 2008 has shown governments are more interested in bailing-out banks and investors, than debtors. The responsibility of economic stability has been transferred to individuals:

'Instead of governments taking on debt to stimulate the economy, individuals did so. In addition to the housing market there was an extraordinary growth in opportunities for bank loans and credit cards. It was common for people to hold cards from more than one credit card Company as well as several store-specific ones' (Crouch, 2009, p. 390)

Crouch (2009) considers that in Latin America *'the spread of markets, giving consumers freedom of choice in the economy, seemed to go alongside the spread of voting procedures giving citizens choice in the polity'* (Crouch, 2009, p. 382). This freedom was seen as positive, particularly as a tool to bring dictatorships down. The discourse that *'governments should do less and markets do more'* (p. 383) was an opportunity of regime change in the region. The Washington Consensus recommendations contributed to partial privatisation of education, health, transport, security, and housing in Mexico; the state did not fully defund these areas, but incentivised private involvement. Middle-income groups have embraced private options over public ones. This is perhaps because the public options are not satisfying their expectations. The outcome has been an increase in monthly expenses, such as petrol for private transport, tuitions for private education, private health insurance, etc. Life inside a gated community increases these expenses through maintenance fees, gardening, security personnel, management, etc. The process of privatised Keynesianism has come with higher risks and obligations for individuals. Ordinary consumers have increased debt levels because of mortgages, credit cards, and personal loans:

'The dependence of the capitalist system on rising wages, a welfare state and government demand management that had seemed essential for mass consumer confidence, had been abolished. The bases of prosperity shifted from the social democratic formula of working classes supported by government intervention to the neo-liberal conservative one of banks, stock exchanges and financial markets' (Crouch, 2009, p. 392)

Middle classes in Mexico have not only been the main target of housing and consumer credits, but also the target to obtain profit from the privatisation of public services. According to Harvey (2005), Mexico was *'one of the first states drawn into what was to become a growing column of the neoliberal state apparatuses worldwide'* (Harvey, 2005, p. 29). The implications of neoliberal policies in Mexico are that transnational enterprises, banks, and political parties get

the benefits of the privatisation of the public sector, but do not carry the burdens. The challenges are usually transferred to the citizens the same way international banking institutions benefited from developing countries' debt in the 1980s and 1990s:

'What the Mexico case demonstrated [...] was a key difference between liberal and neoliberal practice: under the former, lenders take the losses that arise from bad investment decisions, while under the latter the borrowers are forced by state and international powers to take on board the cost of debt repayment no matter what the consequences for the livelihood and well-being of the local population. If this required the surrender of assets to foreign companies at fire-sale prices, then so be it' (Harvey, A brief history of Neoliberalism, 2005, p. 29)

3.4.2 *Middle Class Vulnerability in Uncertain Economic Contexts*

Instability and uncertainty are clear challenges in Mexico. López-Calva and Eduardo Ortiz-Juárez (2013) propose *'a vulnerability approach to the definition of the middle class'*. The paper debates the potential of the middle classes *'to become the engines of growth and good governance'* (López-Calva & Ortiz-Juárez, 2013, p. 23), looking at the vulnerability of the middle classes that could fall into poverty. In a previous article, the authors had argued that *'the middle class has been widely discussed in sociology and other social sciences, but mostly ignored in modern economics'* (López Calva & Ortiz-Juárez, 2011, p. 3). The authors took a vulnerable-to-poverty approach and evaluated the conditions of a middle class family over time. In their paper, they argue that most vulnerability studies address only poverty. The paper offers comparative data from Chile, Mexico and Peru, and provides evidence of the events that could potentially affect welfare. For instance, a middle-class family becomes vulnerable if exposed to things such as *'death or illness of a household member; economic shock defined as business bankruptcy and unemployment; and loss of dwelling, crops and livestock due to climate-related events'* (López Calva & Ortiz-Juárez, 2011, p. 5).

Vulnerability for the middle classes signifies that one family or work related tragedy could compromise a family's stability. In Mexico, health shocks have the highest impacts; a family could lose everything they own to pay for an urgent surgery or lose their job due to an accident. Lopez-Calva & Ortiz (2013) identified the main elements associated with moving in or out of poverty, and the probabilities of falling into poverty. The following statement shows how middle classes are facing a constant threat of losing their lifestyles and status:

*'The fundamental precariousness of their privilege makes economic instability especially threatening to the middle classes. Even in times of economic boom, the basis of their privilege is shaky. Theorist Immanuel Wallerstein describes the middle classes as being **condemned to live in the present – their privilege might disappear with the next crisis**'* (Walker, 2013, p. 15)

Castellani *et al.* (2014) agree that the Latin American middle class is in a fragile condition. In their paper for the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) “The Latin America Middle Class: Fragile after all?”, they claim that the *‘rising of the [middle class] population in Latin America might still be constrained in terms of access to quality education, formal employment, and access to services’* (Castellani, Gwenn , & Zenteno, 2014, p. 2). The authors consider that in order *‘to address these challenges successfully, a new generation of social programs needs to focus on the quality and relevance of education, protect households against risks, effectively redistribute income, and at the same time promote productivity so as to ensure sustainable poverty reduction. Moreover, reducing poverty must also contribute to the prosperity of the middle classes’* (Ibid.). This statement implies that social programmes that aim to end poverty, should not consider only the poor but rather the entire social structure. The existence of more equitable social policies will guarantee better resilience capacity for all socio-economic groups to deal with tragedy, loss or disaster, which are common in Latin American contexts.

Torche & Lopez-Calva (2013) identified substantial downward and upward mobility from the middle class in Mexico between 2002 and 2005. In their research, they identified that 16% of the middle class in this nation fell into poverty, whilst another 16% rose up to the top quintile. These findings suggest that *‘middle class is not a stable group over time, and a substantial portion of its members are subject to vulnerability, which may threaten the putative economic and political benefits of a strong middle class’* (Torche & López-Calva, 2013, p. 31). The authors conclude that *‘while targeted assistance to the poor is undoubtedly important, our analysis suggests that reducing the vulnerability of the middle class is also a necessary task’* (2013, p. 33).

The vulnerability of the middle classes is a key issue in the discussion about gated communities. When a middle class family decides to move into a GC, there is a voluntary decision to engage in further expenses such as private security, private management, and sometimes, other externalities such as higher maintenance fees or transport. The type of vulnerability explained here relates directly to my second research question about how global and national policies and practices mould aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes. In Mexico, middle classes face constant fear of losing what they have gained.

Mexican middle classes have been bombarded with fear mongering that would compromise their stability. One clear example was during the presidential election of 2006; the left wing party’s (*Partido de la Revolución Democrática*, PRD) candidate López Obrador lost by only 0.56%, even though polls showed he had larger possibilities to win. His campaign was deeply affected by fear-driven ads promoted by opposition parties, high-profile companies and business

chambers. The campaign had a clear message: *'a switch to the left would be a social and economic threat'* (CCE, 2006). The campaign ads from the right wing party (PAN) stressed the idea that voting represented deciding between *'crises vs. stability'*. Business chambers promoted in TV ads that the change of party and policies would represent moving backwards to the era of crises from the 1980s and 1990s. One of the ads showed a family discussing the disastrous scenarios such as *'losing the house bought with such hard work'* (CCE, 2006). The explicit message at the end of the ad with large capital letters and dramatic sound effects was *'Do not vote for another crisis'* (CCE, 2006) (Translated by author).

Instability is one of the main drivers of fear. The *Latinobarómetro Survey (2013)*, an *'initiative produced, designed and used mainly in Latin America'* addresses attitudes and behaviours towards public policies, economy, and social issues in different countries in the region. The dataset published in 2013, shows some of the apparently contradictory and complex perceptions of the Mexican population that are helpful to identify how Mexicans perceive the role of the state and free market. In 2013, only 10.8% of the Mexicans surveyed said they trusted the President, while about half of the surveyed considered that the Mexican government cannot solve or is only capable of partially solve the biggest problems the country is facing, such as crime, poverty, corruption, and drug trafficking (Latinobarómetro, 2013). This indicates the low level of trust in the state.

The survey is valuable because it allows measuring distrust in government, but also why middle classes are in constant state of anxiety. According to the survey (Latinobarómetro, 2013), Mexicans are not particularly confident about the country's economy; 56.8% perceive the country is in a standstill, 22.2% consider the country is in decline, and only 18.8% consider the country is moving forward. Expectations that things will get better are also low: only 20% of the surveyed considered the situation in the country is better than before, and almost 60% believe that in the next three years the economic situation will be the same, worse, or much worse. Aspirations of the middle classes interconnect to the promises of the free market, and anxieties on the other hand are linked to political and economic uncertainties: about 45% of the surveyed manifested they were *'worried about losing their job or being unemployed within one year'* (2013).

All of these anxieties, connected to the dependence on credit and long-term debt, make us wonder if the freedom of choice facilitates the absence of government. Individuals perceive they have higher purchase capacity, and decide to pay for goods and services that used to be responsibility of the government, without realising that it is an illusion created by credit and unfair trade conditions that make it possible to buy cheaper goods. The discussion about middle class gated communities should not be isolated from these vulnerability concerns, as I will discuss in detail later in this thesis when I present the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*.

3.5 Conclusions

Mexican middle classes are affected by macro-economic decisions and national policy changes. Since the economic crises of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Mexican middle classes have become more debt-dependant to maintain their lifestyles. The cost of living has become higher due to not only conspicuous consumption, but also the cost of services that were considered a responsibility of the state, such as education, health, and public services such as waste management, security, and road maintenance. Some authors consider that this is a form of privatised Keynesianism transferring greater burdens to the population, and therefore increasing their vulnerability. This becomes a crucial element of analysis in relation to the proliferation of middle-class gated communities, since their sustainability depends on economic stability. Therefore, the vulnerability of the indebted Mexican middle classes represents a challenge beyond the gates into the urban realm. In the following chapter, I will talk about the spatial planning and housing systems in Mexico, and the connection with the emergence of gated communities for middle income-groups and the challenges that come with that.

4 MEXICAN HOUSING AND SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEMS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I talked about the interconnection between macro-economic policies that influenced Mexican national policies, but also individual middle class households. In doing so, I focused primarily on political economy. In this chapter, I will address the same macro-level forces but the emphasis will be on their effect on the housing and spatial planning systems. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is **about land conflicts as the centre of urban development** and social interaction or exclusion in Mexico. The second section is about the **interrelation between housing policies and urban planning**, and how spatial planning is highly reliant on housing production. I also talk about the **housing financial system**, which in recent years has prioritised its position as market enabler, over its social role.

4.2 Land in the Centre of Urban Development Challenges

In order to understand middle-class gatedness in Mexico, it is essential to point out two issues: 1) socio-spatial segregation has been present since pre-Hispanic times, and it has shaped not only the physicality of Mexican cities but also social interactions; 2) land has been always in the centre of important conflicts, which has made planning a difficult task. Planning equitable urban areas becomes even harder considering the presidential no re-election system, which weakens institutions and public officials' accountability, because there is no continuity. Mexican urban reality seems chaotic and disorganised; however, there have been urban and social ordinances since pre-Hispanic times. I suggest that chaos is not due to lack of regulation, but rather conditions of inequality with written and unwritten rules that benefit only a few. Institutionalised urban planning is relatively new; the first General Law for Human Settlements (*Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos, LGAH*) was published in 1976 (SAHOP, 1976) along with the creation of the Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works (*Secretaría de Asentamientos Humanos y Obras Públicas, SAHOP*).

Institutionalisation of urban planning has dealt with old traditional spatial segregation strategies still present in modern cities. New settlements during Spanish ruling had strong and detailed design guidelines separating social groups depending on race, ethnicity, and social hierarchy (Scheinbaum, 2010). During that period, affluent Spanish families received large extensions of land, defining clear distinctions between indigenous towns, cities, villages and other territorial configurations (SRA, n.d.). These large extensions of land are in the centre of modern sprawl and residential income-based socio-spatial segregation. To understand the connection between land and modern urban development, it is essential to consider some historical issues:

- 1) After the Mexican Independence (1810), land distribution did not change significantly. Large extensions of land owned by privileged groups close to the Spanish Crown remained in the hands of a few affluent families and the Catholic Church (SRA, n.d.).
- 2) From 1858 to 1861, the *Liberal Reform* defined new policies for land tenure; based on the principles of a secular state, the federal government took over land owned by the Church and some other social organisations (SRA, n.d.). An important percentage of large extensions of land recovered by the state would eventually end up in the hands of a few privileged groups.
- 3) During Porfirio Diaz's dictatorship (1876-1910), changes in laws and regulations came into place to enable privileged local and international investors to obtain large portions of land for industrial, agricultural, and residential purposes (Carmona, 2007; De Vos, 1984). Inequalities and abuses during this period led to the Mexican Revolution.
- 4) After the Mexican Revolution, the Constitution of 1917 integrated the ideals for housing and access to land (Sánchez-Corral, 2010). The process of land distribution for indigenous communities in the form of *ejidos* (communal agriculture land) was a long and exhausting process. The Agrarian Decree of 1915 promised to provide land for those who needed it. The Agrarian Reform and *ejido* provision through expropriation of private land became central in the reorganisation of land ownership in cities' peripheral areas. The fight for *ejidos* has been characterised by constant conflict between political groups during the 20th century.
- 5) In 1992, the constitutional changes to article 27 modified land tenure options and planning policies that would enable communal agricultural land to become private property subject to urbanisation, privatisation of housing provision, and deregulation of the spatial planning system (Velázquez-Leyer, 2015).

I suggest that the connection of these five land-related historical issues to the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico is mainly due to two factors. Firstly, the size, shape and location of traditional large extensions of land such as *ranchos*, *haciendas* or *ejidos* have defined the shape, size and location of modern suburban residential areas and gated communities. Secondly, these land-related constitutional changes and policies have defined modern urban development practices.

4.3 Interrelation between Housing and Urban Policies in Mexico

Planning and housing policies in Mexico have evolved in a slightly different way, even though they are interconnected. Modern urban planning was institutionalised in 1976, whilst national housing policies go back to the Constitution of 1917, which stated the ‘*right to a dignified house*’ (Sánchez-Corral, 2010). Even though the Constitution included this aim, it took decades to create the institutions that would operationalise it. The history of social housing in this nation has been always linked to labour. The first policies were based on the principle that industries should provide housing for their workers (2010). During the 1940s, housing programmes were very close to labour unions, which were the beneficiaries of some of the first ambitious social housing estates in Mexico City. The poorest and most vulnerable were out of the housing provision strategies, which left them in peripheral un-served land, while working classes linked to the industrialisation boom of the 1940s settled near the urban centres. Housing strategies had a strong political connection. The ruling party PRI built a strong clientelistic relationship with labour and peasant unions. Large-scale multi-story housing developments were promoted in Mexico City following modernist ideals (*Ibid.*). The state-led social housing strategy attended the needs of the groups closer to government, bureaucrats being amongst the first beneficiaries.

From the 1940s to the 1970s, state-led housing strategies were limited in scale and locations. In addition, spatial planning policies before 1976 were limited to regulation of *fraccionamientos* (residential areas) and construction guidelines (Azuela, 2010). One of the most important institutional advances in relation to housing happened in 1972 with the creation of the **National Workers Housing Fund Institute** (*Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores*, INFONAVIT). The creation of this housing institution is crucial in the understanding of Mexican housing development, not only for the large number of low- and middle-income families that have received funding for housing since its creation (8,905,879 credits from 1972 to 2015) (INFONAVIT, 2015), but because the evolution of this institution epitomises national housing, urban development, and economic discourses and practices. INFONAVIT was created to finally respond to the right to housing intended in the constitution of 1917. This national fund was generated through employers’ contributions, equivalent to the 5% of the workers’ salaries (INFONAVIT, 2015). At the beginning, INFONAVIT was responsible for the whole process: from the selection of land reserves, to the design, construction, supervision, and financing of housing. INFONAVIT has evolved significantly since its creation. The institution has assumed an entrepreneurial vision in the last couple of decades.

The evolution of institutions like INFONAVIT is a direct response to changes in national economic, political and social policies, deeply rooted in international financial interests. In the following section, I will explain in a very general way, the evolution of planning and housing policies in Mexico, and the characteristics of housing financing strategies, with the intention to show the constant interplay between global and local forces in the development of modern urban Mexico.

4.3.1 Spatial Planning in Mexico

According to Azuela (2010), urban policies and regulations in Mexico in the past three decades are a complex phenomenon. The fact that institutionalisation of planning happened in 1976, does not mean that there were no urban or land related regulations previously. The importance of the publication of the General Law for Human Settlements (*Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos*, LGAH) in 1976 is that the Mexican Government began to see planning and urban development as a priority. One of the most important issues was ‘*placing the Constitution in line with a worldwide movement of institutionalisation of planning, of which the main consequence was the redefinition of property in the context of urban management*’ (Azuela, 2010, p. 588) (*Translated by author*). In order to make planning possible, a series of constitutional reforms had to be made. According to the author, a notable feature was the ‘optimism’ of the actors involved in the process. The new urban planning vision was not favourably received by everyone, particularly the business sector that saw their property rights threatened. In the end, the new policy brought four important elements: *a regime of plans; a distribution of competences; regulation; and social participation in urban management* (Azuela, 2010, p. 590). The planning system considered four levels: national, subnational (state), municipal, and “conurbation”.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, planners (mostly architects) became central figures for state and national governments; with their help, the first official state and municipal urban development plans were published nationwide. However, in 1983 urban planning suffered a ‘*symbolic degradation*’ (Azuela, 2010, p. 591) with the publication of the **Planning Law** and the creation of the **National Democratic System** (Montemayor, 1983) that would transform the terminology on the subject, reserving the use of the word “plan” for the National Development Plan (the government vision), and urban development would be limited to “programmes” (Azuela, 2010, p. 591). One of the most important constitutional changes in relation to planning was the amendment of article 115 in 1983 that would ‘*assign regulating competences of urban development to municipal authorities*’ (p. 592). This was part of a decentralisation project that supposedly would allow states and municipalities to plan and manage their own urban processes. Nevertheless, regional states were not too interested in defining the mechanisms and competences

in order to allow municipalities do it adequately. Some states decided to continue using old legal instruments such as the *Fraccionamientos* Law, or incorporated housing provision strategies in their state urban development programmes, to maintain power on real estate capital and the market of developable land (p. 595).

Azuela (2010) considers that one of the unintended consequences of the Planning Law of 1983 is that it created two different and isolated visions of planning: the municipal development plan that focused on economic and social development placed urban development programmes in a secondary position. In addition, planners and architects were substituted by economists (Azuela, 2010, p. 598) in the definition of planning priorities. Urban development ended up being one of many elements in the municipal agenda.

One of the most important challenges in terms of planning and housing during the 1980s was the massive earthquake of 1985. The number of people who lost their home became an opportunity for fast-track housing provision strategies, bringing together private developers, government, and civil society. According to Quarentelli (1993), '*millions of individual and group volunteers concurrently launched a mass assault on the problems*' (Quarantelli, 1993, p. 24). This concurrency was crucial for the consolidation of organised groups demanding housing, such as the Urban Popular Movement (*Movimiento Urbano Popular*) and the Neighbourhood Assembly (*Asamblea de Barrios*). In response, the state created the Emergent Housing Programme (*Programa Emergente de Vivienda*) and the Popular Housing Renovation Programme (*Programa de Renovación Habitacional Popular*) (Connolly, 1987; Sánchez-Corral, 2010). The massive earthquake opened a new state-led door to the involvement of the private sector in housing development (Walker, 2013).

According to Garza (2010), urbanisation and economic development are '*organically linked since these inseparable processes characterise the structure of society*' (Garza, 2010, p. 34). Therefore, the biggest impacts on urban development derive from ambitious economic aims. The most substantial changes in planning and housing happened during Carlos Salinas de Gortari's presidency (1988-1994). According to Jones *et al.* (1993), Salinas had a threefold plan: *to reform Mexican economy, [...] to attain a high level of economic growth and regain living standards, [...] and restructure the political system in order to provide both immediate legitimacy and assured future hegemony for the PRI* (Jones, Jiménez, & Ward, 1993, p. 635). Salinas' ambitious economic growth aims were largely connected to land, either for industrial, agriculture, touristic, commercial or residential purposes. In order to accomplish these aims, he encouraged a series of structural changes with the support of international financial institutions such as the World Bank.

A fundamental policy change in spatial planning and housing was the “agrarian regime reform”. When the LGAH was published, there was an understanding that planning would define public interest on urban and agriculture land. However, agrarian groups were not interested in planning processes and got used to working with their own rules and institutions such as the Secretariat of Agrarian Reform (SRA) and the Commission for Regularisation of Land Tenure (CORETT) created in the 1970s (Azuela, 2010, pp. 600-601). This was conveniently profited by the ruling party PRI, which used their clientelistic strategy to gain followers by allowing illegal settlements in peripheral communal agriculture land, and later on, regularising land tenure and urban status. The most important policy modification was done in 1992; this would allow agrarian groups to decide, without state intervention, if they wanted to abandon their communal regime (*ejido*) in a collective or individual way. This allowed agriculture landowners to sell their land, laying the grounds for the new housing production boom.

The constitutional changes of article 27 not only meant that rural land could be urbanised; it also enabled an ambitious national housing plan: The Special Programme to Promote and Deregulate Housing (*Programa Especial para el Fomento y Desregulación de la Vivienda*), aimed at ***simplifying the process of housing construction, regularisation of land tenure, rationalisation of housing funding, and privatisation of housing production***. The combination of cheap large extensions of newly available communal agricultural land, deregulation of the planning system with fewer restrictions for dwellers, and institutional financial support to developers were the key to a new housing vision that started in the 1990s and thrived during the 2000s.

The constitutional amendments of article 27 and article 115 allowed the privatisation of urban development, particularly through large-scale residential areas with the consent of municipal authorities that thought considered promoting urbanisation in rural land would bring economic growth and higher tax income. Then, the Programme to Promote and Deregulate Housing in 1992 modified housing institutions and the relationship between the state and financial private and public agencies. Since the early 1990s, housing and urban development have been deregulated from a planning perspective, but strengthened through economic and financial policies. The unintended consequences are dispersed urban areas with inadequate public services, infrastructure, and transport, with highly unequal conditions for different socio-economic groups.

20th century Mexico was characterised by a '*strong tradition of territorial policies, starting with the agrarian reform of 1915*' (Zanetta, 2004, p. 118). However, since the institutionalisation of planning in the 1970s, urban development has faced national and international political, economic, and social challenges. In 2012, as an effort to unify the social, urban, agrarian, and environmental aims, a new Secretariat of Agricultural, Territorial and Urban Development (*Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario, Territorial y Urbano*, SEDATU) was created gathering three isolated land and planning national institutions (SRE, SEDESOL, SEDUE) (SEDATU, n.d.). The current National Urban Development Plan (2014-2018) aims give an idea about the loss of control over planning issues. The main objectives are '*controlling sprawl; consolidating a sustainable urban development model; improving urban mobility; designing and implementing regulatory instruments for land management; and disincentive human settlements in highly vulnerable areas*' (Gob. de la República, 2014) (Translated by author). These objectives acknowledge the failures of the system and the challenges for the future.

4.3.2 Mexican Housing System

As mentioned, housing and planning are deeply connected, but until the 1990s, their history was slightly different. Housing policies have their roots in Article 123 of the Constitution of 1917, which stated the obligation of employers to provide comfortable and hygienic housing for their workers (SRA, n.d.). Housing institutions have had different goals in close relation to national political and economic aims. At first, their aim was to provide housing for the low-income working classes, but throughout the years, it has become a system with high financial interests. In 1943, the Mexican Institute for Social Security (IMSS) was created to provide social security and housing for labourers. In 1949, the Public Housing Trust Fund (FHP) was created, and in 1954, the National Housing Institute (INVI) appeared. Housing financial institutions emerged in 1963 with the Operating Fund and Banking Financing for Housing (FOVI) and the Guarantee Fund and Support for Housing Loans (FOGA), which enabled private banking and protected investments. In 1972, INFONAVIT was created, and in 1974 the Commission to regulate land ownership (CORETT) appeared to solve land tenure conflicts, particularly in communal agricultural land. The National Trust Fund for Housing (FONHAPO) was created in 1981, and the First Housing Law as published in 1984, when housing was elevated in the constitution as a right (Sánchez-Corral, 2010). Housing institutions in Mexico have been strengthened or debilitated, according to particular political interests.

The Mexican Housing System was transformed importantly after the crises of the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1980s, housing production was seen as a strategy to revitalise the economy and combat unemployment. During Salinas's presidency (1988-1994), there was an important investment through the programme Solidarity (*Solidaridad*) in infrastructure and coverage of basic services such as water, sewers and electricity. There was also an effort to regularise land tenure (Zanetta, 2004, pp. 96-97). The state invested millions in the urbanisation of communities in the whole nation and cleared the path for private developers to become the main agents of urban development. Overall, the transition of the housing system is a sign of the changes in political and economic direction. During an interview, Enrique Ortiz, former director of FONHAPO during the 1980s, commented that in his view (as someone who was present during these massive structural modifications), the change of economic direction in the 1980s, pushed mainly by the World Bank, had an enormous influence in housing policies. He was present in *Los Pinos*, the president's residence, in the meeting that took place in October 1992 to communicate the new housing direction in the launch of the Agreement for Housing Deregulation and Development (*Acuerdo para el Fomento y Desregulación de la Vivienda*). According to Ortiz, President Salinas presented the policies and institutional changes that would enable the private sector to become the main actor of housing provision and '*nobody said a word, the decision was already taken*' (E. Ortiz, December 2013).

The new housing system required agencies to support its business-like model. Existing institutions like INFONAVIT, FOVISSSTE, FONHAPO and others, modified their operation and administration models, and in the early 2000s, new agencies had to be created. In 2001, the National Commission for Housing Development (CONAFOVI) appeared as articulator of activities from the state position. The same year, the Federal Mortgage Society (SHF) replaced the Housing Fund (FOVI), and became a mortgage agency to give access to new markets with "modern and efficient mechanisms". In 2006, the National Housing Council (CONAVI) replaced CONAFOVI as a body of consultation that included the key industry players (Esquivel-Hernández, 2006). In Esquivel-Hernández (2006) view, the Mexican housing system can be divided in two stages marked by different trends in social policies:

- 1) **The first stage (1970s-1980s)** was characterised by important regulation by the government and the instrumentation of housing programmes and housing production.
- 2) **The second stage (from 1990s onwards)** has had a larger intervention from private financial agents, promoters, and constructors under the facilitating strategies promoted by the World Bank.

The enabling policies of the second stage (1990s) have enabled the proliferation of middle class gated communities as a consequence of deregulating the housing and planning systems. During the first stage, the aim was at low-income groups and was strongly regulated. GCs existed, but were mostly for affluent groups or small housing developments the size of a block or a gated dead-end street. I claim that the financialisation of housing and the increase of mortgage loans options (public and private), along with a national discourse of homeownership and middle class expectations, have incentivised the construction of these fortified residential developments. Weakening the planning system has indirectly contributed to this phenomenon because there was no clear regulation against gating up. In the past couple of decades, there have been isolated efforts to promote more sustainable residential models, like the creation of Sustainable Urban Development Projects (*Desarrollos Urbanos Integrales Sustentables*, DUIS) and some socially constructed policies in the 2006 General Housing Law. However, these planning and housing initiatives have not been able to surpass economic and political interests.

Since access to housing became a constitutional right in 1983, the housing system has been transformed significantly. The redefinition of the role of the state and the privatisation of housing development has created new rules of operation and objectives. The housing dynamic is interrelated to changes in economic but also demographic processes; Mexico has become a mainly urban society and metropolitan areas have grown importantly. The housing programmes have been tackling housing deficit mostly from a quantitative perspective, leaving aside qualitative values, and creating wider gaps between socio-economic groups. The result has been an unequal land development and strong differentiation in housing provision. According to Coulomb (2010), in the last quarter of the century there was improvement in the general housing conditions, but marked by '*profound inequality in access to basic housing needs, between socioeconomic sectors, between rural and urban areas, and even within the same city*' (Coulomb, 2010, p. 559) (*Translated by author*). Access to adequate housing and quality public services seems to be directly connected to income or access to credit.

According to Coulomb (2010), in Mexico the supply of new housing can be classified in four major forms of management and financing. The first form is *self-production*, which is the most common (over 60% of the housing stock in the country). The second form of housing production is *custom-made* - the landowner hires a third party for the design and construction. In the past, this form of production was dominant among middle- and high-income groups, but displaced later. The third form of production is a sort of *effective-demand* which responds to the needs of those who can acquire housing via credit. The fourth and final form is a *state-led* housing production promoted by the national state supporting construction companies and developers in close coordination with various government agencies that provide mortgage loans, whilst also

providing “bridge loans” to private builders. This type of production aims low and middle-income groups. (Coulomb, 2010, pp. 560-562) (Translated by author). This last form can be considered as *subsidised housing* because of the state’s support in bringing costs down benefiting developers.

Housing financing options have increased for consumers but also for developers in the shape of subsidies and incentives. I do not claim all middle-class residencies inside gated communities have been obtained through a public/private mortgage, but rather that the structural enabling conditions have contributed to the increase in number of these enclaves. In Zearly’s World Bank Paper (1993), there is a sort of “praise” to the important changes Mexico was developing in the early 1990s in order to ‘enable housing markets’ to work. Mexico not only made important land and planning changes but also modified the entire financial system:

‘In 1989, the government abolished quantitative lending requirements that gave housing a claim on 6 per cent of all bank loans and gave other “priority” sectors separate claims on bank lending. At the same time, the government eliminated controls on interest rates for bank loans and deposits and permitted such rates to be determined by the market. Deregulation of the interest rates was followed by the reprivatisation of the commercial banking system, which had been nationalised in 1982. To further strengthen bank management and performance and to stimulate competition in the financial sector, the government also passed legislation allowing the formation of diversified bank holding companies. Regulations on creating specialised financial institutions and opening bank branches were also liberalised to encourage the development of consumer banking services. To further integrate the housing finance system with the overall financial sector, various government agencies, including the Central Bank and the stock exchange commission, together with commercial banks and other financial intermediaries, are currently developing a secondary mortgage market in Mexico’ (Zearly, 1993, p. 249)

As planning institutions and policies started to weaken in the 1990s, housing financial institutions became stronger. In February 1992, the Mexican Congress approved a constitutional amendment that ‘*converted INFONAVIT from a construction agency into a **housing bank**, with new rules to ensure fairness in the assignment of mortgages, to cut subsidies, and to make INFONAVIT financially self-sufficient*’ (Zearly, 1993, p. 249). Since 1992, INFONAVIT introduced a series of structural changes; for example, the extension of the payment of the loan deadline to 30 years (INFONAVIT, 2015). One of the most important changes was the financialisation of the institution, which made the agency pay more attention on high return rates for investment over housing quality for residents. Since the 2000s, INFONAVIT introduced a new set of “products” such as the credit *COFINAVIT* with the co-participation of commercial banking institutions; the green mortgages (*Hipotecas Verdes*) to promote energy sufficient strategies; home regeneration programmes like *Renueva tu Hogar* (Renew your Home) or *Mejora tu Casa* (Improve your Home); and even second mortgages options for those with good credit history (INFONAVIT, 2015). To this day, INFONAVIT places the largest amount of loans in the market. Therefore, the way this institution operates has a deep impact on the entire housing market.

According to the OECD (2015), the problems of the housing policy in Mexico are rooted in its housing finance system. The strong financial support to the housing sector enabled millions of Mexicans to move into a new house. However, the quality of the houses and the liveability of the urbanisations (for low-income groups) have created further problems such as infrastructure and transport shortage, public services inadequacy, insecurity, and longer commute times to work and education sites. The policy report on housing considers that '*policy-makers must tackle the many peculiarities*' (OECD, 2015, p. 16) of the Mexican housing financing policies such as the: **focus on home ownership, the urbanisation of agriculture land, the long history of informal housing development, and the quantitative focus of housing provision.** The report also points out, that '*a more sustainable housing model in Mexico is unlikely to occur without reforms to INFONAVIT, which continues to drive the flow of funding for housing development*' (OECD, 2015, p. 18).

Current housing financing in Mexico has a complex public-private structure. According to Coulomb (2010), housing financing in Mexico is possible due to the actions of the National Housing Agencies (*Organismos Nacionales de Vivienda*, ONAVIS) and- in much lesser extent – the Subnational Housing Agencies (*Organismos Estatales de Vivienda*, OREVIS). ONAVIS can be classified in three groups (Coulomb, 2010, p. 571): 1) Housing Funds such as INFONAVIT and FOVISSSTE; 2) Banking agencies such as the Federal Housing Mortgage (SHF) and the Limited Purpose Financial Societies (*Sociedades Financieras de Objeto Limitado*, SOFOLES); and 3) parastatal organisations such as FONHAPO, aimed at the lower-income groups. The “enabling policies” proposed by United Nations in the *Global Strategy for Shelter* to guarantee that by the year 2000 governmental and non-governmental actors would focus on the provision of '*basic shelter and infrastructure*' (United Nations , 1988) were hijacked by global financial interests in the 1990s. The World Bank enabling recommendations (1993) focused on: deregulation, enabling the participation of private developers, decreasing state funding for housing; financialisation of housing, depletion of land reserves, progressive orientation of subsidies towards middle-income groups, amongst others (Coulomb, 2010, pp. 573-575).

The financialisation of housing also meant improving the ratings of the Mexican mortgage market by transnational credit rating agencies. That is where the middle classes become fundamental; the financial strategy required the consolidation of the financing structure, which made INFONAVIT aim at higher-income beneficiaries because they represented lower credit risks. Even though housing programmes stressed the need for affordable housing, in practice, developers preferred targeting middle-income groups. In 2003, housing for middle-income groups constituted 40.3% of the new stock, three times more than what the sectorial housing programme defined (Coulomb, 2010, p. 577). This shows the contradictions of a state-led strategy

with a business vision. CONAFOVI, the National Commission for Housing Development, which is in charge of designing, promoting, directing, and coordinating the national housing policy (Esquivel-Hernández, 2006), somehow contributed to the consolidation of housing production monopolies, which have become extremely powerful in that their actions modify entire regions. The financial aim of housing agencies is highly valued. In August 2014, INFONAVIT received the international award of *Most Sustainable bank* by World Finance recognising ‘*its financial strength and constant innovation for the improvement of the process and sustainability products*’ (Embamex UK, 2014).

Problems with housing, consequently, are the physical outcome of a financial strategy. Roberto Eibenschutz, a key stakeholder in the institutionalisation of planning in Mexico, and current Director of the University Programme of Metropolitan Studies (PUEM) at *UAM-Xochimilco* told me his views on the outcomes of economically focused urban and housing policies during a personal interview during fieldwork. His frustration can be read in the following statement:

‘Housing Policy? Which housing policy? ... There is no housing policy!!!! Only rules of operation from financial institutions and a set of rules for developers... and the result is scattered housing developments... But they comply... Developers comply with the rules of the market and the financial institutions’ (R. Eibenschutz, October 2013)

In 2006, Eibenschutz and Goya published a comprehensive study evaluating the outcomes of the Mexican housing policies from 1996 to 2006. In their work, they analyse privately developed housing estates in the most important metropolitan areas. Although they do not make any distinction between gated and non-gated large-scale housing developments, they suggest that developers have created isolated places with no adequate public services, infrastructure, and facilities. They also suggest that these places are not satisfying residents’ expectations as they are far away from work or school, and accomplishing everyday chores becomes complicated (Eibenschutz & Goya, 2006). Horizontal sprawl in Mexico has become one of the biggest problems of urbanisation. During the interview, Eibenschutz showed concerns about the role of public institutions like INFONAVIT, because in his view, they are largely responsible for these unliveable environments:

‘I have asked INFONAVIT officials... How are you financing these [isolated poor quality housing estates]? ... Aren’t you ashamed? And their answer has been: We are very respectful of the authorities... We are a financial institution... We are not responsible for [construction] permits and [planning] authorisations...they are [referring to local governments] ...’ (R. Eibenschutz, October 2013)

For Eibenschutz, the concept that horizontal sprawl has been the effect of a deregulated system is relative; during the interview he manifested that in his opinion, urban development is not completely deregulated. Land, housing, and planning issues might have been deregulated, but regulation for financial institutions was reinforced. In that sense, '*real estate developers actually comply with the rules of financial institutions*' (R. Eibenschutz, October 2013). In his opinion, the social interest that was present when housing funding institutions were created has been lost, as he points out in the following example:

'The new credit options are designed to benefit construction companies and their intermediaries... Instead of targeting actions to those who earn less than 2 or 3 minimum wages ... the market saturated the 5 to 10 salaries group because they are good payers... So what happened? The aggressive gigantic housing companies exhausted the niche market and then the state came out with two options to maintain the construction economy... 1) second house credits for those same people... and 2) no price limit on the property so INFONAVIT money and subsidies can be used as down payment for residential high-income housing' (R. Eibenschutz, October 2013)

The housing and spatial planning policies of the last three decades have brought a series of challenges and opportunities, as pointed out in the 2015 OECD Urban Policy Review on Mexico (OECD, 2015, pp. 3-14):

- (a) Mexico's rapid urbanisation has increased opportunities for city dwellers
- (b) Cities need to connect residents to jobs and infrastructure
- (c) In the past decade, Mexico had the third highest rate of urban sprawl in the OECD
- (d) Increasing motorisation and inadequate public transport
- (e) One-seventh of the housing stock is uninhabited
- (f) Most of the housing stock is owner-occupied, an obstacle to greater labour mobility
- (g) Challenges to security, air quality and water stress affect city-dwellers' well-being.

Large-scale housing developments produced in the past couple of decades have transformed the territory in a way that inevitably created unequal conditions and income inequality. Eibenschutz & Goya's housing report (2006) analysing large-scale housing estates in the period 1996-2006 shows some of the main negative effects. Although the report does not differentiate between gated or non-gated developments, their findings give an idea of the main problems of suburban metropolitan areas in Mexico derived from the housing policies (Eibenschutz & Goya, 2006):

1. **Distant location from the city.** The peripheral condition of recent housing states affects access to jobs, infrastructure, services, and facilities. The problem is discontinuity because housing estates left vacant land everywhere subject to land speculation.
2. **Lack of local and regional planning regulation.** The majority of the new mass-housing states are located in semi-rural areas in peripheral municipalities, exceeding technical and financial capacities of local governments to satisfy the demands generated.
3. **Massive Scale.** The average amount of units per state of mass housing estates after the 1990s is around 3,000. However, in mega-cities there are housing developments with over 15,000 units.
4. **Enclosed urban design isolated from the immediate context, the urban grid, and the central city.** The report indicates that 60% of the housing estates analysed had some type of physical barrier. The authors consider this type of design creates discontinuity and public spaces become hybrid spaces, which do not promote social interaction. Authors conclude that confinement has not been a successful measure to tackle criminal activity because these are more structural social problems.
5. **Higher living costs for residents and municipalities to provide services.** Residents transport costs are higher because of the distance to job locations, and sprawl increases the costs to provide public services, transport, and security.

The problem is that these urban “evils” cannot be solved or addressed only from a spatial planning perspective; since they are the result of complex multi-level social, political, and economic issues. Housing financing strategies in Mexico have clearly reshaped social and urban policies, but also practices and meanings. It seems like the Mexican state discourse (in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1991)) of economic growth, middle class achievement and homeownership has permeated public policy, house production, and individual aspirations and expectations. The financial “machinery” has produced particular physical outcomes that shape attitudes and actions. Gated communities, in that sense, are a physical outcome of more complex structural conditions, as will be discussed later in this thesis.

4.4 Conclusions

Mexico has a long history of socio-spatial segregation and land has been a central element of political, economic, and social conflict. Land-related policies have shaped not only the physicality of modern Mexican cities but also social interaction. Institutionalisation of spatial planning is relatively new (1976); its origins were full of optimism and ambitious objectives. However, changes in economic, politic, and housing policies in the early 1990s weakened the planning system and highlighted the predominant role of economic policies in housing provision. Spatial planning and housing systems in Mexico have always been strongly interconnected. Nevertheless, the role of housing has increased in the last three decades with the privatisation of housing production. While planning and housing were deregulated following international financing institutions, housing financing regulation was strengthened. The outcomes of quantitative and financially-driven housing development has left Mexican cities dealing with important challenges in public service provision, infrastructure and transport, but more importantly, with highly unequal conditions for different socio-economic groups. The proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico is deeply connected to recent housing policies and housing financing strategies, as I will explain in the following chapter.

5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, I analysed elements that I consider crucial for understanding the proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico, using mostly existing literature with the exception of a few interviews from key actors in housing and planning policymaking or policy implementation. In this chapter, I present the methodology which guided the empirical research. It is organised in three sections. In the first section, I present, for a second time, the research aims and questions, and the methods chosen for data collection. In the second section, I talk about grounded theory and the process for data collection, data analysis, and explain the rationale behind the use of a single in-depth case study. The third and final section is about ethical considerations, challenges, and limitations during this research, and how I dealt with these issues.

5.2 Research Aim and Questions

The aim of this research is to use the concept of *gatedness* to better understand the **policies, practices, and meanings** behind the proliferation of **middle-class gated communities** in **Mexico**, a country with large socio-economic disparities and uncertainties. In particular, I am looking at how neoliberal transnational forces influence national policies and shape everyday lives.

In this research, gated communities are seen as a material expression of **neoliberal urbanism**, where these enclaves are part of a larger phenomenon that is not limited to the physicality of these fortified residential spaces. The research focuses on the middle classes, because of these groups' vulnerability in a context of **economic, social, and political uncertainty**. A better understanding of the practices behind the process of **gating up** the middle class in Mexico might provide a broader insight into neoliberal urbanism's challenges, losses, and constraints.

The research questions derive from the underlying research interest of “why” middle class gated communities have proliferated in Mexico in recent decades. The previous chapters address this theoretical framing on why things happened in a certain way. However, in order to understand why these fortified spaces came into being, it is necessary to identify “how” this happened. Based on this premise, the previous analysis, the gaps in literature, and the research aim, I established the following questions:

- 1) How have **neoliberal transnational forces** transformed **national housing and planning policies** in **Mexico** since the 1990s? How have these changes contributed to the proliferation of gated communities?
- 2) How have global and national **economic, political, and social policies and practices**, moulded the **aspirations and anxieties** of the **middle classes in Mexico**? How have these aspirations and anxieties contributed to the proliferation and normalisation of gated communities for this particular group?
- 3) How does **gating up** in a context of economic, political, and social uncertainty like Mexico shape middle classes' **everyday practices and meanings**? How does that connect back to policy?

5.3 Methods, Data, and Research Strategy

To answer these research questions, I took an interpretive approach and decided to use qualitative methods that would allow exploring practices around middle-class gated communities. My proposal to analyse *gatedness*, as a practice approach analysis of gated communities, required methods that would give an idea of the different attitudes, motivations, and meanings of these enclaves for different actors (Wagenaar, 2011), and required an analysis of material and immaterial elements. That is one of the reasons why I chose an **in-depth single case study**, because that allowed me to observe in detail the social phenomenon of gating up, paying particular attention to people's aspirations and anxieties, and **how they make meaning** (2011). *Gatedness* is seen as a multi-domain phenomenon deriving from macro-level structural political, social, and economic policies that have an effect on physical and behavioural patterns and shape everyday lives. Taking an **interpretive approach** and using **grounded theory** as main methodology, allowed me to pay attention on *how* the social phenomenon develops (Charmaz, 2006).

The research strategy evolved with the analysis. The more I read about gated communities and contrasted scholarly conclusions with my findings during fieldwork, the more I started paying attention to the seemingly unimportant issues that became recurrent during interviews and observation exercises. The use of qualitative methods allowed me to go deeper into the actors' motivations and perceptions, but also the connections between **policies, practices, and meanings**. Paying attention to details and recurrent topics during and after interviews, allowed me to learn about the gated world from inside. During interviews and observation exercises I used different tactics to record the experience. In most cases I had a notebook and I wrote information about the

place where the interview took place, the way I had reached the interviewee, or notes about the facial expressions, signs of stress, or even happiness. One of the most useful methodological tools, was writing “memos”. Every time I came back to the UK from fieldwork and listened to the interviews, I started writing about the recurrent issues. These memos were short essays that helped me analyse and code data. Another useful research strategy was using photographs and short videos. I was able to compare the same site after a year or two, which was useful to connect with the different stories my interviewees were sharing.

The use of grounded theory gave me the opportunity to analyse the case study without isolating it from the specific wider context of social, political, and economic uncertainty. The main methods used for this research were **in-depth and semi-structured interviews** from actors in different levels and sectors, as well as **observation exercises** conducted in various events and situations inside and outside the gates. The **case study *Lomas de Angelópolis***, a large-scale suburban gated community in Puebla, Mexico, helped me connect the national policies and discourses with transnational economic interests, through everyday life stories. In the following section, I will explain the rationale behind the election of the single in-depth case study.

5.3.1 Case Study Selection

In the original research design, I considered analysing three different gated communities in Puebla, Mexico. The idea was to identify the similarities and differences in the process of gating up of different middle class groups (from low-, middle- to upper-middle classes. However, when I started fieldwork I realised that a single large-scale case embodied the gated stratified middle class social phenomenon I wanted to analyse. Lomas de Angelópolis is compound of gated communities or “clusters”, where housing options fit the paying capacity of different middle class groups, particularly middle- and upper-middle classes.

The choice to focus in one case, even though I was aware about the academic debate about generalisation from single case-studies, was because it provided enough elements to understand more about the gatedness phenomenon in Mexico, but also provided elements about the process of gating up that could be applied in other countries with similar structural, economic, social and political uncertainties. The case itself, can be seen as intrinsic because it gives us details and information about socio-spatial segregation, socio-economic dynamics, and municipal and metropolitan in the region of Puebla in Mexico. It also allows better understanding of the Mexican debt-fuelled economy, and the connection of this sort of enclaves with the recent changes in planning and housing policies. However, in a sense it can also be seen as an instrumental case, because it can *‘provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalisation’*

(Stake, 2000, p. 445). In that sense, findings using this case study, also '*facilitates our understanding of something else*' (2000, p. 445). Analysing gatedness through the case *Lomas*, can help us recognise the challenges and limitations of neoliberal urbanism, not only in Mexico, but in countries with similar conditions. The concept gatedness can also be drawn out of the residential enclave, and seen from a policies and practice perspective.

Lomas offers rich stories related to policy, practice, and meanings. The findings in this research can be comparable to cases in other emerging or developing countries facing large social inequalities and debt-economies like Mexico. The case was also chosen because it can be studied from: a macro-level perspective of global economic forces, a mid-level (subnational) approach considering the policies and practices of regional governments; and a micro-level perspective in relation to *Lomas*' residents and their aspirations and anxieties in a global context of uncertainties and constant change. This single case study of 21,000 houses, provides by itself enough elements of analysis to understand the metro-region of Puebla and the role of global forces in the implementation of national practices and everyday individual actions.

The research project was conducted in Mexico. The relevance of the case, from a broader perspective, is because of this country's historic, cultural, social, and economic importance in the Latin American region, but also because it relates to the dynamics of other emerging economies in the global south. The gated community *Lomas* is located in the Metropolitan Area of Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T), the 4th largest metropolitan area in Mexico with a population of over 2 million. This metropolitan area has seen an unusually large number of gated communities built in the peripheries since the late 1990s and 2000s; according to Milián-Ávila & Guenet, around 912 gated communities were identified in the early 2000s (Milián-Ávila & Guenet, 2015, p. 246). The case, as it will be explained in detail in the following chapter, is located in the *Angelópolis* District, the outcome of an ambitious megaproject in the early 1990s aiming to bring foreign and national investment and increase the region's competitiveness in the global context.

The case *Lomas* simultaneously conveys the complexity of the process of gating up of middle-income groups, but also provides a rich collection of stories because of its distinctive condition as a multi-clustered structure. These are some of the main characteristics that made *Lomas*, as a single case, a multi-layered system with rich elements for analysis from a macro-level to a micro-level perspective:

- (a) **Large scale:** the ever growing gated community is over 600 hectares but some indicate that the compound could reach 900 hectares, which is three times the size of The City of London (2.9 km² = 290 has);

- (b) **Urban structure:** multiple stratified mini gated communities. The complex is a big container of small individual gated clusters;
- (c) **Administrative complexity:** located in two municipalities and the presence of multiple private administrators; and
- (d) **Diverse middle-income residents:** it is a diversified residential offer aiming high-income middle classes and mid-middle class groups with high-credit capacity.

Lomas is not just a residential enclave but rather a planned community with commercial areas, schools, sports facilities, supermarkets, leisure activities, offices, hotels, and children's playgrounds in an enclosed environment. This GC, as it will be described in detail in the following chapter, started as a typical suburban gated community, but in only a decade has become a Megaproject. This residential enclave was not originally conceived as a global investment pole, but now is becoming one. During fieldwork, I had the opportunity to visit other gated communities in cities like *Cuernavaca*, *Querétaro*, *Guadalajara*, *Mexico City*, *State of Mexico*, *Saltillo*, *Toluca*, and *Playa del Carmen*. However, none of the GCs I visited had the size, diversity, and administrative complexity of *Lomas*. This was particularly interesting, because the case study is the extreme of a spectrum, a good place to study processes/phenomena, which are probably also taking place elsewhere.

5.3.2 *Data Collection*

Data collection was conducted using qualitative methods. The main methodology was grounded theory, because I found from an early stage that it provided a structured system but also flexibility. My process of data collection was very dynamic. Charmaz (2014) points out that *Grounded theory begins with inductive data, invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps you interacting and involved with your data and emerging analysis*' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1). This process of going back and forth was very useful because it allowed me to go back to the initial interviews and read them under a different light, but also look for those original interviewees for follow-up questions. Grounded Theory, in that sense, gave me the flexibility to collect data, analyse, and go back to data, without losing sight on the aim of this research.

I decided to take a “constructivist approach” (Charmaz, 2014) to grounded theory. This approach gave me enough freedom to observe the phenomenon with freedom and flexibility without erasing the preconceptions and values I had from previous experiences on site. . Before starting data collection, I had to acknowledge how my own personal and professional experience could define the direction of the thesis. That is why it was so important to maintain focused and keep the attention on the data. According to Charmaz (2014) grounded theorists ‘*draw on data (e.g. narratives and descriptions) in service of developing new conceptual categories*’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 14). The process of data collection was based on the narratives and descriptions I found during fieldwork, which also contributed to change my own views and preconceptions.

Data collection was conducted in four different stages; it is important to point out that I had previously done some preliminary observation exercises on-site with architecture students as part of a public space research project in 2011. This previous experience had given me a sense of the type of difficulties I would face, and the sort of strategies I needed to use to approach residents. The four stages had different intentions, but they turned out to be very beneficial because I was able to observe in real time the fast transformation of the site. One of the most important challenges during this process was doing interviews in Spanish and writing up in English, which meant double work during transcription of interviews and constant revision of field notes. The four stages were organised this way:

6. The first stage took place from **October 2013 to January 2014**. The majority of the in-depth and semi-structured interviews were done in this period. As a strategy of data analysis, I transcribed and translated interviews immediately, so I could write comments and identify patterns or key issues I should pursue in the second stage.
7. The second stage was developed from **March 2014 to May 2014**. This short period was mainly used for observation exercises considering issues that emerged during the first interviews. For instance, how public space was used and by whom, how many security measures and control strategies were implemented in different clusters, how long it took to reach the main entrance on peak hours, or how bad the smell of the river became during the evenings in certain clusters. It was also an opportunity to discuss with experts and members of academia their views on gated communities or housing and planning in Mexico.
8. The third stage took place from **December 2014 to January 2015**. This third stage was used to reach actors’ viewpoints needed to have a better understanding of the site, particularly from the developers and constructors’ perspectives. This was also an opportunity to compare the evolution of the site, and how much it had changed since the beginning of the research.

9. The fourth and final stage was conducted from **January 2016 to March 2016**. This fourth stage was mostly for observation exercises during the writing up process. I attended public and private events within the premises and paid particular attention to the private administration system and the increased security measures and technological advances introduced.

In the following subsections I will describe in detail the three main methods for data collection: **interviews, observation, and documentary analysis**. Each method served as a tool to compare or confirm different stands on the same events, places, actions, or behaviours. Data was constructed using Charmaz's (2014) recommendations such as '*attending to actions and processes as well as to words; delineating the context, scenes, and situations of action carefully; recording who did what; identifying the conditions under which specific actions, intentions and processes emerge or are muted; etc.*' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 35) These strategies are explained in the next paragraphs:

a) Interviews:

The primary method used in this thesis was interviews because it provided the elements and issues that defined the aims of observation exercises and documentary analysis. Interviewees shared rich experiences and viewpoints that helped create categories and eventually theorising. Most interviews were **in-depth and semi-structured**, with a very flexible format. The type of interviewing was **intense interviewing**, '*a gently-guided, one-sided conversation that explores research participants' perspective on their personal experience with the research topic*' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 56). I took field notes during fieldwork, which gave me ideas I should use in following interviews or consider during my documentary and observation analysis. Intense interviewing was particularly useful to pay attention to the vocabulary, the body language, the emotions, reactions, and even the silences. I conducted **39 interviews** to identify the motivations, perceptions, interactions, actions, and reactions from the actors involved in the process of gating up in the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*. The sample rationale of participants was done according to five main categories (see Table 3):

Table 3. Categories of Interviewees

Group	Category	Description	Number of Participants
1	Residents and Potential Residents	Current residents, future residents (land owners), and potential buyers	16
2	Government Officials and Policymakers	National, regional, and local government officials and policymakers	7
3	Developers, Constructors and Financial Enablers	Real estate developers, agents, and employees from construction companies, or housing financing institutions	7
4	NGO's, Experts and Academics	Members of universities, research institutes, observatories, or citizen councils	5
5	Outsiders and Neighbours	Residents from gated and non-gated neighbourhoods located near <i>Lomas</i>	4
TOTAL			39

Source: author (2016)

1. Residents and Potential Residents. For interviews, I chose participants with as varied profiles as possible: Young nuclear family (two children); Mid-age nuclear family (three children); Newlywed couple (no children); Gay couple; Single mid-age man; Retired couple (no children); Widow (no children); University students sharing house; Divorced working female (one child); Unemployed mid-age couple; Buy-to-let owner, etc. From this group of interviewees, I tried to find different tenure options; people who used private banking funding, mix funding, or savings. For those with a mortgage, there were differences between how long it would take to pay the credit (15 to 30 years). There were also variations from the reasons behind their decision to move into a gated community, such as problems and traumatic events experienced in previous neighbourhoods.

2. Government Officials and Policymakers. In this case, I was interested in not just local public officials in Puebla, but rather a set of high-level policymakers that had been active agents of current housing and spatial planning policies in Mexico. On a local level, I interviewed key players such as an ex-governor of the state of Puebla, urban development ex-high-rank officials, and local citizen council representatives. On a national level, I interviewed highly renowned planning and housing policymakers and mid-range officials.

3. Developers, Constructors, and Financial Enablers. The sampling rationale was to talk to real estate developers, construction companies' directors, architects, sales agents, and representatives from financial institutions. I chose actors that have been involved directly or indirectly in the development of the case study. For instance, a member of the developing company; two architects who have designed a series of buildings and houses inside the GC; a constructor; the president of the College of Architects, amongst others.

4. Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), Experts, and Scholars. Scholars have constantly questioned the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico. Therefore, I considered it would be useful to listen to their concerns, particularly from a structural position in relation to planning, housing, income inequality, and social exclusion issues. Most of the researchers I interviewed collaborate in research institutes or observatories. Some of them were approached not only for their expert role, but because they have been active members of local and national planning policies.

5. Outsiders and Neighbours. Most of the interviewees were actors involved in the gating process of *Lomas de Angelópolis* or the definition of housing and planning policies that contribute to the process of gating up. However, I considered it was necessary to have the viewpoint from outsiders. I interviewed people who live in the vicinity, such as the small town of *Santa Clara Ocoyucan*, residents of the adjacent gated communities, and residents of other smaller and older GCs in the city of Puebla.

Interviews had a flexible format. From the beginning, I realised that interviewees, particularly residents, were not willing to talk about gated communities; they felt judged for their life decisions. Therefore, I had to approach participants in different ways to allow them to speak freely without any predisposition. In the case of government officials and policymakers, I focused the interview on policy changes in national planning and housing policies. When talking to developers and constructors, I started asking about the housing market, while in the case of residents and outsiders, the emphasis was on the decision-making process to buy a new house, paying particular attention to aspirations and anxieties. The only group I asked directly about gated communities in a context of national policies and global forces was the set of experts; but in this case, I tried to gather not only their objective experience and knowledge about the subject, but their emotions, reactions, and the different meanings they gave to material and immaterial elements of GCs.

The style of interview was very close to an ordinary conversation. Nonetheless, special attention was paid to letting the respondent talk freely, but without losing the direction from the matter of study. Before and after conducting the interviews, Weiss's (1995) *Learning from Strangers* was used as a reminder of basic considerations. For instance, interviewees were asked to '*develop detailed descriptions*' and '*describe processes*' (Weiss, 1995, p. 10), rather than sharing opinions. The reason behind this approach was because residents and outsiders had very negative views about planning and gated communities when asked directly about their opinions, but the views and comments changed once they spoke about their own personal life conditions and struggles. I paid particular attention to "how" different participants explained or interpreted the same issues.

The **strategy to contact participants** was done with the help of friends, family, and acquaintances that live in different clusters inside *Lomas* or have had a role in the development of this enclave. Participants were approached directly by email, phone, or even social media messenger. In the cases of high-rank government officials, the contact was done through their staff or by direct recommendation from colleagues. Residents were contacted through a snowballing process, starting with acquaintances that later introduced me to friends, relatives, and other acquaintances. Participants received the information sheet explaining the project and giving them the choice to take part or not in the research. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to an hour, with the exception of interviews that were also site tours. There was no payment or compensation to any of the participants. Recordings were stored, and will only be used for the purpose of this doctoral thesis and related academic publishing. All data was kept in password-protected files during the process of data analysis. Transcripts and recordings from interviews will be kept confidential, as a large number of participants did not agree for their real names to be used.

To respect anonymity from those residents and participants that preferred their names not to be used, I decided to work with pseudonyms, using common names in Mexico. All interviews were done in Spanish, so all quotations were translated by the author. To recognise interviews throughout the thesis, I used two different formats. I use real names for those interviewees that explicitly authorised the use of their names and are important actors in Mexican planning, academic, or professional sectors. These interviews are cited using the author's name initials, last name, month and year the interview was conducted, *e.g.* (E. Ortiz, December 2013). In the case of anonymous sources, I used only the pseudonym and date, *e.g.* ("Paulina", November 2014).

Interviews were useful to identify aspirations and anxieties, and therefore the meanings from people who have decided to move to *Lomas*; but also, the different practices in different levels: from developers interested in promoting these enclaves, to local government planning decisions, to residents' actions and behaviours. Interviews were also helpful to learn about life inside and outside the gates. It is important to point out that there were some limitations and difficulties. Most residents did not want their names to be used for this research, and two participants refused to be recorded. However, I was able to write comments and register the most important phrases or ideas in a notebook. I wrote "memos" as suggested by Charmaz (2006) to have accounts of the experience, which were used for coding and creating categories.

Memo writing was a fundamental part of the analysis of these interviews, because it helped me to identify issues and organise them in categories, but also because they allowed me to discover ideas after I finished writing them. The process of writing memos was very free. I started by reading interviews and highlighting recurrent topics such as “search for tranquillity”, “voluntary displacement”, “financing housing options” and “insecurity and fear”. Each memo had the structure of an essay and included reflections and quotes that helped to ‘*elaborate processes, assumptions, and actions covered by your codes or categories*’ (Charmaz, 2006, p. 171). Codes and Categories, after writing memos, evolved from simple words and phrases, to systemic complex ideas that defined the tone and direction of the thesis.

b) Observation and Site inspection

Gated Communities are a social phenomenon in a physical context. Therefore, one data collection strategy in this research was to spend large number of hours within the premises to identify patterns and particular conditions of the case *Lomas*. Observation exercises took place during the four stages mentioned above. I was able to record actions and interactions from residents in different conditions. I also observed residents’ behaviours when they were outside the residential area. Observing the setting was a crucial part of data collection and data analysis. I observed what was happening in different times and seasons, and what people were doing. I observed the “little” things that were different from the city outside. I paid particular attention to symbols in the architecture layouts, the names of the clusters, the design of road signs, etc.

Observation helped to pay attention to the meanings attached to the gated community, and the urban development strategies that contributed to the proliferation of this enclave. They helped to recognise the physical and administrative constraints and limitations of large-scale gated communities like *Lomas*. These exercises helped to identify the way houses are marketed and what buyers’ priorities are, according to the estate agents. The process of observation was done in different places at different times of the day. I visited the site constantly during the research, and each time I discovered something new: CCTV systems, green areas, amenities, retail spaces, etc. It was particularly useful to identify the meanings of symbols, signs, images, names, and codes. I was able to observe different treatment of visitors depending on how they approached and what their role was (house cleaners, gardeners, construction workers, or invitees). The constant visits also helped to identify how and when different actors used space, for instance streets, green areas, amenities, etc.

This process was not only done within the premises. I was also interested in analysing meanings from outside, particularly from the public discourse of urban development and economic growth. For example, I attended the OECD presentation to the current governor of Puebla of the report of the Metropolitan Area of Puebla-Tlaxcala. I went to national consultation forums organised by the Urban Secretariat SEDATU to discuss the current national housing framework, and went to several academic presentations and seminars. It was particularly thought provoking, that GCs were mentioned in all these events as a problem that needed to be tackled.

c) Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis in this thesis played a support role, but crucial for understanding the proliferation of gated communities. Documents and websites were not used to learn about 'objective facts' or technical data, but rather as a tool to read through the narrative, the style of writing, the discourse behind the text and the images, etc. The analysis of different types of documents contributed to validate or contrast what I had found during interviews and observation exercises, since these '*may give you insights into perspectives, practices, and events not easily obtained through other qualitative methods*' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 53).

To understand the structural limitations, constraints, and incentives that contributed to the proliferation of GCs in Mexico, and the particular case of *Lomas*, I went through various official documents including national census, international and national reports, laws, plans, programmes, and official government and developers' websites. The main documents and websites consulted were:

1. National and International Reports and Policy Papers on Mexican Housing, Planning, Economy, Security, etc.
2. Housing Laws, Policies and Programmes in National, Subnational and Local Levels from the 1990s to 2014
3. Housing and Socio-Economic Data from the Census (1990s to 2010s)
4. Official Government, Real Estate Agents, and Developers' websites or Social Media
5. Photographs and Videos created by Author during Fieldwork

The detailed description of these documents and websites are in a list at the end of the thesis. Documentary and website analysis was useful to identify the state's approach to policymaking and implementation, as well as national growth discourses in everyday conversations. The reports provided valuable viewpoints from international institutions on the region, and websites and social media gave clear examples of aspirations and anxieties. Websites in particular gave a clear idea of how these enclaves are marketed to potential homeowners but also investors.

5.3.3 Data Analysis

Data collection and data analysis were done simultaneously due to the grounded theory approach. It was an iterative activity that required going back and forth which made me change the structure of the thesis several times, but contributed to identify the connections between policies, practices, and meanings. According to Charmaz (2014), grounded theory is ‘*a rigorous method of conducting research in which researchers construct conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive theoretical analyses from data and subsequently checking their theoretical interpretations. Thus, researchers’ analytic categories are directly “grounded” in the data*’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 343). In that sense, it was necessary to compare and contrast data through different strategies, which are mentioned in the next paragraphs:

- a. Coding**
- b. Memo-writing**
- c. Sorting and Theorising**
- d. Data Validation**

a. CODING: This strategy is an essential part of data analysis in grounded theory because ‘*coding is the process of taking data apart, defining, and labelling what these data are about*’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 341). I started coding immediately after the first stage of research and created preliminary categories which were later used for future interviews and observation exercises. The process of coding interviews was done with the transcriptions in the original language (Spanish) because the choice of words and phrases used by interviewees were charged with emotions and showed examples of practices. Coding was achieved by identifying “actions and processes” rather than topics. Categories were created according to these processes. It was important during coding to constantly compare data searching for similarities and differences and focus on the processes. For instance, most interviewees mentioned the word “tranquillity” in their interviews, however, there were differences in how tranquillity was used from a practice perspective, and the type of processes it connected to. Once the categories were created I went back to data to check if there was consistency or if I had to change the categories. This dynamic relationship continued until the end of the research.

b. MEMO WRITING: Since data collection and analysis happened at the same time, memo writing gave me the opportunity to start writing arguments and finding my narrative. According to Charmaz (2014), ‘*memos chart, record, and detail a major analytic phase of our journey. We start by writing about our codes and data and move upward to theoretical categories and keep writing memos throughout the research process*’ (Charmaz, 2014, p. 162). Writing memos was

not easy at the beginning. My first unsuccessful attempt was copying and analysing quotes from interviews according to topics. The result was a rigid structure with disconnected stories. The next memos were written as essays using stories rather than topics; the result was a stronger narrative and clearer connections between interviews, observation and literature. Writing up memos was an opportunity to find the relationships between different codes, and to explore my own ideas that arose during the analysis. The use of memos was not only useful to organise data but also for the structure of the final thesis draft. Although not all of them were used for the final thesis, their existence is evidence of the evolution of the line of thought in this research.

c. SORTING AND THEORISING: The process was a constant organisation and reorganisation of theoretical categories, which were modified after each stage up until the final revisions of the thesis. Empirical data were sorted through memos which later on became chapters or sections. In this thesis, I theorised in terms of '*patterns and connections*' (Charmaz, 2014, p. 230) because I was interested in understanding the connections between policies, practices, and meanings. After writing the first draft and after a third version of the literature review, I found that Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice would help organise my findings in a way that I would be contributing not only to the gated communities literature but also the practice theory literature. The codes and categories used to write memos were used to organise the document and to guide the follow-up questions to interviewees and the visits to the site in the last stage of research.

d. DATA VALIDATION: This research aimed to better understand middle class gated communities in a different way, and to read these enclaves considering macro-level policies and their connection with everyday lives. The findings in this research are not meant to be seen as unique results valid in every situation. I am aware of the existing discussion about validation using qualitative methods, particularly grounded theory. However, I consider that the conclusions and findings using grounded theory are set in a way that they can help readers better understand the gatedness phenomenon. I used different data collection strategies to get different viewpoints. Triangulation is often used in qualitative research as a validation strategy. The grounded theory approach used in this thesis was not just as a one method strategy but rather a combination of different research methods used for data collection and data analysis which provided a rich narrative of the gatedness phenomena. Grounded theory is based on dynamic relationships, therefore the conclusions are not conclusive in the sense that they allow emerging findings to be included in further analysis. Constant comparative analysis, therefore, requires validation to be also dynamic, that is why memo-writing was so important, to keep track of the process for future research.

5.4 Ethical Considerations, Challenges, and Limitations

Throughout the development of this research, considerations had to be taken constantly in order to protect the dignity and safety of the researcher, the participants, and the integrity of the project. As security was one of the main concerns, all interviews were conducted where participants thought it was more convenient (in their own houses, coffee shops, offices, or restaurants). Participants received clear indications in advance on how the research data would be used and they all had the option to remain anonymous, not allow recording, or decline the invitation. Most of the residents, neighbours, architects, and builders preferred not using their real names. Therefore, I decided it would be better to keep almost all names of participants anonymous and focus on the stories. I used pseudonyms, which allowed me to preserve individuality and anonymity. I used real names only in cases where the participants explicitly approved it, and also because they are key players in the understanding of the proliferation of middle class GCs in Mexico.

Fieldwork and the process of writing up the thesis was done with a responsible use of data and resources, following the University of Sheffield's ethical policies and applicable laws in Mexico. Participation in this research was voluntary and all interviewees were informed of the nature of the research. The project did not include vulnerable groups, children, or young people, so participants were able to give consent by themselves. No financial inducements were offered. To avoid any possibility of distress, extra precaution was taken. Observation was done in the company of at least another person at all times. Access to each of the different clusters inside the gated community was authorised by residents who participated in the research, so I was able to access and move inside the GC with no restrictions.

The type of challenges and limitations I encountered during this research were varied. Working in two languages required not only translating the interviews but also communicating in a way that would make sense to readers in both languages. Collecting data required understanding certain written and unwritten rules on how to talk, how to approach participants, and what topics to avoid. Predisposition against GCs was also a challenge, because I had to find different channels of communication. It was also difficult to gain access to someone from the developing companies involved, since they have a no interviews and no media policy. The only person that accepted my invitation requested not using his name or recording the interview. I had to be careful to not get myself in potential risks, as many participants mentioned the presence of organised crime and money laundering in the enclave. Although, when I asked for details, they preferred to change the subject either because they were not sure if stories were real or rumours, or because they did not want to compromise their safety. My supervisors knew at all times, what types of difficulties or opportunities I was facing and approved all the changes required to move on with my research.

5.5 Conclusions

This research was conducted taking an interpretive approach. Using grounded theory methods in this thesis was very useful not only because it gave me freedom to collect data, analyse, categorise, theorise, and make sense. It was a flexible process with plenty of changes of direction but with a clear aim. Methods were chosen in response to the research aim and the research questions. Each method had a particular purpose, but together they were useful to find connections between events, perceptions, behaviours, and practices. The case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* provided an interesting setting for analysis due to its inherent complexity and richness of the stories within the enclave. The challenges of this thesis were mostly linked to language, culture, and predispositions from participants. It was difficult to think and work in two languages, but it also gave me more elements of analysis in relation to symbols and meanings. The next chapter is the first one fully built on empirical data. It connects directly to the methods described here, as well as the existing knowledge presented in earlier chapters.

6 MEXICAN GATED COMMUNITIES

6.1 Introduction

Gated residential developments are not new in Mexico; there are examples from the early 20th century. In this chapter, I will talk about the evolution of GCs in Mexico and introduce the case study used in this research. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is a brief description of the evolution from **planned neighbourhoods** to **gated communities** and the interrelation between state policies and private investment. In this section, I also explain some of the main characteristics of modern Mexican GCs. In the second section, I introduce the **case study** *Lomas de Angelópolis*, a suburban large-scale gated community located in the metropolitan area of Puebla, Mexico. I describe how this enclave has evolved since its creation and a preliminary analysis on how this case is relevant to the GC literature, particularly in relation to the proliferation of middle-class gated communities in Mexico in recent times.

6.2 Evolution of Mexican Gated Communities

In Mexico, the concept “gated community” does not exist as such; there are different names for different types of enclosed neighbourhoods depending on size, typology, security features, and other marketing strategies to make these places more attractive. Although there is a common consensus that there has been a proliferation of these enclaves in the past three decades, there is no reliable report on the number of GCs because statistical data provided by housing, demographic, and economic institutions is based on individual housing or housing estates regardless of the presence of gates. The first GCs in Mexico, like in many other Latin American countries, were mostly for affluent groups, as part of a historic tradition of social differentiation:

‘Historically, the city has been planned to satisfy the caprice of the most affluent groups over the needs of the many. The uneven distribution of goods and services, and the conflicts between social groups concerning the uses and modes of appropriation of urban space result in the lack of a sustainable model of development.’ (Scheinbaum, 2010, p. 80)

Mexican cities had clear socio-spatial differentiation from their foundation. Spaniards lived in the centre of the village or city close to the most important religious and civil spaces, while the outskirts were left for indigenous groups. The affluent classes lived “in the city” until the late 19th century when new hygienic, aesthetic, and modern ideals made the elite population search for better housing and nicer surroundings. Outside the original settlements, now known as historic city centres, different types of neighbourhoods became the most important urban organisation to differentiate socio-economic groups. The evolution of the Mexican neighbourhood is linked to different political discourses; therefore, there are different ways to call these urban fractions according to origin, location, construction, and the population living in them.

Social relations are strongly marked by names and meanings of urban configurations. For instance, *arrabales* was the name given to surrounding indigenous neighbourhoods that were not part of the city and the meanings attached were ‘*something dirty, marginalised and overcrowded*’ (López & Ibarra, 1998). Outside the city, during Spanish ruling, there were different shapes and dimensions of land properties for Spaniards and *criollos* (creoles), such as *encomiendas*, *ranchos*, *haciendas*, and *fundos* (SRA, n.d.). All of these were large properties for agriculture purposes located in the urban-rural fringe. Some modern GCs are located in those areas, and often real estate developers recover the original names of the *Haciendas* for marketing purposes. The neighbourhood structure provides an understanding of how socio-spatial segregation has been present for centuries and why gated communities have become normalised. In the next section I will talk about different neighbourhood configurations and how these are the preamble of modern gated residential developments.

6.2.1 From Planned Neighbourhoods to Gated Communities

The traditional urban grid structure of the colonial period changed at the end of the 19th century. Planned neighbourhoods with important private participation substituted individual housing production and gradual urban development. The planned neighbourhoods of the early 20th century can be seen as the predecessors of modern gated communities. In the next subsections I will talk about three different types of neighbourhoods: the *colonias* (one of the earliest planned neighbourhood strategies); *fraccionamientos* (a planned neighbourhood with state-led guidelines); and *fraccionamientos cerrados* (or gated communities), which are deeply connected to economic growth policies and the market.

6.2.1.1 Colonia(s)

Colonias were planned neighbourhoods that emerged with the modernisation discourse of President Porfirio Díaz in the late 19th century. Up until then, city growth was spontaneous with no clear planning definition except for the continuation of the urban grid and reproduction of blocks and street patterns (López & Ibarra, 1998). The emergence of the Mexican *colonia* was an important turning point in urban development because urban growth became the privilege of landowners of peripheral land. The first urbanisation process began under Díaz’s ‘*progress and industrialisation vision of the country*’ (Scheinbaum, 2010, p. 84). The process of “colonisation” was meant to bring national and international investment to urban and rural areas. The new *colonias* had industrial, agricultural and residential purposes. Residential *colonias* were financed with European and North American investment. A few privileged national and international businesspersons received large extensions of land and created modern and desirable places to live.

If land distribution has always been a problem in Mexican history, discontent grew particularly during the Porfirio Diaz presidency because laws and policies had a clear predilection for foreigners and businesspersons close to the state. The Disentailment Laws (*Leyes de Desamortización*) promoted by the liberals in the mid-19th century to confiscate land from the church and some indigenous towns (*pueblos*) (SRA, n.d.), were used by Diaz to regain land for the nation under modernisation justifications; uneven distribution of land was at the heart of the Mexican Revolution. The Vacant Plots and New Settlements Law (*Ley sobre Ocupación y Enajenación de Terrenos Baldíos*) of 1883 (Carmona, 2007) and its modified version in 1894 (De Vos, 1984) had a clear discourse of privatisation of land and development, and offered a series of incentives for foreigners. Since the early 19th century, privatisation of vacant land was seen as an opportunity for economic recovery. The different strategies included populating northern empty areas, exploiting natural resources, and urbanisation. Settlers or *colonizadores* received large extensions of land. The incentives for foreign immigrants included things like: credit to acquire land payable in small instalments in 10 to 15 years (article 7); free land for agriculture purposes (article 15), or settlers' exemption from military service or federal taxes (Carmona, 2007). In the late 19th century, the number of settlers increased dramatically giving space to land speculation, which provoked the derogation of the disentailment process (De Vos, 1984, p. 89).

The process of colonisation was immersed in a universe of meanings and attitudes. The 1883 Law included moral requirements (article 6) needed to become a *colono* (settler): '*in all cases, applicants have to submit certificates from the respective authorities, corroborating these settlers show good manners (buenas costumbres), and inform of their previous occupation*' (Carmona, 2007) (*Translated by author*). Rewards for immigrants included: obtaining Mexican nationality, paid expenses for transportation and baggage, and even work material, which brought groups of European and Middle Eastern immigrants for a new life in Mexico (2007). The new urbanisation scheme for residential *colonias* represented '*a process of mercantile urban development in the city and the creation of the real estate industry*' (López & Ibarra, 1998). Residential *colonias* '*were conceived in a more "rational" way as a response to deal with the evils of the city*' (López & Ibarra, 1998). These places had new codes and meanings, and therefore new behaviours, visions, and representations emerged with a new vocabulary. The ideas behind this type of neighbourhood were hygiene, progress, technology, prestige, and functionality (Ibid.). A limited group controlled development of residential *colonias*:

'As demand for urban land increased, private developers who had purchased vast plots from the government flourished. Unfortunately, the economic elite who willed, financed and profited from the transformation of Mexico City was limited to a small group of powerful merchant financiers. Primarily European and American born, they controlled much of the industry, commerce and real estate of Mexico City and they created a type of oligopoly supported by the political elite that allowed them to control the urbanisation process according to their best interests' (Scheinbaum, 2010, p. 84)

Residential *colonias* were conceived as exclusive and isolated. They were different from traditional Spanish-inspired neighbourhoods because instead of being organised around a church or public market, they were organised around gardens or parks following the Garden City principles of Ebenezer Howard. The new settlements also defied the traditional orthogonal grid, bringing modern urban design ideas from abroad, as it can be seen in the following images (see Figure 5) of *Hipódromo Condesa*:

Figure 5. *Hipódromo Condesa, Mexico City*



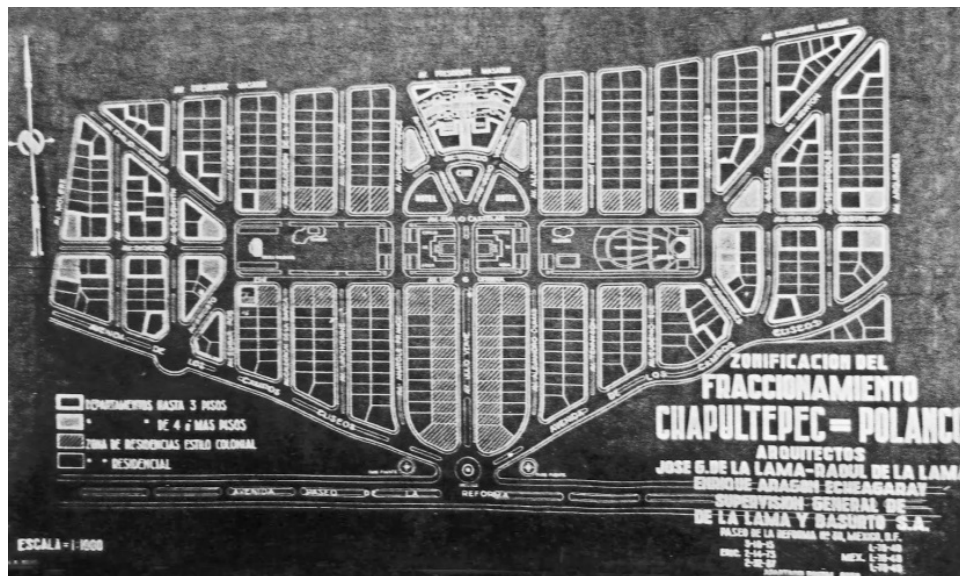
Source: Defecito (Bola, 2013)

6.2.1.2 *Fraccionamiento(s)*

After the Mexican revolution, the fight for land continued, leading to a Land Reform that took years to consolidate. The peripheries of cities had three types of land: *ejidos* (communal agricultural farmland), large land states obtained through the colonisation strategies, and old traditional haciendas or similar spatial configurations from Spanish ruling time. Post-revolutionary Mexico was chaotic; therefore, the central government was eager to adopt policies that represented order and progress, urbanising peripheral land with new guidelines. The *fraccionamiento* (fractioned land or parcelling) emerged with a modern functionalist international approach. Unlike *colonias*, *fraccionamientos* had clear state design criteria and local regulations. Private developers had to provide a master plan with block and plot sizes, as well as land-use and densities criteria. *Fraccionamientos* had different local requirements depending the socio-economic group aimed for. There were three types of urban *fraccionamientos*: *populares* (low-income), *medios* (middle-income) and *residenciales* (high-income) (López & Ibarra, 1998). The biggest names in Mexican art, design, architecture and planning were involved in the development of this modernistic urban structures.

One of the most relevant issues about *fraccionamientos* and their regulation from the 1940s to 1970s is that the state demanded a series of public interest considerations within the master plan from developers, such as green areas, and important social facilities and amenities: schools, parks, health clinics, and churches. Elite neighbourhoods also introduced urban life elements that showed the modernistic aims, such as the first supermarkets and shopping malls. The following image shows the master plan of *Chapultepec-Polanco* (See Figure 6) and the presence of large green areas, land-uses and architecture design guidelines.

Figure 6. *Fraccionamiento Chapultepec-Polanco (Mexico City)*



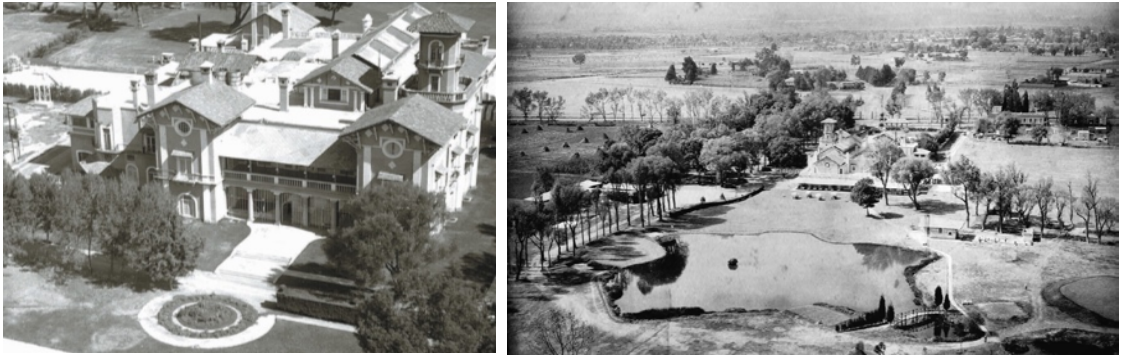
Source: *Fraccionamiento Chapultepec –Polanco* (Fierro, 2011)

6.2.1.3 *Fraccionamiento(s) Cerrados (Gated Communities)*

Since the late 19th century, elite planned neighbourhoods have had private involvement in Mexico. These planned neighbourhoods had different shapes and locations. It could be said that the first gated communities in the country were conceived as **lifestyle communities** using Blakely and Snyder's (1997) categories. The first GCs such as *Club Campestre* in Mexico City shown in the following images (see Figure 7) were located in semi-rural areas; they provided leisure facilities such as golf courses, horse riding rings, and country clubs for the affluent classes.

*The earliest versions of Gated Communities in Mexico were the **country clubs**. Initially, these were golf clubs such as the Club Campestre in Mexico City, built in 1920, which had only a few residential plots on the peripheral areas of the golfing facilities. Later on, they were transformed into real estate business, providing areas for the sale of plots of land for residential development. This type of urbanisation was closely related to the search for exclusivity and social status, thus originating the process of social segregation in the city. Golf and riding clubs became attractive investment for the real estate sector'* (García P. & Hofer, 2006, p. 129)

Figure 7. Golf Course and Club Campestre (Mexico City)



Source: Club de Golf y Country Club Campestre de la Ciudad de México (CCCM, n.d.) & Canal Once (2013)

The emergence of lifestyle GCs was not extensive, and security features were necessary due to rural or semi-rural setting, since these enclaves were usually located outside the city. *Fraccionamientos Campestres* became an option for the affluent population looking for a weekend or holiday second residence, or for those aiming to live closer to nature. In the 1940s, in an era of economic growth, semi-gated planned neighbourhoods appeared in Mexico City; one of the most important was *Jardines del Pedregal de San Ángel* shown in the following images (see Figure 8). The grand *fraccionamiento* was an ambitious residential project in an extension of volcanic stone land colloquially called *El Pedregal* (rocky terrain). Artists, architects, and urban planners saw a great potential in this public-private investment. Diego Rivera, the famous muralist, wrote an essay propounding *El Pedregal's* advantages due to its ambitious aesthetic, environmental, landscape, and construction vision (Eggener, 1995). World-renowned architect Luis Barragán developed the Master Plan and works began in 1947. This was not a fenced gated community; however, transitions between sections in the neighbourhood had, and still have, security booths with manual swing-arm barriers for control and surveillance purposes.

Figure 8. Jardines del Pedregal (Mexico City)



Source: Luis Barragán Master Plan (Eggener, 1995)

The late 1940s and early 1950s was a time for architects and planners experimenting modernist ideals proposed at the CIAM (*Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne*). Around the same time *Jardines del Pedregal* was developed, the multi-storey social housing *Conjunto Urbano Presidente Alemán* was erected (Sánchez-Corral, 2010). GCs during this period were mostly lifestyle communities, which became more common in the most important cities' peripheries after the 1960s: Mexico City, Monterrey, Guadalajara, and Puebla. National and foreign real estate developers created new golf clubs, country clubs, and luxurious horizontal condominiums in the countryside. For instance, Guadalajara's *Campo de Golf Santa Anita* developed in the 1960s had a more global style, with a North American model of housing and urbanisation (Club de Golf Santa Anita, n.d.). This American-inspired model became popular amongst the more affluent groups, particularly in northern states.

During the 1970s and 1980s, GCs became more common in Mexican cities, but the typologies, sizes, shapes, scales, and names were different. Affluent gated communities were located in large extensions of land probably inherited by privileged families (*haciendas, ranchos, etc.*) in city edges or semi-rural areas. In the 1970s and 1980s, a different kind of gating process emerged. Neighbourhoods like *Bosques de las Lomas* and *La Herradura* in the State of Mexico had a North-American suburban design, which meant the proliferation of *privadas* (gated dead-end streets or cul-de-sacs) (see Figure 9). During the 1980s, small-scale dwellers promoted *conjuntos cerrados* (block-sized gated communities) in vacant blocks located in the inner city (Walker, 2013). These clusters, mainly aimed at the middle classes, had 5 to 20 houses in an enclosed area with security features and shared private green areas or facilities. Small *conjuntos cerrados* promoted as condominiums meant shared responsibility of expenses to keep clubhouses, parks, and amenities in good state. A Condominium Law was published in 1986 to regulate this tenure option. According to Walker (2013), the presence of these enclosed housing estates might be linked to the increase of inequality resulting from economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. The reality is that since the 1980s, gates have become a part of the Mexican urban landscape, meanwhile, inequality and crime have increased and become more noticeable.

Figure 9. "Privadas" or Gated Dead End Streets (Mexico City)



Source: Google Street View (2014)

6.2.2 *Typologies of Modern Mexican Gated Communities*

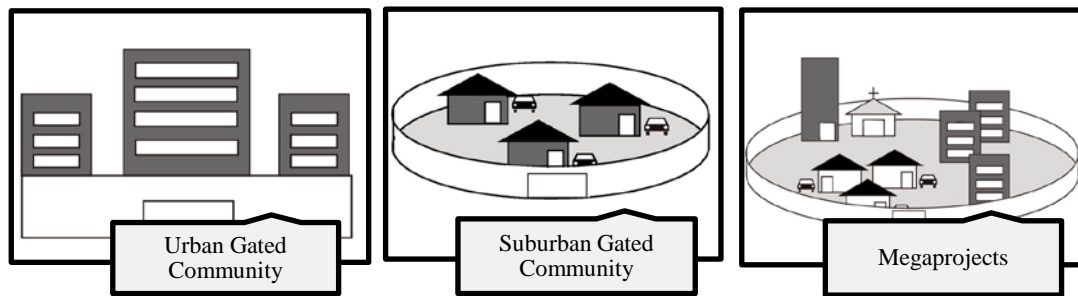
Blakely & Snyder (1997) proposed three main categories of GCs: **Lifestyle Communities, Prestige Communities, and Security-Zone Communities**. As mentioned, most of the original gated communities in Mexico fell under the category of lifestyle communities, but they can also be seen as prestige or security-zone communities. Therefore, this classification falls short to understand Mexican GCs. I consider that Borsdorf & Hidalgo's (2010) typologies of Latin American GCs (see Figure 10) are more useful for the purpose of analysis in this thesis:

A. Urban Gated Communities are *'usually groups of attached houses or even towers or skyscrapers that only offer a limited number of facilities [...] for middle or lower middle class families in intermediate locations [...] or upper middle to upper class families in central areas'* (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 27). In Mexico, high-rise buildings have increased since the 1990s in upscale residential and commercial areas such as *Polanco, Interlomas, Santa Fe, and Condesa*. They are not usually referred to as gated communities and the presence of a private administrator, security personnel and amenities are seen as normal customer service and security measures. Those who decide to move into these towers agree that there will always be a maintenance and administration fee, even if they are not using the apartment.

B. Suburban Gated communities *'predominantly cater for the middle and upper classes. They offer oversized single detached houses and share wide areas for common sports facilities. However, suburban gated communities located in the periphery and do not include common facilities may be oriented toward lower middle class income groups'* (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 27). This is the most common type of gated community in Mexico, or at least acknowledged as a gated community.

C. Megaprojects is a segment *'rapidly growing due to the dynamics and the internationalization of the real estate market, as new transnational developers are mostly involved'* (Borsdorf & Hidalgo, 2010, p. 28). Megaprojects are planned neighbourhoods with a business plan. Since the 1990s, under the NAFTA umbrella, there is a clear interest in large-scale real estate projects with a global competitiveness perspective. Several megaprojects have been proposed in main metropolitan areas, creating new financial and commercial zones. Their master plans include not only housing and amenities, but also shopping malls, health, education, recreation and cultural facilities. One example of these type of developments is those promoted by the National Trust for the Promotion of Tourism (*Fondo Nacional para la Promoción de Turismo, FONATUR*) created to increase international investment in hotels, golf courses and other real estate "integrally planned resorts" in coastal destinations.

Figure 10. Types of Mexican Gated Communities



Source: author (2016) using Borsdorf & Hidalgo's (2010) typologies

6.3 Lomas de Angelópolis: A Suburban Gated Community in Puebla, Mexico

In this section, I will introduce the most relevant information about *Lomas de Angelópolis*, the case study chosen for this research. Most of the information in this chapter was obtained from interviews during fieldwork, and through the developers' website and official data from planning and statistical institutions. The case study was selected because it embodies the *spheres of gatedness* (elements of practice) presented at the beginning of this thesis in various ways, such as the influence of global economic forces in the definition of state-led private involvement in urban development, or the role of meanings in the emergence and evolution of the enclave.

6.3.1 The Setting: Metropolitan Area of Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T)

The case study selected for this thesis, *Lomas de Angelópolis*, is located in the **Metropolitan Area of Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T)**, the fourth largest metropolitan area in Mexico. MAP-T is considered one of the '*most dynamic and fast-growing regions*' (OECD, 2013) in the country, due to its strategic location between the port of Veracruz and Mexico City, which makes the zone a key place for regional and international industrial activity and trade. The core of the metropolitan area is the municipality of Puebla, a historic city founded by Spaniards in 1531, whose historical centre was included in UNESCO'S World Heritage List in 1987 recognising its rich architecture (see Figure 11) and orthogonal urban grid. The municipality of Puebla contains around 56% of the metro-area's population (OECD, 2013, p. 32). However, residential development in the past couple of decades happened in the surrounding municipalities.

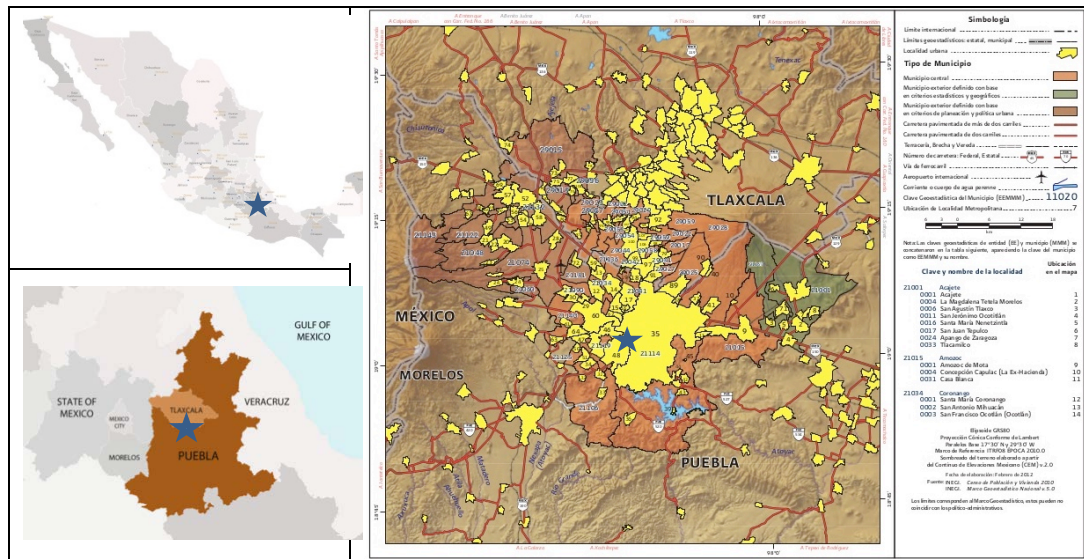
Figure 11. Puebla's Historic City Centre



Source: author (2013)

The Mexican Federal Government (SEDESOL, INEGI, and CONAPO) defined the MAP-T as a “strategic spatial unit” that considers physical conurbation but also functional and political integration. It includes 36 municipalities from two different states (Puebla-Tlaxcala) in a surface of 2,392.4 km² (924 sq. mi) (INEGI, 2010). The problem of this metro-area, as others in Mexico, is that metropolitan areas share challenges but do not share a legal or instrumental framework; therefore, municipalities make decisions independently and there is deficient intergovernmental coordination. The complexity of the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* (from now on *Lomas*) is that it is physically located in two municipalities: *Ocoyucan* and *San Andrés Cholula*, but is functionally closer to the social, economic, and political life of the municipality of Puebla, with the exception of the *Angelópolis District* that includes *Puebla* and *San Andrés Cholula*.

Figure 12. Metropolitan Area Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T)



Source: author using Marco Geo-estadístico Nacional del Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010 (INEGI, 2010)

The MAP-T had its largest urban land expansion and population growth between 1990 and 2000 (see Table 3). This socio-spatial process is connected to recent policy changes such as deregulation of the planning system, ambitious housing programmes and tenure changes of the agriculture communal land to private developable land: It is also related to the political and economic policies of decentralisation intended to increase competitiveness in the main metropolitan areas. The *Angelópolis Regional Programme* in 1993 aimed at transforming the state of Puebla into an attractive national and foreign investment pole for industry, housing, commerce, and services (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008).

Table 4. Population Growth in MAP-T and Municipalities linked to Lomas de Angelópolis

Municipality	Population			Annual average population growth %		Surface km2	DMU2 (hab/ha)
	1990	2000	2010	1990-2000	2000-2010		2010
Puebla	1,057,454	1,346,916	1,539,819	2.5	1.3	547.3	102.9
San Andrés Cholula	37,788	56,066	100,439	4.1	5.8	58.7	41.3
Ocoyucan	17,708	23,619	25,720	2.9	0.8	119.8	19
Metropolitan Area (MAP-T)	1,776,884	2,269,995	2,728,790	2.5	1.8	2,392.4	76.6

DMU: densidad media urbana (average urban density)

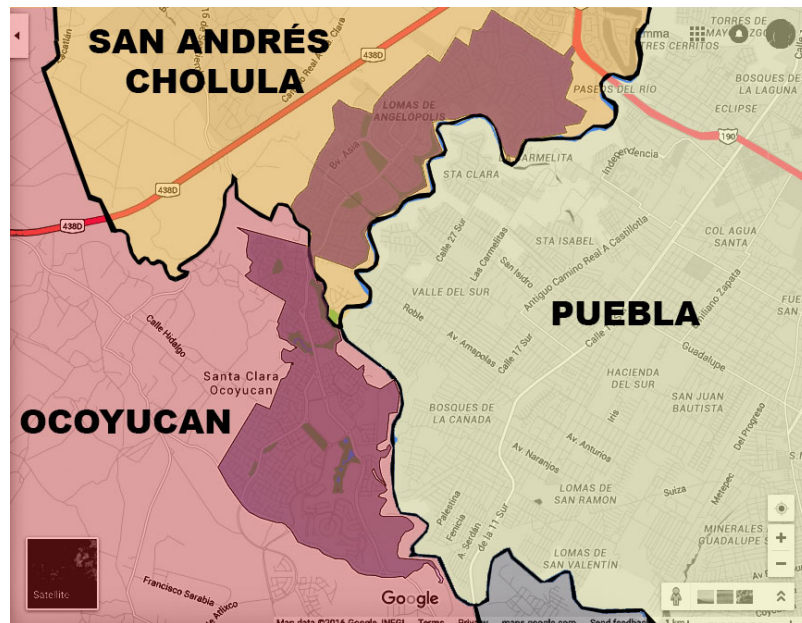
Source: author using data from OECD (2013) & INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda, 2010 (2010)

One of the direct consequences of this programme was a residential and commercial boom in the neighbouring municipalities on the west side of the city of Puebla. *San Andrés Cholula* was the municipality with the largest population growth from 1990 to 2010, due to its connection to the city of Puebla, but mostly because of the commercial success of the district colloquially known as *Angelópolis*, located in the land reserve *Reserva Territorial Atlixcáyotl*. The following table shows how *Puebla*, *San Andrés Cholula* and *Ocoyucan* (the municipalities linked to the case study *Lomas*) have increased their population, but with a very low density. In only 20 years, there has been an increase in population of almost a million people in the entire metropolitan area, which gives an idea of the challenges faced by small municipalities dealing with sprawling low-density developments and the newly-acquired burdens in terms of public services, job opportunities, and transport infrastructure.

The site where *Lomas* is located is unique because this large-scale gated community could only exist as the result of the combination of national, regional, and local economic growth and development strategies. The area was agricultural land three decades ago, but the Regional Programme *Angelópolis* contributed to its fast development and valorisation. The programme was constantly modified to fit certain groups' interests and implementation of national planning, housing and environmental laws and programmes was discretionary (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008).

The regional programme had a very ambitious scope, but its most recognised impact is what happened in and around the Land Reserve *Atlixcáyotl* on the west side of Puebla. It is possible to see the fragmented territorial condition of *Lomas*, not only because it is set in two different municipalities (see Figure 13), but also because the River *Atoyac* on the east serves as a physical and social differentiation barrier.

Figure 13. *Lomas de Angelópolis* in an Inter-Municipal Setting



Source: author using Google Maps (2015) and information from the State of Puebla (2015)

The case study *Lomas* illustrates the limitations of municipal urban planning capacity in the Metropolitan Area Puebla-Tlaxcala, such as lack of technical expertise, reduced budgets, and poor inter-municipal coordination (OECD, 2013). The municipal planning framework based on article 115 of the Constitution gives municipalities, since 1983, the faculty to: *‘formulate, adopt and administer zoning and municipal urban development plans; participate in the creation and management of their land banks; control and regulate land tenure; grant licences and permits of construction; and participate in the creation and management of ecological reserves’* (OECD, 2013, pp. 149-150). Nevertheless, municipalities usually do not have the capacity to accomplish these things. Sprawl has brought large responsibilities to small, inexperienced local governments without the tools, competences or resources to deal with their obligations. In Puebla, municipalities have limited budgets and a large number of them is working with out-dated urban development plans (OECD, 2013).

Puebla has a history of institutional spatial planning of over three decades (Ayuntamiento de Puebla, 2007) with relatively clear planning policies and strategies, while *San Andrés Cholula* used outdated urban development programmes during the strongest expansion process. In the case of *Ocoyucan*, sprawl happened without an urban development programme, finally published in May 2015, due to the strong pressure from developers. Planning policies have been uneven and discretionary; national economic and housing financing policies were implemented following strict guidelines, while municipal and subnational authorities chose to ignore national policies on environmental protection, infrastructure provision, and social development. *Ocoyucan* and *San Andrés Cholula* are examples of scattered, disconnected, low-density housing, and the loss of high quality agriculture land. The OECD Puebla-Tlaxcala regional Report (2013) states that in Puebla ‘the limited capacity of generally weak municipal administrations is no match for many of the developers, who tend to be large, powerful counterparts’ (OECD, 2013, p. 149).

The limited capacity at municipal level in the region contributes to a ‘lack of policy continuity and institutional memory, cripples medium- to long-term planning and generates critical capacity gaps within public administrations’ (OECD, 2013, p. 160). The OECD report recommends that in order to acquire metropolitan governance, this region needs to **create political, operational, and institutional legitimacy**; the MAP-T constantly faces conflict due to territorial and administrative borders, which not only affect the operation of the area, but also creates legal gaps, often the root for corruption in all levels. Sprawl in the last two decades has brought traffic congestion, socio-spatial segregation, inadequate infrastructure and deficient urban services. Most large-scale housing and commercial developments have been authorised without considering long-term consequences, which might be an aftermath of the short-term three-year municipal periods and lack of accountability for their actions.

6.3.2 Puebla: A History of Socio-Spatial Segregation

Before describing the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*, I will make a short parenthesis to give a general idea of residential segregation and the evolution of gated communities in Puebla. The city of Puebla, capital of the state of Puebla has had periods of important economic growth mainly due to commercial activities, textile production, and automotive industries; therefore, economic stability is affected by global economic factors, which sometimes has brought periods of crisis and stagnation. Puebla, as many other Spanish settlements in Latin America, followed the *Indies Laws* urban design criteria: orthogonal grid street structure with organised civil, religious, military, and housing locations. Housing for Spaniards and *criollos* (creoles) located ‘in the city’ close to the main square, cathedral, and other important public spaces, while indigenous native communities lived in the outskirts. Scheinbaum (2010) states that in Mexico,

'contemporary gated developments constitute an expression of new patterns of urban segregation or, rather, are part of an on-going historical process that reinforces and consolidates existing urban and social inequalities' (Scheinbaum, 2010, p. 83). Puebla was founded on socio-spatial segregation strategies and GCs are only a more tangible expression of this. However, I suggest that in the first 450 years since its foundation there were "shared spaces", places for social encounter such as squares, promenades, church atriums, parks, and public markets. The current urbanisation process lacks of such spaces.

The city of Puebla maintained its original urban structure for centuries and contained its growth because it was surrounded by agriculture land, large-scale haciendas, and ranchos. A first process of expansion began in the first half of the 20th century when sections of *haciendas* were turned into middle and high-income residential neighbourhoods (*fraccionamientos*) and agriculture land (*ejidos*) was converted into low-income neighbourhoods (*barrios populares*).

During the Mexican Miracle (1940s-1970s), there was a residential boom, but the logic of developers was to build extending on the city, and the urban grid was maintained as much as possible. Voluntary displacement of the middle and high-income families became common practice since then. The presence of GCs in Puebla increased after the 1970s mainly as suburban lifestyle communities; these enclaves were located in the city edges or deliberately isolated in rural environments. During the 1980s and early 1990s, GCs were small- and medium-size residential areas within regular size blocks. However, since the late 1990s and early 2000s, these enclaves have become larger and isolated from the city (Arceo, 2012). Although new planned neighbourhoods in the state of Puebla had to follow regulation from the Subdivision Law of the State of Puebla (*Ley de Fraccionamientos del Estado de Puebla*) (Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1974), developers found ways to partially comply because regulation was vague with no distinctions for GCs. For example, developers had to provide green areas and public spaces for residents, but if this is a gated community, these areas are not public anymore.

During the period between the 1970s and 1990s, gated communities were not seen as a problem, because they did not affect the urban grid or created connectivity or mobility conflicts. Some of these gated residential developments did not have strict access restrictions, were connected to main streets, and had access to public transport. This changed in the mid-1990s after the changes in land tenure from *ejido* to private property. Isolated GCs appeared in suburban municipalities with poor infrastructure, inadequate public services, and vulnerability to criminal activities. Another important difference after the mid-1990s is that large-scale CGs were incentivised to become horizontal condominiums; this was convenient for municipal authorities because this would free them from responsibilities such as provision of green areas, sport facilities,

and roads maintenance, as well as security. Milián-Ávila & Guenet (2015) have analysed gated communities in Puebla since the 2000s. In their research they identified ‘912 gated communities in the city of Puebla, and its fringes’ (2015, p. 246). The authors recognise that ‘it is necessary to explore the role these enclaves play in the invisible mechanisms of local power networks that are intertwined with the global economy’ (Milián-Ávila & Guenet, 2015, p. 246). In this sense, one of the institutional actions that contributed to the proliferation of middle and high-income gated communities was the *Angelópolis* Megaproject in the mid-1990s, as I explain in the following section.

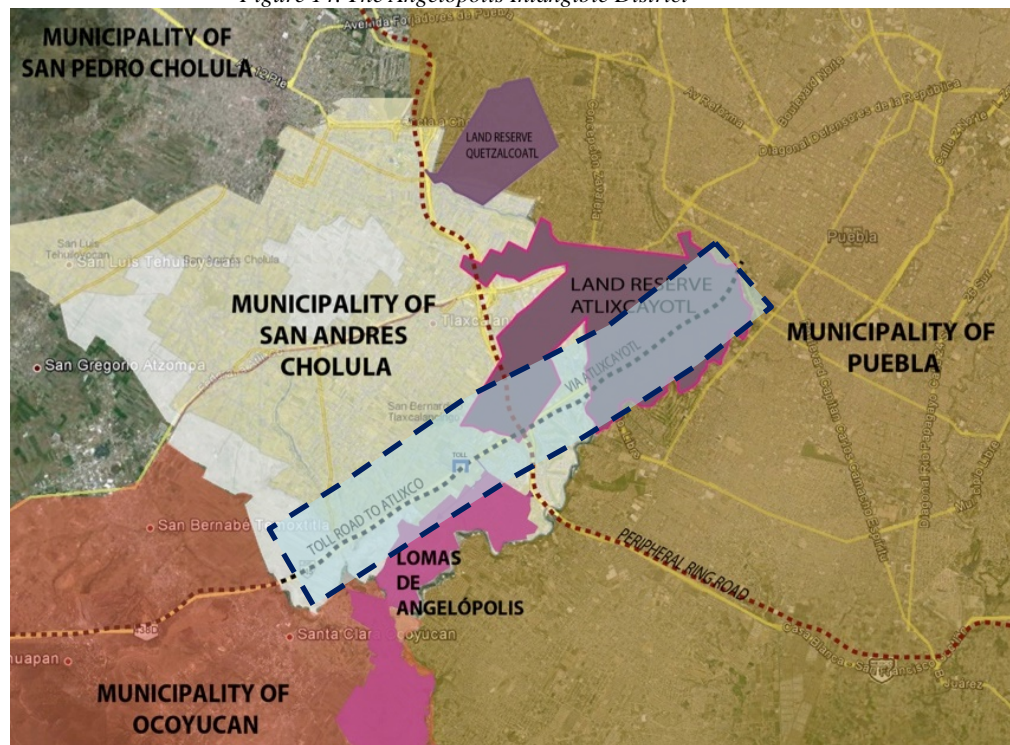
6.3.3 *The Angelópolis Megaproject, the New Centrality*

In order to understand the case study *Lomas*, it is important to recognise the economic, symbolic, and territorial value of the brand name *Angelópolis*. In 1993, the governor of the State of Puebla, Manuel Bartlett, promoted an ambitious regional plan that would locate Puebla as a competitive global investment pole (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008). The name *Angelópolis* was suggested as a marketing strategy by the Governor’s close advisors including the international consultancy firm McKinsey & Co. The name brought back the original Catholic name of the city – *Puebla de los Ángeles (Town of Angels)* with a modern twist. The state of Puebla was divided in seven socio-economic regions in the 1980s for budget and planning purposes (INAFED, n.d.), and the central region where the municipality of Puebla was located, changed its name to **Angelópolis**.

The **Regional Angelópolis Programme** was an ambitious plan that included water provision strategies, regional connectivity, industrial growth, and touristic development, amongst other things (Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1993). The programme included two main megaprojects aimed at increasing touristic, commercial, and residential development in the MAP-T: (a) **The Project of Río San Francisco** in the historic centre that included a convention centre, a shopping mall, and commercial areas (which had strong opposition from heritage advocates); and (b) the **Land Reserve Atlixáyotl** on the west side of the city where the high-end **shopping mall Angelópolis** and the upscale residential **gated community La Vista** would be built (which represented constant conflict in relation with municipal borders and land property rights). The shopping mall was such a big success that residents of Puebla immediately started naming the area **Angelópolis**. Nowadays, most people do not identify the size or location of the Land Reserve Atlixáyotl or the municipalities involved; **Angelópolis** has become a “place” with intangible borders or real administrative territory, linked to luxury and high-end lifestyle.

The brandname **Angelópolis** acquired a strong aspirational meaning, that marketers found useful for new residential areas like *Bosques de Angelópolis* and commercial branches of car dealerships, banks, and hotels added the name *Angelópolis* to their names. The only territorial reference of what Angelópolis is, is how close it is to the main street *Vía Atlixcáyotl*, as seen in the following image (see Figure 14). Real estate agents often use the reference “5 minute drive away” from *Angelópolis* in housing ads as a reference of high value and good location.

Figure 14. The Angelópolis Intangible District



Source: author using Google Earth (2014) and Regional Urban Development Plan (2004)

For this thesis, I will consider *Angelópolis* as a district, even though the territorial limits are non-existent, but it exists in people’s collective imagination. Nevertheless, there are territorial spatial configurations. In this section, I will talk about the influence of changes in national planning and housing policies in the development of this area. I have identified the evolution of this imaginary district in three different stages:

- 1) **Creation of Land Reserves:** the first stage of development of the *Angelópolis* “district” started with the expropriation of about 1000 hectares of farmland for public utility during governor Piña Olaya’s administration (1987-1993). The land reserve *Reserva Territorial Quetzalcóatl-Atlixcáyotl* was meant to enable the state to tackle housing deficit, provide regional basic facilities, and preserve green areas. The land reserve *Quetzalcóatl* was located on the north-west side of Puebla towards the municipality of *San Pedro Cholula*; while the land reserve *Atlixcáyotl* (*Angelópolis* area) was on the west side and included both *Puebla* and *San Andrés Cholula*’s territories. The acquisition of this land was done

with little transparency and the Urban Development Programme required for the expropriation decree was not immediately published. Land property in the area has been a motive of conflict for decades, not only because municipal borders between Puebla and San Andrés Cholula were not clear, but also because of private and communal land ownership rights (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008). During this first stage, the main infrastructure investment was the construction of the toll motorway to the town of *Atlixco*, which eventually became the main artery of development.

2) Regional Planning with a Global Perspective: The second stage was during governor Manuel Bartlett's administration (1993-1999). Bartlett arrived to Puebla after a career of high-level federal government positions (Secretary of Interior and Secretary of Public Education). He developed a very ambitious regional plan to '*integrate Puebla to the global economy*' (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008). The Regional Programme *Angelópolis* was launched in 1993 after '*President Carlos Salinas promised a US\$1 billion investment programme as part of the gubernatorial campaign of Manuel Bartlett. The megaproject aimed to "recover the grandeur" of a city that had suffered as foreign direct investment went to the border or smaller cities*' (Jones & Moreno-Carranco, 2007, p. 152). A government trust was created under the name of *Fideicomiso Angelópolis*, and one of the things that was questioned the most, was how little money agrarian communities received for their land. During this period, there were four important actions derived from the regional programme that contributed to the valorisation of the *Angelópolis* district:

- a. The construction of the ***Angelópolis Shopping Mall*** that included luxury brand shops and departamental stores. The construction of the shopping mall seemed inconsistent with the public utility expropriation decree, but developers and public officials argued that the new mall would bring investment to the city and provide thousands of jobs. According to Jones & Moreno-Carranco (2007), the shopping mall *Angelópolis* in Puebla and *Santa Fe* in Mexico City '*have become fundamental to everyday life and the establishment of global engagement and status*' (Jones & Moreno-Carranco, 2007, p. 153).
- b. The transformation of the recently built toll motorway to *Atlixco* in the 1980s into the urban fast lane road ***Vía Atlixcáyotl*** in the 1990s.
- c. The construction of the "**ecological**" **peripheral road ring** (*Periférico Ecológico*) from the 1990s to the mid-2000s that would supposedly control growth.

- d. The construction of the **high-income gated community *La Vista Country Club*** (see Figure 15) in the 1990s which included recognised foreign golf course designers and local and foreign capital.

Figure 15. Gated Community *La Vista Country Club*



Source: Google Street View (2014)

3) Market-Driven Urban Development: The third stage started with the administration of governor Melquiades Morales (1999-2005) and has been the prevailing development strategy. In 1999, governor Morales authorised the creation of a government trust² to manage land, dwelling, and public works within the land reserve *Atlixcáyotl*. Spanish global bank *Banco Bilbao Viscaya* (BBVA) along with *Institución de Banca Múltiple* and *Grupo Financiero BBV-Probursa* managed the trust (Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1999). The trustee was the government of the State of Puebla and the trust was supposed to look for ‘*public benefit of public works that are done with resources obtained through the trust, resulting from expropriations*’ (Gobierno del Estado de Puebla, 1999) (*Translated by author*). The trust fund has functioned like a real estate agency, and land has been used for projects of private universities, private hospitals, commercial areas, and a few public interest facilities (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008). Although the original programme considered a large portion of land for social housing, green areas, and public facilities, the planning instrument has been constantly modified increasing commercial and residential uses. Virginia Cabrera, a former public official of the State of Puebla and urban planning researcher, told me in a personal interview that ‘*there have been at least six major changes to the original programme in order to suit developers’ needs*’ (V. Cabrera, October 2013)

² *Decreto del Ejecutivo del Estado, que autoriza la creación de un Fideicomiso Público para la Administración de Inmuebles y Ejecución de Obras Públicas en la Reserva Territorial Atlixcáyotl-Quetzalcóatl (1999)*

The *Angelópolis* Megaproject has brought private and public investment. This investment has made the district one of the most attractive commercial and residential areas in the region. Land value has increased considerably in the last decade; even cadastral value (which is habitually much lower than the real commercial value) is five times higher than the average in the municipality of Puebla (Ayuntamiento de Puebla, 2014). It is important to point out at this stage that even if this has been a market-driven urban development and the private sector is one of the main agents, the state plays a crucial role. This is not a case of state absolute withdrawal, but rather a state of active complicity as stated in the following quote from a paper about *Angelópolis*:

‘Megaprojects frequently require strategic planning authorities and public-private partnerships to shape and discipline the built environment through exceptions to regulatory practice. Indeed, in contrast to the withdrawn state suggested by neo-liberalism, globalisation has required the state to (dis)embed certain agents and roles through the special dispensations afforded to the megaprojects’ (Sites in (Jones & Moreno-Carranco, 2007, p. 145)

This sort of state ‘facilitating process’ can be analysed through the concept ‘gray spaces’ proposed by Yiftachel (2009). The author suggests that gray spaces are ‘positioned between the “whiteness” of legality/approval/safety and the “blackness” of eviction/destruction/death’ (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 88). From this approach, ‘gray spaces contain a multitude of groups, bodies, housing, lands, economies and discourses, lying literally “in the shadow” of the formal, planned city, polity and economy’ (p. 89). In this analysis, the author talks mostly about informal settlements, but also about the “privileged edges”:

‘Those which straddle the “high” boundaries of the power systems, exempted from strict legal compliance. These include powerful actors grouped under the generalising rubric “development”, “security” or “national needs”. The most powerful contravention of planning rules from “above” occurs when all three elements are combined’ (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 92)

The *Angelópolis* Megaproject is the result of a public policy with market interests. It could be argued that planning policies and state actions were designed or modified *à la carte* to suit global and national capital interests. *Angelópolis* became the centrality of the modern global city in Puebla, under a subnational planning strategy, which was adopted discretionally leaving aside the few public interest aims included in the original regional programme (Cabrera Becerra & Guerrero-Bazán, 2008). This is an example of what Yiftachel (2009) calls ‘gradual retreat of governments from regulating urban development in the name of “letting the market do the job”, it is now well known that city planning has come to resemble an entrepreneurial agent, seeking to maximise growth, efficiency and accumulation’ (Yiftachel, 2009, p. 92).

6.3.4 *Lomas de Angelópolis: A Planned Neighbourhood/City for the Middle Classes*

Lomas de Angelópolis is a large-scale suburban gated-community located near the Angelópolis District in the metropolitan area of Puebla, Mexico. The complex that will house over 21,000 families includes a set of mini-gated communities or clusters aimed at different socio-economic groups in over 700 hectares. This large-scale middle-class fortified enclave has three unique aspects: (1) it is constantly evolving and extending its territory; (2) the GC is located in two different municipalities: *San Andrés Cholula and Ocoyucan*; (3) it can be seen as a megaproject by itself because of the large number of facilities, commercial spaces, and services it contains. *Lomas* is the largest GC in the region; however, it is just one of hundreds of GCs built in the city edges of Puebla in the last thirty years. The enclave is located in what INEGI classifies as a floodplain (INEGI, 2009) due to its vicinity to River *Atoyac*, which should have been a planning limitation due to the water shortage menace in the area. However, there were no environmental restrictions in the development of the site.

Lomas has extended the immaterial *Angelópolis* territory beyond the municipalities of *San Andrés Cholula* and *Puebla* into the municipality of *Ocoyucan*, even if the territorial connection is blurry, the symbolic linkage is clear. The predominance of *Lomas* in the metropolitan area can be seen in the following image showing the Historic City (*Zona de Monumentos*) of Puebla developed in over three centuries, and the GC *Lomas* developed in only a decade (see Figure 16). To give an idea of the complexity and scale of the residential complex; this GC includes 20 parks, 91 ha of green areas, 13 km of bicycle paths, 30 sports courts, and 180 ha of streets (Grupo Proyecta, 2015). In the following subsections, I will talk about the evolution of this enclave.

Figure 16. Location of *Lomas de Angelópolis*

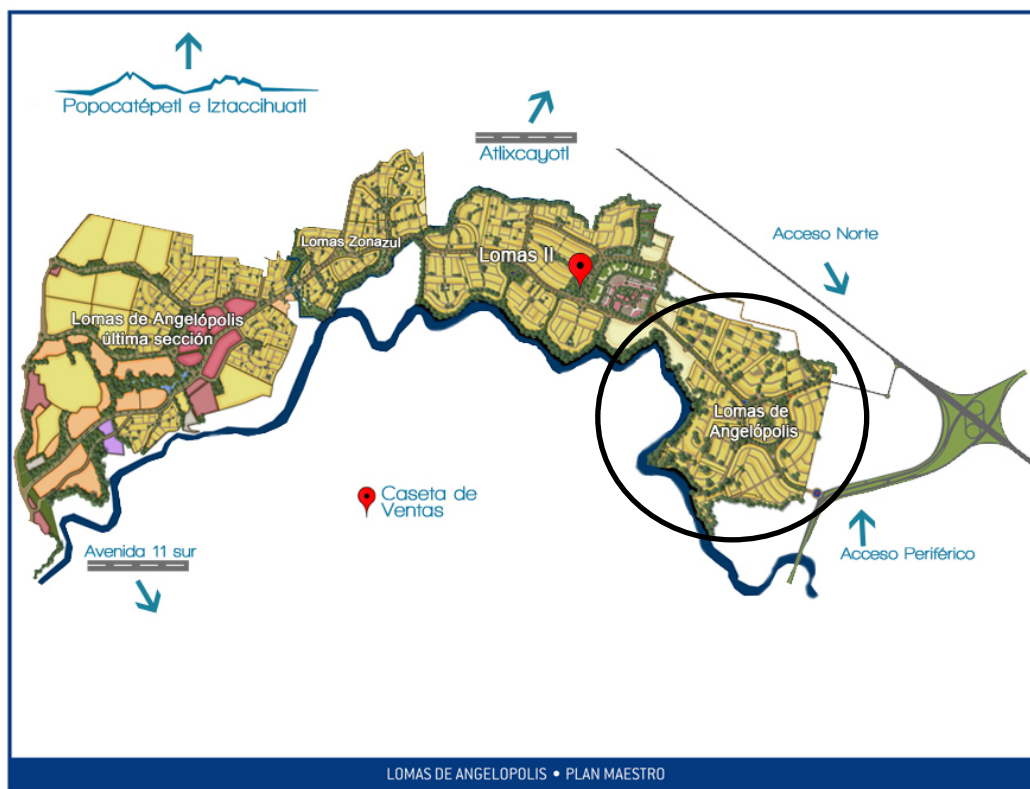


Source: author using Google Earth (2014)

a) EVOLUTION OF *LOMAS DE ANGELÓPOLIS* STAGE I (2003-2006)

The original *Lomas de Angelópolis* was developed between 2003 and 2006 by *Grupo Proyecta*, and marketed as a planned community in the ‘*the best area with the biggest land value in Puebla*’ (*Grupo Proyecta*, 2013). The original GC was 100 hectares and included 11 cluster divisions. The enclave was designed to house over 2,200 families and lots on sale were 250m² (2,691 sq. ft.). A local firm, *Estudio Arquitectura*, owned by an important ex-public official, did all the urban design. *Grupo Proyecta*, created in 2001, self-proclaims as ‘*the leader group of fraccionamientos [GCs] in Puebla; created to respond to the existing lack of quality real estate projects*’ (*Grupo Proyecta*, 2013). *Lomas de Angelópolis* was marketed as an affordable option for high-income middle class groups facilitated by its **instalment land contract** system, which enabled buyers to obtain the property once the prearranged timetable of payments was met. The first stage can be seen in a circle on the bottom right side of the following image (see Figure 17) of the master plan.

Figure 17. Master Plan of *Lomas de Angelópolis*



Source: *Lomas de Angelópolis* (*Grupo Proyecta*, 2013)

The first stage, or original *Lomas de Angelópolis*, was aimed at high-middle income families, as a more affordable alternative to the luxurious *La Vista Country Club* located just across the ecological peripheral road-ring. In order to make it more appealing, developers included monumental sculptures by the Mexican artist Yvonne Domenge that would become landmarks and provide legibility to visitors (see Figure 18) since all streets looked the same and the scale was immense.

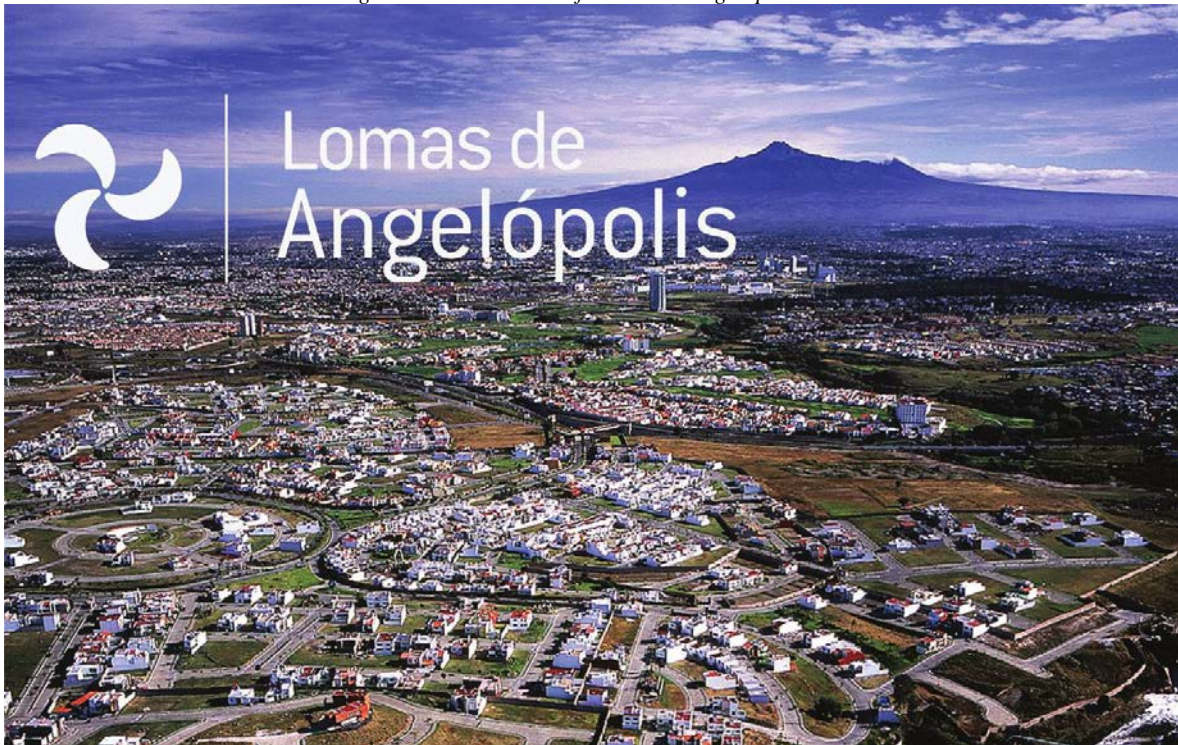
Figure 18. Monumental Landmark Sculptures in Lomas



Sources: Lomas de Angelópolis retrieved in 2012 (Grupo Proyecta)

Lomas is conveniently located next to the main two roads of the centrality *Angelópolis*, on the east side it connects to the peripheral ring road (*Periférico Ecológico*), and on the northeast to the *Vía Atlxcáyotl/Toll Motorway to Atlixco*. These two fast speed roads easily connect residents to the main shopping malls, schools, private universities, and business centres by car. The enclave is confined by fences but also by natural borders. On the southeast side, the GC borders with the river *Atoyac*; the other side of the *Atoyac* is mostly low-income neighbourhoods. The original *Lomas* only considered two official access points, which became insufficient once the master plan started to expand. The following image (see Figure 19) is a picture by the developers showing the North American suburb-like urban design and the resulting horizontal sprawl.

Figure 19. Aerial View of Lomas de Angelópolis



Source: *Lomas de Angelópolis* (Grupo Proyecta, 2013)

2) EVOLUTION OF LOMAS DE ANGELÓPOLIS STAGE II (2006-2010)

Lomas de Angelópolis was a big success, which made *Grupo Proyecta* negotiate land acquisition in the vicinity. Developers promoted two new areas: **Lomas II**, which included a town centre or **Sonata District**, and **Lomas Zonazul**. These new sections were based on the same urban design principles of multiple clusters, with a few differences: lots were smaller; small-scale developers could buy a whole cluster for mass housing as long as there were differences in house plans, textures, colours, and distinctive features in frontages; and the construction of high-rise buildings was encouraged within the Sonata District. *Lomas II* (Sonata District included) was developed between 2006 and 2010; it extends for about 176 ha and will house around 6,000 families between houses and flats. The average size of lots for individual housing is 180 m² (1,938 sq. ft.). During this stage, *Lomas* became a more global community including foreign design firms such as EDSA, NOLTE and Michael McKay. It also had international private financial support by ANIDA, the real estate branch from the Spanish bank BBVA. Developers marketed *Lomas II* as a ‘modern urban residential project, planned to obtain a controlled and safe community’ (Grupo Proyecta, 2013). In order to make it more attractive for investors and potential residents, *Lomas II* introduced large extensions of green areas (see Figure 20), sports facilities, social activities and other amenities that could be used by all *Lomas* residents and their visitors.

Figure 20. Green Areas in Lomas de Angelópolis



Source: Lomas de Angelópolis (Grupo Proyecta, 2013)

During the second stage, *Lomas Zonazul* appeared. This is a smaller collection of clusters in about 60 hectares where 1,400 families will live. The clusters developed in the second stage introduced inside each cluster a shared facility, such as gym or a small clubhouse. Original settlers from *Lomas de Angelópolis*, now *Lomas I*, started complaining about new residents using their main access and roads, which eventually forced developers to create a separate access point, which would lead directly to the Sonata District without any checkpoints. The following images are pictures from the type of housing (see Figure 21), fences, and access control booths in *Lomas II* and *Zonazul*. In the first picture (see Figure 22), all observable houses and most of the buildings are within the Lomas complex.

Figure 21. Housing Typology inside a Cluster in Lomas II



Source: author (2015)

Figure 22. View from a Cluster in Lomas ZonAzul

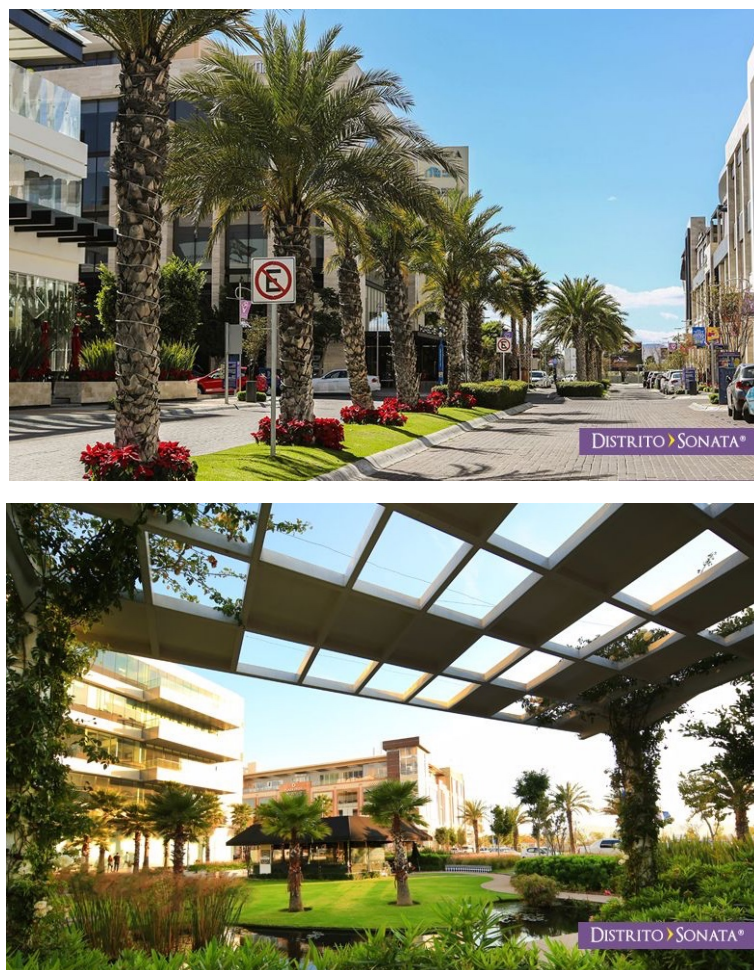


Source: author (2013)

The most attractive feature of this second stage is that *Lomas* created its own town centre. **Sonata District** was created to allow residents to have access to ‘*commercial spaces, education, general services, and leisure activities*’ (Grupo Proyecta, 2015). Sonata District is the core of social and commercial activities. It has a combination of “premium” brands shopping areas, high-rise apartment buildings, hotels, business hubs and several options for leisure and entertainment. Since 2013, the place has gained popularity not only amongst *Lomas residents*, but also for

middle- and high-income population living in the whole metro-area. The town centre has leisure activities for all ages. During the morning, it is common to see housewives or businesspersons having coffee or shopping, but in the afternoons the place changes into a vibrant meeting place for children and adolescents. In the evening, several bars and restaurants attract young professionals. Sonata's design aligns to international retail and urban design, nothing reminiscent of Puebla or even Mexico (see Figure 23). The names of the buildings are all in English language indicating its global approach: *Sonata Towers*, *Nvbola Tower*, *STW La Plaza*, *Plaza Jazz*, *Luxury Corner*, *Sonata Work Centre*, *Hotel Sonata*.

Figure 23. Sonata District



Source: Distrito Sonata (Distrito Sonata, 2016)

Sonata has also become an area of a different process of gating, which is in luxury high-rise condominiums. These buildings have become very attractive for real estate investment. This is another type of gated community inside the gated community, as all of these buildings have access control strategies, private amenities, and private administrations. If you live in one of this high-rise buildings, you might have to pass three or four security check-points depending on the

access point you use. The following image (Figure 24) shows High Towers, one of the several options in high-rise developments in Sonata.

Figure 24. High Towers in Sonata District

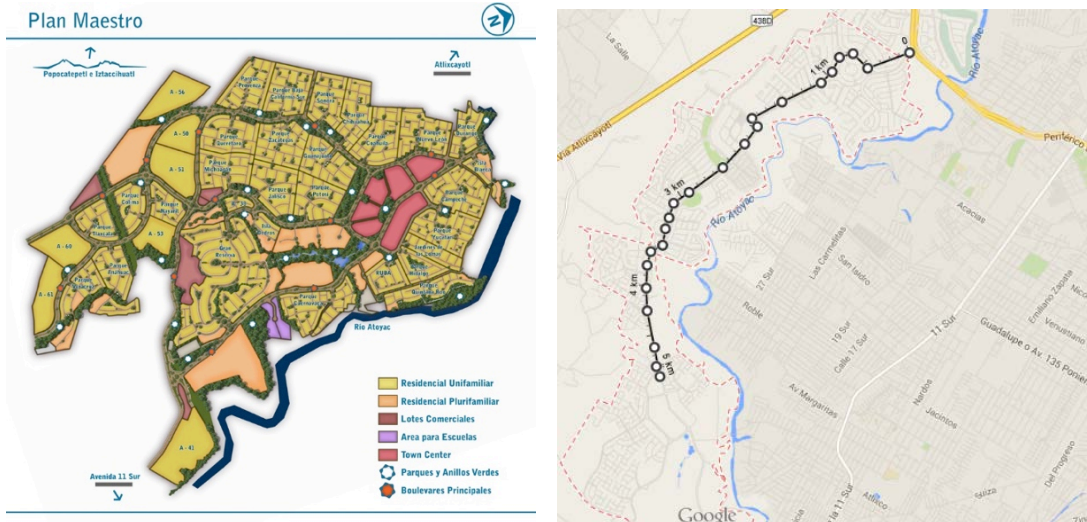


Source: High Towers (High Towers, n.d.)

3) EVOLUTION OF *LOMAS DE ANGELÓPOLIS* STAGE III (2010-current)

The third stage of *Lomas de Angelópolis* is located entirely in the Municipality of *Ocoyucan*. The urban structure is very similar to the first two stages with the difference that in this case there are some free transit streets. However, green areas and residential clusters have access control and security booths. The third stage of *Lomas* is called *Cascatta* because of a large manufactured cascade and lake created in one of the green areas (Grupo Proyecta, n.d.). The first section of *Cascatta*, is about 245 hectares and will house 12,000 families. It contains one of the most ambitious real estate projects within the whole complex called *La Gran Reserva*, aimed at families with the highest incomes. This cluster will work as a high-income lifestyle gated community, where residents will have exclusive access to the Country Club on the top of the hill. The main problem for this third section is that it is isolated from the main streets (*Vía Atlxcáyotl* and the ring road). However, the expectation is that in the next couple of years, there will be a new direct access to this area. In the following image, it can be seen that *Cascatta* will have its own town centre, just like Sonata District in *Lomas II*. The development is still under construction, and those who are interested in accessing this area must drive five kilometres from the main gate and pass four security checkpoints, is seen in the second image (see Figure 25).

Figure 25. Master Plan of Cascatta



Source: Cascatta (Grupo Proyecta, n.d.) & Google Maps (Nov 2014)

Despite the long distances, lots of land are being sold without problems. There are no available lots for sale in *Gran Reserva*; even though the price is five times higher than what people paid in *Lomas I*, ten years ago. The second section of *Cascatta* will be ready in 2018; there will be 3,000 families living in 80 hectares. This is the last section of *Lomas*. The gated community has been evolving and developing with the market. It is still unclear if *Cascatta* will be the last section or if in a couple of years there will be other sections. The high-quality green areas and playgrounds make it very appealing for real estate developers and future residents. There is nothing this scale with access to amenities like this anywhere close. In the following image (see Figure 26), there is a picture of the artificial cascades from the last section.

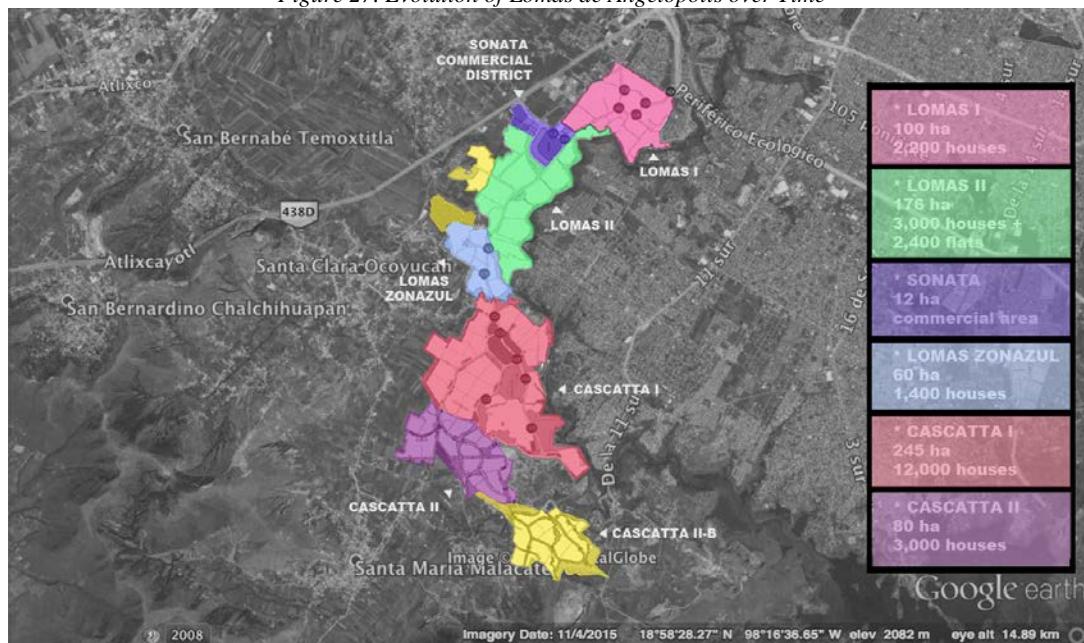
Figure 26. Cascatta's Green Areas



Source: author (2013)

The richness of the case *Lomas* is because its large-scale and multi-clustered structure gives a series of fascinating stories. Each one of the clusters is a universe on their own. The meanings attached to *Lomas* and everyday practices of its residents provide elements of analysis of the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes living in Mexico. The scale of this GC is so large that some argue it should already be considered as an independent municipality. In the following image (see Figure 27), there is an updated version from the *Lomas* master plan (2016) over a Google Earth map, to show how this place will look like in the near future.

Figure 27. Evolution of *Lomas de Angelópolis* over Time



Source: author using Master Plan from *Proyecta* (Grupo *Proyecta*, 2016) and Google Earth (2015)

6.4 Conclusions

The Mexican sprawling housing policies and the lack of adequate urban settings has made gated communities a common strategy for modern urbanisation. The city of Puebla was founded on residential differentiation grounds. Since the beginning of the 20th century, affluent families have moved to the newest and more modern developments; first leaving the city centre, and in the 21st century leaving the central municipality. Privately planned neighbourhoods and GCs are not new in Mexico or the Puebla region, but their predominance in the last thirty years is linked to national housing and land policies in combination with global capital interests. *Lomas de Angelópolis*, the largest gated community in the region is an example of the connections between global forces and local outcomes. It would not exist if it were not for a series of structural support strategies such as the national housing financing incentives to developers and individual families, changes from land assigned for agriculture to land for construction; and changes in municipal planning competences, which allowed municipalities to embrace the arrival of this sort of enclaves because of increased investment and tax income benefits. This project and the area where it was developed can be seen as a privately developed state-facilitated project.

7 MIDDLE-CLASS GATEDNESS: A PRACTICE-BASED ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I analyse from a practice perspective the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* in Puebla, using the concept of **gatedness**. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is a discussion about **middle-class gatedness**, connecting the policies, practices, and meanings mentioned in previous chapters. The second section is about the **stories behind voluntary displacement in Puebla**, to explain the conditions that contributed to the proliferation of gated communities in this particular setting. The third and final section is a presentation of the **spheres of middle-class gatedness**, discussed in detail in the following chapter.

7.2 Middle-Class Gatedness in Lomas de Angelópolis

In this thesis, I proposed to focus the discussion on gatedness as a practice rather than the artefact gated community. I also proposed a practice-based approach to analyse the proliferation of gated communities in Puebla. In previous chapters I talked about how changes in planning and housing policies in the 1990s contributed to the proliferation of these fortified enclaves because planning deregulation and the financialisation of housing incentivised housing production aimed at the middle classes. I also discussed that Mexican debt-economy is also an important factor because it enabled a large group of people to acquire housing using various public and private systems, sometimes above their paying capacity. In this section, I will discuss middle-class gatedness using the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis*, to show the different levels of interconnection between the different factors mentioned above.

I defined gatedness as *the complex, dispersed set of practise associated with gated communities, shaped by the interconnection of material and immaterial elements, such as policies that encourage exclusion, local and trans-national conditions that incentivise their development, physical features used for control and security strategies, and attitudes and actions moulded by diverse meanings attached to these enclaves*. In other words, these fortified spaces are shaped by material elements such as gates and fences, but also of immaterial elements such as policies, practices and meanings.

Middle-class gatedness considers the same practices but focuses particularly in the challenges of middle-income groups. For example, policies that encourage exclusion such as the Mexican housing financing system that enabled a mortgage-driven urban development, or the trans-national conditions that incentivised changes in consumption patterns and expenditures, placing middle-income groups in a more vulnerable position due to the increase in costs to sustain their lifestyles. In the following chapters I will discuss these practices in detail using the framework of spheres of gatedness I propose using Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice (competences, materials, and meanings).

7.3 Gating Puebla's Peripheral Area, a Story of Voluntary Displacement

Before analysing the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* using the spheres of gatedness framework, I will write about one of the things that emerged during fieldwork, which was the fact that participants spent more time during interviews talking about why they left the city, rather than why they wished to move into a GC. The case study *Lomas* cannot be understood if we do not pay attention to the stories that happen before gating up. Puebla's defensive periphery of multiple back-to-back GCs tells stories of hope and expectations, but also of discontent and frustration. In Puebla, thousands of families decided to leave their houses in the central city to move inside a suburban gated community in the periphery after the 1990s.

This voluntary displacement, as it will be expressed in the following chapters, particularly when I talk about meanings, is deeply embedded in aspirations and anxieties, however, these are rooted in the rotting process of the traditional city. The current marketing slogan of *Lomas* gives us a clue. The GC is not advertised as place for community life, security, or investment as it has previously been marketed. In 2016, the slogan became "**Life as it should be**" (*La vida como debe ser*) as it is shown in the billboard in the following image (see Figure 28). The slogan embodies the type of stories I heard from participants in casual conversations during observation exercises. People have found in *Lomas* what they consider is missing in the city. I suggest that the process of gating up the middle classes in Puebla started long before *Lomas* existed. Residents in this GC decided to leave their neighbourhoods because they were not satisfied with their current living conditions and found in *Lomas* what they were missing.

Figure 28. Slogan of Lomas de Angelópolis: "Life as it should be"



Source: author (2016)

7.3.1 Voluntary Displacement in Traditional Middle-Class Neighbourhoods

In Puebla, traditional middle-class neighbourhoods have been losing their appeal in the last couple of decades. A mass group of middle-income families have fled to the peripheries for better life conditions, choosing gated communities over housing options located in open-street neighbourhoods. The most popular GC due to its large-scale, facilities, and green areas is Lomas de Angelópolis. However, the likelihood of families choosing this enclave over other options was not always the same.

Before I start writing about voluntary displacement and the process of leaving the city to move into this suburban GC, I have to point out that I have found a difference in appraisal of the enclave from the first time I studied the place in 2011, to what I found during this research from 2013 to early 2016. This shows that these places are dynamic and their study requires a life-cycle view. That is the reason why I consider it is crucial to understand the challenges of these places to be able to anticipate to the possible risks. When I worked with architecture students in 2011, our findings suggested that people living in *Lomas* felt isolated because there were no shops, restaurants, public transport, and friends and family did not visit as often because they considered far from the city and inconvenient. Nonetheless, since Sonata District became a popular hanging out spot with high-end restaurants, coffee shops, bars, and even cinemas, *Lomas* has become the centrality and people move from the city to join friends and family for lunch or dinner inside the GC.

During the first interviews, I found a pattern that showed that people voluntarily decided to leave their previous residence because their neighbourhood did not fill their expectations anymore; the quality of life had dramatically decreased in the past couple of decades. I asked all interviewees if they missed something from their previous neighbourhood, and with the exception of friends and family living nearby, there was nothing relevant they felt was missing in their new life.

'Well, what do I miss? ... I don't think I miss anything... I thought I would, but not really... Maybe the public market, we were living very close to "La Acocota", and fruit and vegetables are very good there. It was the type of public market where you could buy good quality food for a very low price... But, now we don't really need it. Firstly, because we have a market inside Lomas... maybe it is more expensive, but it is convenient... and also because we have a person that we call and brings us fresh groceries to our door whenever we need it... You see, you start to get substitutions and get used very easily to the new conditions... which honestly, are much better' ("Eduardo", October, 2013)

This quote shows how *Lomas* has brought inside the gates things that people find desirable or that they appreciate from their previous living conditions. Unlike traditional middle-class gated communities with mostly housing and green areas. *Lomas* has included things people still like about living in the city.

From the first interviews, when I asked residents why they decided to move, instead of talking about the advantages of the new house and its gated setting, they started pointing out the problems in their old neighbourhood. There was dissatisfaction from feeling that the place they had built with so much hard work, was now in unliveable conditions. Stories about these abandoned neighbourhoods were something like this:

'The type of neighbourhood where we lived was 100% residential... mostly people we knew... middle class, but with money... People who built their own houses, they lived there with the idea of building for life ... Not thinking about where to move later... You thought this would be forever... This was your patrimony... like my mother used to say... this is the place to live, until you die... [...] Why are we in Lomas now? ... Security was the main reason, our tires and car's mirrors were getting robbed often... but the most annoying problem, was that the area became chaotic, it was not a quiet nice neighbourhood anymore... A school was built next to our house and there was always someone's car parked in our front door... We also had problems with cables hanging everywhere... One day, someone from the cable company came to install something, and left cables in the streets for weeks... The road was in terrible condition... Neighbours started leaving the place and selling for business uses... then it became dangerous... At least three houses were burgled... We couldn't live like that anymore... So when the opportunity came to move out, we took it...' ("Ximena", October 2013)

The analysis from a practice perspective of those traditional neighbourhoods, suggests that once residents were unable to do everyday chores, the neighbourhood became unliveable. The resident above told me that she missed how her neighbourhood used to be. On a regular day she would walk to the bank, the corner-shop, the public market. There was no need for car because basic needs could be covered within walking distance. I suggest that there is a connection between the loss of quality of life in traditional neighbourhoods in Puebla with the changes in national housing and planning policies in the 1990s. New housing developments in peripheries had three important unintended consequences in the inner city. Firstly, the new incentives for housing construction were an opportunity for residents living in large houses to move to newer, smaller, more comfortable options. Secondly, municipal governments stopped investing in road maintenance and public services, which immediately affected the living environment. Finally, weakening planning institutions made it possible to avoid land-use limitations in residential areas, allowing the emergence of all sorts of businesses that started pushing residents out. The next account is an example of how someone who lived in the same neighbourhood for 48 years, decided it was time to move out:

'It was like going from day to night... Look, I am not young anymore, I used to love my neighbourhood but then I frankly stopped liking it... I started having problems to enter my house... there was a car blocking my entrance... after a few weeks I discovered it was from an employee of a newspaper established in an old house in the corner... I feel happier here, because it doesn't matter how late I arrive, I don't have that type of problems... [...] Over there, it used to be so fabulous, no traffic, my children could play all day in the street without any danger. I used to love holidays because I would not see my children until the evening... people knew each other... [...] Now, my friends started to pass away, my son proposed this change, and I found no reason to stay...' ("Pamela", November 2013)

During this interview, the participant showed me pictures of her family during those wonderful years that were only memories now. Deregulation of planning policies in Mexico are not only responsible for the development of agricultural land in the peripheries, but also the abandonment of the central city. In Puebla, affluent families were the first to leave the city and move to traditional lifestyle GCs in Puebla and Cholula. The second group was low-income groups moving to distant new mass-housing developments because of the national homeownership programmes of the 1990s and 2000s. Traditional middle-class neighbourhoods have been losing their appeal.

During the first stage of fieldwork, I decided to visit neighbourhoods mentioned during interviews and walk the streets with people that still lived there; so they could share with me the type of changes they had observed or why they thought people were leaving. A close friend walked with me in *Jardines de San Manuel*, one of the traditional middle-class neighbourhoods that have lost the largest number of residents in the past decade. In her view, it is *logical* that

people would want to move out, because the place has become very dangerous. She considers that if she could afford to move out she would do it: *Why shouldn't we move to a safer, more modern environment? Besides, houses are losing their value because here "everything goes", you can turn your house into an office or shop if you want to.* The following images (see Figure 29) are examples of houses for sale I found in almost all streets. It is visible how insecurity has become a big population expeller, since all these houses have added gates, cameras, and other security features that were not part of the original design.

Figure 29. Houses for Sale in Traditional Middle Class Neighbourhood



Source: author (2013)

From interviews, site visits and observation exercises, these were the four issues that were mentioned the most on why people chose to move out of their old residential neighbourhood:

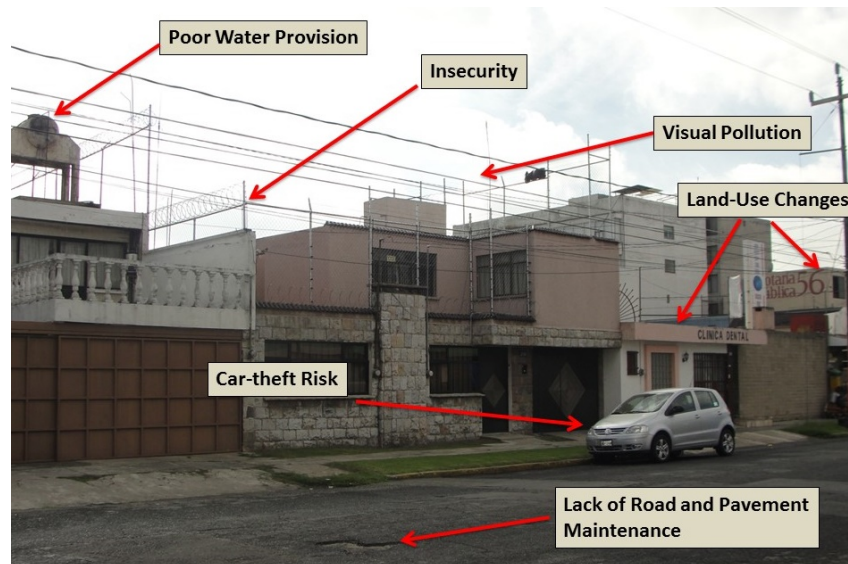
- **Quality of public services had decreased.** Some participants complained about things like: poor water supply, bad waste collection service, and how it can take months to get a street light bulb changed. Others complained about the lack of police presence and the poor response when there is a robbery. In addition, roads and pavements are in bad condition, green areas are seen as potential dangerous places, and criss-crossed electricity and cable TV cables define the landscape.
- **Planning authorities have made it easier to make land-use changes.** During site visits, I observed how many houses had been turned into schools, health clinics, spas, offices, notaries, shops, boutiques, etc....without a clear mixed-use planning strategy. According to the residents who came with me during site visits, businesses are outnumbering houses, making the place more dangerous after business hours, and contributing to an increase in criminal activities.
- **Financial options privilege buying newly built houses.** Two interviewees mentioned that they were interested in improving their previous house but when they started looking for bank loans, it was much easier to buy a newly-built house than improve your own. In

these two cases, houses were sold as empty lots using the commercial land value, because the house itself was worthless.

- **Constant Fear mongering.** During site visits, I received constant warnings about dangerous places. This was also observed in social media and even official data, where *Jardines de San Manuel*, was mentioned as one of the “*most dangerous places to live in the city*” (e-consulta, 2013). There has been a physical response: higher fences, CCTV systems, security alarm systems by the company “ADT” or similar, electric wires, etc.

The following image (see Figure 30) is an example of common issues that are making traditional middle-class neighbourhoods in Puebla less attractive.

Figure 30. Main Motivations for Voluntary Displacement in Middle Class Neighbourhoods



Source: author (2013)

These four main motivations for people deciding to move out of the neighbourhood show that the process of gating up and voluntary displacement of the middle classes is not a simple matter of **choice**. There are housing policies that are making it easier to leave than to stay, material conditions of obliteration that are making places less attractive, and the changes in activities have modified the way people live, and therefore, the meaning people attach to these spaces. At first sight, it might seem like middle-class groups with financial stability or opportunity decide to move to a new residential area because of social mobility and desire. However, from what I found during research, most participants feel that they were **forced to leave**, since the original conditions that made their neighbourhoods desirable were lost. When the current “life as it should be” campaign of Lomas came out, it was clear that they were aiming at this dissatisfied group of people.

In a casual conversation during an observation exercise, a married young entrepreneur with two children gave me his view on why people who judge *Lomas de Angelópolis* negatively are not being fair. This father of two, talked about his own experience. He had lived in a traditional neighbourhood in Puebla his whole life, and he never liked the urban chaos (traffic, noise, garbage in the street, potholes, etc.). When he saw the master plan of *Lomas*, he was very excited because it was finally ‘a planned city’. In his view, people that judge *Lomas* ‘are not being fair and probably are jealous’ (“Rodolfo”, February 2016). This participant mentioned ‘it would be great that the rest of the city was clean and organised, but it is not, and that is why we like living here so much’. In his case, his family was the first to move in, but soon after, he decided to help buy another house for his parents and another for his father-in law. Everyday practices have changed since the whole family moved in, for instance: ‘now the whole family can meet for breakfast or dinner without leaving the enclave’ (“Rodolfo”, February 2016).

This respondent commented that the problem is that ‘outside you cannot see how planning works, while inside you can see that planning brings order, structure, cleanliness’ (“Rodolfo”, February 2016). This statement demonstrates that the process of gating up goes beyond the gates, as it is not the physical elements of the gates that residents value the most but the fact that these gates represent a change of social contract for those living inside. Distrust in the current planning system and the capacity of local municipalities to deal with everyday problems has motivated the development of new practices and new understandings of what the city “should be like”. Middle classes in Puebla have taken advantage of the housing offer searching for better life conditions. Interviewees didn’t like feeling judged for their decisions. One of the interviewees, working for INFONAVIT, even asked me: ‘If you had the opportunity to choose between getting a house in one of those old neighbourhoods or a newly-built house on *Lomas*, what would you do? I think you would go for the one in *Lomas* because it will be worth more, it will be in better conditions, and it will be easier to buy’ (“Liliana”, December, 2013)

7.3.2 Understanding the Proliferation of Gated Communities in Puebla after the 1990s

The proliferation of gated communities in Puebla is the result of the interconnection of different factors and dimensions from transnational, national, subnational, local, and individual levels. Before we start the analysis of the case *Lomas de Angelópolis* using the spheres of gatedness, I present a quick review using the original research questions to identify the factors that have contributed to the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico based on the discussions expressed in previous chapters about Mexican middle-class indebtedness in a neoliberal state, and the Mexican housing and spatial planning policies.

1. *How have **neoliberal transnational forces** transformed **national housing and planning policies** in **Mexico** since the 1990s? How have these changes contributed to the proliferation of gated communities?*

As mentioned, the Washington Consensus and the World Bank housing policies had a major role in the definition of the national planning, housing and financing systems in Mexico after the 1990s. The debt-crises of the 1970s and 1980s drove Mexico's leaders to ask for support from international financial institutions. To receive this aid, Mexico had to engage in a series of structural changes encompassing economic, housing, planning, landownership, and financial policies. The literature review suggests that these policies had successful macroeconomic outcomes but contributed to an increase in wealth inequality and large disparities. This situation magnified the gaps between the rich and the poor, stretching the middle class in the centre and causing it to splinter into different levels of middle classes due to the variances in access to goods, education, income, job opportunities, and public services.

Mexican middle classes found in the neoliberal state, opportunities for obtaining new housing. The national housing plan, although it was aimed at low-income groups, provided the policies, deregulation strategies, and financial incentives that developers used to develop new modern gated communities in most Mexican metropolitan areas. The growing tensions linked to the raising inequality and the violence and crime connected to the unsuccessful war on drugs, provided the perfect excuse to create new protected housing estates, whilst financial public and private funding institutions provided new options for different levels of middle class status.

GCs were common before the 1990s, but the majority were aimed at the affluent groups because of their exclusive country clubs and sports facilities. Changes in housing policies in the 1990s with the financialisation of INFONAVIT and the privatisation of housing provision, along with the re-privatisation of the banking system brought new lending opportunities for middle-class families. A new generation of mortgage-driven urban development started defining the landscape. The developments were scattered and disconnected and gating became a normal process to protect housing estates, regardless of socio-economic level.

2. *How have **global and national economic, political, and social policies and practices**, moulded the **aspirations and anxieties** of the **middle classes in Mexico**? How have these aspirations and anxieties contributed to the proliferation and normalisation of gated communities for this particular group?*

In previous chapters I explained how the Mexican debt-economy reached individual households. In recent years, middle classes have increased their dependence on credit not only for commodities but also for essentials such as health, housing, food, and security. The search for global competitiveness has modified modern Mexican cities like Puebla changing policies and practices, particularly in terms of car-dependence, consumption patterns, having a strong effect on the urban fabric and social relationships. Changes in national housing policies modified household practices. The national discourse of homeownership as a strategy to reach middle class status drove thousands of families to engage in 20 to 30 year mortgages. These commitments did not only change the urban configuration of cities because of the produced sprawl, but also the life conditions of families, since more family members had to contribute economically in order to meet payments. Middle class status brings a sort of vulnerability because it requires job stability in a context of social, economic, and political uncertainty.

The influence of transnational economic and social policies not only modified national policies and practices, such as the deregulation of planning, financialisation of housing provision, and the neoliberalisation of the economy. These global forces also modified everyday life practices on household levels. Access to new cheaper commodities such as flat screen TVs, cars, cellular phones, and home appliances, helped to configure the aspirations of Mexican middle classes. The middle class status was obtained according to debt-capacity, as the majority of these possessions are obtained through commercial credit or instalments. The neoliberal state also brought new or increased previous tensions and anxieties. The new housing developments in the outskirts contributed to sprawl and car-dependency, and the economic policies increased wealth inequality. Levels of crime and violence have increased in the past couple of decades, and socio-economic differentiation is more evident since urban development and housing production is based on income segregation principles. The aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes are in constant tension. For example, it is much easier to buy an expensive car, but the anxiety of keeping it safe in the street or in transit increases the levels of stress of the owner.

The proliferation of middle-class GCs has happened in close relationship with these aspirations and anxieties. The new car or flat screen TV, require safer environments, not only because of the risk of robbery but also due to the contrast with the life conditions of others. Middle class gated communities for the middle classes have become normalised because they provide a sort of aspirations container, safe from the outside, particularly when most families are working full time to be able to afford their lifestyles and leave the houses for long periods.

3. *How does **gating up** in a context of economic, political, and social uncertainty like Mexico shape middle classes' **everyday practices and meanings**? How does that connect back to policy?*

Gating up in Mexico can be seen as the combination of macro-level structural conditions with micro-level behaviours. As it will be described in detail in the following chapter using the framework of analysis “spheres of gatedness”. GCs in Mexico have been incentivised in various ways by transnational, national, subnational, and local policies. These incentives are present in the shape of deregulation, subsidies, liberalisation of the market, or even state abandonment. The micro-level conditions are mostly linked to the aspirations and anxieties of individuals or particular socio-economic groups. GCs in Mexico are not new, but the number of private residential developments aimed at middle-income groups has increased notably since the 1990s. Their emergence is not necessarily the result of specific planning or housing policies, but rather a combination of practices from different stakeholders involved in the process of gating up.

The proliferation of middle-class GCs is not the outcome of individual choices, but rather a dynamic practice where policies change practices, practices shape the physical space, and the meanings attached to the physical space connects back to policy. The way GCs have become normalised in Mexico suggest that they have become part of everyday practices. The connection between transnational policies and national policies that directly or indirectly contribute to the emergence of GCs has been implied by different authors in the past. However, there is less discussion about how practices connect back to policy. In the following chapter I will analyse the case *Lomas de Angelópolis* from a practice perspective using the framework of spheres of gatedness. This third question sums up the interconnection between the different levels of policies, practices, and meanings. It also points out the need to better understand these enclaves if we want to make more equitable planning initiatives.

Everyday practices, analysed using the case Lomas, suggest that the aspirations of global competitiveness from a subnational level along with the middle-class aspirations of a family aiming to improve its quality of life shape not only the material artefact of a gated community, but also the policies that enable its presence. Municipal authorities make it easier for developers to engage in this sort of housing estate because it increases their tax income whilst being liberated from several municipal public service responsibilities. Subnational governments decide to ignore national planning or environmental regulation that might impede the development of a GC, if the project represents economic development or political positioning. The enabling context makes it even easier on an individual level, because financial institutions provide the resources, and the national discourse of homeownership makes it not only acceptable, but rather it is desirable. In the following section, I will talk about some of the main connections between policies, practices, and meanings in the case study *Lomas*.

7.3.3 *The Gating Up Process in Angelópolis*

Voluntary displacement in Puebla, as previously mentioned, is rooted in the loss of quality of life in middle-class traditional neighbourhoods. The proliferation of GCs for this particular socio-economic group in the metro-area is connected to transnational, national, subnational, and local policies, just as it is the materialisation of middle-class accomplishment. The gating up process in the *Angelópolis* district can be linked, amongst other things explained in detail in the next chapters, to the following interconnected factors:

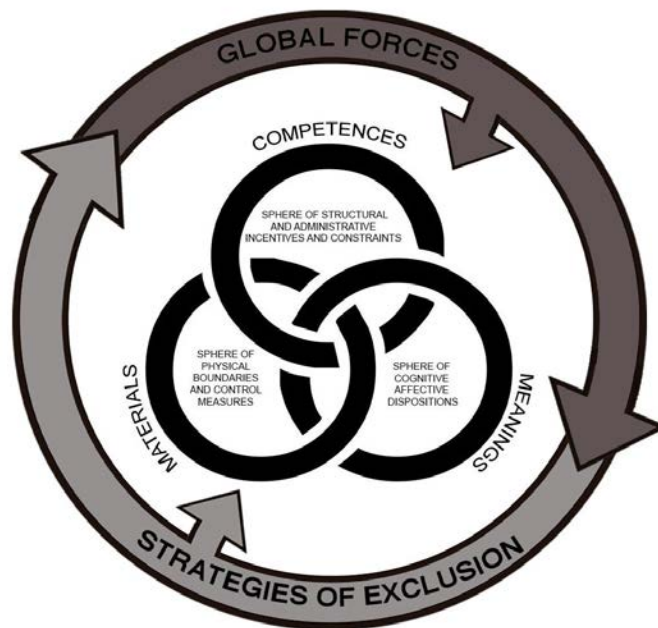
- 1) **Expansion of the city and new housing incentives for the middle classes.** After the 1990s, new opportunities for the middle classes appeared to move out of traditional neighbourhoods. The combination of planning deregulation, land tenure changes that made cheap land accessible for developers, and the housing national strategy that promoted a construction boom and the increase in housing financing options, made it easier to move into GCs.
- 2) **Municipal limitations to provide adequate services.** Land expansion and population growth increased the demand for infrastructure and services in peripheral municipalities, whilst local authorities' technical capacity and budgets were insufficient. Middle classes aiming to improve the quality of their services and security embraced the privatised administration system of GCs.
- 3) **Need to defend the periphery.** Municipalities with limited planning capacity, allowed developments to be built in vulnerable conditions. A large number of GCs emerged in the 1990s and 2000s in dispersed and isolated areas, disconnected from the life of the city, and subsequently, from basic infrastructure and services. Estates were “forced” to gate in order to protect their residents from the unserved surrounding land.
- 4) **Increased social fear.** The escalated abandonment of traditional neighbourhoods happened not only in Puebla, but in the whole country. However, the motivations for this voluntary displacement were due to stronger insecurity concerns. The general increase in crime and violence because of inequality and an unsuccessful war on drugs meant that families from all around Mexico decided to leave their whole life behind in search of a quieter life in Puebla, finding in GCs a safe new home.

- 5) **The appeal of the global city and land valorisation.** The brandname *Angelópolis*, originally intended to support a regional plan, has become a symbol of the modern global city. The presence of luxury brand shops, luxury housing, and expensive private higher education institutions has made Angelópolis the most desirable place for investment. It has also become a new centrality, making GCs in the area more appealing.

7.4 Spheres of Gatedness – A Practice-Based Framework of Analysis for Gated Communities

In this thesis, I proposed the analysis of GCs through the concept of gatedness. I consider gatedness as a multi-layered phenomenon with multiple connections. To identify these interconnections, I decided to use Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice as inspiration (competences, materials, and meanings) organised as **spheres of gatedness**. These reorganisation of the analytical framework is intended to provide the reader concepts closer to the gated communities' discussion. The proliferation of GCs is not the result of one particular policy or the concretisation of the aspirations of a single middle-class family, but rather a complex structure where all factors are intertwined. In the following chapters I discuss empirical data obtained from the case *Lomas* – stories that are predominantly related to each of the three spheres of gatedness (or elements of practice). The stories in *Lomas* intertwine with the ones previously mentioned of middle-class indebtedness, planning deregulation, and the financialising of housing in Mexico. The following diagram shows how the three spheres interconnect with each other, whilst all of them are located in a universe of global forces and strategies of exclusion.

Figure 31. Spheres of Gatedness



Source: author (2015)

The interconnection between the spheres of gatedness is not linear. For a given situation, the roots might be in one sphere but its influence is more visible in the other. For example, a particular policy might have a physical outcome; however, the shape, style, size, or configuration of that physical outcome depends on the expectations and meanings of the stakeholders involved. It could go the other way around; a particular meaning could define attitudes or political discourses and contribute to policymaking. In this case, policies are shaped to fit political aims, and the physical expression might be ornamental or ephemeral.

7.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I wrote about middle-class gatedness, from a practice perspective. The process of gating up in Puebla, according to the findings in this research, is not the result of middle-class families that suddenly decided they wanted to move to modern new houses in isolated suburban gated communities. The starting point is understanding why these families want to leave their traditional neighbourhood in the first place. The process of gating up is the outcome of the connection of small situations that together contribute to create the ideal setting for gatedness. The current slogan of *Lomas de Angelópolis* “life as it should be” gives us hints of the factors that are driving people into the enclave, because the traditional city is not satisfying the expectations of quality of life of middle-income groups, whilst the housing and planning institutions are providing options for them to move out. In this chapter I talked about the spheres of gatedness framework of analysis, but in the next three chapters I will use each one of them using the case study, in order to better understand the whole picture of the gated phenomenon.

8 SPHERE OF STRUCTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INCENTIVES AND CONSTRAINTS (COMPETENCES)

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the first sphere of gatedness about “structural and administrative incentives and constraints” using the data obtained during fieldwork in Mexico inside Lomas de Angelópolis. The chapter is organised in one main section divided in four subsections. The main section is about the competences involved in the process of gating up. The first subsection is about the interrelation between global policies and global actions. The second subsection is about municipalities and the rise of privatised governments. The third subsection is about the financialisation of the housing sector and the fourth and final subsection is about the presence of dirty money and money laundering in gated communities.

8.2 Competences in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class Gated Communities

The **sphere of structural and administrative incentives and constraints** is inspired in what Shove *et al.* (2012) call “competences”, which include the skills, expertise, and techniques present in practice. I suggest that the gatedness analysis also requires the inclusion of policies, planning instruments, regulation, budgets, incentives, and even constraints; everything that enables the production and normalisation of a gated community from a political, economic, social, and infrastructural perspective. Therefore, this sphere includes things like the role of policies and practices from international, national, regional, and local levels, which directly or indirectly contribute to the production of these enclaves. It also includes the interconnection between the state, private developers, and public and private financial institutions. The premise was that Mexico, like many other debt-economies, had to engage in major structural reforms following recommendations by international financial institutions like the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund (IMF), after facing severe economic crises in the 1970s and 1980s. The recommendations did not only modify political and economic national policies; they also had important effects on housing and spatial planning policies. The structural changes in these two important policy areas have shaped modern cities. The number of middle-class GCs in Mexico has increased alongside these policy changes. In the following sections I will address specific practices within this particular sphere that contributed to the proliferation of these enclaves.

8.2.1 *From Global Policies to Local Actions*

The metropolitan area of Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T) is the fourth largest in Mexico. It is also one of the most important commercial, educational, and industrial poles in the country. After the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, the state of Puebla needed something that would boost the economy and improve the conditions and opportunities for local families. After constitutional reforms during the 1990s in matters of land, planning, financing, and housing, recommended by international financial institutions, Puebla was able to engage in a series of projects aimed at achieving global competitiveness and bringing new business opportunities. The detonating policy instrument was the Regional Programme Angelópolis in 1993, which established a series of ambitious projects with long-term consequences. The implementation of the programme projected Puebla into the global sphere via a series of economically successful projects, which triggered renewed interest. The unintended consequence of this planning success is that with the change of governor, the programme began a process of constant modifications and a sort of planning *à la carte* strategy in the municipalities that were indirectly benefited or affected by its success. The GC *Lomas de Angelópolis* was not part of the programme's residential projects, but benefited from the economic success and population growth the programme provoked. The story of *Angelópolis* is a story of privately led urban development with a series of enabling actions by the state in national, regional, and local levels. The emergence and proliferation of GCs in the periphery of Puebla can be better understood through the eyes of those who were close to the process. These stories of sprawl with isolated and disconnected residential areas and land conflicts are implicit in the following quote by Virginia Cabrera, a former public official and researcher:

'Practically, this area started to develop in the 1980s, when governor Piña Olaya began the expropriation process... not in a very clear way, that is when conflicts started... Later on, Manuel Bartlett came with a large-scale project for the state of Puebla [...] it was a plan to connect with the international circuits of capital... make Puebla more competitive through a series of ambitious projects... Angelópolis was one of these projects, and one of the first infrastructure investments was building an ecological ring road, or at least that is how they called it, because there is nothing ecological about it [...] the project had to deal with the concretization of the previous expropriations, but there was strong resistance. I was Director of Urban Development in SEDURBECOP and witnessed constant protests from ejidatarios [communal farmland landowners] and people demanding property rights... The process of regularisation took a long time; it was extremely complex... There were impositions... and then when the area started to gain value, well... then constant modifications started... land use changes, land donation to public and private institutions... I consider this was a huge business for a lot of people, including ejidatarios... When I was in the Direction we had to check several cases where the land had been sold four or five times by the same ejidatario...' (Cabrera, V. November 2013)

This quote gives us an idea on how even with planning instruments, subnational governments make changes or decide to ignore some premises if there are economic interests at stake. It also shows how land-related conflicts still define urban development.

The area where *Lomas de Angelópolis* is located was originally agricultural land far from the city of Puebla. This GC owes its existence to the large success of the projects developed inside the land reserve as part of the regional programme. The economic success of the Angelópolis area is clearly connected to private national and international investment, but it could only become reality with the support and leadership of the state. Governor Bartlett arrived in Puebla in the 1990s after being in powerful positions such as Secretary of the Interior in the Federal Government. His government plan was strongly connected to president Salinas de Gortari's global competitiveness and economic recovery aims. However, the state of Puebla was not fully prepared, as ex-Governor Bartlett commented in an interview:

'When I arrived to Puebla I realised that the State, and particularly the city of Puebla, were facing complex problems that could not be tackled individually... Poor quality roads, deficient public transport, and water supply shortage amongst other social, economic, and urban problems... When I heard about all these problems, I knew things had to be visualised from a wider perspective. Therefore, I started looking for planning experts through BANOBRAS, the bank for development of the states, to create an Urban Development Plan for the State of Puebla. They [BANOBRAS] provided a list of Mexican planners, most of them architects, but they were not prepared for something as big... I called all of them!!!... Then someone told me about a foreign company called HKS located in Dallas and had to call them... I am very nationalist... so if I had to call them it is because there was no one else' (M. Bartlett, November 2013)

The Regional Programme Angelópolis introduced a global city planning vision, partly because of the influence of international consultancy firms, but also because it was developed just before the launch of NAFTA. Bartlett's projects faced strong opposition, particularly from heritage conservation groups due to his regeneration project in the historical city centre. However, some consider that at least he proposed the first real comprehensive urban plan with clear regional strategies and economic growth aims. Bartlett, during an interview, told me the type of difficulties he encountered when he arrived in Puebla. For example: the land problems to launch the Angelópolis residential and commercial project:

'The expropriation law requires the definition of public utility, therefore you must create an urban development programme to establish the requirement of facilities, housing for all sectors, schools, churches, commercial spaces, etc. Afterwards, the Secretary of Social Development approves it and then you implement it. However, when I arrived [to Puebla] everything was already sold!!!... The previous governor had given it all!!!... It was a 200-million-dollar business... and I had to personally recover everything.' (M. Bartlett, November 2013)

Bartlett's comments are about the property rights and municipal borders conflicts that the previous governor had failed to resolve when the land reserve was created in the 1980s. Bartlett was well aware that the conflicts were strong, but the area was fundamental for his economic growth objectives. To fill the public utility aims, the *Angelópolis* programme included areas for public facilities, green areas, and low-income housing. However, the lack of strong planning institutions and regulation by the end of the 1990s made it impossible to prevent discretionary

changes to the programme responsible for the type of disconnected urban sprawl that has characterised Puebla's and other metropolitan areas urban development in the last couple of decades. Francisco Vélez-Pliego, an important political actor and researcher from the public university BUAP, has been analysing the expansion of the city of Puebla for years, and is very critical about the flexible use of planning regulation as he mentions in the following quote:

'Since Salinas, urban development has been taken over by real estate speculators... The past four presidencies have forgotten about taking care of urban development... in the sense that the territory is not object for regulation... regulation via plans and programmes... these same groups were against regulation in 1976... they considered that land management was unacceptable... and eventually managed to get total liberation in practice... de facto... it found government officials willing to close their eyes, that is the case of [governors] Melquiades or Marin, that even if there was a norm...for whatever reason... economic, political, social, and where the flow goes... all this idea that if I own my land I should be able to do with it whatever I want... and that it is my possession and I don't need authorisation from anyone' (F. Vélez-P., November 2013)

Deregulation of policies is a policy itself. *Lomas de Angelópolis* was not considered within the regional programme, but its emergence is directly linked to the changes and incentives promoted after the large commercial success of the projects developed within the land reserve. *Lomas* is the largest suburban gated community in Puebla, but it is only one of hundreds of gated communities built in this peripheral area. The regional programme had a series of limitations and the border was the peripheral ring road, consequently, some actors saw the opportunity to profit from the benefits of the infrastructure without having to deal with the planning constraints. Vélez-Pliego explains this in the following quote:

'Here is what happened during the process of metropolisation of San Andrés Cholula... there was an ejido of San Andrés, and we should not forget that the limits of ejido land do not necessarily match municipal borders... anyway... what happened is that this ejido was expropriated as part of the territorial rearrangement project promoted by [governor] Piña Olaya in the late 1980s... 1989 if I am not mistaken... with the decree of land use modification. The Cholula-Huejotzingo-San Martin regional programme defined this portion of territory as a reserve for city's growth... however, it became the main pole of expansion... the reserve was not preserved but became the main area of development...' (F. Vélez-P., November 2013)

The preceding quote is an example of how administrative incentives and constraints define urban development. The creation of a land reserve for housing expansion was an excuse for commercial development. There was strong enough regulation work to create the reserve and define the priority of infrastructure, but soft enough to allow changes that would benefit private investors. Vélez-Pliego, continues talking about the flagrant defiance of planning constraints in the following quote:

'There was an important incentive... if you see the Centre of Population Development Plan from 1992, you will see that the original ring road was much smaller and followed the original 1950s layout... the remaining land was supposed to be a reserve for the future... but what happened? ... Bartlett moved the peripheral ring road further away and this only created an expansive effect in two senses... first, there was an expansive effect of the consolidated city, the immediate peri-urban area, and within the limits of the peripheral ring... but the second happened during [governor] Melquiades's time, because he authorised direct entries and exits to and from the peripheral ring... in the original programme, the ecologic peripheral ring road was supposed to have only seven cloverleaf interchanges... because this was supposed to be a high-speed road... but authorities started authorising entries and exits on the road... we went from seven to 89 poorly designed and dangerous direct accesses into the high speed road' (F. Vélez-P., November 2013)

Since the peripheral ring road was supposed to create a sort of green belt that would contain sprawl, there was no road design beyond this important artery. This indirectly benefited the emergence of new gated communities. The lack of urban grid made developers use the totality of the agricultural land surface for housing construction solving inner roads and using small rustic roads to connect their housing estates to the peripheral ring. Sometimes using backdoor entrances behind petrol stations, which was the only commercial use allowed to have direct access to the fast lane.

The national global competitiveness aims and the ambitious national housing programme made Angelópolis an important economic pole in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, municipalities that received this urban development were not prepared for what would happen. Decentralisation policies set down on paper in the 1980s that allowed municipalities to do their own planning and land management did not arrive with the material resources, competences, institutions, legal instruments, or budgets. Municipal authorities had limited capacity but also a limited vision because of the brief municipal administration terms (three years). City mayors were not worried about the long-term consequences of their actions, because they would not be present to deal with them. Many municipal authorities viewed GCs as a convenient urban and economic development strategy, compatible with their short municipal administration, since these enclaves increased municipal tax income, introduced infrastructure, and diminished expenditure in public services and security, whilst empowering their public image for future political careers. The following account from the ex-public official Gerardo Vargas shows the type of relation between this sort of enclaves and local governments:

'The expropriations for the land reserve and the peripheral ring road required more than a thousand hectares of land from four municipalities... these expropriations were supposed to cover territorial needs for thirty years... however, the state of Puebla and the municipalities did not follow the programme... thousands of families still don't have legal certainty over their land... developers did not search for land in the reserve because it was cheaper to buy agricultural land outside... and this is all because there is no clear instrumentation... they left the market work alone... So, developers started buying large extensions of land in former ejidos, the state had the legal faculty to intercede, but decided not to do so, and allowed land speculation to get out of

control [...] This is not because of lack of regulation, there is actually very good regulation... article 43 from the [Urban Sustainable Development] Law of 2003 was very clear... this was a very advanced law that integrated urban and sustainability topics.. However, local governments interpreted the law at will... (G. Vargas, December 2013)

This quote demonstrates the interconnection between spheres. The lack of skills and knowledge from municipal authorities, along with a short-term understanding of planning is defining the physical world. For the public officials that allowed land speculation and chaotic urban development, gated communities meant economic growth, and this understanding has had an important influence with negative effects in social cohesion, environment, and governance. Vargas discusses in the next quote how easy it was to move around regulation:

'Basically they have been making changes through city council meetings, which was obviously illegal, but it doesn't really matter... because there were never secondary laws... or a bylaw... so there are no sanctions... no legal consequences... A "toothless law" ... That is the problem... it is not the lack of laws, but the fact that developers have found a way to walk around regulation... the same thing happens with the Urbanisation Law [Fraccionamientos] ... practically 80% of existing fraccionamientos [GCs] have not covered the municipal requirements [...] it is a very strange situation... there are legal gaps everywhere... I don't know if this is on purpose... The whole urban and land thing is in the limbo ... in a cloud!! (G. Vargas, December 2013)

The lack of professionalization within the public workforce and a lack of intergovernmental coordination affected the possibilities of adequate urban planning and implementation strategies. Municipal authorities chose planning *à la carte* and worked to meet private developers' needs. Urban development programmes appeared after *Lomas* master plan had been designed (*Ocoyucan*) and municipal construction permits were authorised after developers approved the architecture plans (*San Andrés Cholula*). One of the unintended consequences is that for those living inside the GC, the role of the local government is unclear. In the case of *Lomas*, with the exception of those in the household in charge of paying taxes or utility bills, interviewees were not sure if they lived in the municipality of *San Andrés Cholula* or *Ocoyucan*. According to one of the interviewees: *'they are all the same'* ("Paulina", December 2014). There is a sort of disengagement with what happens around. The only connection and interaction with the outside world of municipalities like *Ocoyucan*, shown in the following pictures (see Figure 32), is through service. This is because most of the construction workers, house cleaners, and gardeners live or come from surrounding towns. In one of the interviews, after it was over and we went for a drive in the GC, the resident interviewed commented that:

'People from Santa Clara should be grateful because Lomas brought job opportunities for the population and improved infrastructure... Look, the developers paved this street... and it goes all the way to the city centre of Santa Clara... They are living in much better conditions than before we came' ("Eduardo", October 2013)

Figure 32. Santa Clara Ocoyucan Town



Source: author (2013)

The wife of the participant that said this, who came in the same car, did not support this remark. In her view, the benefits for the people in *Santa Clara* were marginal. To begin with, some of the jobs were only temporary (construction), and others had very low wages. She even ventured to say that it was a sort of modern slavery, but in a more convenient way, since residents in *Lomas* do not have to worry about the life of their employees beyond the gates. I was able to have a very short interview with a house cleaner in *Lomas*, while I was waiting for the house owner. She lived in a low-income neighbourhood on the other side of the river. I asked her about her experience working in the GC and this is what she answered:

'I work here only part-time because I have a husband and children... I have to find my way here every single morning and it is not easy because there are no direct "rutas" [buses]... The good thing is that a lot of my neighbours also work here... It is easy in the morning because three or four of us can take a "colectivo" or taxi that brings us inside... The problem is in the afternoon because construction workers have to leave at 5 pm... and us working in houses have to wait longer... In my case, sometimes "la señora" asks me to stay until 6 or 7 when she comes back from work.... Pay is good and "la señora" is really nice to me and gives me clothes and toys their sons are not using anymore... I like it here... it is so pretty ... so different from where I live... but it is ok... The only thing I really don't like is how security guards treat us... Every time I leave they want to check my purse... but like everything... you get used to it' ("Amalia", January 2015)

This conversation made me realise the connections between the people living inside and outside the gates. Throughout this research, I visited *Santa Clara Ocoyucan* in three occasions to see if the community was receiving benefits from the development, and to gauge how people felt about the GC. In a casual conversation with people coming out of church in a Sunday afternoon in 2013, a group of middle-aged women said they liked to have *Lomas* near because their husbands found jobs, but also because they could sometimes go with their children to the "nice big garden with the cascades". I went back to *Lomas* that day and saw that residents of the small town had open access to the green areas in the *Cascatta* section and saw a large family enjoying the site. However, when I came back for fieldwork in 2014, this large green area had been gated and outfitted with access control systems, as shown in the following images (see Figure 33).

Figure 33. Cascatta's Green Area before and after the Gates



Source: author (2013) & (2014)

8.2.2 *Municipalities and the Rise of Privatised Governments*

Large-scale gated communities like *Lomas* are usually located in non-urbanised areas or agricultural land. During the 1990s and 2000s, the most powerful developers filled the periphery with low-income horizontal dwellings. As credits became easier to obtain and banks offered more mortgage options, some of these peripheral new neighbourhoods began to cater to middle- and high-income groups. Developers creating gated communities assumed a role of planners introducing in their developments those elements that would make the enclaves more appealing, counteracting the disadvantages of peripheral life. People living in *Lomas* do not seem to be bothered by paying for services and the sort of privatised Keynesianism (Crouch, 2009) that forces them to foot the bill for the costs municipalities are not covering anymore.

Lomas de Angelópolis has a complex administration system. Developers serve as master planners, since the compound is still under construction. Each of the clusters is handed to the residents and the private administrator of their choice once the enclave reaches a 50% occupation. Each cluster has a representative on another government body that gathers clusters built in the same time-period. For example, all clusters from *ZonAzul* have their own association. There are two types of government bodies, one is a homeowners' association, which defines social interaction rules, acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and design guidelines. It also hires the private management company. The second type is a paid private management company, chosen by residents, which can be changed if residents are not satisfied with its work. The challenge of these multiple privatised government bodies is that they work under a fuzzy framework where local municipalities have little or no relationship. One of the main concerns for the future is that the uncertainty about what the role of the developers will be once they hand over all the clusters. Some interviewees told me about their fears that the affordable maintenance fees they pay now (30 to 40 USD) would raise dramatically once the developer left.

In *Lomas*, the implications and interrelations between private “urban managers”, (developers, project managers, private administrators, etc.), residents, and local authorities creates a fuzzy and uncertain political context. These micro-universes are created without a clear national or even local policy. The transfer of powers to neighbour associations require time and money. One of my interviewees became president of his cluster’s homeowner association. In a follow up conversation, one year after the original interview, he told me how difficult it was to put forward all interests, and how time demanding it was. The large scale of *Lomas* requires also a talent for negotiation between groups, particularly those from the original settlement or *Lomas I* residents, and the rest. The interviewees I talked to from *Lomas I* were not pleased with the large numbers of new residents arriving. The following statement is an example of these concerns:

‘We like living in Lomas I because the houses and people are nicer. Lomas II might have nicer gardens and social activities facilities, but as Lomas I owners we can still use them...what I don’t like about it, is that ‘they’ can use our roads to go to their houses. And there are all sorts of people there!!! The houses are cheaper than here but they like to say that they live in ‘Lomas’... but we cannot really know for sure if they are trustworthy’ (“Fernanda”, October 2013)

This quote is another example of how spheres are constantly interconnected. In this case, the resident complained because of the traffic and noise produced by the new uncivil neighbours, which is an expression of the sphere of physical boundaries and control measures. However, the comment about the neighbours saying they “like to say they live in Lomas” is an expression of the sphere of cognitive affective dispositions. The meanings attached to *Lomas* are valued by new arrivals, while the original settlers feel that their comfort and convenience is under threat.

There are important differences between clusters. The first clusters in *Lomas* did not have gyms or shared facilities for social events. The newest clusters introduced these amenities to make them appealing even if they were further away. The number of homeowners is also very different so maintenance fees cannot be the same. One interviewee mentioned that residents in most clusters have managed to live along quite well, but the way common areas have been administrated has created tensions. One example is the large green areas in *Lomas II*, which were originally available for family birthday parties for residents paying a very low fee, but after abuses, the option disappeared. High-income gated communities like *La Vista Country Club*, across the street, has also had important private government issues, particularly because they allowed the construction of a high-rise apartment building that was not part of the original project, but there are much fewer residents to negotiate with. In contrast, *Lomas* has to resolve problems on different scales, from the whole compound, sections, clusters, to even individual apartments.

Private governments in Puebla's GCs constantly change rules and policies. These changes can become more problematic if economic conditions change because residents are sometimes exposed to extraordinary costs linked to these internal government rules. An example of these expenses can be read in the following quote from an interview with a resident from the neighbouring high-income gated community *La Vista Country Club*:

'I really like the amenities here... in the club house there are all these activities for people of all ages, from cinema to Sunday mass... What I don't like right now is that we had a lot of police patrols but they changed them for cameras, and I got a speeding ticket... I don't like it... you have to drive at 40 [km/hr.] ... but sometimes you might drive a little faster and immediately get a ticket... Just look! My carpenter made me a small piece of furniture and as he tried to leave, they stopped him... I didn't understand why... I didn't know what was going on... then I couldn't go out either, my car could not pass through the swing-arm... A few weeks later, I received a ticket, but it had my son's name since he bought this place for me... I didn't want him to have any problem accessing [...] the fine was excessive... 20 minimum wages ... my carpenter drove at 45... [...] Look! It was 700 pesos for the furniture and 1227.50 for the fine... Later on, I tried to go out again, and I was stopped... and I said I have already paid the fine... and it turned out I had another fine... but this time it was me... they even had pictures... So, I had to pay [...] it is such bad news... you don't even get a warning... it is a fine from the "first offense" ... how harsh... at least you should get a warning... they say they will use the money to pay for more cameras... anyway, since then I ask all my visitors to drive very slow...' ("Pamela", November 2014)

This quote shows one of the biggest challenges I found in relation to middle-class gated communities. Private governments within this sort of enclaves constantly change regulations. This example in *La Vista* demonstrates that private administrators can create fines and fees, without any local government involvement. Costs like this for residents in *La Vista*, where some of the most affluent families in the region live, might not represent any governance problems in case of another economic crisis. However, I suggest that *Lomas* is in a more vulnerable position, since most residents require job stability to keep up with their mortgages and expenses. The following account is an example of why *Lomas*' administrators have learned to be very careful with new fees and costs.

In November 2015, The Commercial District Sonata introduced a new virtual platform to register and pay for parking spaces in the streets of the commercial area. The system included a series of totems indicating parking space availability. Users could pay via the app "Parkimovil", send an SMS, or in authorised businesses. Visitors to this popular site were annoyed by the policy because most did not realise about the cost until their cars were immobilised. The argument supporting this policy was that the registration would make it safer because there would be control over license plates, and the charge would cover vehicles' insurance. Conscious about convenience, developers, acting as local authorities, promoted free parking inside buildings, knowing that users would rather pay to be closer to bars and restaurants. Users were highly unsatisfied, but this action brought a bigger discussion to the table. Are these streets public or private? If they were private,

aren't businesses legally required to provide parking according to the construction code? ... Then, why are they charging for something they must provide! The other side of the argument was, if this is public, how could the private developers decide over public space and profit from its use? The discussion rose so many questions that in April 2016, Sonata Administration communicated that all parking spots would be available at no cost for all users. The interesting thing about this issue is that most of the debate took place on social media, particularly Facebook, which raises awareness about modern spaces for governance discussions. This can be seen as a new practice that emerges within the three spheres. It is immaterial in the sense that it happens through social media, but it is connected to the physical boundaries of each cluster and the sphere of meanings where the social contract amongst residents is celebrated.

Another new practice is the emergence and consolidation of private inner governments. The new administration changes the relationship between residents and administrators, but also with local governments and other neighbours. Residential Privatism can be seen as a win-lose game, depending on who is playing and in which round the game is. Municipal governments win with master-planned large-scale gated communities in their earliest stages because developers bring infrastructure, invest in public projects, so that middle-income population are comfortable enough with the idea of moving into poor and un-serviced peripheral towns. Inexperienced and financially limited municipalities also win from the corresponding rise on the value of property, because it represents more income from taxation. However, in the long-term, local authorities will probably face problems they do not have the capacity to deal with.

Residential Privatism can also be a win-lose situation for residents. During fieldwork, most of the interviewees commented they do not feel they have lost much after moving into *Lomas*. In this particular case, the upside is easily quantified since the value of the property is maintained or even increased; interviewees felt at ease because private administrators were more efficient than the local public administration at dealing with problems and service provision. The losses are tangential and easily obscured by the advantages and convenience. For outsiders, the losses are evident. People in these enclaves have lost the freedom to even choose the colour of their houses; they have become car-dependant; their cost of living has increased. They also pay double for some public services (in taxes and in maintenance fees), such as security, maintenance, and certain public services. The moment the residents start perceiving this part of the win-lose equation is when they encounter hardship, as one interviewee commented:

'I always thought I was a very lucky person, because I was able to move into a nice, well-kept and safe fraccionamiento [GC].... However, when my car's suspension was damaged after hitting it in a manhole, it was awful... I was not able to go to the supermarket, spent hundreds of pesos in taxis and had to rely on one of my daughter's to pick me up every day to go to work... I felt like [I was] in a prison, I never realised how isolated I was until my car broke.' ("Miguel", December 2014)

For the first time since moving inside the gated community, this resident questioned the way the gated community operated. The sustainability of a place like *Lomas* is unarguably related to economic stability. Therefore, municipalities cannot or should not disengage with what is happening inside. Even people within the developing company questioned the lack of involvement by the state, experts, and municipal authorities in *Lomas*, as it is shown in the following statement:

'We are not urban planners, but we hired people who said they knew about these things and never told us we were doing something wrong [...] What we are doing here is just filling that huge gap of a government only investing in the very poor and leaving the middle classes unattended [...] We see that the middle classes have to look after themselves in everything from health, education, housing and security, and that is what we are providing... People judge us for not following municipal regulation, but when we started building it didn't even exist. They [the local authorities] have no idea about planning [...] National authorities give developers a set of rules for new social housing developments, but we found nothing for middle and upper classes. What should be the size of a block? ... Or the pavement? This is an 'integral planned community' although we have to recognise that we underestimated a few things, like the need for public transport [...] we have shaped our community according to the feedback we receive through our real estate agents... People like to live 'inside the inside', the more private and isolated... the better... Our designs and interior structure is based on what people want' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

This quote shows that it is clear that there is a total lack of regulation for residential planning. The private government steps into this void willingly, but recognises the limitations of their actions because they do not have professional planning experience. Also, developers feel that their responsibility is in responding to residents' aspirations, that is why urban design and facilities were changed according to requests obtained by estate agents. Private administrations have become the first contact and sometimes only contact with residents. How should these governments be regulated? The discussion about who is responsible for what, raised many questions and residents mentioned it several times during fieldwork.

'This is a micro-world with its own rules... we had to create our own rules because outside, the government is not doing its part [...] we are also contributing to the municipality and the state building the new access bridge... So, you see, we are building the infrastructure that the state government is not providing... we are providing the regulation that the municipality does not have [...] we are only giving people what they are looking for... while we are taking on what the government should be doing. Then, why is everybody judging us? There are plenty of other examples of gates, even in the public university and public parks. Then... why are we the bad ones?' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

From the developers' perspective, shared by other interviewees, they are doing nothing wrong. They acknowledge that not everything is working perfectly but they are doing more than they should. The interviewee points out that as developers they had to assume the role of planning authorities, and this is a very important matter because as long as they remain within the premises, the perceived order will prevail, but there is no certainty this will continue once they are gone.

8.2.3 *Financialisation of Housing and Gatedness*

The expansion to peripheral areas in Puebla has been characterised by segregation by income, because credit capacity has defined the type of location and housing a family can afford. Housing financing options have been directly involved in the process of gating up Puebla's periphery. The importance of housing financing in this process can be seen through the following statement by Professor Vélez-Pliego:

'The financialisation of housing has been very important in the process of metropolisation of Puebla [...] INFONAVIT is a financial instrument that allows, amongst other things, to act like what [President Díaz Ordaz] envisioned with his bridge credits... that is, channelling resources to developers so that they can produce housing, bring costs down... and from there, make it easier to sell the house... so the credit benefits the producer [...] what I consider to be the problem is that INFONAVIT has based its function for economic growth through the construction industry... the difference with other countries like Spain, is that INFONAVIT and FOVISSSTE have a reserve ... a sort of public money "mattress" that is forcibly kept.. Which saved us from the big shock in 2008... [...] I consider that the outcomes of this housing financing system can be catastrophic because it has been designed to help large developers... which entered the stock market... and now their stock is losing its value...' (F. Vélez-P., November 2013)

This quote tells us how housing financing has played a major role in the process of land expansion as it has been discussed earlier in this thesis. However, the importance of the quote is the warning about the risks of the future. There is an implicit understanding that a mortgage-driven development, and a housing system that places construction companies above its beneficiaries is another example of a diminished state. The facilitating role of the state in the privatisation of urban development and housing production did not incorporate long-term strategies with a vision of the city, rather than the individual housing estate.

Puebla's peripheral area has grown dramatically with residential projects from the most powerful construction companies. The first housing developments were aimed at low-income middle classes, but after the 2000s, the same developers started promoting more expensive options. *Lomas* was aimed at the higher income groups within the middle classes from the beginning. The original target was mostly young professional families, traditional middle class families that left the central city, and retired couples aiming for a quieter life. However, as the gated community evolved, the target residents evolved as well, including university students and their families, foreign temporary residents, and people buying as an investment.

The last national population and housing census (INEGI, 2010) provides an idea of who lives in this enclave. According to the census, most of the residents in *Lomas* are in a working age; about 77% of the population is 15 to 64 years old, and only 1% is 65 years old or more, while only 22% of the residents are under 14 years (INEGI, 2010). The census also shows that there are a high percentage of married couples with higher education level than the average in Puebla.

About 57% of population living in *Lomas* is from the state of Puebla, while 43% come from other states or even other countries (with the arrival of the new AUDI automotive factory, dozens of German families are choosing *Lomas* for residence). Statistical information is still scarce, but what the data can tell us is that this housing development is for young professional families with small children, and most of them are economically active. The current labour and financial conditions have enabled these young families to (potentially) become homeowners, which represent a long-term commitment that requires stable employment and income. Strict regulation inside *Lomas* clusters would not allow houses to become shops or offices, as it happens in traditional middle class neighbourhoods in the city in the case of crisis, so residents must find a way to make a living if they want to keep this lifestyle.

During this research, I gathered different types of stories on how residents paid for their houses. Most of my interviewees and people I encountered during observation exercises used some sort of credit with only a few exceptions: older couples that sold their previous houses and chose their new home in *Lomas* according to what they could afford, widows living in a house bought by their adult children, or a newlywed couple that received a family loan. The older generation recognised that there were more options now than when they bought their first house, as an interviewee mentions in the following statement:

'What I see is that there are more possibilities now and more options, when I got married and finished university it was not easy to buy a house...if you asked for a credit it was very hard...or you had to live in a rented house... it was not easy to be a homeowner... now, even Anny [my secretary] can buy her house... I told her, go ahead and get a loan instead of paying for rent... before you lose your INFONAVIT [funds]... This is a way to find stability... when we got married not everyone had the possibility to own a house [...] Most of my daughter's friends are living here in Lomas, some of them received financial aid from their parents, but those that were not so lucky have taken some sort of credit' ("Ximena", October 2013)

All the young professional interviewees that I talked to for this research used some type of credit to buy their house in *Lomas*. The majority used their INFONAVIT loan as deposit and combined it with a commercial bank loan. INFONAVIT introduced this option a few years ago (COFINAVIT); this system allows salaried workers to buy more expensive houses. For this younger generation, buying a house was not only for their families in the future, but also an investment, as this resident mentions in the following quote:

'Well... in my case I guess it was a maturity issue ... At my age in Mexico... it seems to me that it is socially expected that when you are in your thirties... mid-thirties... it is the right moment to start thinking about acquiring real estate... a plot or a house... Considering that, at least in Puebla, house rents are rising, and the amount is quite similar to what you pay for a mortgage... It seemed that the pertinent thing to do was to acquire a house.... The second thing for me was economic stability... At the moment I have a good job, so I can afford to buy a house... a safe investment... something that would make my future more secure... [...] The developers in Lomas guarantee certain surplus value... and that is the main reason why I chose this gated community above others... To buy this house I decided to use my INFONAVIT funds in combination with a bank

credit... Buying a newly built house inside a gated community seemed like the most practical thing to do... [...] I had already been through a very long decision-making process... I wanted to make it real... I chose to acquire a house in a gated community that if someday I wanted to sell, I could sell it well...' ("Alejandro", October 2013)

This quote shows how the homeownership discourse is a very important issue for professionals and families in Mexico. This interviewee implies that not owning a house would almost represent a sign of failure. In his case, the biggest argument for buying a house in the GC was because he saw it as an investment, rather than a home. All interviewees in this research commented how much their real estate had gained value since they acquired it. Land value inside Lomas has increased dramatically since the first clusters were on sale. The following quote illustrates how ordinary people turned into entrepreneurs and speculators:

'When we bought our lot of land in Lomas, we were some of the first ones. We knew that it would be a good investment but we never thought that the land value would increase so much in so little time. My lot inside 'la Isla' [central area Lomas I] is worth 6 times more than when my husband and I got it ... I am seriously thinking about selling and buying something bigger in another gated community, but I will wait until it is worth more' ("Paola", January 2014)

In this case, the meaning component of a house has changed from a residential dwelling to an investment object, as part of a changing practice configuration. In the first quote from the older couple about how much easier it was to obtain credit now, the vision of the home was a place for the future, whilst in these last two cases, it is a commodity. This configuration is not just individual choice but aspirations and beliefs are being changed by larger practices linked to global economic forces.

The main developer of *Lomas* is *Grupo Proyecta*. This group was founded in early 2000 with the aim *'to innovate in real estate development, building planned communities with the support of world recognised planning, design, landscape and construction firms'* (Grupo Proyecta, 2015) *(Translated by author)*. They consider themselves the main developers of *'planned communities in the city of Puebla offering the highest quality standards translated in a lifestyle with tranquillity, comfort, and security'* (Ibid.). They also promote themselves as the real estate consortium offering the highest surplus value: *'26.35% annual increase in value per square meter in our developments'* (Grupo Proyecta, 2015) *(Translated by author)*. However, nothing can perpetually grow 26% every year. This is an example of the role of aspirations in the configuration of physical spaces. The large profits of today are producing an increase in real estate investment, but this is based on an illusion. This is another critical issue that goes back to the vulnerability issues I talked about earlier.

The increased value in Lomas has made residents and possible residents feel more secure about long-term mortgages, because they consider the value of the house or the lot will be much higher in the short time. Credit options are more accessible these days, as this resident commented:

'Obtaining credit was very easy and fast... Everything went extremely fast and the real estate agency provided an agent to do all the paperwork with INFONAVIT... I got the mixed loan, INFONAVIT and bank... I hired a lawyer to check all the paperwork and that gave me a lot of tranquillity, maybe an imaginary tranquillity, because I guess things without him would have been the same.... It is so simple to get a house now' ("Alejandro", October 2013)

This is another example of the configuration of practices. The facilitating process are the type of conditions that make privatised Keynesianism possible. Middle-income groups are willing to pay for a service that should be covered by the public housing institution. This is one of the many examples I encountered during this research of people willingly paying services and fees for things that are commonly responsibility of the state.

During fieldwork in *Lomas*, young residents told me they were surprised by how easy it was to obtain a credit. Older residents commented they acquired their houses in a more traditional way (savings or with the money obtained from selling previous house), even though there are still mortgage options for the elderly. The younger interviewees were satisfied with the practicality and simplicity of acquiring a credit as expressed in the following quote:

'What happened was that we had already a preauthorised credit, so it was very swift, in one month we were already in here. I couldn't even believe how fast it was.... We saw the house... left a deposit, next week we did all the paperwork, asked the builder to change a few things (tiles and little details) ... and two weeks later we were already sleeping here' ("Ricardo", November, 2013)

This is another connection in the configuration linked to the indebted middle-classes. The case of *Lomas* has different types of stories because in the first stage, most people bought empty lots of land and built their own houses, but in the newest sections, small and large developing companies are building houses and selling them through public and private credit options. A couple I interviewed, told me their story on how they tried to build their own house and eventually dropped the idea, as they found it was much easier to buy a house already built:

'We bought some land but had no money to build [...] we could not get any bank to lend us the money to build [in the 1990s]. The only available options were for built houses or to get debts for very high amounts [...] then we decided to buy a house instead. When we found this house, we applied for a bank loan in three banks and they all said yes... We were so surprised... It was so easy and so fast.... All we needed was a letter with our credit history, another one saying we paid our previous mortgage, and proof of income from both of us [...] Our mortgage is for twenty years, but we are planning to pay the rest as soon as possible' [...] Worst case scenario, we can sell the land we own or use the pension money as soon as we retire' ... ("Daniel" & "Natalia", October 2013)

This is meaningful, because it shows how you are forced into the pattern. Just like the example of Shove (2010) when she talks about the ABC in relation to Climate Change. It is the same here, people are not necessarily aiming to live in a gated community, but the financial system and the state-led strategy makes it much easier both for potential buyers and banking institutions to make transactions in these enclaves. Therefore, it is not a simple matter of choice.

As mentioned earlier, land value has dramatically increased since the GC appeared in the early 2000s. The compound has required large sums in investment from developers too. *Grupo Proyecta* strategically selected a group of partners to make this planned community more marketable. One of the most important partners is *Anida México*, because of its strong international banking support. The developers invested large amounts of money in design, inviting major transnational firms like EDSA, Michel McKay, WATG, NOLTE, OBMI, DTJ, and The Site Development Studios- global design firms with experience in high-profile real estate developments worldwide. Investment in design has been one of the key elements for land value increase. Real estate promotion has been strategically organised, locating sales offices in the most valuable and physically attractive locations.

At the beginning of this chapter I talked about the interconnections between spheres of gatedness and also with global forces. Here we can see the pattern. The mortgage-driven development has contributed to an increase in value that makes the place a profitable investment. In order to make the investment more attractive, designers and marketers are hired to identify the aspirations of potential buyers, which have an impact back in the design and layout of new clusters.

The company *Mi Casa en Lomas* that gathers the available real estate offers in the compound has been extremely successful because constructors, estate agents, commercial credit and government funding agencies, have a single channel to promote their products. This real estate agency not only offers visitors an opportunity to evaluate all the different options according to their budgets, but also offers a valuable tool for developers to get a grasp of what people are asking for. According to the interviewee working for the developers, this feedback has had an enormous impact on the design changes and features included in the newest clusters. The real estate agents inside Lomas offer not only their houses, but also the advantages of the whole compound. Agents even offer to help with the process to obtain the credit, as shown in an ad inside *Mi Casa en Lomas* magazine (see Figure 34); the developer is showing the house, the communal areas, and also the banks that they directly work with for the credit.

Figure 34. Real Estate Magazine: "Mi Casa en Lomas"



Source: Mi Casa en Lomas (2016)

The real estate business in *Lomas de Angelópolis* is not exclusive to experienced developers. I was able to talk during site visits to three residents in Lomas that when they saw the surplus value, they decided to buy plots of land and sell houses, even if they did not have professional credentials. One person told me his experience. He is a public official working in a Secretariat in the State of Puebla. As a hobby, he started buying plots of land and building houses. The business has become very profitable, and now he sells three or four houses a year. Another resident told me that her father-in-law, after retirement, decided to buy five plots in Lomas and used his savings to build houses. The five houses were sold very quickly, and even if every house was almost identical, he was able to sell each of them for a higher price, which brings us to one of the most intriguing stories within *Lomas*, which is the potential presence of organised crime and money laundering that I will address in the following section.

8.2.4 Dirty Money and Gatedness

When I started my research, I decided I would not get too involved in trying to find the connections between organised crime and real estate development in Puebla, even if there were clear hints that suggested that the residential boom in this region was due to not only an increase in middle- and high-income population, but also due to money laundering. Even though I did not focus my research on the money-laundering trail and how much of the development had connections with illegal activities, I decided it was important to discuss these potential connections, since these are other global and national structural incentives for gatedness. Most of the stories I heard on this subject during fieldwork were off the record, and the lack of access to information through public agencies, leaves room for interpretation. The following accounts are only examples on how residents feel about the potential presence of organised crime inside.

Residents in *Lomas* often wonder if there are enough people in the region with the financial capacity to buy housing in *Lomas*. Middle- and high-income middle classes can afford to buy a house using public funding and commercial credit, but in the last three years, luxury high-rise options in *Lomas* have increased, while the number of high-income population has not changed. An architect who has worked in several housing projects inside this GC, said that he had been involved in the design of a couple of residential buildings. He commented that he was very surprised when he heard that all flats had been sold before construction began (“Pedro”, December 2013). Another constructor, in a casual conversation, recognised that ‘*some of the projects have been very expensive, with no budget limit, and no direct client*’ (Adrian, December 2013). These sudden massive sales and overpriced construction payments is usually linked to money laundering schemes.

Some participants argued during casual conversations, that this was not money laundering, but rather rich people that fled from crime-infested areas in the country looking for a safe investment. I asked a person working with the developers what he thought about this, and he dismissed the theory that money laundering from organised crime or drug cartels enabled the development. In his view, the sustained property-value increase made it attractive for national and international investors. However, he did not discard that individual developers or even real estate agencies were somehow helping money laundering. He even mentioned that the Mexican tax policies were incentivising this sort of activities with their bureaucratic processes. Recent anti-money laundering policies require strict control of income and expenses through extremely detailed invoices. However, this has not stopped “creative” ways around the norm, and large sums of money never enter bank accounts. The following quote is from a construction material retailer:

‘I sell material to constructors working in Sonata; right now they are one of my biggest clients. However, they payed cash and didn’t ask for an invoice... and I just didn’t ask why because I would rather not know, however it seems suspicious’ (“Mauricio”, December 2013)

These practices are signs of informal economy, but not necessarily a proof of organised crime presence. The other rumours some residents told me during fieldwork were about a supposed treaty between organised-crime groups to avoid conflict in Puebla, because this is where their families come to study. A resident commented that several drug lords from various cartels have found in Puebla a safe place for their families and their operators. Although this could be seen as mere gossip, recent news reports seem to support that claim. In the past five years, there have been a series of raids in the most affluent GCs in Puebla to find people linked to organised crime. These raids have made residents observe their neighbours more carefully. When I asked interviewees directly if they thought there was presence of organised crime inside their cluster, they avoided the question or said something like ‘*there are some strange people and houses here... you know... big, expensive houses... very bad taste... and are empty most of the times*’

(“Fernanda”, October 2013). Another resident even told the story of a parked luxury car, left abandoned inside the cluster for weeks without anyone claiming ownership.

‘There was this red Ferrari in front of a house and it was accumulating dust... Then we had a neighbours meeting and nobody knew whom it was from... it became “the story” and everybody had their own theories... however, what nobody could explain is how it passed the security gate in the first place... Then, one day ... the car was gone’ (“Rodrigo”, December 2013)

The type of stories like the one in the quote were very common. Participants mentioned cases of suspicious behaviour from neighbours, or the large number of luxury cars seen inside Sonata. From this research, it is difficult to tell how many buildings or houses have been bought or built for money laundering purposes in this enclave. It is also unclear how much this investment has contributed to the rise in land value. Accounts of corruption were also present during the interviews, but nobody gave direct answers. In conversations, some interviewees implied that private developers had managed important negotiations with high-rank public officials and local authorities. However, no names were given. Gerardo Vargas, a former state of Puebla public official mentions:

‘What I have found in Puebla is that there seems to be a code of conduct between powerful groups not to affect each other’s interests... I cannot see another reason why ex-public officials can easily be linked with land use changes and construction permits that have directly benefited developers’ interests without anyone complaining’ (G. Vargas, December 2014)

8.3 Conclusions

The gatedness analysis of *Lomas* through the sphere of structural and administrative incentives and constraints shows how the physical gated community is a material expression of a series of interconnected situations that happen outside the gates. A large-scale gated community like *Lomas* could only emerge in a deregulated planning context with the incentives of cheap land availability and housing financing institutional support. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, gatedness as a practice includes all three elements (materials, competences, and meanings). The proliferation of gated communities in Puebla is connected to the global phenomenon of search for status, prestige, and security; but is also linked to local territorial and planning practices that allowed the construction of residential areas without adequate infrastructure or public services. The case study *Lomas* also shows that gatedness as a phenomenon is eternally evolving. If there is a constant in the story of this enclave, it is change - in policies, changes in inner private administration regulations, changes in design criteria, changes in the relationship between the gated community, the developers, and the municipality. The proliferation of middle class gated communities like this is not the result of a private developers’ plan. It is a combination of state-led projects or state-ignored laws and regulations, in connection with people’s aspirations and anxieties, which I will address in detail in the following chapter.

9 SPHERE OF COGNITIVE AFFECTIVE DISPOSITIONS (MEANINGS)

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the second sphere of gatedness about “cognitive affective dispositions” using the case study Lomas. The chapter is organised in one section divided in two subsections. The main section is about the role of meanings in the practice-based analysis of middle class GCs. The first subsection is about the aspirations and expectations that are driving residents inside gated communities. The second subsection is about the anxieties and fears that are contributing to people’s need for isolation and search for protection.

9.2 The Role of Meanings in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class GCs

I have argued that places like *Lomas* exist because people are not satisfied with life in the traditional city and this fortified enclave works like a shelter from the unpleasant chaotic urban world outside the gates. People’s anxieties associated to insecurity, inadequate public services, and a noisy and unattractive environment were constantly present during residents’ interviews in this research. I also argued that enclaves like Lomas are a result of a series of aspirations and expectations, not only in terms of upward mobility and sense of accomplishment, but rather a search for tranquillity, security, and peacefulness. The stories shared by residents interviewed in *Lomas* are filled with emotional accounts of why they considered moving into this GC was the natural choice after having experienced hostile and uncomfortable situations outside the gates.

In the practice analysis I propose, I use Shove *et al.*’s (2012) element “meanings” as the base for the Sphere of Cognitive Affective Dispositions. *Lomas* exists not only because the structural conditions were adequate, but also because of what this enclave means for municipal governments, residents, neighbours, entrepreneurs, investors, financial institutions, etc. Meanings play a fundamental role in the configuration of this residential development. I suggest that policymaking should pay as much attention to meanings as to the actual legal framework of the policies. The case *Lomas* shows that even with the existence of a planning legal framework, planning institutions, and the participation of experts, if people are not convinced about the conditions of the traditional city, GCs will continue to be a desirable choice. Findings in this research on why residents in *Lomas* decided to move in, show a series of aspirations and anxieties, expressed in what they would like to have and what they are escaping from. Meanings also interconnect in different levels, just as in the previous sphere. The loss of confidence in the state, the perception of corruption in all levels, and the dissatisfaction with local municipalities’ capacity to provide adequate public services have affected people’s desires and fears. Maintaining middle-class status also influences decision-making processes, particularly in uncertain social, economic, and political contexts.

The physical borders of gated communities disturb the functionality of the city because they affect connectivity and accessibility, which come with environmental, transit, and social interaction negative consequences. Moreover, meanings attached to these enclaves might amplify these adverse effects. The meanings attached to *Lomas* have created borders of understandings and have contributed to social differentiation making more evident the differences in access to opportunities. If we want to improve policymaking processes and provide equitable urban solutions, paying attention to these aspirations and anxieties might allow not only a better understanding of GCs, but also improved policy implementation strategies.

The first issue to understand is the meaning behind *Lomas*. Manuel Bartlett, ex-Governor of Puebla and promoter of the Regional Programme that introduced the name to everyday language, during a personal interview, accepted that he was not too fond of the name: '*Angelópolis is a catholic name. Within the different viewpoints amongst conservatives and liberals.... I see myself on the liberal side... But Angelópolis sounded nicer*' (M. Bartlett, November 2013). The brand *Angelópolis* has acquired meanings that can be translated into land value, status, and state investment in expensive infrastructure. In the past couple of years there has been an increased effort to sell Puebla as a global brand, and *Angelópolis* is the centre of the global development plan. The most recent example was the construction of the International Baroque Museum, shown in the following image (see Figure 35), designed by global *starchitect* Pritzker winner Toyo Ito. *Angelópolis*, as a global city, is a magnet for land speculation and expensive real estate projects. This has been another motivation for middle classes to leave their traditional houses, because of the expectation of value increase of their property in the future.

Figure 35. International Baroque Museum by Toyo Ito in Angelópolis



Source: author (2015)

9.2.1 *Aspirations and Expectations*

The large investment in infrastructure in the Angelópolis area, as seen in the previous section, is a direct state-led attempt to make the area more desirable. The State of Puebla's touristic and investment ads show this area to show the benefits of living in Puebla. Going back to the slogan of *Lomas de Angelópolis* "Life as it should be", we find that the concept of *Lomas* is deeply embedded in aspirations and expectations of a better quality of life. It appears that the physical boundaries of gated communities like *Lomas* are protecting not only people's belongings, but also emotions, perceptions, dreams, and hopes. The meanings attached to this enclave are intertwined with the other spheres of gatedness, which means physical features respond to people's desires and fears, whilst structural financial and local government actions adapt to these physical configurations. Middle-class expectations are particularly important in a country like Mexico where the majority of the population do not have access to "life as it should be" options. The acquired middle-class status comes with a series of privileges, but also new expenditures and constraints. Findings in *Lomas* show that residents are willing to pay an extra cost in order to respond to these aspirations, which are not only security, status and prestige, as literature has shown, but also the search for a happier safer life, with access to quality services, recreational spaces, and an accountable administration.

During a site visit, I was able to observe how groups of people enjoyed little things, such as being able to walk their dogs. A very simple experience seen as a big accomplishment. One of the interviewees mentioned that in their previous residence they could not go out to walk the dog because they did not feel safe. Therefore, they decided to give the dog away. Since they arrived to *Lomas*, the first thing the family did after moving in, was getting another dog.

Lomas is a tangible response to middle classes' craving for a good life. Nevertheless, this craving changes from family to family. For some interviewees, particularly those who had traumatic experiences, the good life was expressed in being able to sleep at night and walk the streets without fear, while for others; the good life was climbing up the social mobility ladder and having access to better quality spaces and services. The threshold between covering basic needs and obtaining basic goods and conspicuous consumption can be blurry, and that is the main problem with a debt-fuelled development, because there is uncertainty on how sustainable the enclave might be in the future if people are spending beyond their capacity, or are completely dependent on job stability.

In *Lomas*, the three most important aspirations expressed by residents during fieldwork, were **security, tranquillity, and stability**. There were other issues, but they were always connected in one way or another to these three. When I had my first interviews, participants acted defensively when I told them my research was about gated communities. Their first response was a conscious effort to show they had legitimate motivations for this lifestyle choice, and it was not about status, wealth, or luxury - it was having a good quality of life. The majority of participants in my research were young working professionals with very time-demanding jobs. For them, it was important to have a sort of shelter where they could relax and rest. Stories about these issues were something like this:

'It is very important for me to come back home after a long day at work and not have to worry about anything... especially after what we lived through before [previous house was burgled] ... I couldn't live through that again... But here the house is empty all day. My wife and I leave together at 7 am and I don't come back until 7 or 8 pm. She sometimes arrives later... We cannot afford to stop working right now because we have a big mortgage to pay and we also want to save before we have children. But the house is alone most of the time' ("Ricardo", November 2013)

Time-consuming jobs and stress were a constant in the stories told by young professional participants, regardless of their marital status. For them, it was very important to have a nice relaxing experience after a long day at work. Throughout fieldwork, I heard numerous stories about tranquillity. An interviewee spoke about how she did not realise how noisy her previous residence was until she moved to *Lomas*. Another participant even asked me to *'listen to the silence'* ("Natalia", October 2013). We spent a couple of minutes in silence in her living room. The only thing we could hear was a cricket and a dog barking. However, what she wanted me to pay attention to is that in comparison with living in Puebla's traditional neighbourhoods there was no loud music, no screaming neighbours, no salespeople knocking on her door, or public works. This is an example of these type of stories:

'What I like the most about living in Lomas is the tranquillity... For years, I was not able to sleep well at night... I was always worried about what was going on out in the street... Here I don't have to worry about it. We have strict rules in our cluster so there are no unauthorised parties or people chatting in the street... But most importantly, I don't have to worry about my car or someone trying to come into my house while I am sleeping' ("Fernanda", December 2014)

This quote shows the constant interconnections between spheres. On one hand the aspiration of tranquillity is a direct response to the anxieties created by noise, insecurity, and outside chaos; on the other hand, this is a condition dependent on security or control features, and private administration providing security personnel. Tranquillity according to some residents is also convenient for community life; not necessarily with the neighbours, but it provides the conditions to improve each resident's social interactions with friends and family. For example, an interviewee commented that since they moved to *Lomas*, all family parties were organised

there because it was more convenient for all. If it was an important party they could use the cluster's clubhouse, there was enough parking space for visitors, and even if they did not want to spend any money or worry about cleaning up, they could always meet at Sonata ("Carolina", November 2014). During a site visit, a resident told me what he would do on a regular weekend, to express how convenient and relaxed it could be:

'I live in one of the new buildings... it is quite convenient because even if it is small, I have everything I need, and if I want to work out, I just use the cluster's gym... The thing is... I am divorced, and I was looking for a place where I could live in peace but was also comfortable for my daughters when they came to visit... All the cool nightclubs and restaurants are here in Sonata... so even if my youngest daughter lives with her mom... sometimes during weekends she stays here... because she can come back after a night out without worries [...] On Sundays, if my daughters are around I don't even bother about cooking breakfast... we just go to one of the restaurants in Sonata... but if they are not around, I just enjoy how quiet everything is... I wake up early and ride my bike... and when I come back home, I just relax and watch a movie' ("Gabriel", January 2015)

This remark made me go back to the type of stories I found when I analysed Lomas with architecture students in 2010-2011. Things have changed significantly since then. In 2010, I had the opportunity to interview three families that arrived to *Lomas* when the gated community opened. Their experience had not been the best. One of the families had left the enclave because their house had been burgled. Another family complained because everything was so far and, with the exception of *Super Ola*, a convenience store, there were no shops, nowhere to go, and nothing to do. In only a few years, things changed. Now Lomas is the centrality, at least for those looking for the trendiest shops and restaurants. Things changed so fast that some interviewees wonder about the future, and if the place will continue being a peaceful place or not:

'Well, yes... I think this is a peaceful place because we are not close to any industry or retail centre... at least not immediately... In fact, the countryside is very close... the design of the streets also helps, there are a lot of dead end streets... in my cluster there are no main streets... so there is no traffic... I worry about this in the future... because there is so much construction going on... I wonder if the place will continue being so quiet... like weekends... but so far everything is good in that sense [...] there are no street vendors knocking your door... you can walk without being bothered...' ("Alejandro", October 2013)

This quote demonstrates that for every aspiration there is an anxiety. In this case, the interviewee is talking about the benefits of his current housing condition and lifestyle, but is worried about the future. He was not the only participant worried about the future. An issue constantly mentioned during interviews was the search for **stability**, mostly linked to economy. Participants mentioned that investing in *Lomas* was a warranty for the future. The aspiration of stability was mentioned in relation to financial security. I visited the site several times and entered *Mi Casa en Lomas*, the real estate agency inside the gated community. Agents were eager to comment on the benefits of buying a house inside the enclave. An agent, after asking several personal questions, suggested it would be a "wise" choice if I bought a flat in *Sonata*.

According to him, the advantages of this choice would be not only security, high-quality amenities, and increase in value, but also stability. This estate agent suggested that, at my age, I needed a housing option that showed that I was in a stable economic position, and secured my future. The way these agents work their narrative suggest that a long-term mortgage is a sign of stability rather than a sign of vulnerability. It would seem that there were no risks. This agent also connected stability with the benefits of having a private administration, because *'you could be sure that you would never have an unwanted business in front of your house'* (“Esteban, December 2014”) in comparison to what happens in the city. The following account is an example of how a resident considers that living in Lomas has contributed to his stability:

'I was living in Mexico City and moved to Puebla because of my job ... I lived in Cuautlancingo when I arrived and I was doing fine... but when I decided to stay in Puebla, I thought I needed to buy a house and secure my future.... Lomas was not my first option... but when I saw how much land value increased and houses were not too expensive, I decided to move in... I feel my life here is more stable... The value of my house is much higher than what I paid for it [...] I made an arrangement with my architect... he asked me if he could put a for sale sign during construction, just to promote his work, and he received much higher offers than what I paid... that convinced me about my choice... I feel I made a great investment' (“Rodrigo”, December 2013)

However, it is important to point out the contradictions of these aspirations. Unlike the stability scenario sold by the estate agent, sometimes you have to lose other advantages to be able to afford living in the desired home. This might make you feel that you are acquiring stability, but in the meantime, it could put you at risk because of the things you have to do to accomplish it. The following quote shows how in order to obtain the house of his dreams, the interviewee spends most of the time working:

'I spend long periods of time away from my house. Sometimes I just ask the neighbour across the street to have a look and if she sees anything suspicious to give me a call.... I don't really worry too much because there is a strict control of who is coming in and why... So I know, it is kind of funny, I bought the house I always dreamt of with but in order to live in it I spend most of the time away to earn sufficient money... Isn't that funny?' (“Rodrigo”, December 2013)

The private administration in *Lomas* serves several purposes, but in terms of aspirations and expectations, it gives residents something they are not getting from local authorities, which is **accountability**. Interviewees constantly mentioned how lucky they felt every time they encountered problems because in *Lomas* they always got a straight answer. There were constant comparisons with life outside, how local authorities were unable to respond to basic maintenance and public service needs. If roads and pavements were in bad condition, the municipality did not respond, police were never around when needed, and a broken light bulb would remain unattended for months or even years. *Lomas* has different ways to answer to this sort of demands; there is a Homeowners' Association (*Asamblea de Condóminos*), an Administrator, Monitoring Committee (*Comité de Vigilancia*), and the general sections' and compound administration entities.

Most interviewees were satisfied with their cluster's administration because they felt like someone was taking care of them personally, and that they would always have someone to rely on, in comparison with life outside the gates, as one resident commented:

'In my previous house I felt like I had no voice... Even if I shouted I felt like nobody listened... hehe.... Seriously, I worried about my children when I had to leave them alone... What if something happened to them? Who would come to assist them? Police presence has decreased in the streets, there are less people walking, new neighbours are not close and some houses have been turned into businesses.... In the new house it feels safer [...] Here I can always ask... what happened? ... What is going on? ... What is the status for each problem? And I always get an answer from the administrator' ("Natalia", October 2013)

Another issue mentioned constantly was **comfort and convenience**. Participants found that they had options inside the GC that made their lives easier. One interviewee mentioned she really liked having a playground inside the cluster because her children could play out all day. Another resident commented that he liked that there was everything within reach (at least by car). For one participant, the biggest convenience is that it was much easier to have visitors, as it is explained in the following quote:

'I don't hang out with the neighbours as much as I expected, but we [my husband and I] have increased the amount of time we spend with friends and family, because now we don't have to worry about where they park their cars, or worry if it is too late... Sometimes, we don't even have to worry about messing up our own house because we can use the shared facilities or club house in our cluster' ("Carolina", November 2013)

Another advantage in terms of **comfort and convenience** of Lomas is the amount of things people can do inside the gates, such as sports, social activities like going to the cinema, coffee or lunch with friends, or simply go for a walk. The new lifestyle brought new routines. Some participants considered convenient not having to go to the city at all. This is an example of one of those routine changes:

'I would never move back to the city because here I have everything I need. It is a 10-minute drive to the supermarket, school, bank, work, good restaurants, and gym. There are also all sorts of services to your doorstep, everything from hairstylists to dog-walkers [...] On Sundays, we wear comfortable clothes and go for a nice breakfast at Sonata and then we walk the dog through the parks, buy our groceries on our way back, and invite our friends over for a barbeque and enjoy the rest of the evening' ("Carolina", November 2013)

Not all actors in Lomas share the stories of convenience. When I first started analysing *Lomas*, residents complained about the lack of transport; not because they were willing to use it, but because it made it more difficult to find house cleaners. Soon after, developers introduced an inner transport option used by service workers. I interviewed María Eugenia Sánchez D., a researcher on social exclusion processes, and she told me what she had learned from a woman that worked inside *Lomas* but lived on the other side of the river:

'We are talking about one space... but two stories... those who work in Lomas have to walk around the wall, take public transport, go through humiliating experiences in security checkpoints... I talked to one of these workers and it seems like there is this perception that people inside the gates don't suffer or don't have problems... and also, that people inside the gates are not aware of the type of problems that construction workers, gardeners and house cleaners have in their own houses... and the problem there is that it increases resentment' (M.E. Sánchez-D., November 2014)

During fieldwork, I spoke to several researchers and members of academia interested in exclusion processes. For people like María Eugenia Sánchez and David Fernández, the biggest problems of spaces like *Lomas* are the large contrasts between different socio-economic groups. Their lives are interconnected but their expectations and opportunities are completely different. House cleaners are important actors in *Lomas* middle-class households. In the following picture (see Figure 36), a couple of house cleaners can be seen looking after a group of children in one of the parks. Not all residents can afford stay-at-home maids, so some rely on people helping only a few hours two or three times a week. Interviewees stated they do not always trust these service providers, but the convenience of *Lomas* is that the cluster's security personnel will supposedly look after their family and house when they are not around, as the following interviewee mentions:

'I work all day and I need to know that I can leave my two daughters with the maid in a place that I know is a safe environment ... Here, security guards will not let strangers into the house and also this woman cannot take my children out of the cluster. In addition, I wanted them to be in a place where they could go out and play and there is a playground inside... I travel a lot and I need to know that they are ok... If anything happened the security guard will call me' ("Fernanda", October 2013)

Figure 36. House Cleaners and Children in the Park



Source: author (2012)

The picture above is also a display of one of the most valuable attributes mentioned by participants: **beauty**. Residents constantly mentioned the high design quality of parks and green areas. Something that I found curious was how much residents in *Lomas* valued the beautiful view of the *Popocatepetl* volcano. I found this remark particularly interesting because everyone living in the valley of Puebla can see the same volcano. However, it seemed that looking at the *Popocatepetl* from the peaceful, quiet, clean environment of *Lomas* made it more enjoyable. Residents recognise that good design is not only present in public spaces but also in individual houses, because of the strict construction and architecture design guidelines proposed by each of the cluster's administrations. The following is an example of this type of remarks:

'You know what is really good about Lomas... that people have to follow the design guidelines before building their houses... That is really good, because you will not see tinacos [water containers] in the roofs...and most of the houses have good designs, with a few exceptions, but what can you do?...not everyone has good taste... hehe ... but even those houses are ok... the streets are also nice... there are no electricity or telephone cables... no ugly garbage containers ... and that is why it is so cool to have an assembly of homeowners and the administrator... because we are paying attention to these details ' ("Diego", October 2013)

Perhaps one of the main elements that contribute to tranquillity and stability is the **quality of basic services**. There is a common perception that the private administration is looking after their interests much better than the municipality ever did. Every time I visited a cluster I asked participants if they were bothered about having to pay a maintenance fee for security and administration of shared facilities, and none of the participants complained. The amount paid changed from one cluster to the other, but residents said it was a fair deal considering what they were getting in return.

To sum up, most of the aspirations expressed by interviewees were linked to basic needs. Residents moved to *Lomas* looking for a **safe community in an aesthetically pleasing setting, with good quality services, access to green areas, accountable administration, and peaceful environments**. This is not different from what anyone would expect from the city, regardless of socio-economic level. The problem is that access to such elements is not universal, and in Mexico living like that, has a permanent cost in the shape of maintenance fees and lifestyle-related costs. There is very small distance from **aspiration to ostentation**, which is probably the main reason why academics and outsiders find these places so appalling. Common perception is that people who move into these enclaves feel they are better than others displaying their new wealth status with luxurious cars and use of costly materials in frontages. A couple of interviewees talked about neighbours that liked to show off in unreasonable ways. For instance, one interviewee thought it was contradictory that some residents would buy cars that are more expensive than the house they live in.

Three families I interviewed from *Lomas I* complained about the new rich money coming to the GC. They considered that these ostentatious displays were signs of two things: either their income came from suspicious sources, or that these residents “were probably renting” or “probably had very long-term mortgages and large debts” (“Carolina”, October 2013). *Lomas* was originally a high-income middle-class development; however, the boost in property value has brought important real-estate investment in luxury apartments and retail buildings. The commercial district Sonata even introduced an area named “Luxury Corner” for premium brands. Basic needs are being substituted by more expensive lifestyle choices, where entrepreneurs and investors are spending large amounts of money. A couple of participants mentioned their concern about the sustainability of these investments in the future.

Finally, I declared that one of the main aspirations mentioned during fieldwork was search for security but I deliberately did not address this subject in detail because most stories were based not on what *Lomas* offers, but rather on the risks and problems outside the gates. Therefore, I will address these security concerns in the following section of anxieties and fears, and later on when I talk about the sphere of physical boundaries and control measures.

9.2.2 *Anxieties and Fears*

In accordance with the literature review and the previous section on aspirations, **security** is the main motivation why people move to gated communities. All participants in *Lomas* mentioned security in their interviews or casual conversations. Nevertheless, they mention it in a broader sense, not only as a response to crime and violence (which is a real concern in Mexico), but also in relation to real estate legal security and the level of control and regulation in the neighbourhood. Security is also expressed in terms of financial certainty, which is particularly important in this middle-class analysis. The stories of anxieties and fears have a direct connection with the sphere of physical boundaries and control measures because developers, administrators, and individual homeowners introduce physical features and control systems in response. Anxieties and fears are particularly important in the world of meanings. Unlike the stories of aspirations and expectations where people mentioned what they enjoyed about their clusters, the experience of a quiet, peaceful life, the beauty of the green areas and parks, etc., in the case of anxieties and fears, it was mostly connected to emotions, traumatic memories, and frightening future scenarios. These anxieties are particularly important in the materialisation of the gated community. In this section, I will present some of the most significant issues that emerged during fieldwork.

Literature on gated communities has questioned the efficiency of these fortified enclaves to avoid crime. The case of *Lomas de Angelópolis* confirms that claim. Since I started this research, I paid particular attention to social media, because official media often disregards certain stories. Puebla's economy relies importantly on its "safe" status condition compared with the rest of Mexico. This is partly true, because commercial areas and touristic sites are not considered dangerous and criminal activities happening in poor communities are often underreported. This supposedly safe status which brings thousands of higher education students from the whole country. In the past four years, inside *Lomas* there have been stories of armed robberies in broad daylight in Sonata, burgled houses, shootings, kidnappings, cases of rape, police raids searching for drug traffickers, and even murders. However, these accounts have not affected the appeal of *Lomas* because most of these stories are only mentioned in a few newspapers or on social media, and residents feel that these are isolated cases. The interesting thing is that the broken promise of security inside *Lomas* did not affect real estate investment, commercial value, or residents' intentions to move in. In recent years, developers responded to these incidents by increasing security features and control systems, satisfying residents and visitors. From this, it could be said that people in *Lomas* value the "feeling of security" more than actual security indicators.

In addition, these stories confirm that crime and violence are linked to more structural societal problems and cannot be solved with isolation, fences, and gates. However, people value "being able to sleep at night" and living in an environment that makes them feel safe seems to be sufficient. Fear and desire are immeasurable. The difference between *Lomas* and the outside city is that when something negative happens inside *Lomas* there is an immediate tangible response, and residents appreciate it. In the last couple of years, new cameras have been installed, panic buttons introduced in green areas and parks, and municipal police and private security patrols are seen circulating the main streets at all times. Therefore, in residents' accounts, *Lomas de Angelópolis* is still considered the safest option. An interviewee shared a story of the type of fears newly arrived residents in *Lomas* have to deal with:

'We wonder what the story from our neighbour across the street is. Before bringing any of his furniture he installed an electrified fence and security cameras... We don't really know what happened to him but he doesn't want people to know how much money he has. The agent that sold us this house said this person acted a bit strange when he bought his house... but the funny thing is that he keeps saying the house is not his, but his brother's, and that he and his family are only renting.... These people are scared!! We know they left their previous house in a rush... we don't even want to know what happened that made them feel so afraid [...] the problem I think, is that people like them are so scared that they are making this place like a Big Brother show... We have heard that in cluster Veneto they are installing cameras in every single street... and in cluster 222 they want to install a second security checkpoint inside... what is going on? ... This is supposed to be one of the safest places... then why all this need for security?' ('Natalia', October 2013)

Just as with money laundering issues, participants in this research did not want to talk about robberies or any other negative situation happening inside the enclave. In exchange, they used more of their time talking about the chaotic, dangerous, and unreliable city outside. According to interviewees, life outside the gates is noisy, stressful, and full of dangers and risks. The following account is an example of these views:

'I had to buy an SUV (4 X 4) to be safe... I know it was very expensive, but I had no other choice since roads are in very bad state and I need to carry a little child... The problem with is that it is hard to find parking spaces... I am not going to leave it in the street!!! ... Do you know how expensive these mirrors are? ...The good thing is that every day there are more options inside Lomas and I don't need to go to the city as much...it makes me feel very anxious' ("Fernanda", October 2013)

This account was one of the stories of fear of the outside. Social media is filled with warnings: what not to do, places you should not go to, or activities you should avoid. Puebla is considered one of the safest cities in the country; however, people constantly comment on the possible dangers they might encounter. The "talk of crime" (Caldeira, 2000) has brought a different kind of gatedness practice that is not present in the physical space but rather in social media private groups, a sort of virtual clusters. While I was doing research, an acquaintance added me to a private Facebook group where "concerned housewives" shared pictures of potential kidnappers that hang around schools, pictures of house cleaners, gardeners, and repair people that have been caught stealing or connected to burglaries. These housewives-vigilantes also share pictures of antisocial behaviour, people wrongfully using disabled parking spaces or speeding, etc.

From the previous statement, it can be argued that rumourmongers also help shape physical spaces. The current conditions of violence and crime in Mexico have a deep effect on people and the perception of risk can be as damaging and create as much anxiety as experiencing an actual crime. Enrique Betancourt, former Head of the National Centre for Crime Prevention and Citizen Participation, mentioned in a personal interview that *'people do not really care or understand crime data'* (E. Betancourt, November 2013). From what he has seen in his work, people relate more to stories. In his experience in *Ciudad Juárez*, one of the most violent cities in the world, most people continue doing their everyday activities because they have no other choice. While in other cities with higher income but less crime, people are more cautious and change their lifestyles to feel safe. He considers that the concern about security relates to the time people can spend worrying about it. Stories become stronger when they are spread amongst others, as he reflects in the following quote:

'In 2007 and 2008 we conducted a series of surveys in Puebla and the main concern of the interviewees was security. They had no idea about the data, but they knew stories [...] a kidnapping story has an incredible volatility, the amount of fear it produces around the kidnapped person is huge. If the brother of my friend is kidnapped, this will be the topic I will discuss with my friends, my colleagues at work, my family. The same happens with extortion. The simple fact that I am peacefully at home and the phone rings and I am told to give certain amount of money generates an immediate sense of absolute insecurity, even if the extortion threat never takes place. The feeling of insecurity is enormous and it is transmitted virally' (E. Betancourt, November 2013)

México Evalúa, a non-profit organisation that gathers data on issues like security, justice, and corruption in Mexico, made an assessment on the country's criminal rate in relation to people's perceptions, institutional efficiency, and budget invested (Centro de Análisis de Políticas Públicas, 2007). The report shows Mexico has a higher crime incidence rate than most "developed countries" and that the main problem was the lack of trust in institutions. In a 2007 report, 65% of the surveyed accepted changing their behaviours due to security concerns, for example *'paying more attention to children when going outside the house, wearing less jewellery, or even stop going out at night'* (2007). Fear of becoming a victim of crime has a dramatic impact on everyday practices. People in this report mentioned that fear changes how they plan their everyday actions, and even what they decide to wear or where to eat on a given day. *Lomas'* developers have successfully *'capitalised on citizen's fears'* as Addington & Renisson mention when talking about *'crime centred families seeking ways to live in crime free areas'* (Addington & Renisson, 2013, p. 8). *Lomas de Angelópolis* included the separate cluster structure from the beginning, but the *'clusterification'* of everything inside has been a response to residents' and potential buyers' interests, as one person working with the developers mentioned:

'We have been modifying the design of clusters according to the feedback we receive from sales agents... In the beginning we had a more or less orthogonal traditional street design, but we noticed that people liked to buy the last houses on the dead-end streets... the more private and separated from the rest, the better... then we changed the layout in new clusters... Feedback from residents have also made us change certain things outside... for instance, we had left open pedestrian footpaths from clusters to Sonata, and we were asked to add gates... I think people like living like a Matryoshka [Russian doll] ... the more control measures, the better' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

The previous quote shows the interrelation between the different spheres of gatedness. Clusters are protecting residents more emotionally than physically. The display of security features in *Lomas* has increased since the gated community opened in 2004. Particular physical elements have been introduced, as I will explain in detail in the next chapter when I talk about the sphere of physical boundaries and control measures, but also, residents have set their own rules inside their clusters, as an interviewee mentions:

'There are peculiar things about some of the clusters here, if you would like to visit the house they built for first prize of the BUAP [Puebla's public university] raffle in cluster 222 you have to pass through two security control checks... Therefore, that makes it three checking points before you reach your house. Who would want to live like that...' ('Natalia', October 2013)

The reflection from this interviewee questioning extreme security controls comes from someone who fortunately has never experienced crime, but those who have, think very differently. For instance, a newlywed couple told me about their experience when moving to their first house in the city, where unfortunately they were burgled a few months after the wedding. This couple still feels very frustrated about the experience, but in a way, they are satisfied because this experience led to a change of residence to *Lomas* that has made them happier and feel safer:

'What happened was too hard for me... When we got married we moved into a house from his [husband's] aunt. The house was in an open traditional street and had no garage, only the driveway... since we were working all day, my husband decided to build a garage with a shielded door... That actually enabled burglars coming in, breaking the front door, put all our stuff in their car and leave without anyone noticing.... When I arrived, I parked my car, closed the garage door, and when I reached the front door it was broken and open...I had to run, took my bag and left the car.... After that, we decided to move as soon as possible and decided to accelerate the process of purchasing a house here in Lomas' ('Carolina', November 2013)

For people like them, everyday practices have changed considerably. Now they pay attention to every single decision on a daily basis, from where to eat, where to park, or how to drive back home. According to these interviewees, in *Lomas* they feel safe, at home, they feel at ease. In an era of privatised Keynesianism, people are drawn to believe that it is up to them to accomplish a safe life, and that they should change their behaviours in order to avoid crime. In 2011, the Municipal Planning Institute (IMPLAN), the Citizen Council for Public Security, and the Secretary of Public Security and Municipal Transit published a Citizen's Manual for Crime Prevention. The manual includes a series of "practical" recommendations on how to be "safe", prevent, or deal with things like phone extortion, kidnapping, fraud, mugging, etc. The manual also provides suggestions on how to stay safe at work, in the streets, in your car, home, during holidays, and using social media. It is a very detailed manual with suggestions and how to even deal with domestic service, seen as an inherent source of threat. The following quote is the transcription and translation of one of the sections on how not to be kidnapped:

*'Do not follow routines; be unpredictable in your movements. Avoid if possible, taking yourself your kids to school. If you have multiple cars, use them interchangeably. If you go to church, change the schedule of the mass you attend. Do not go grocery shopping always at the same branch and choose beauty salons in safe places' [...] Pay attention to every stranger around you, and anything that seems 'odd' or 'out of place' like if someone turns his face to hide himself, or if someone is pretending to read a newspaper and covering his face, or someone wearing a jacket if it is hot or wearing sunglasses on a grey afternoon, a vehicle parked for hours with a person inside doing 'nothing', an athlete doing prolonged warm-ups, or an unknown person walking his dog over and over again, or someone you see twice in a supermarket, or a car being turned on exactly when you turn yours on and follows you... Bring a camera in your car. If you see any of the things described before, **worry and act immediately**' (IMPLAN, 2012, pp. 16-17) (Translated by author)*

When the manual came out it was seen as a positive proposal from the local government to provide valuable suggestions on how to make your life safer. Surprisingly, there were no public demonstrations to demand the state to actually provide safer conditions in the city. The only reaction was from feminists questioning the suggestions about changing the way you dress when you go out. The paranoia imprinted in this manual is a tangible example of the anxieties experienced in Mexico. For instance, the manual gives some suggestions about 'how to move in the street if you must', as if it would be better if you can avoid it. Here is an excerpt of this section:

'When you come out to the street keep a low profile, try to go unnoticed. Avoid wearing fancy accessories such as flashy jewellery, chains, earrings, watches and rings. Do not use any portable music player. Be alert and aware of everything happening around you ...' (IMPLAN, 2012, p. 40)
(Translated by author)

Recommendations in this manual are what I consider a full gatedness practice. People's experience and knowledge of crime and violence has contributed to their fears and anxieties. The physical response to these anxieties has been, amongst other practices, the proliferation of gated communities. The violence and crime have been the result of highly unequal conditions and the unsuccessful war on drugs; nevertheless, instead of addressing these structural conditions, the policy response from the state is a manual judging individual attitudes, behaviours, and choices (Shove, 2010). The manual provides a series of recommendations on how to make your house and your car safer, making it your responsibility and drawing back from their role as security providers. It includes suggestions like '*keep your fences as high as possible*' and '*ideally electrify your gates*'. The normalisation of gatedness becomes more evident when a local government implies that the '*basic security equipment*' to keep your car safe includes '*tyre security locks, anti-theft car window screens, and high-coverage car insurance*' (IMPLAN, 2012) amongst other things. Citizens are left with two choices, modify their everyday life to follow this type of recommendations or simply decide not to let anxieties rule your life as Enrique Betancourt, former national security public official suggested in an interview:

'I lived in the Roma neighbourhood [in Mexico City], I had no parking spot, and when the garage where I would usually leave my car closed, I left the car in the street for a month... then two... three months... and one day my mirror was stolen. I went to buy a new one, and saw it was the equivalent to a month's off-street parking rental... It might be a bit cynical of me but I made a cold calculation and said... look... if I get my mirror robbed once a year, I will be saving about 700 to 1000 pesos a month in parking, and if it happens again, I will just go and get a new mirror, because... I will not get robbed every month... Right?' (E. Betancourt, November 2013)

This tendency of increasing the burden of ordinary citizens is not only about security. As it has been mentioned, many middle-class families in Puebla voluntarily displaced to *Lomas* because their neighbourhoods were not providing adequate services anymore. According to the findings in this research, the lack of accountability from local authorities, also contributes to citizens' levels of anxiety. These tensions can be easily analysed with middle-class car-dependency, as one interviewee mentioned:

'Sometimes you would like to live differently... Most low-income population do not own a car and use public transport for everyday activities... and then you think... maybe I should do the same and stop using my car... but there is no decent collective transport option... and you end up using your car and feel guilty... I know, I know, thinking like this is not very encouraging' ("Diego", October 2013)

Normalisation of gates and car-dependency are commonly justified because the city services are not good enough and public transport is not reliable. For interviewees living in *Lomas*, if you do not have a car, it is either very expensive, or very hard to move. There is an element of tension here, because although some interviewees wished there were transport options, they were not happy with the presence of public transport in certain areas. The normalisation of car-usage even blinded the developers' vision on transport when they made the master plan, as it is explained in the following quote:

'People complain because we did not provide public transport in Lomas... As I previously said... Nobody told us what we had to provide... We just thought of what possible buyers would want... It is true... we did not think through how construction workers or housemaids would move... but we have fixed that... the system is still not the best, but now we have buses...' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

Lomas de Angelópolis is an evolving space. The date when each interview happened shows a very different perspective, since the enclave has changed so much in very short time. In the preliminary research experience in 2010-2011, residents complained about the lack of transport options, and how construction workers had to walk for kilometres or use informal collective transport to enter and leave the enclave. When I started fieldwork in 2013, there were already inner buses like the one shown in the picture below, but there were no bus stops. When I came back in 2014, the system had evolved, and now there were official bus stops in certain areas, as seen in the following image (see Figure 37). Since then, transport options have increased but not everyone is satisfied. A resident I interviewed in *Lomas I* in 2013 complained because public transport *'would bring undesirable people into the enclave'*. Others complained because the options were thought only for service people, and not for the particular needs of residents and visitors of Sonata. Transport continues to be a problem, particularly because the number of residents and visitors are increasing dramatically and congestion problems are becoming more common. Transport in and out of *Lomas* is a constant reason for anxiety.

Figure 37. Inner Transport in Lomas de Angelópolis



Source: author (2013) & (2014)

When residents talk about security, they also mean **financial security**, and this is a major anxiety factor. As I previously discussed, middle classes in Mexico have struggled during national economic crises, and the large number of people relying on credit is a potential high risk for this enclave's sustainability and inner governance. The majority of the interviewees had good job positions and stable incomes when I interviewed them. However, some shared the fear of "losing everything you worked so hard for". These fears were based on previous experiences. In late 2015, I did follow up phone calls and met for conversations with at least half the interviewees to see how things had changed in their lives in *Lomas*. One of them got divorced and was in a legal battle for the property. Another one had separated from her husband, sold the property, and split the money in half. A third resident got cancer and was unable to work anymore. His family took over the responsibility of the mortgage. Another had decided to renegotiate the mortgage with a new bank. The volatility of these cases in only two years are a sign of the potential challenges *Lomas* might face in the case of economic crises like the ones in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s.

The anxieties linked to financial security are not only because of people's capacity to pay for their mortgages and personal debts, but also if they would be able to continue paying maintenance fees in the case of economic meltdown. According to Miguel Reyes, in charge of the Wages' Observatory, middle classes in Mexico have a '*false sense of achievement built on consumer credit and mortgages*' (M. Reyes, November 2013). In *Lomas*, interviewees that already owned their house were more relaxed about the future in comparison with those who were still paying their debt. In my interviews, I did not meet anyone who had been unable to pay for the mortgage loan, but my interviewees did share their annoyance against neighbours that were not paying maintenance fees on time. In one of the clusters I visited, the interviewee showed me a list of defaulters and almost 50% of the people in that cluster were behind their payments. This raises concerns on the sustainability of the private governments in *Lomas* in the near future. There are also worries about the economic stability of the commercial areas, as a participant mentioned in a casual conversation:

'I often wonder about Sonata... Right now, it is the trendiest place in Puebla for young people... and I think that is a problem... because remember what has happened to all the other trendy places in Puebla... with the exception of Angelópolis [shopping mall] ... all the other places had their boom and then... business went down... see how empty Plaza Las Ánimas, Plaza Millennium, or Plaza Palmas look now!!!... I just hope that doesn't happen in Sonata... if businesses start to close ... it will be a disaster' ("Gabriel", November 2015)

When I visited *Jardines de San Manuel*, one of the traditional neighbourhoods that middle-class families in Puebla were abandoning, a woman living there shared why she would not move to *Lomas* like all her friends. She considered that one of the good things about this type of neighbourhood is that in the worst economic scenario, you could turn your garage into a shop and sell whatever you wanted. She remembered how well off families in the eighties used their garages to sell furniture, clothes, and whatever they could to deal with the economic limitations of the time. However, this would not be the case in *Lomas*, because commercial activities within the clusters are forbidden, and even if you convinced your cluster administration, a garage sale would be limited to residents.

Anxieties and fears did not disappear once residents lived inside *Lomas*, they just mutated. Insecurity continues to be a constant concern, however residents and developers can respond to these with changes in security and control. The second type of anxieties, regarding transport, services, and the private administrators in collaboration with local municipalities might attend other basic needs. However, the last type of anxieties, linked to economic instability are down to individual households, and raise a series of questions on how these might affect the enclave in the case of strong crises like the ones in the past.

9.3 Conclusions

The study of gatedness as a practice considers both material and immaterial elements. An important part of the process of gating up is connected to aspirations and anxieties. Aspirations found during fieldwork were mostly linked to having a good life, rather than wealth, recognition or status, in comparison with what is found in the literature. The anxieties expressed by interviewees was mostly connected with the outside life, which is seen as dangerous, chaotic and unreliable. The analysis of gated communities through the sphere of cognitive affective dispositions is an opportunity to learn about these enclaves through meanings. This sphere is strongly intertwined with the *sphere of physical boundaries and control measures*, as fear is one of the main drivers of security features, gates, or surveillance systems. In the following section, I talk about the material elements of the artefact gated community.

10 SPHERE OF PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES AND CONTROL MEASURES (MATERIALS)

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the third sphere of gatedness of “physical boundaries and control measures” using the case study *Lomas*. The chapter is organised in two sections. The first section is about the material elements in the practice-based analysis of middle-class GCs. In this section I talk about the physical borders and the contrasting conditions between neighbours. I also talk about security, control, and surveillance features. The second section is about the **traps of middle class gatedness**. These traps are the main issues that I consider make middle-class gated communities vulnerable places. The section includes: the credit and debt trap; the private government trap; and the security and control trap.

10.2 The Material Elements in the Practice-Based Analysis of Middle-Class GCs

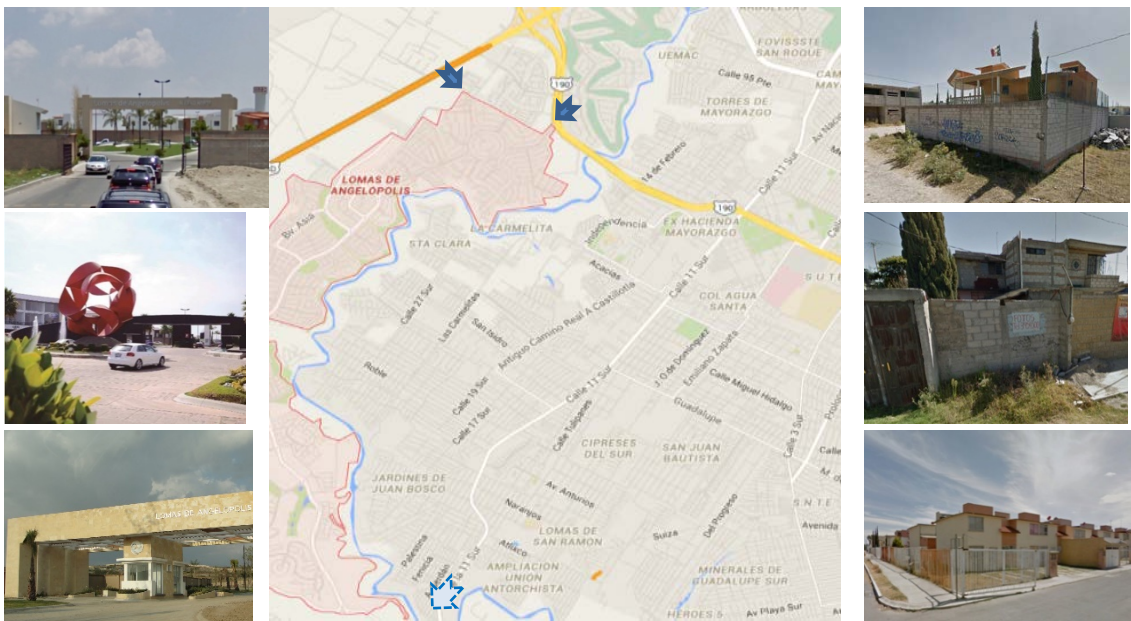
The sphere of physical boundaries and control measures in the gatedness approach I proposed is based on what Shove *et al.* (2012) call the “material” element of practice. This is perhaps the most evident element of gatedness because it is tangible, visible (most of the time), and measurable. The presence of fences, gates, and security booths are a physical outcome of the policies and meanings mentioned in the previous two spheres. Stories in earlier chapters show interconnections between the physical space and national policies, local government capacity, and individual aspirations and anxieties. In this chapter, I talk about the evolution of these physical outcomes. *Lomas* is a gated community of gated communities; each cluster’s boundaries represent not only a physical space but also different administration bodies and dissimilar income distribution. The physical boundaries of *Lomas*, and the other GCs that form Puebla’s defensive periphery, create different ways of using the same territory and shape everyday life practices of those living around, either in the low-income neighbourhoods on the other side of the river, or in the semi-rural immediate context of *Ocoyucan*.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, most typologies of gated communities focus on the physical features. For example, Dupuis & Dixon (2010) in their gatedness analysis, talk about physical barriers, technological barriers, manned surveillance, signs, design features, natural surveillance, implicit signals, and retro-gating. The physical expressions of gatedness have both practical and symbolic functions. In the following sections I will talk about the implications of the physical barriers not only inside the gates but also in relation with neighbouring areas.

10.2.1 Physical Borders and Contrasting Conditions between Neighbours

Physical borders (fences, gates, and the river *Atoyac*) enclose *Lomas de Angelópolis*. People access to this GC primarily from the Angelópolis side. The following images (see Figure 38) show the differences on each side of the border. There are no direct physical connections between *Lomas* and the low-income neighbourhoods on the east side of the river *Atoyac*. If these neighbours want to enter *Lomas*, they need to either reach the peripheral ring road or enter from the furthest point south that connects *Lomas* to the street 11 Sur. The experience is very different in this shared territory. The perception of place is not only a formal, tangible, and physical expression, but is also symbolic. The materiality of the separation and the exclusive entrances on the *Angelópolis* side reinforces the idea that people have different lives and access to different opportunities. The tensions are higher for those who live on the east side and work inside the GC.

Figure 38. Contrast and Differentiation of inner and outer *Lomas de Angelópolis*



Source: author using Google Maps (2015) & Google Street View (2012, 2015)

There are physical differences in both sides of the river. The figure above shows two realities: on the right side, housing typologies are a combination of social mass housing production and informal housing surrounded by low-quality roads and pavements; on the left side, monumental entrances with access control to the different sections of *Lomas*. These two spatial configurations mean different ways of operating, and different ways of understanding. The practices on each side are not limited to the residential experience but also include mobility options, social interaction, and strategies to keep yourself and your house safe. The following image (see Figure 39) is the view from one of the houses visited in 2013 during fieldwork. The view shows this contrast between agricultural land and the urbanisation of *Lomas*. In the distance

there are a few houses from residents of *Ocoyucan*, these neighbours are geographically close but functionally apart. This is another example of the influence of gatedness beyond the gates.

Figure 39. The immediate Context outside the Gates



Source: author (2013)

One of the most important features of Lomas, are the long boulevards with only fences, no active frontages, only long walls with intermittent openings for every cluster. Residents like these walls because they represent privacy and security. Even though in practice, these fences have not protected houses from criminals. The following is an account of the physical borders that define the driving experience:

'I like the type of fences and roads we have in Lomas... Sometimes visitors complain because it all looks the same... It is like a labyrinth... when we first arrived it was a problem because friends were getting lost all the time... The sculptures are supposed to help people locate the cluster they are visiting, but it is still too complicated... at the beginning we had to go to the main access and meet our friends... Now it is much easier... because you just send your location on WhatsApp and they can use their GPS' ("Santiago", January 2015)

The fences in Lomas have become a sort of trademark. They can be seen from different municipalities. Luis González-Arenal, current president of the College of architects states that gated communities and fences in Puebla's periphery became a "natural choice" for developers and residents because the conditions were "unsuitable for living unless you created artificial comfort schemes":

'Why are there so many GCs in the periphery? Well, you drive on an unpaved road to a new housing estate... The land is cheap because it is in the middle of nowhere... and people are afraid of being in the middle of nowhere... So, the 'thing' of gating up is to provide security... It doesn't matter if you have to jump over 3 dogs, 2 bikes, and 6 cornfields... because when you get home, you are safe! ... This place is safe' (L. González, December 2013)

In the following image (See Figure 40) it is possible to observe the peripheral fence of Lomas de Angelópolis in contrast with the bad quality roads and lack of urbanisation. The fence is not only protecting residents' houses, but marking the border of two completely different realities.

Figure 40. Gated Communities in the "Middle of Nowhere"



Source: author (2016)

10.2.2 Security, Control and Surveillance Features

In recent years, *Lomas'* developers and administrators have increased security and control features. This might seem contradictory because *Lomas* is marketed as the safest gated community in the safest region in the country. The following images (See Figure 41) show some of these additions. In the first picture, there is a shuttle for potential homebuyers so they cannot enter the cluster on their own. Several clusters have introduced similar systems so that outsiders, with no connection to residents, cannot drive or walk inside without a companion. The second image shows how the original fences that protect clusters have added electrical wiring so that it is harder for people outside the gates to jump inside. The third image is a security post introduced in green areas and parks for immediate response in the case of emergency. Every time I visited the enclave during this research, security and control rules changed, which show how anxieties and fears do not disappear once inside.

Figure 41. Increased Security Features



Source: author (2013) & (2014)

The prevailing anxieties and fears have drawn developers to increase the level of control and assume a more structured private government role. The gated community has introduced security systems proposed by companies that previously worked in municipal level in northern states affected by crime and violence. Developers have introduced “Lomas Smart Living”, a complex security system that includes intelligent monitoring, cameras, emergency points, work stations with video walls, private patrols, steel pneumatic bollards in main entrances that can create a “total shield” in cases of contingencies, along with a series of “smart city” technologies to make residents feel connected and secure (Todo Puebla, 2015). The system also includes a series of technologies that residents can use to report an emergency or call security personnel from the Emergency Intelligence Centre (*Centro Inteligente de Emergencias, CIEM*), *Lomas’* private security service that supposedly follows regulation from the National Public Security System. Private patrols use GPS technology to reach emergencies as soon as possible. These patrols are constantly driving through the 30 km of roads and around the 78 clusters. The following image (see Figure 42) shows how these services are publicised on social media.

Figure 42. Internal Security System

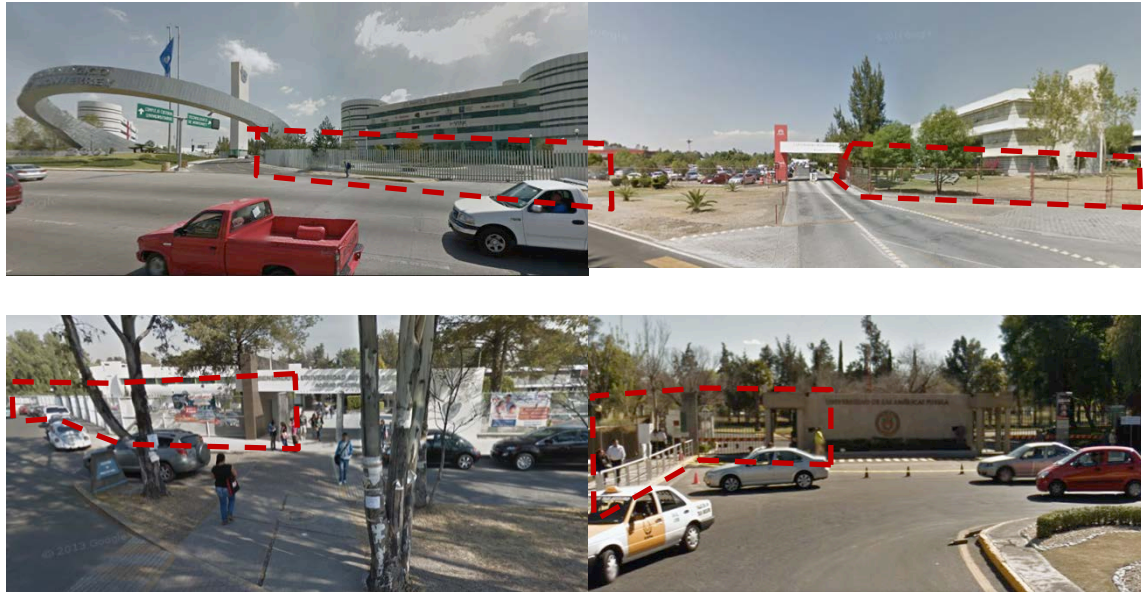


Source: Lomas de Angelópolis Facebook page (2016)

GCs like *Lomas* appeared in the middle of nowhere with no infrastructure, roads, facilities, or access to public services. The lack of city configured a territory of islands attached to main avenues with improvised secondary connections. The gated life has been enhanced by public investment because the *Angelópolis* area in Puebla has received some of the highest investment in roads that lead to these gated communities without improving secondary roads or public transport. The lack of urban fabric has privileged fast-lane connections between privileged spaces mostly thinking about the private automobile. People who live in *Lomas* navigate on daily basis using only two main roads (*Vía Atlixcáyotl* and *Periférico Ecológico*).

These roads connect with a series of other gated spaces where they continue their everyday activities such as private and public universities like the ones in the following pictures (See Figure 43), shopping malls, supermarkets, and even parks and gardens. The physical boundaries of gatedness are permeating the public sphere and leaving the residential enclaves. In Puebla, the state government has spent large amounts of money on gating public parks over the last four years.

Figure 43. Public and Private Gated Higher Education Institutions in Puebla



Source: Google Street View (2013, 2015)

The images above show how public and private universities are susceptible to the anxieties and fears that drive people into gated communities. In all four cases shown above (Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, ITESM; Universidad Iberoamericana Puebla, IBERO; Instituto Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, BUAP; Universidad de las Américas UDLAP), access control and surveillance systems have increased in the last decade. These are examples of other types of urban gated spaces. The following account was mentioned by a woman I met during an observation exercise that relates to life between spaces that create a gated network:

'I leave very early in the morning... I take my children to school... a primary school where my children cannot come out unless they have an authorised person picking them up. Then, I go to Sport City... the gym in Palmas Plaza [shopping mall] ... after that, I go to JV Towers to work, which doesn't have gates like Lomas but it has strict access control... Sometimes I meet my friends for coffee or cinema inside Lomas in Sonata or in the shopping mall Angelópolis ... and then come back home...' ("Paulina", January 2015)

This account from a person living in *Lomas* indicates that this woman spends all day in similar places, with access control and physical borders. The presence of gates in Puebla has become normalised in private and public spaces. In recent years, the state of Puebla has invested not only in expensive infrastructure for cars but also projects aimed at pedestrians and bikers. The problem with this infrastructure is that it isolates people. Public parks and gardens have recently been gated as it is shown in the following image (see Figure 44), and gated bicycle paths have been built above street level. This shows that decision-makers in this state consider biking and walking as a leisure activity rather than a mobility choice because this elevated lane has limited

access from particular points, mostly commercial or touristic. This also shows that the understanding of safety and security has to be achieved through gating up, even in public spaces.

Figure 44. Gated Bike and Pedestrian Lanes connected to Gated Parks



Source: Google Street View (Feb 2015) & author (2015)

The gated network is an artificial construct of safe places within the region with the same conditions of exclusion and premium costs of gated communities. The gating up process of public parks started in early 2012 with the protection of the historic hill *Cerro de Guadalupe* known as *Los Fuertes* where the *Cinco de Mayo* battle took place in 1862. The State of Puebla's government invested a large amount of money to gate the historic and natural reserve area. A new generation of stylish gates began, and would be replicated in public and private parks in the metropolitan area ever since. The increase in crime and violence in Mexico have set a mental framework that makes these spaces not only acceptable but also desirable.

The case of public and private universities in Puebla explains where some of these ideas come from. Puebla has become an education-hub receiving students from not only Mexico but also Central and South America. The conditions of crime and insecurity in states like Guerrero, Michoacán, and Veracruz have made thousands of families send their children to study in safer environments like Puebla. The presence of these 'foreign' students is a magnet for kidnappers and burglars. In the past three years, there have been two highly publicised cases of students kidnapped and murdered by their own schoolmates. The level of control in these higher education institutions has increased since then. Parents have asked for changes in class hours so their children leave before it gets darker and demanded more screening to allow people into the premises. One of the universities uses a similar system as a gated community where only registered cars and registered students can come in; any outsider should have a valid invitation for a particular purpose. Security guards show visitors the exact place to park and verify their movements through CCTV cameras.

An important element that contributes to this gated network is the role of the private car. The majority of the participants in this research mentioned how their relationship with their cars influenced not only their decision of moving to *Lomas*, but also their everyday life beyond the gates. The following account is an example of this:

'I really liked our house, but you know... we like having people visiting, but that was a problem because I was always worried about their cars getting robbed or something stolen... In the past years, we have seen cases from guests arriving to their cars after dinner with no tyres, no mirrors or crashed windows... Every time my daughter's boyfriend came over to visit, I would go to the window every now and then to see if everything was ok with his SUV [...] when I had to leave a car outside our garage I could not sleep at night. In our street, we decided to pay a security guard to look after our cars and houses, but we could only afford to do it during the night... [...] Now that I live here in Lomas, I can sleep in peace' ("Ximena", October 2013)

Stories of auto part theft were common in casual conversations. The outcome has been an increase in expenditures linked to car protection. One of the physical outcomes is that people are willing to pay an extra amount of money for valet parking or private parking instead of leaving the car in the street. The anxiety of leaving the car in an unprotected area can determine plans for dinner, lunch, or even deciding schools for children. This situation has become so normalised that persons do not find it even relevant that the physicality of car protection affects even the most positive aspects of people's lives. Valet parking has become common in the city, even in public places like the University's Cultural Complex (*Complejo Cultural Universitario, CCU*) owned by the public university. All *Lomas* residents' interviews were conducted in their houses. Most were very eager to show me the house (kitchen, garden, living room, etc.) but special attention was given to parking space. Interviewees were happy that their cars would be protected from theft but also their garages free from being blocked by outsiders. A family of four showed me how there was plenty of room for two or three cars in front of their houses and within the cluster enough space for visitors. Most residents of *Lomas* do not use public transport and have no desire to do so, as they consider it dangerous and inconvenient. Anxieties are not entirely unfounded, when I interviewed Gerardo Vargas, a former public official, I had to wait at a restaurant for an hour because his car's windshield was crashed to steal his computer as he stopped in broad daylight in a bookshop located in the *Angelópolis* area.

The sphere of physical boundaries and control access shapes relations inside *Lomas de Angelópolis*, but also outside. The normalisation of gates is contributing to new aspirations and expectations, and the gatedness practice does not stop where the residential enclave ends. The case study *Lomas* offers valuable data on the proliferation of gated communities in Puebla and the interconnection between policies, meanings, and practices. The analysis using the three spheres of gatedness showed these interconnections. This analysis also provided a series of conditions that put governance, sustainability, and security at risk inside this enclave in the near

future. I have grouped these vulnerability issues in three groups and called them Traps of Middle-Class Gatedness, which I describe in detail in the following section.

10.3 Traps of Middle-Class Gatedness

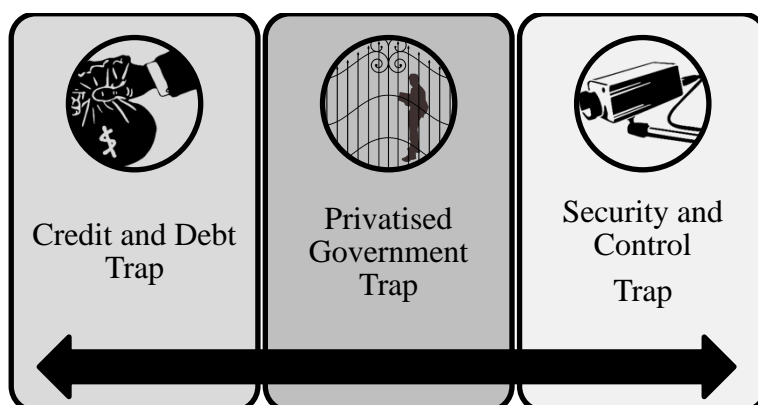
The gatedness practice is possible if the structural conditions meet the aspirations and respond to the anxieties of a social group. Middle classes in Puebla have found the state support and financial incentives to acquire new housing in GCs like *Lomas*. However, this research has shown that places like this can change dramatically in only three years, which raises questions on how practices change in an '*eternally unfolding present*' (Cook & Wagenaar, 2012). Interviews and casual conversations with residents in *Lomas* over three years offered a close look at the evolution of the site. The first interviews already showed some unfulfilled expectations and anxieties about the future. These anxieties and the changes in population and scale have justified a series of modifications to regulation, functioning, costs, and administration within the enclave. In this thesis, I talked about the challenges brought by economic crises to middle-income groups in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s in Mexico. I also addressed the risks and negative outcomes of planning and housing deregulation after the 1990s. The life cycle analysis of *Lomas* obliges us to think about the risks that this large-scale suburban middle-class gated community might encounter in the near future.

The gating of Puebla's periphery is a physical response to immediate problems without considering the implications of these actions in the future. The normalisation of gates gives the idea that this might be 'the only choice' to have a safe and valuable city. During interviews, some interviewees mentioned they do not know 'how they would deal' with certain everyday activities. These residents have become so used to life in *Lomas* that they find outside even more chaotic and disorganised than they used to. What we have learned from the gatedness practice is that even in a supposedly ideal urban setting there are a series of risks and challenges with potential negative outcomes not only within the fortified space but also in the entire metropolitan area. I have grouped these risks and challenges in what I call the **traps of gatedness**, which are immaterial structures that affect and condition practices of those living in GCs like *Lomas* that compromise the sustainability, governance, and functionality of the enclave in the future.

The following diagram (see Figure 45) shows the three different traps in the same level of importance. The credit and debt trap enable middle classes access to this sort of enclaves. The presence of a private inner government contributes to the costs and demands of this indebted group. The efforts to maintain the integrity of the acquired goods and lifestyle from the security

and control trap represent also a cost and the need for an efficient administration body. In the following sections I will address each of these traps individually.

Figure 45. Traps of Middle-Class Gatedness



Source: author (2015)

10.3.1. Credit and Debt Trap

In previous chapters I talked about the challenges facing middle-income groups during economic crises in the past. Since then, the financial policies in Mexico have not improved the conditions to protect debtors. On the contrary, middle-income groups have access to more commercial credit options beyond their paying capacity, and state-led financial institutions like INFONAVIT are working more as a private financial company than a public institution aiming to support those with housing needs. Mexican middle classes have already suffered the downside of credit and debt in the past, but the perception of increased purchasing power has somehow blinded these groups from the potential risks. According to Miguel Reyes, from the Wages' Observatory:

'Mexican families believe they have higher purchasing power these days because they have access to things their parents and grandparents didn't. What they don't see is that to pay for those goods, both members of the family have to work and become dependent on their salary to pay their bills and their long-term debts' (M. Reyes, November 2013)

Reyes and his research team conducted a series of surveys in 2013 to understand how Mexican families were using their income. The aim was to see if minimum wage was actually covering basic needs like food, education, health, and shelter. One of the interesting things he told me about their findings was the difference of priorities between low- and middle-income populations. On one hand, the middle classes prioritise possessions like cell phones, cars, cable television, brand clothes, and other commodities, which contributed to their image, while lower-income groups were more interested in covering basic needs and paid more attention to the quality and nutritional value of their diet. In his view, credit has blinded the middle classes of what they are and what the challenges they could face if they do not manage their finances wisely.

The reason why I consider that credit and debt is a middle-class gatedness trap that threatens stability is because the risks and challenges of an individual family could potentially affect the operation and sustainability of a shared space. If an individual family falls in a destructive cycle of consumption and debt in the traditional city, the challenges and problems fall only inside the individual household. In Puebla, if a family is unable to pay its taxes, there is no direct correlation with service provision in their neighbourhood. Therefore, municipalities will not change their service provision strategies. *Lomas* is a condominium, which means each cluster and the collection clusters work as an individual private property. If a family falls in economic distress, this affects the sustainability of the whole complex.

As Torche & López-Calva (2013) argue, middle classes in countries like Mexico are in a vulnerable condition. The stability of a middle-class family in *Lomas* might be lost after the household provider loses its job, or if someone falls ill. During fieldwork, families in this GC mentioned the pressure of paying bills since they have more responsibilities, for instance: paying for private education, private health services, and private administration fees. These expenses depend on access to credit and job stability. The problem is not the credit itself, but rather the lack of policies to protect people's finances or strategies to keep them away from extreme debt beyond their paying capacity and the risk that this capacity might change abruptly.

One of the participants I interviewed in 2013 became the president of the homeowners' assembly in his cluster in 2014. In a follow-up conversation, I asked him if all residents were paying maintenance fees on time. He told me only 60% of the homeowners paid. He did not consider it a problem because that was enough to pay for security and maintenance. In his opinion, the worst cases were those speculating with land. These people were not bothered by the administration strategies to force residents to pay fees, such as disabling access chips or listing the names of debtors in posters hung in the main gate. He shares the same concern as many other residents. In their opinion, maintenance fees were very low considering the large extensions of roads, pavements, green areas, and social and sport facilities. They think this is a strategy from developers to bring more residents into the complex, but that there is no certainty on what will happen when the developers hand over all the clusters and real estate projects. There is no certainty on how this will operate in the future. Current municipal administrations have been cooperating with developers because it is convenient for their own particular interests. However, there is no security that they will have the same alliance later.

The credit and debt trap does not only affect individual households where residents are at risk of losing their jobs or of being hit by national economic crises like the ones of the past. This financialisation of urban development brings other risks and challenges. *Lomas* has become the centre of real estate investment in Puebla, creating a real estate housing bubble. The world housing market crash in 2008 has shown the risks of these bubbles, not just because it potentially affects investors, but because individuals put lifetime savings into these potentially profitable projects. One of my interviewees put all her savings in the development of a luxury high-rise building. The promised profit is considerably higher than any other commercial bank option. So far, real estate in *Lomas* has been a profitable and safe choice for investors, but in the past couple of decades there have been at least three cases of fraud in real estate investments in the region.

Banking institutions and real estate investors have taken advantage of middle-income groups by creating easier and more accessible options for middle classes to obtain credit or become investors. In Mexico, there is strong regulation in the financial sector to protect banks, foreign investment and enterprises, but not enough regulation to protect individual consumers. Middle classes use credit not only to enhance status and take advantage of the newest lifestyle trends, but also to deal with everyday life necessities such as health, education, and transport. Behaviours towards credit have evolved importantly from generation to generation. Before neoliberal governments, the limited options and warranty required to obtain credit meant that it was less accessible and represented a greater risk.

Banking has evolved in a way that it is making it easier to acquire credit. According to Mexico's Central Bank, credit use has increased in the past thirty years (Banco de México, n.d.); in the last three years alone, credit for individuals has doubled. The option that has increased the most is personal loans. Banks offer personal loans with no need for warranty or collateral and no explanation on how money will be used, and middle-class families are using it to pay for tuitions, medical bills, utility bills, and credit card debts. The increase in personal loans is a sign of credit dependence not for long-term investments as housing or business but as an everyday life survival tool. Credit is alluring because, like a placebo, it takes away the pressure and immediate pain, but does nothing to cure the chronic sickness. A personal credit can be granted to any individual, even if he or she does not have a bank account with the grantor bank. The use of the credit is free, the interest rate is fixed and for a determined period. The conditions are having a minimum monthly income, minimum years in a job, and good credit references. In general, the risk of personal credits is higher than the majority of the credits for consumption, because they do not have any guarantee behind them such as payroll. Personal credits have acquired importance in recent years. The amount of money borrowed using this system has increased 13.3% between 2012 and 2014

(Banco de México, n.d.), which shows that people are already struggling to pay for essential lifestyle expenses.

The credit and debt trap supposes a challenge for the economic sustainability of *Lomas* as a condominium, but also a challenge for inner governance. If residents struggle to pay for mortgages and everyday life expenditures like tuition, utility bills, insurance, and others, the possibility of these families of paying maintenance fees will be lower. This situation brings potential conflicts between neighbours and private administration companies. In other GCs in Puebla, low-income gated communities have already been affected by these inner conflicts with negative effects on the quality of life and social interaction. After developers hand out all houses, green areas start to deteriorate, playgrounds are not taken care of, and in only a few years, equipment is destroyed. The problem is that these cases were also condominiums, and municipalities do not intervene to improve the conditions.

10.3.2. Private Government Trap

Most participants in this research considered that one of the best things about *Lomas* was the existence of a private administration, which dealt with residents needs better than the municipality in traditional neighbourhoods. Most of the accounts I heard were positive. One of the examples of why *Lomas* has become so attractive for young families is because clusters' administrators make residents follow strict design and construction guidelines that privilege modern, minimalistic housing designs. Residents also showed their satisfaction on how private administrators managed services and security. However, these shared spaces are not free of social conflict; some areas in *Lomas* are already facing governance problems as an interviewee working for the developers mentioned:

'We've had some clashes in some clusters... for example, in one case, residents were unable to reach an agreement on how to manage the shared green area... in the end they decided to split the space in half and now it is managed by two administration bodies...' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

The account above is an example of why I consider private governments a middle-class gatedness trap. I suggest that affluent traditional lifestyle gated communities have lower densities and the number of residents needed to reach an agreement is smaller. The high-income and maintenance fees paid by these residents also enable private managers to respond better and faster to needs and expectations. I consider that in *Lomas*, private governments have been able to respond adequately and fill residents' expectations because the complex is not fully inhabited, developers are still investing large amounts of money for marketing purposes, and residents are economically stable. Once the 21,000 families expected to live in this enclave are there, consensus

will be much harder to obtain. Particularly if residents start struggling to pay for maintenance fees, or neighbours start disagreeing with their administrators. In a follow-up conversation, a resident in *Lomas* mentioned how annoyed she was with her clusters' *WhatsApp* neighbours group filled with passive-aggressive messages:

'About a year ago, we created a WhatsApp group including all the neighbours in our cluster... At the beginning, it was useful because we were receiving valuable information from the administrator about new security providers, costs, and changes to social interaction rules, etc. ... But now, I am really starting to hate it... For example, last week people started writing about someone leaving the garbage bin in the street on a day the garbage truck does not come... Everyone knows the name of the neighbour... and everyone could just go to his house and see if he was leaving for a few days and that is why he left the bin outside, or if he just got confused... but no... they just wanted to finger point this guy... They do it all the time... I hate that...' ("Ximena", October 2015)

As the complex grows, there is a need for more negotiations. For instance, residents in *Lomas I*, the first section, complained when *Sonata* visitors started using their roads and main access. *Lomas* has two different types of access control. There are security checkpoints to enter each of the sections of *Lomas*, and individual security booths in each cluster. Anyone can enter the main gates as long as they show an ID, but to enter a cluster, the resident must confirm that he or she is expecting the visitor. The large success of *Sonata* has made *Lomas I* residents ask for stronger access control at night, so that drunk or noisy visitors to *Sonata* use another entrance. This is an example of how social interaction is becoming more complex.

The private administration trap is interconnected with the other traps. If middle-class families are unable to keep up with their mortgages or pay for maintenance fees, the sustainability of the place becomes harder. It is also connected with the trap of security and control, since residents demand higher security levels, there must be an increase in operation costs. The private administration trap is also a threat outside the gates, as municipal authorities are losing their influence and capacity to respond to inner problems.

10.3.3. Security and Control Trap

I suggest that one of the most potentially dangerous middle-class gatedness traps is the security and control trap. As mentioned people aspire to live in a secure environment and the presence of gates, fences, CCTV systems, technology, private patrols, etc. are a physical response to people's anxieties. However, in three years of research, anxieties and fears persisted, and developers and administrators had to invest large amounts of money in new security features. The reasons why I suggest this trap is potentially dangerous is because to two reasons. The first reason is because all the money invested in security has not avoided the presence of crime within the

gates. Extreme surveillance means detailed knowledge of residents' actions, schedules, interests, etc. which makes employees from security companies the main suspects in burglaries and kidnaps. A person working for the developers mentioned an example of this:

'I consider that Lomas is a safe place... However, I have to accept there have been a few cases of robberies in houses... In some cases, we have suggested that security personnel should not remain too long working in the same cluster... it is better if they don't know too much about people's lives... Private security companies supposedly hire people with the best profiles and no criminal records... but there is always a risk...' ("Emiliano", December 2014)

The second reason why I consider that security and control is a sort of trap is because it is physically trapping people. If there was an emergency and residents had to evacuate, the possibility of doing so would be extremely complicated. All clusters have only one access and it leads to the main boulevards. The whole gated community is disconnected from the immediate context. All residents use the same boulevards and congestion is already a problem during peak hours. The protective gates and fences in Lomas could potentially become a physical trap for residents. A few years ago, the original landowners of the communal agriculture land *ejido* where the gated community *La Vista Country Club* is located, blocked this gated community's main access for hours, demonstrating against the unjust conditions of the expropriations of land. Up until now, there have been no demonstrations inside *Lomas*, but that is because the private government is working. However, experience in low-income semi-gated communities like *Héroes de Puebla* raises some concerns that middle-income GCs should learn from. In the case of this low-income housing development, residents felt betrayed because the education, health, and culture facilities promised, never arrived, the levels of insecurity were high, and the conflicts between neighbours were strong. These problems drove residents to block roads and access points for hours, demanding developers and local authorities to provide solutions. *Lomas* has not experienced such problems, but it is a reminder of how important the private administration becomes in terms of governance and social cohesion.

Security and control are two of the reasons why residents are satisfied with their life in *Lomas*, even if there have been cases of crime. The increase in security features inside *Lomas* makes it more evident for people living outside that they are in a vulnerable situation. As long as insecurity in the metropolitan area of Puebla is not addressed tackling its structural drivers, *Lomas* residents will be at risk. The trap in this case is emotional, because the existing feeling of security might be lost, and those who can afford will displace to the next safest available option real estate provide, just as people abandoned the neighbourhoods *Jardines de San Manuel* or *Gabriel Pastor* for *Lomas*.

10.4 Conclusions

The analysis of *Lomas de Angelópolis* from a practice approach gives an idea of the gating up process of middle-class families. The three spheres of gatedness discussed in the last three chapters all come evident in the last sphere of gatedness, because this is the material element of practice that is measurable, observable, and defines spatial connections and disruptions. The interconnection between these spheres is expressed in how policies shape practices, practices shape spatial configurations, and spatial configurations shape back practices and policies. For example, a GC like *Lomas* could only exist if the economic, planning, financial, and housing policies enable their production. A development with the physical and administrative characteristics of *Lomas* is marketed according to the understanding of the aspirations and anxieties expressed by different actors; not just residents and potential residents, but also investors or local government authorities.

The sphere of physical boundaries and control measures are the material expression of how policies, meanings, and practices interconnect. The presence of fences and gates in residential areas connects back to policies of securitisation by enclosure, as the examples of gating parks and cycle lanes in Puebla show. The increase in private security personnel and CCTV systems inside gated communities' impact back on policies, because it modifies the relationship between citizens and police forces and the role of local governments in providing security. In recent months, the unaccounted number of armed security personnel in the city, has brought attention to the authorities, because they do not really have any control over what is happening inside GCs, shopping malls, industries, or businesses hiring them. Understanding the three spheres of gatedness raise some concerns about the sustainability, stability and functionality of enclaves like *Lomas*, which are expressed as the credit and debt trap, private government trap, and security and control trap. The challenges of gatedness are not only situations inside gated communities and within their physical boundaries. GCs for the middle classes in Mexico are containers of aspirations and anxieties. These aspirations to have a good life in a liveable city might make middle-class groups embrace debt beyond their capability. At the same time, it contains Mexican middle-class anxieties, the fear of living through another economic crisis, the struggle to have adequate public services that municipalities are no longer providing, the fear of crime and violence that is damaging the country. Findings in this research are an invitation to policymakers to learn from the importance of meanings in the definition of practices, which I will address in the last chapter.

11 ALTERNATIVES TO GATEDNESS?

11.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I analysed the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico, using the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* in Puebla to understand the process and the implications of middle-class gatedness. In this chapter, I present a summary of the most important issues identified throughout this research on how policies, practices, and meanings intertwine in the process of gating up. The chapter is organised in three sections. The first section is a brief **summary of the thesis** addressing how the findings relate to the research aim and questions. The second section is a reflection about how understanding gatedness from a practice perspective, particularly from the meanings attached to the gated communities, can help **rethink urban planning and housing policymaking**. The third section is a reflection of the issues that were not fully addressed in this thesis but could be developed in **future research**.

11.2 Mexican Middle-Class Gatedness (Summary)

Gated communities are a global phenomenon that gained scholarly attention since the 1990s. Most of the research on the topic has focused on drivers like security, prestige, status, and social homogeneity. In Mexico, gated communities have become a normalised option for the middle classes. Their proliferation in the past thirty years has been commonly described as an individual process of self-segregation driven by marketing strategies. I argue that the process of gating up cannot be seen as a linear cause-effect matter in which we finger point middle and upper classes for their lifestyle choices and blame developers for their marketing tactics. There are important structural conditions which determine policies expressed in practices that shape the physicality of these enclaves and the mentalities and self-images of officials and residents.

I define *gatedness* as the *complex, dispersed set of practise associated with gated communities, shaped by the interconnection of material and immaterial elements, such as policies that encourage exclusion, local and trans-national conditions that incentivise their development, physical features used for control and security strategies, and attitudes and actions moulded by the diverse meanings attached to these enclaves*.

I decided to address gatedness rather than gated communities. The premise was that gated communities are not only physical configurations of urban space but also a social phenomenon where aspirations and anxieties interrelate with policy, and have an impact back in the physical world. I was interested in understanding these enclaves beyond the gates. Instead of focusing on

the material aspects of these fortified residential developments, as it has been done by other authors, attention was drawn to immaterial elements such as policies, practices, and meanings.

The literature review helped to identify the state of the discussion about gated communities. The gaps found in literature along with the preliminary findings in *Lomas* helped to establish the structure of analysis. I found that previous research had not paid sufficient attention to global policies that influence local urban development (GCS), how these enclaves were financed and by whom, what types of practices are expressed in a gated life, and particularly, how the middle classes end up in this sort of places. I based my analysis on Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice (materials, competences, and meanings) as an organising framework for what I proposed as spheres of gatedness. The three spheres of gatedness were set to identify the interconnection between transnational forces, national policies, individual behaviours, and physical outcomes. To better understand where and how the process of gating up the middle classes happened in Mexico, I decided to analyse three separate but interconnected phenomena: Mexican middle classes in a global economy, the Mexican housing and planning frameworks, and the evolution of Mexican gated communities. In the next paragraphs, I will address the most important conclusions on these topics.

Mexican middle classes struggled with the outcomes of macro-economic decisions and national policy changes after the economic crises of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The neoliberal economic model Mexico assumed contributed to a debt economy on a national level, but also in individual households. Since the 1990s, middle classes have been facing higher everyday expenditures and debt-dependency not only due to conspicuous consumption but also because people are taking on more responsibilities for things like education, health, and security - what Crouch considers privatised Keynesianism (2009), or the transfer of state burdens to the population thereby increasing their vulnerability. The emergence and proliferation of middle-class gated communities increases the costs and responsibilities of a socio-economic group that depends on jobs and economic stability. To better understand the middle-class debt-economy, I discussed the role of the Washington Consensus and the housing policy recommendations by the World Bank. These transnational financial institutions helped modify national policies, but more importantly, the relationship between citizens and the state.

Mexico has a long history of socio-spatial segregation where land has been a central element of political, economic, and social conflict. Land-related policies have shaped not only the physicality of modern Mexican cities but also social interactions. Institutionalisation of spatial planning is relatively new (1976); its origins were filled with optimism and ambitious social objectives. However, changes in economic, political, and housing policies in the early 1990s

weakened the planning system highlighting the predominant role of economic growth. The privatisation of housing production and the deregulation of the planning and housing systems, following recommendations from international financing institutions, produced sprawled and chaotic metropolitan areas. The outcomes of the quantitative and financially driven housing development in the turn of the millennium left local governments dealing with important challenges in public service provision, infrastructure, and transport, but more importantly, a fragmented territory with extremely unequal conditions. The proliferation of middle-class gated communities is deeply connected to these policy changes as I explain through the case study *Lomas de Angelópolis* in Puebla.

The aim of the research was to “better understand, through the concept of *gatedness*, the policies, practices, and meanings behind the proliferation of middle-class gated communities in Mexico”. The research focused on the middle classes because of this group’s vulnerability in a context of economic, social, and political uncertainty. I used grounded theory because this allowed digging deeper into data and having a broader insight into neoliberal urbanism’s challenges, losses, and constraints. It also gave me the freedom to collect data, analyse, categorise and theorise in a flexible way. The interpretive approach using a single case study allowed finding connections between events, policies, and practices, but most importantly the meanings attached to this fortified enclaves. The case *Lomas de Angelópolis* provided rich stories, which made me focus on the aspirations and the anxieties of those middle class residents. The challenges faced during this research were mostly linked to language, culture, and predispositions from participants. It was difficult to think and work in two languages, but this situation made me focus even more on the symbols and meanings (for instance the use of English language words and phrases to symbolise wealth, e.g. Sonata’s “Luxury Corner”).

Mexican sprawling housing policies and the lack of adequate urban services and infrastructure in peripheral land, has made gated communities a common strategy for modern urbanisation. The metropolitan area of Puebla is characterised by the predominant presence of small and large scale GCs for all socio-economic levels. The city of Puebla was founded in the 16th century on residential differentiation grounds, and socio-spatial segregation has been present ever since. However, until the 21st century, socio-economic groups had shared spaces of interaction. Privately planned neighbourhoods are not new in Mexico or the region of Puebla, but their predominance in the last thirty years has created new practices shaping a physically fragmented and dispersed city, and also changed social interactions. *Lomas de Angelópolis*, the largest gated community in the region is an example of the variety of issues involved in the process of gating up. This unique case would not exist if there were not a series of structural policies and practices, including national political and financial incentives for local governments,

developers, and individual families. Changes in land tenure from agricultural to developable land, changes in municipal planning competences allowing planning *a la carte* strategies, and changes in housing financing accessible to large groups of people even above their paying capacity, allowed municipalities to embrace the arrival of this kind of enclave because of the immediate benefits and the diminished level of responsibilities in the future.

The process of gating in *Lomas*, according to the findings in this research is not the result of individual middle class families suddenly deciding to move to modern new houses in isolated suburban gated communities. The starting point was understanding why people decided to leave traditional neighbourhoods like *Gabriel Pastor* or *Jardines de San Manuel*. The process of gating up in the case of Puebla, was a connection of small factors that together contributed to create the ideal setting for gatedness: traditional neighbourhoods became insecure; houses were turned into shops, clinics, and offices, without a mixed use plan that would enable social interaction; roads and pavements no longer had maintenance; and communication with municipal authorities was basically inexistent. Middle classes in Puebla that voluntarily displaced to *Lomas* were driven by ideas like those behind the developers' slogan "life as it should be". The traditional city was not satisfying the expectations of quality of life of middle-income groups, but these expectations have been undoubtedly shaped by the developers marketing strategies, news outlets, and social media. News and stories that people exchange created a climate of fear and dangerousness in the traditional city, magnifying concerns of security and making GCs a more desirable choice.

The conditions that contributed to the process of gating up were also institutional. Housing and planning institutions provided incentives for them to move. For example, developers found subsidies and access to government funding building houses in peripheral agricultural land. Middle-class families found access to easy credit in newly-built houses. It was easier to acquire a new house in a GC using funds like INFONAVIT and private bank loans, than improving the conditions of current housing. The gating up process was not a chronological linear event, but rather a combination of stories and situations, that enabled a large number of families to move to modern new neighbourhoods with private governments.

The analysis of *Lomas de Angelópolis* from a practice approach gives an idea of the gating up process of middle-class families. The spheres of gatedness using Shove *et al.*'s (2012) elements of practice were used to address each of the research questions. The reflection on the sphere of structural and administrative incentives show that gated communities like *Lomas* could only exist if the economic, planning, financial, and housing policies enable their production. The analysis in this sphere responds directly to the first question: "*How have neoliberal transnational forces transformed national housing and planning policies in Mexico since the 1990s? How*

*have these changes contributed to the proliferation of gated communities?” Lomas de Angelópolis was the result of a state-led strategy to increase Puebla’s global competitiveness that incentivised private investment in urban development, deregulated land tenure for real estate, enabled the increase of financial support for homeownership, and weakened planning laws and regulation to allow municipalities to create *á la carte* strategies to suit developers’ real estate projects and abandon their public responsibilities inside the gates.*

The analysis of *Lomas* through the sphere of cognitive-affective dispositions was used to answer the second question: “*How have global and national economic, political, and social policies and practices, moulded the aspirations and anxieties of the middle classes in Mexico? How have these aspirations and anxieties contributed to the proliferation and normalisation of gated communities for this particular group?*” The study of gatedness considers both material and immaterial elements. An important part of the process of gating up is connected to aspirations and anxieties, not only as seen by residents and potential residents, but also by developers and public authorities. The aspirations found during fieldwork through interviews and observation, were mostly linked to having a good life, rather than wealth recognition or status, in comparison to what was found in the literature. The anxieties expressed by interviewees was mostly connected with the outside world, which is seen as dangerous, chaotic, and unreliable. The analysis of gated communities through the *sphere of cognitive affective dispositions* is an opportunity to learn about these enclaves through meanings. This sphere is strongly intertwined with the *sphere of physical boundaries and control measures*, as fear is one of the main drivers of security features, gates, or surveillance systems. In the following section, I talk about the material elements of the artefact gated community. The global connection of these aspirations and anxieties has been taken on by developers and marketers. The Sonata District (commercial city centre inside the GC) was designed by North American design firms and the outcome has no resemblance to any Mexican city and all the new commercial areas use the English language to demonstrate this enclave is an attractive pole not only to local people, but also foreigners.

The analysis of the case study using the sphere of physical boundaries and control measures helped to respond to the final question: “*How does gating up in a context of economic, political, and social uncertainty like Mexico shape middle classes’ everyday practices and meanings? And how does that connect back to policy?*” This sphere is the materialisation of the interconnection between policies, practices, and meanings. The fences, gates, security checkpoints, and the use of technology and other control systems show the residents’ need to isolate, escape, and protect themselves from dangers and risks. The evolution of *Lomas* shows that anxieties and fears do not disappear once inside the gated community. It also shows that the normalisation of gates influence policies and practices beyond the residential enclave (e.g. the

gating of public parks, pedestrian and cycle paths, the dependence on private parking and valet parking options).

Identifying the linkages and mechanisms that bring together the three spheres of gatedness are a crucial part of the gatedness analysis. For example, the national housing policy promoted horizontal sprawl which enabled the construction of gated communities in the most important metropolitan areas' peripheries. These housing policies were rooted in the recommendations by transnational financial institutions aimed at economic growth. The same neoliberal policies have contributed to increase wealth inequality, crime and violence, which are some of the main reasons middle-classes in Puebla are moving into fortified residential areas. The physical features and control strategies in *Lomas* are a material representation to address people's concerns about insecurity, crime and violence, but they also represent a change in the social contract within the enclave where residents and administrators establish new rules of engagement. The dynamic interconnection between spheres is what shows that in order to find more equitable ways for urban development it cannot be done solely through regulation and institutional support. It needs to connect with the meanings people attach to the physical spaces and implementation of policies should recognise these values in their policymaking process.

Understanding *Lomas* through these three spheres (elements of practice) raised some concerns about the challenges of neoliberal urbanism. The sustainability, stability, and functionality of *Lomas de Angelópolis* are uncertain in the future. The evolving nature of its private administration scheme, the lack of municipal presence within its premises, the economic dependence on maintenance fees and economic stability of its residents, the strong pressure from real estate investment, and the complex governance issues linked to its large-scale and different social needs, bring new elements of discussion to planning policymaking and policy implementation. From the analysis of *Lomas*, I identified three main long-term challenges that I call middle-class gatedness traps. I only mentioned three because I consider these are the most important ones, but there could be others.

The credit and debt trap shows how Mexican homeownership national policies not only contribute to spatial segregation according to income, but also create potential social-economic instability. In previous economic crises, if households faced economic problems, their family debts and incapacity to pay for services or bills did not affect others directly. Since Mexican modern GCs are condominiums, responsibilities and risks are shared. The dependence on maintenance fees in GCs like *Lomas*, require an economic stability that an irresponsible debt-fuelled economy cannot provide. *The private government trap* brings concerns about governance and social cohesion. The analysis of the case *Lomas* during three years showed that rules are

constantly changing and each individual cluster is prioritising different things. Developers and residents mention stories of clashes and conflict between residents and administrators. The challenges of private governments bring potential problems not only inside, but also with local authorities in the future.

The last of the traps, *the security and control trap*, is a combination of material and symbolic configurations. The challenges in this case are connected to the risks of extreme control of residents' lives. In recent years, residents in *Lomas* have enabled security service providers and administrators access to detailed knowledge of every single action in their lives, placing themselves in a different type of vulnerable position. Another risk of the security and control trap is that it has normalised gating, isolating social groups, and making differences in life conditions more tangible. For example, the lack of adequate public transport in and around the enclave shows two completely different life stories depending on access to private car. The challenges of gatedness are not only situations that happen inside the physical boundaries. The case study showed that there are other spaces of gatedness such as private groups in social media and messenger systems (WhatsApp, Facebook, etc.) where residents gather for different purposes. These virtual displays of gatedness are also connected to aspirations and anxieties (e.g. the Facebook group of concerned housewives exposing dishonest home cleaners, construction workers, and gardeners). The final challenges are the actual problems with physical barriers that affect connectivity, accessibility, and permeability. *Lomas* is physically disconnected from immediate neighbourhoods. In the case of emergency, all residents would have to use the same main boulevards and entrances, creating congestion and tensions in security checkpoints.

Findings in the case *Lomas de Angelópolis* show the interconnection between policies, practices, and meanings. The practices of a gated life are not only linked to the physical artefact of the gated community, but rather a series of different factors that shape everyday lives. For example: the relationship or lack of relationship with local authorities, the constant changes in rules of social interaction inside the clusters; the permanent costs connected to maintenance and administration fees, or the limitations or benefits of a regulated environment where houses cannot be easily modified as in the outer counterpart. The problems of a gated life are not in the choices and the opportunities presented to the middle-income groups at a first stage, but in the capacity to keep up with the limitations and expenses in the subsequent stages. These is the main reason why I consider that private governments can become traps, because once inside there is no certainty that rules, fees, or limitations stay the same. The uncertain political and economic conditions of the country require understanding these patterns, behaviours, and conditions in order to respond better to the inevitable mishaps, misadventures, and crises. Alternatives to gatedness are not in the prohibition of GCs but in the understanding of the incentives that made

them attractive in the first place. Moreover, in order to search for more equitable urban spaces, it is necessary to address the challenges and risks of extreme gated life.

Alternatives to gatedness cannot come solely from the institutional planning perspective, but rather the understanding of the interconnection of the policies, the practices, and the meanings. The case *Lomas* demonstrates that planning initiatives are often disregarded because they affect individual interests. The physical environment is not only the result of policy implementation (or lack of implementation), it is also connected to the meanings attached to the enclaves. In order to make more equitable planning, policies have to incorporate direct responses to people's aspirations and anxieties, but without affecting other people's access to the same opportunities. In the following section, I will discuss what we can learn from gatedness from a policymaking perspective.

11.3 Rethinking Policymaking through the World of Meanings

In this thesis, I paid particular attention to how people make meanings, and how these interconnect with policies and practices. The proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico can be understood in terms of the '*meanings that shape actions and institutions*' (Wagenaar, 2011) and '*the meanings that shape individual behaviours and understandings*' (Ibid.). These meanings are not only the beliefs or anxieties or self-understandings of people, but also, the meaning of words and institutions, as these are hardwired into our culture. The analysis of the case *Lomas* showed that the implementation of formal national and state planning and environmental regulation was done in a discretionary way to meet private developers' needs and state government global competitiveness aims, whilst the implementation of informal cluster regulations designed by private government bodies were followed responsibly by residents. This shows that regulation can be followed when actors are convinced that following them will bring benefits.

Planning regulations in this case were often disregarded to allow economic growth, but in the private sphere, people were more willing to follow rules because they can relate to their 'authorities'. Residents in *Lomas* felt more connected, better communicated with and considered there were better services and higher accountability from the private government than the municipal one. The case shows that people are willing to follow rules and pay fees as long as they know how their money is spent and that there is someone looking after their interests. The meanings attached to the public sphere were chaos, unreliability, disorder, noise; while in the private sphere of *Lomas*, it was the exact opposite: order, comfort, convenience, reliability. To rethink urban policies and disincentive socio-spatial segregation, it is crucial to recognise how these meanings shape the policies and the physical world. Meanings should not be analysed only

from the individual perspective of the resident, but from all actors. The way policies are implemented or ignored are not only '*problems of human behaviour*' (Shove, 2010); it is not only about individual '*attitudes, behaviours, or choices*' (Ibid.), but the relationship of structural incentives and constraints, as mentioned in the spheres of gatedness analysis.

I suggest that **meanings of gatedness** are a valuable tool for urban planning decision-making processes. The data obtained during fieldwork in Puebla, Mexico showed that all actors: residents, agents, gated community administrators, and municipal authorities constantly refer to what the gated community means in terms of security, stability, economic growth, quality of life, etc. These considerations show that the meanings are not in the fences, walls, CCTV cameras, or security booths, but rather '*meanings are held by people*' (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 57). Interviews and observation exercises played a crucial role to gain access to those meanings. Residents expressed that contrary to common belief, they lived in *Lomas de Angelópolis*, not because of the status and prestige usually mentioned by outsiders, but because, to them, it meant 'stability, security, and tranquillity'. The chaos and perceived dangers of the outside world had been the main reason to move into a controlled and securitised space. The everyday practices of these residents changed importantly, particularly commute time and fix monthly expenses such as administrative fees; however, these expenses and inconveniences were considered adequate bearing in mind the benefits perceived.

If meanings are so important in the relation between policies and practices, then the understanding of what is behind these meanings should play a more important role in policymaking and policy implementation strategies. Planning policies in Mexico that protect the environment and traditional rural areas are ignored by local governments because in public officials' eyes, only urbanisation can bring economic growth and progress. This simplistic view has had permanent negative consequences. This is an example of how important meanings are for policy implementation. Gated communities have been accompanied by a discourse of progress, social mobility, economic stability, and global competitiveness. As long as the official discourse continues in this direction, there is little possibility that more inclusive and sustainable urban policies and practices will have any success.

I argue that gatedness is not a mere result of state actors' influence but rather of relationships or even partnerships at different levels. For instance, the link between local governments and developers, or the links between housing financing institutions and developers, or the networks created between public and private groups. The meanings attached to these links and networks vary depending on the level of influence. For example, local governments find the relationship with developers beneficial to the community because of the increase of land value,

private investment in infrastructure, and security. On the other hand, the meanings for potential residents of a gated community looking for housing funding options, is that these individuals can improve their quality of life and jump up the social mobility ladder. Therefore, if there is a spatial planning policy aiming for a more just and inclusive urban development in compact cities, but there is also a national policy incentivising private homeownership in peripheral areas, the former's likelihood of success is diminished because it is aiming a collective benefit whilst the second one has immediate individual benefits.

It is important to realise that *'in grasping the world we are inescapably immersed in our own experiences and preconceptions that are linguistically determined, but without which we simply wouldn't be able to discern anything meaningful or relevant'* (Wagenaar, 2011, p. 108) One of the most interesting things about gatedness in Mexico is the fact that the presence of gated communities has not only been normalised, but it has become a desirable, almost obvious choice, both from the residents and municipal authorities' perspective. The meanings attached to these private enclaves have different frames or structures depending on the viewpoint. From an institutional point of view, it might be framed from an economic growth and public order perspective, while in individual cases it might be framed through aspirations and anxieties. Instead of considering how to ban the construction of gated communities in a context where planning laws and policies are easily ignored or manipulated, we should focus on changing meanings in order to promote alternatives to gatedness.

Meanings can only change if preconceptions are challenged and dislocated through experiences and language. A recent example of this has been the implementation of the public bicycle system *Ecobici* in Mexico City. Promoters implemented the programme in *La Condesa*, a high- and middle-class trendy neighbourhood with the idea that it would only be successful if the perception of cycling changed (common preconception is that cyclists were people who could not afford a car). In order to change practices, cycling had to be seen as an aspirational choice (X. Treviño from the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy Mexico (ITDP), conference presentation). If biking became a desirable option for the middle and high-income classes, then more people would choose this as an alternative to the car and the investment in biking infrastructure would increase. The programme has proved very successful and has been extended to more middle and upper middle-class areas like *Polanco* in *Delegación Miguel Hidalgo*, one of the wealthiest boroughs in Mexico City (Ecobici, 2014).

Another example of directing policy changes to and through meanings, rather than regulation, is related to the emergence of UBER in Mexico. During an observation exercise in *Sonata* in 2015, I noticed that the number of people using their private cars to arrive to bars and restaurants was much lower than in previous occasions. When I asked why, people around me said that it was much more convenient to use UBER cars after a night out and not worry about random police breathalyser checks, parking, or traffic. When I asked them why they didn't do that before with taxis, their answer was very similar to what I found in *Lomas* as a gated community. First of all, it was Okay to be seen in an UBER, but mostly because they had all the convenience and comfort for the same amount of money. Friends could check the app to follow friends, they didn't have to carry cash, they could use credit cards, and people with businesses could obtain invoices for tax purposes. The interesting thing about this example is that all state policies intended to decrease private automobile use or drunk driving had not been sufficiently efficient. However, UBER brought new alternatives to the same aims.

The importance of understanding better the process of gating up is that it provides the opportunity to learn from meanings and the role of symbols and values. If status, prestige, and security are so important to individuals, then spatial planning policymakers should pay attention to the material elements that make individuals recognise these values have been fulfilled. In *Lomas de Angelópolis*, the three most valued elements were tranquillity, security, and stability; therefore, the 'way of thinking' that leads to policymaking and policy implementation should consider these crucial issues. The codes of gatedness might be linked to the presence of tangible elements such as gates, CCTV systems, access control booths, or large fences; but there are also intangible elements such as increased property value, accountability of private administrator's management, and respect for inner construction and design regulation. In that sense, even if it sounds outrageous, we could actually learn something from gated communities, not from the physical expression of social segregation but from the meanings that have contributed to their proliferation.

In order to make this work, it is crucial to address the meanings not only from a resident's perspective but also from a developer or government perspective, otherwise nothing will change. Developers have received incentives to build and sell houses because the national homeownership discourse and policies have prioritised quantity over quality allowing indiscriminate use of agricultural land. As long as there is available land, developers will continue aiming at minimum loss and maximum gain. However, we can learn from what is happening in Mexico City. The real estate pressure is as strong as, or probably stronger than, in the rest of the country, however the fact that there is no more land available for development has enabled the local authorities to introduce creative land management instruments. For instance, if a developer is interested in a

project with high urban and environmental impacts, the planning authority defines mitigation and integration strategies, which in recent years are prioritising public space, environmental protection, and alternative mobility. The urban impact assessments, which are required by law for any large-scale development, have become an instrument to meet both developers and local community interests, since the intention is that mitigation and integration strategies prioritises the surrounding areas. The process is still discretionary, and not all proposals have been successful, but this is an example of how to place all interests in the same table.

Learning from gated communities should not be seen as an attempt to privatise public space or debilitate public administration. On the contrary, these enclaves can serve to analyse the opportunities to improve public space design and management, and to reshape the relationship between public authorities and residents in a neighbourhood level.

Findings in this research suggest that if there are real intentions to promote more equitable urban solutions and disincentive the proliferation of gated communities in Mexico, it is important to understand that policies are affected by meanings, and implementation might be doomed to fail if those meanings are not taken into consideration. In Mexico, in the past couple of decades, there has been a strong critique of planning policies that have enabled sprawl and the presence of massive low-density housing developments. Gated communities are seen as the result of a failing planning system. However, as it has been discussed in detail in this thesis, these enclaves have important social, economic, political, cultural, institutional, and structural implications. Alternatives to gatedness cannot come from urban planning on its own, it must be seen from a multi-domain policy perspective where international, national and local economic, social, urban, environmental policies intertwine using meanings as the roadmap to achieve the aims of more liveable, just, and sustainable cities.

11.4 Future Research

The findings in this research showed the importance of the stories inside gated communities. There were issues that I could not address in detail, but that I consider would help understand these enclaves better. During fieldwork, there were three important factors constantly mentioned by interviewees and colleagues: the possible role of corruption, organised crime, and money laundering in the development of this type of enclaves; the role of the private governments, and the interconnection of stories between residents in GCs and low-income residents of nearby neighbourhoods that work in the enclave, but also what happens to those living outside that have no relation with the GC but are affected by its presence. These three topics will be addressed in future research.

The first issue requires a more structural analysis. The role of corruption, organised crime, and money laundering in the development of GCs requires a further understanding of the complex situation of crime and violence Mexico is living in. The second issue, which I consider a fundamental part of the gatedness process, addresses the role of private governments. The privatisation of almost every aspect of the public life brings new governance challenges. The private government trap is essential part of the sustainability and habitability of GCs in the future. Finally, the third issue is already part of an immediate research project about public space and exclusion. As part of my academic work at university, I will be working with residents from neighbouring low-income areas who are working inside the GC. These residents sometimes spend more hours inside the enclaves than homeowners. The lives of house cleaners, gardeners, security guards, and others, can give a better idea of what life in Lomas is, and how it is perceived by outsiders. This third issue also requires looking at “outsider outsiders”; those who are living nearby, but are simply marginalised by the presence of *Lomas* or other GCs. The spheres of gatedness analysis approach would be useful in the three cases, because it would enable understanding the phenomenon from the three spheres. The three issues can be drawn to the debate about public space. The presence of organised crime, the privatisation of public space, and the strategies of exclusion are important challenges in most Latin American countries.

11.5 Final Conclusions

The development of this research has given me the opportunity to see a phenomenon I knew something about, but from a different perspective. The findings in this thesis give policymakers and decision makers an idea on what to pay attention to, in order to have more just and equitable cities. The thesis is about gatedness and it comes from an interest to understand better gated communities, but the implications of the study go beyond the gates, as they show the challenges and struggles in the whole metro-area, the planning system, and more complex societal relationships. Rethinking urban policies beyond the planning domain means that things can be done from other understandings. Unless there is recognition that the planning system is limited by meanings that affect interpretation, there will be no effective policy implementation. Policymaking in that sense should be seen as a tripartite structure: the policies that will provide the guidelines, the vision, and the aims; the practices, which will define how things are done and how things work; and finally the meanings, which define the importance of how things are understood by each of the actors. In that sense, alternatives to gatedness require a multi-domain view and to understand gatedness as a nested phenomenon.

Private governments in large-scale middle-class gated communities in Mexico are a reality. However, there is no official record of how they work, who regulates them, how they are supposed to evolve, or how they deal with economic, social, or even natural disasters. There has been extensive interest in the existence of gated communities worldwide. The fact that these private enclaves have become so popular should be an invitation for policymakers, public officials and researchers to analyse the **life cycle** of the private governments within them, and the long-term implications for their sustainability including practical everyday practical issues such as waste disposal, water provision, and traffic. The smallest issues, as shown in interviews in this research, are major decision-making drivers, and policymakers and public officials can learn from observing how people react to the smallest problems being solved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addington, L. A., & Renisson, C. M. (2013). Keeping the Barbarians Outside the Gate? Comparing Burglary Victimization in Gated and Non-Gated Communities. *Justice Quarterly*, 32(1), 168-192. doi:10.1080/07418825.2012.760644
- Álvarez-Rivadulla, M. J. (2007). Golden Ghettos: Gated Communities and Class Residential Segregation in Montevideo, Uruguay. (Elsevier, Ed.) *Environment and Planning A*, 39(1), 47-63. doi:10.1068/a38469
- AMAI. (n.d.). *Asociación Mexicana de Agencias de Investigación de Mercado* . Retrieved Jan 2015, from Niveles Socioeconómicos: <http://nse.amai.org/>
- Arceo, J. J. (2012). *Thesis: Evaluación de los Fraccionamientos Cerrados como Forma de Producción Inmobiliaria*. (U. d. Arquitectura, Ed.) Retrieved 2013, from Repositorio Documental Universidad de Valladolid: <http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/939>
- Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2004). Fortress UK? Gated Communities, The Spatial Revolt of the Elites and Time-Space Trajectories of Segregation. *Housing Studies*, 19(6), 857-892. doi:10.1080/0267303042000293982
- Atkinson, R., & Smith, O. (2012). An Economy of False Securities? An Analysis of Murders inside Gated Residential Developments in the United States. *Crime Media Culture: An International Journal*, 8(2), 161-172. doi:10.1177/1741659012444435
- Ayuntamiento de Puebla . (2014). *H. Ayuntamiento de Puebla 2014-2018*. Retrieved from Zonificación Catastral y las Tablas de Valores Unitarios de Suelos Urbanos y Rústicos; así como los Valores Catastrales de Construcción por metro cuadrado, para el Municipio de Puebla: <http://pueblacapital.gob.mx/>
- Ayuntamiento de Puebla. (2007). *Programa Municipal de Desarrollo Urbano Sustentable de Puebla*.
- Azuela, A. (2010). La Hechura Jurídica de la Urbanización. Notas para la Historia Reciente del Derecho Urbanístico. In G. Garza, & M. Schteingart, *Desarrollo urbano y regional* (Vol. II, pp. 589-616). Mexico City : El Colegio de México. Retrieved from <http://2010.colmex.mx/16tomos/II.pdf>
- Bagaen, S., & Uduku, O. (2010). *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments*. Washington DC/ London: Earthscan.
- Banco de México. (n.d.). *Banco de México*. Retrieved 2015, from <http://www.banxico.org.mx/>

- Bevir, M., & Rhodes, R. (2001). A Decentered Theory of Governance: Rational Choice, Institutionalism, and Interpretation. 1-49. Retrieved from <http://eprints.cdlib.org/uc/item/0bw2p1gp>
- Blakely, E. J., & Snyder, M. G. (1997). *Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Brookings Institution Press .
- Blandy, S. (2006). Gated Communities in England: Historical Perspectives and Current Developments. *GeoJournal*, 66(1), 15-26. doi:10.1007/s10708-006-9013-4
- Bola, E. (2013, Feb 27). *Roma-Condesa, 111 años de Historia*. Retrieved from Defecito: <http://defecito.com/2013/02/27/roma-condesa-111-anos-de-historia/>
- Borja, J., & Muxi, Z. (2003). *El Espacio Público: Ciudad y Ciudadanía*. Barcelona: Electa.
- Borsdorf, A., & Hidalgo, R. (2010). From Polarization to Fragmentation. Recent Changes in Latin American Urbanization. In P. Lindert, & O. Verkoren, *Decentralized Development in Latin America: Experiences in Local Governance*. London: Springer / Humana Press.
- Cabrales-Barajas, L. F., & Canosa-Zamora, E. (2001). Segregación Residencial y Fragmentación Urbana: los Fraccionamientos Cerrados en Guadalajara. *Espiral. Estudios sobre Estado y Sociedad*, 7(20), 223-253.
- Cabrera Becerra, V., & Guerrero-Bazán, J. M. (2008). *La Política de Suelo en Puebla: La Reserva Territorial Quetzalcóatl-Atlixcáyotl. Fuente de Segregación Socioespacial y Riqueza Selectiva*. (F. d. Arquitectura, Ed.) Puebla: BUAP.
- Caldeira, T. (2000). *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*. London: Berkely University of California Press.
- Canal Once. (2013, Jul 26). *La Ciudad de México en el Tiempo: Country Club*. Retrieved from Canal Once: <http://oncetv-ipn.net/itinerario/?p=7033>
- Carmona, D. (2007). *Ley sobre Terrenos Baldíos, mandando deslindar, medir, fraccionar y valorar los terrenos baldíos o de propiedad nacional, para obtener los necesarios para el establecimiento de Colonos*. Retrieved 2013 May, from Memoria Política de México (1993): <http://www.memoriapoliticademexico.org/Textos/5RepDictadura/1883LTB.html>
- Carrión, F. (2005). La Inseguridad Ciudadana en América Latina. *Quórum. Revista de pensamiento iberoamericano*, 12(Otoño), 29-52.
- Carrión, F. (2007). Espacio Público: Punto de Partida para la Alteridad. In O. Segovia, *Espacios Públicos y Construcción Social: Aproximaciones Conceptuales* (pp. 89-97). Chile: Ediciones Sur.

- Carrion, F. (2008, December). Violencia Urbana: un Asunto de Ciudad. *Revista Eure*, 34(103), 111-130.
- Castañeda, G. (1995). The Political Economy of Mexico, 1940-1988: A Game Theoretical View. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 11(2), 291-316. doi:10.1016/0176-2680(94)00024-E
- Castellani, F., Gwenn, P., & Zenteno, J. (2014). The Latin American Middle Class: Fragile after all? (I.-I. D. Bank, Ed.) *Working Paper for the Interamerican Development Bank*(557), 1-23. Retrieved from <https://publications.iadb.org/handle/11319/6733?locale-attribute=es>
- CCCM. (n.d.). *Club Campestre de la Ciudad de México* . Retrieved May 2013, from <http://www.cccm.mx/>
- CCE. (2006). *Video Consejo Coordinador Empresarial -2006 Presidential Elections*. Retrieved from youtube: <https://youtu.be/dGBavMf4W4Y>
- Centro de Análisis de Políticas Públicas. (2007). *México Evalúa*. Retrieved Nov 2014, from www.mexicoevalua.org
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory (Introducing Qualitative Methods)* (2nd Edition ed.). London: SAGE.
- Club de Golf Santa Anita. (n.d.). *Condominio Santa Anita*. Retrieved Jan 2015, from <https://www.condominiosantaanita.com>
- Connolly, P. (1987). La Política Habitacional después de los Sismos de 1985. *Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos*, 101-120.
- Cook, N., & Wagenaar, H. (2012). Navigating the Eternally Unfolding Present: Toward an Epistemology of Practice. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 42(1), 3-38. doi:0.1177/0275074011407404
- Coulomb, R. (2010). Evolución Reciente y Situación Actual del Derecho a la Vivienda. In G. & Garza, *Desarrollo urbano y regional* (pp. 551-585). Mexico City: Colegio de México. Retrieved from <http://2010.colmex.mx/16tomos/II.pdf>
- Coy, M. (2006). Gated Communities and Erban Fragmentation in Latin America: The Brazilian Experience. *GeoJournal*, 66(1), 121-132. doi:10.1007/s10708-006-9011-6
- Coy, M., & Pöhler, M. (2002). Gated Communities in Latin American Megacities: Case Studies in Brazil and Argentina. *Environmental and Planning B: Planning and Design*(29), 355-370. doi:10.1068/b2772

- Crouch, C. (2009). Privatised Keynesianism: An Unacknowledged Policy Regime. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 11(3), 382-399. doi:10.1111/j.1467-856X.2009.00377.x
- Cséfalvai, Z. (2011a). Searching for Economic Rationale behind Gated Communities: A Public Choice Approach. *Urban Studies*, 48(4), 749-764. doi:10.1177/0042098010366763
- Cséfalvai, Z. (2011b). Gated Communities for Security or Prestige? A Public Choice Approach and the Case of Budapest. 35(4), 735-752. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00996.x
- Cséfalvai, Z., & Webster, C. (2012). Gates or No Gates? A Cross-European Enquiry into the Driving Forces behind Gated Communities. *Regional Studies*, 46(3), 293-308. doi:10.1080/00343404.2010.505917
- Davis, D. (1993). The dialectic of autonomy: State, class, and economic crisis in Mexico, 1958-1982. *Latin American Perspectives*, 20(3), 46-75. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633855>
- Davis, M. (1998). *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London, UK: Pimlico.
- de Certeau, M. (1988). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. (S. F. Rendall, Trans.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- De la Calle, L., & Rubio, L. (2012). *Mexico: A Middle Class Society - Poor No More, Developed not Yet*. Mexico City: CIDAC.
- De Vos, J. (1984). Una legislación de graves consecuencias: El acaparamiento de tierras baldías en México, con el pretexto de la colonización, 1821-1910. *Historia Mexicana*, 76-113. Retrieved from http://codex.colmex.mx:8991/exlibris/aleph/a18_1/apache_media/NNL8G2D4YNUT97NDEHISM1X6NVMTXJ.pdf
- Distrito Sonata. (2016). *Distrito Sonata*. Retrieved from <http://distritosonata.com/>
- Dixon, J., & Dupuis, A. (2003). Gatedness and Governance: Residential Intensification in Auckland, New Zealand. *Conference Gated Communities: Building Social Division or Safer Communities*.
- Domenge, Y. (n.d.). *Domenge*. Retrieved 2013, from <http://domenge.com/>
- Dupuis, A., & Thorns, D. (2008). Gated Communities as Exemplars of 'Forting Up' Practices in a Risk Society. *Urban Policy and Research*, 26(2), 145-157. doi:10.1080/08111140802026800
- Dupuis, A., & Dixon, J. (2010). Barriers and Boundaries: An Exploration of Gatedness in New Zealand. In S. Bagaen, & O. Uduku, *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in*

Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments (pp. 115-130). London / Washington D.C.: Earthscan.

- Ecobici. (2014, Feb 18). *Próxima expansión de ECOBICI #CDMX*. Retrieved from ECOBICI: <https://www.ecobici.df.gob.mx/en/news/proxima-expansion-de-ecobici-cdmx>
- e-consulta. (2013, Jul 3). San Manuel: La Segunda Colonia con más Asaltos en Puebla . Retrieved 2013, from <http://www.e-consulta.com/nota/2013-07-03/seguridad/san-manuel-la-segunda-colonia-con-m%C3%A1s-asaltos-en-puebla-ccsj>
- Eggenger, K. (1995). Diego Rivera's Proposal for El Pedregal. *Notes in the History of Art*, 14(3), 1-8. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23205697>
- Eibenschutz, R., & Goya, C. (2006). *Estudio de la Integración Urbana. Expansión reciente de las Ciudades en México 1996 - 2006*. Mexico DF: SEDESOL/UAM Xochimilco/PORRÚA. Retrieved 2014, from http://biblioteca.diputados.gob.mx/janium/bv/ce/scpd/LX/estud_urb.pdf
- Embamex UK. (2014, Aug 22). *Infonavit Receives Special Award in the United Kingdom*. Retrieved May 2015, from Mexican Embassy in the UK: <http://embamex.sre.gob.mx/reinounido/index.php/en/component/content/article/335>
- Escobar-Latapí, A., & González-De la Rocha, M. (1995, April). Crisis, Restructuring and Urban Poverty in Mexico. *Environment and Urbanization*, 7(1), 57-76.
- Esquivel-Hernández, M. T. (2006). *Política Habitacional y Calidad de Vida: Impacto de los Nuevos Desarrollos Habitacionales*. Retrieved May 6, 2013, from La Vivienda en México, Construyendo Análisis y Propuestas: www3.diputados.gob.mx/.../La%20vivienda%20en%20México,%20construyendo%20análisis%20y%20propuestas.pdf
- Fierro. (2011, Mar 23). *Las Transformaciones de un Barrio*. Retrieved May 2013, from <http://polancoayerhoy.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/el-trazo-de-la-colonia.html>
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with two lectures and an interview with Michel Foucault* (pp. 87-104). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press .
- García P., B., & Hofer, A. (2006). Housing for the Working Class on the Periphery of Mexico City: A New Version of Gated Communities. *Social Justice. Privatization and Resistance: Contesting Neoliberal Globalization*, 33(3-105), 129-141. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29768390>
- Garza, G. (2010). La Transformación Urbana de México, 1970-2020. In G. Garza, & M. Schteingart, *Los grandes problemas de México. Desarrollo urbano y regional* (Vol. II,

- pp. 31-86). Ciudad de México: Colegio de México. Retrieved from <http://2010.colmex.mx/16tomos/II.pdf>
- Giglia, A. (2008). Gated Communities in Mexico City. *Home Cultures*, 5(1), 65-84. doi:10.2752/174063108X287355
- Glasze, G., Webster, C., & Frantz, K. (2006). *Private Cities: Global and Local Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Gob. de la República. (2014, Apr 30). *Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano*. Retrieved from Diario Oficial de la Nación: http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5342867&fecha=30/04/2014&print=true
- Gobierno del Estado de Puebla. (1974). *Ley de Fraccionamientos y Acciones Urbanísticas del Estado de Puebla*. Retrieved May 2014, from www.congresopuebla.gob.mx
- Gobierno del Estado de Puebla. (1993). *Programa de Desarrollo Regional Angelópolis*. Puebla: Gobierno del Estado de Puebla.
- Gobierno del Estado de Puebla. (1999). *Decreto que crea un Fideicomiso Público para la Administración de Inmuebles y Ejecución de Obras Públicas en la Reserva Territorial Atlixáyotl-Quetzalcóatl*. Retrieved May 2014, from Congreso del Estado de Puebla: www.congresopuebla.gob.mx
- Gómez-Izquierdo, J., & Sanchez-D. de Rivera, M. E. (2011). *La Ideología Mestizante, el Guadalupanismo y sus Repercusiones Sociales. Una Revisión Crítica de la "Identidad Nacional"*. Puebla: BUAP / UIAP.
- González-De la Rocha, M. (2001). From the Resources of Poverty to the Poverty of Resources? The Erosions of a Survival Model. *Latin American Perspectives*, 28(119), 72-100.
- González-De la Rocha, M. (2007). The Construction of the Myth of Survival. (I. o. Studies, Ed.) *Development and Change*, 38(1), 45-66.
- Grant, J., & Mittelsteadt, L. (2004). Types of gated communities. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 31(6), 913-930. doi:10.1068/b3165
- Grupo Proyecta. (2013). *Lomas de Angelópolis*. Retrieved from Grupo Proyecta: <http://www.grupoproyecta.com/lomas-de-angelopolis.php>
- Grupo Proyecta. (2015). *Grupo Proyecta*. Retrieved from <http://www.grupoproyecta.com>
- Grupo Proyecta. (n.d.). *Cascatta*. Retrieved Nov 2014, from <http://www.cascatta.com>
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2008). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*(Sep-Oct), 23-40.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London - New York: Verso.

- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. UBC Press.
- Healey, P. (2012). Re-enchanting Democracy as a Mode of Governance. *Critical Policy Studies*, 6(1), 19-39. doi:10.1080/19460171.2012.659880
- Hernández, H. (2014, Jun 17). Puebla tiene las Universidades Privadas más Caras . *Contraparte* , pp. <http://contraparte.mx/2014/06/17/26518/puebla-tiene-las-universidades-privadas-mas-caras/#.VtjHwdDrYqQ>.
- High Towers. (n.d.). *High Towers*. Retrieved May 2014, from <http://www.hightowers.mx/>
- Horta-Duarte, R. (2012). It Does Not Even Seem Like We Are in Brazil: Country Clubs and Gated Communities in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1951–1964. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 44(3), 435-466. doi:10.1017/S0022216X12000429
- IMPLAN. (2012). *Manual Ciudadano para la Prevención del Delito*. Puebla: Gobierno Municipal. Retrieved from <http://www.canacopuebla.org.mx/componentes/secciones/biblioteca/documentos/MANUAL%20CIUDADANO%20PARA%20LA%20PREVENCION%20DEL%20DELITO%2011%2009%2012.pdf>
- INAFED. (n.d.). *Regionalización- Puebla*. Retrieved Nov 2013, from Enciclopedia de los Municipios y Delegaciones de México : <http://www.inafed.gob.mx/work/enciclopedia/EMM21puebla/regionalizacion.html>
- INEGI. (2009). *Prontuario de Información Geográfica Municipal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*. Retrieved 2013, from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía: <http://www3.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/mexicocifras/datos-geograficos/21/21119.pdf>
- INEGI. (2010). *Censo de Población y Vivienda 2010*. Retrieved 2013, from Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía : <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv2010/Default.aspx>
- INEGI. (2013). *Las Clases Medias Mexicanas*. INEGI. Mexico City: INEGI. Retrieved 2014, from <http://usmex2024.uscmmediacurator.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Clases-Medias-en-Mexico.pdf>
- INEGI. (2015, Dec). *INEGI*. Retrieved from Medición de la Clase Media en México: http://www.inegi.org.mx/inegi/contenidos/investigacion/experimentales/clase_media/presentacion.aspx
- INFONAVIT. (2015). *INFONAVIT*. Retrieved from Historia: http://portal.infonavit.org.mx/wps/wcm/connect/Infonavit/El+Instituto/El_Infonavit/Historia/

- Isunza, G. (2010). Política de Vivienda y Movilidad Residencial en la Ciudad de México. *Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos*, 25(2), 277-316. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20787554>
- Janoshka, M. (2002). El Nuevo Modelo de la Ciudad Latinoamericana: Fragmentación y Privatización. (S. Chile, Ed.) *Eure*, 28(85), 11-20. doi:10.4067/S0250-71612002008500002
- Jones, G., & Moreno-Carranco, M. (2007). Megaprojects: Beneath the Pavement, Excess. *City*, 11(2), 144-164. doi:10.1080/13604810701395969
- Jones, G., Jiménez, E., & Ward, P. (1993). The Land Market in Mexico under Salinas: a Real-Estate Boom Revisited? *Environmental and Planning A*, 25(5), 627-651. doi:10.1068/a250627
- Latinobarómetro. (2013). *Online Data Analysis*. Retrieved June 10, 2015, from Latinobarómetro: <http://www.latinobarometro.org/latOnline.jsp>
- Le Goix, R., & Webster, C. (2006). Gated Communities, Sustainable Cities and a Tragedy of the Urban Commons. *Critical Planning*, 13(Summer), 41-64. doi:10.1177/0042098013510565
- Li, S.-m., Zhu, Y., & Li, L. (2012). Neighbourhood Type, Gatedness, and Residential Experiences in Chinese Cities: A Study of Guangzhou . *Urban Geography* , 238-255. doi:10.2747/0272-3638.33.2.237
- Libertun de Duren, N. (2006). Planning à la Carte: The Location Patterns of Gated Communities Around Buenos Aires in a Decentralized Planning Context. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Reserach*, 30(2), 308-327. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00667.x
- López Calva, L., & Ortiz-Juárez, E. (2011). *A Vulnerability Approach to the Definition of the Middle Class*. Retrieved Dec 2, 2015, from The World Bank: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/3669/WPS5902.pdf?sequence=1>
- López, R., & Ibarra, X. (1998). Barrios, Colonias y Fraccionamientos - Historia de la Evolución de una Familia Temática de Palabras que Designa una Fracción del Espacio Urbano. In J. C. Depaule, *Les Mots de la Ville / City Words / Palabras de la Ciudad* (I. Pighetti, & H. Riviere D'Arc, Trans., Vol. Cuaderno N° 2). Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved 2014, from <http://www.unesco.org/most/p2wpfr2.htm>
- López-Calva, L., & Ortiz-Juárez, E. (2013). A Vulnerability Approach to the Definition of the Middle Class. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 12(1), 23-47. doi:10.1007/s10888-012-9240-5

- Low, S. M. (2001). The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear. *American Anthropologist, New Series, 103*(1), 45-58.
doi:10.1525/aa.2001.103.1.45
- Low, S. M. (2003). *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. London: Routledge.
- Lustig, N. (1990). Economic Crisis, Adjustment and Living Standards in Mexico, 1982–85. *World Development, 18*(10), 1325-1342. doi:10.1016/0305-750X(90)90113-C
- Manzi, T., & Smith-Bowers, B. (2005). Gated Communities as Club Goods: Segregation or Social Cohesion? *Housing Studies, 20*(2), 345-359. doi:10.1080/0267303042000331817
- Marcuse, P. (1997). The ghetto of exclusion and the fortified enclave: new patterns in the U.S. *American Behavioural Scientist, 41*(3), 311-326. doi:10.1177/0002764297041003004
- Marcuse, P., & Van Kempen, R. (2000). *Globalizing cities: a new spatial order?* Oxford: Blackwell.
- McKenzie, E. (1994). *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*. Binghamton, NY: Yale University Press.
- McKenzie, E. (2011). Present at the Creation: The Public Administration Profession and Residential Private Government. *Public Administration Review, 71*(4), 543-545.
doi:10.1111/j.1540-6210.2011.02383.x
- Medin, L. D., Wattenmaker, D. W., & Hampson, E. S. (1987). Family Resemblance, Conceptual Cohesiveness, and Category Construction. *Cognitive Psychology, 19*(2), 242-279. doi:10.1016/0010-0285(87)90012-0
- Méndez-Sáinz, E. (2004). Vecindarios Defensivos Latinoamericanos. los Espacios Prohibitorios de la Globalización. *Perspectivas Urbanas*(4), 1-17. doi:www.etsav.u
- Milián-Ávila, G. M., & Guenet, M. (2015). Urban Gating in Puebla, Mexico: an SOS for World Solidarity and Citizen Empowerment. In S. Bagaeen, & O. Uduku, *Beyond Gated Communities* (pp. 246-273). Andover: Routledge.
- MIT. (1993, May 28). *Commencement Address to Students by Carlos Salinas de Gortari*. Retrieved 2013, from MIT Tech TV: <http://video.mit.edu/watch/1993-mit-commencement-address-carlos-salinas-de-gortari-6651/>
- Monkkonen, P. (2011). The Housing Transition in Mexico: Expanding Access to Housing Finance. *Urban Affairs Review, 47*(5), 672-695 . doi:10.1177/1078087411400381
- Monkkonen, P. (2012, July). Housing Finance Reform and Increasing Socioeconomic Segregation in Mexico. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 36*(4), 757-772. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01085.x

- Montemayor, R. (1983). El Sistema Nacional de Planeación Democrática. *Revista de Administración Pública*, 21-22.
- Moreno-Brid, J. C., Pérez C., E., & Ruíz N., P. (2004/05). The Washington Consensus: A Latin American Perspective Fifteen Years Later. *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 27(2), 345-365. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4538928>
- OECD. (2013). *OECD Territorial Reviews: Puebla-Tlaxcala*. . OECD Publishing . doi:10.1787/9789264203464-en
- OECD. (2015). *OECD Urban Policy Reviews: MEXICO. Transforming Urban Policy and Housing Finance*. Paris: OECD. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264227293-en>
- Patiño, D. (2015, Mar 1). Colegiaturas hasta 29% más caras. *El Financiero*. Retrieved from <http://www.elfinanciero.com.mx/economia/colegiaturas-hasta-29-mas-caras.html>
- Peña, S. (2012). Tendencias y Prácticas recientes de la Planeación Espacial en México: Los Institutos Municipales de Investigación y Planeación. *Gestión y Política Pública*, 21(2), 407-449.
- Purcell, M. (2014). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(1), 141-154.
- Quarantelli, E. L. (1993). Organizational Response to the Mexico City Earthquake of 1985: Characteristics and Implications. *Natural Hazards*, 8(1), 19-38. doi:10.1007/BF00596233
- Roitman, S. (2010). Gated Communities: Definitions, Causes and Consequences. *Urban Design and Planning*, 163(1), 31-38. doi:10.1680/udap.2010.163.1.31
- Roitman, S., Webster, C., & Landman, K. (2010). Methodological Frameworks and Interdisciplinary Research on Gated Communities. *International Planning Studies*, 15(1), 3-23. doi:10.1080/13563471003736886
- Sabatini, F., Cáceres, G., & Cerdá, J. (2001). Segregación Residencial en las Principales Ciudades Chilenas: Tendencias de las Tres Últimas Décadas y Posibles Cursos de Acción. *Eure*, 27(82), 21-42. Retrieved from www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=19608202
- SAHOP. (1976, May 26). *Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos*. Retrieved from Diario Oficial de la Federación : http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=4845406&fecha=26/05/1976
- Salazar, F. (2004). Globalización y Política Neoliberal en México. *El Cotidiano*, 20(126). Retrieved 2015, from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=32512604>

- Salcedo, R., & Torres, Á. (2004). Gated Communities in Santiago: Wall or Frontier? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 28(1), 27-44.
doi:10.1111/j.0309-1317.2004.00501.x
- Sánchez-Corral, J. (2010). *Vivienda Social: Factores que influyen en la Producción de Vivienda en México*. Retrieved Dec 2012, from JSa Arquitectura:
http://www.jsa.com.mx/documentos/publicaciones_jsa/vivienda_social.pdf
- Santos, M. (1979). *The shared space : The Two Circuits of the Urban Economy in Underdeveloped Countries*. (C. Gerry, Trans.) London: Methuen.
- Sassen, S. (2001). Elementos Teóricos y Metodológicos para el Estudio de la Ciudad Global. In F. Carrión, *La Ciudad Construida: Urbanismo en América Latina*. Ecuador: FLACSO-Ecuador / Junta de Andalucía.
- SAT. (2016, Jan 1). *Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público*. Retrieved from Salarios Mínimos 2016:
http://www.sat.gob.mx/informacion_fiscal/tablas_indicadores/Paginas/salarios_minimos.aspx
- Scheinbaum, D. (2010). Gated Communities in Mexico City. A Historical Perspective. In S. Bagaen, & O. Uduku, *Gated Communities : Social Sustainability in Contemporary and Historical Gated Developments* (pp. 79-92). London: Earthscan.
- Schteingart, M. (2001). La División Social del Espacio en las Ciudades. (R. d. Sociales, Ed.) *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*(19), 13-31. Retrieved from
<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/2211553.pdf>
- SEDATU. (n.d.). *Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario, Territorial y Urbano*. Retrieved May 2014, from www.sedatu.gob.mx
- Segovia, O. (2007). *Espacios Públicos y Construcción Social: Hacia un Ejercicio de Ciudadanía*. Chile: Ediciones Sur.
- Segovia, O., & Dascal, G. (2000). *Espacio Público, Participación y Ciudadanía*. Chile: Ediciones Sur.
- Shove, E., Patzar, M., & Watson, M. (2012). *The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes*. London: SAGE.
- Shove, E. (2010). Beyond the ABC: Climate Change Policy and Theories of Social Change. *Environment and Planning A*, 42, 1273-1285. doi:10.1068/a42282
- Smith-Bowers, B., & Manzi, T. (2006, Nov). Private Security and Public Space: New Approaches to the Theory and Practice of Gated Communities. *European Journal of*

- Spatial Development*, 22, 1-17. Retrieved from
<http://www.nordregio.se/Global/EJSD/Refereed%20articles/refereed22.pdf>
- SRA. (n.d.). *Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria*. Retrieved Dec 2012, from Historia de la Reforma Agraria: www.sra.gob.mx
- Stake, R. (2000). Case Studies. In N. Denzin, & T. Oaks (Ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 443-466). SAGE.
- Svampa, M. (2001). *Los que Ganaron: la Vida en los Countries y Barrios Privados*. Buenos Aires: Biblos.
- Teichman, J. (2004). The World Bank and Policy Reform in Mexico and Argentina. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46(1), 39-74. Retrieved from
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177081>
- The World Bank. (1993). *Housing: Enabling Markets To Work. A World Bank Policy Paper with Technical Supplements*. (K. S. Mayo, Ed.) Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Theodore, N., & Peck, J. (2012). Framing Neoliberal Urbanism: Translating 'commonsense' urban policy across the OECD Zone. *ISBN: 0969-7764*, 20-41.
 doi:10.1177/0969776411428500
- Torche, F., & López-Calva, L. (2013). Stability and Vulnerability of the Latin American Middle Class. *Oxford Development Studies*, 41(4), 409-435.
 doi:10.1080/13600818.2013.831060
- UN - Habitat. (2013). *Time to Think Urban - UN Habitat Brochure*. (U. Habitat, Ed.) Retrieved 2014, from UN - Habitat: <http://unhabitat.org/time-to-think-urban-un-habitat-brochure-2013/>
- United Nations . (1988, Dec 20). *Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000* . Retrieved from United Nations : <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/43/a43r181.htm>
- Velázquez-Leyer, R. (2015). The Development of Housing in Mexico: A Welfare Regime Approach. *Social Policy and Society*, 14(4), 523-539. doi:10.1017/S1474746414000591
- Vidal, G., Marshall, C. W., & Correa, E. (2011). Differing Effects of the Global Financial Crisis: Why Mexico Has Been Harder Hit than Other Large Latin American Countries. *Journal of the Society for Latin American Studies*, 30(4), 419-435. doi:10.1111/j.1470-9856.2010.00501.x
- Vilalta, C. J. (2011). Fear of Crime in Gated Communities and Apartment Buildings: a Comparison of Housing Types and a Test of Theories. *House and the Built Environment*, 26(2), 107 - 121. doi:10.1007/s10901-011-9211-3

- Wagenaar, H. (2011). *Meaning in Action: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis* (e-book (2015) ed.). Abingdon/New York: Routledge.
- Walker, L. (2013). *Waking from the Dream: Mexico's Middle Class after 1968* (Kindle Version ed.). Stanford University Press.
- Ward, P. M. (2009). Unpackaging Residential Segregation: The Importance of Scale and Informal Market Processes. *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín del Instituto de Geografía*(70), 114-134. Retrieved from <http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/igeo/n70/n70a9.pdf>
- Weiss, R. S. (1995). *Learning from Strangers: The Art and the Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York: Simon & Shuster .
- WHO. (2015). *Washington Consensus*. Retrieved 2015, from World Health Organisation / Trade, Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Health: <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story094/en/>
- Williamson, J. (1990). What Washington Means by Policy Reform. In J. Williamson, *Latin American Adjustment: How Much has Happened?* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.
- Williamson, J. (2000). What should the World Bank think about the Washington Consensus? *The World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 251-264. doi:10.1093/wbro/15.2.251
- Yiftachel, O. (2009). Theoretical Notes on 'Gray Cities': The Coming of Urban Apartheid? *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 88-100. doi:10.1177/1473095208099300 <http://plt.sagepub.com>
- Zabludovsky, A. (1995). *Reseña Anual de Noticias 1995* . Retrieved Jul 2015, from YouTube: https://youtu.be/I-gIuigi-EA?list=PLXAkqaiys_7MGurRS6jV7NgyHFpiKNihP
- Zanetta, C. (2004). *The Influence of the World Bank on National Housing and Urban Policies: The Case of Mexico and Argentina during the 1990s*. Wiltshire, UK: Ashgate.
- Zearly, T. L. (1993). Creating and Enabling Environment for Housing: Recent Reforms in Mexico. (F. Mae, Ed.) *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(2), 239-249. doi:10.1080/10511482.1993.9521133

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Research Problem Schematic Diagram	17
Figure 2. Elements of Practice Shape Each Other	40
Figure 3. The Openness and Gatedness of the Home and Public Space.....	44
Figure 4. Spheres of Gatedness as Elements of Practice	47
Figure 5. Hipódromo Condesa, Mexico City.....	107
Figure 6. Fraccionamiento Chapultepec-Polanco (Mexico City)	108
Figure 7. Golf Course and Club Campestre (Mexico City)	109
Figure 8. Jardines del Pedregal (Mexico City)	109
Figure 9. "Privadas" or Gated Dead End Streets (Mexico City).....	110
Figure 10. Types of Mexican Gated Communities.....	112
Figure 11. Puebla's Historic City Centre.....	113
Figure 12. Metropolitan Area Puebla-Tlaxcala (MAP-T).....	113
Figure 13. Lomas de Angelópolis in an Inter-Municipal Setting.....	115
Figure 14. The Angelópolis Intangible District	119
Figure 15. Gated Community La Vista Country Club	121
Figure 16. Location of Lomas de Angelópolis	123
Figure 17. Master Plan of Lomas de Angelópolis.....	124
Figure 18. Monumental Landmark Sculptures in Lomas.....	125
Figure 19. Aerial View of Lomas de Angelópolis	126
Figure 20. Green Areas in Lomas de Angelópolis.....	127
Figure 21. Housing Typology inside a Cluster in Lomas II.....	128
Figure 22. View from a Cluster in Lomas ZonAzul	128
Figure 23. Sonata District	129
Figure 24. High Towers in Sonata District	130
Figure 25. Master Plan of Cascatta	131
Figure 26. Cascatta's Green Areas	131
Figure 27. Evolution of Lomas de Angelópolis over Time	132
Figure 28. Slogan of Lomas de Angelópolis: "Life as it should be".....	135
Figure 29. Houses for Sale in Traditional Middle Class Neighbourhood.....	138
Figure 30. Main Motivations for Voluntary Displacement in Middle Class Neighbourhoods.	139
Figure 31. Spheres of Gatedness.....	145
Figure 32. Santa Clara Ocoyucan Town.....	153
Figure 33. Cascatta's Green Area before and after the Gates.....	154
Figure 34. Real Estate Magazine: "Mi Casa en Lomas"	164
Figure 35. International Baroque Museum by Toyo Ito in Angelópolis.....	168

Figure 36. House Cleaners and Children in the Park.....	174
Figure 37. Inner Transport in Lomas de Angelópolis.....	183
Figure 38. Contrast and Differentiation of inner and outer Lomas de Angelópolis	186
Figure 39. The immediate Context outside the Gates.....	187
Figure 40. Gated Communities in the "Middle of Nowhere"	188
Figure 41. Increased Security Features.....	189
Figure 42. Internal Security System	190
Figure 43. Public and Private Gated Higher Education Institutions in Puebla.....	191
Figure 44. Gated Bike and Pedestrian Lanes connected to Gated Parks	192
Figure 45. Traps of Middle-Class Gatedness	195

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Washington Consensus Framework	56
Table 2. World Bank's Operational Instruments of Housing Policy	61
Table 3. Categories of Interviewees	95
Table 3. Population Growth in MAP-T and Municipalities linked to Lomas de Angelópolis ..	114

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

NUMBER	PARTICIPANT GROUP	INTERVIEWEE PSEUDONYM OR CODE	NAME	INTERVIEW DATE	NOTES:
1	Residents & Potential Residents	“Fernanda”	Anonymous	15-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS I: Woman / Married / with small children
2	Residents & Potential Residents	“Diego”	Anonymous	15-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS I: Man / Married/ with small children / bank loan for house construction
3	Residents & Potential Residents	“Alejandro”	Anonymous	18-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS II: Man / Single living with partner / no children / with pets /20 year mortgage
4	Residents & Potential Residents	“Ximena”	Anonymous	21-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS ZONAZUL: Woman / Married / all children married / about to retire
5	Residents & Potential Residents	“Eduardo”	Anonymous	21-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS ZONAZUL: Man / Married / sold previous house to pay for new one
6	Residents & Potential Residents	“Daniel”	Anonymous	26-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS III: Man / Married / with adolescent children / with pets / sold previous house to partially pay new one. Used second INFONAVIT mortgage and bank loan
7	Residents & Potential Residents	“Natalia”	Anonymous	26-Oct-13	Resident of LOMAS III: Woman / Married / member of homeowner’s association in her cluster / found easier financial support to buy in Lomas than other options
8	Residents & Potential Residents	“Ricardo”	Anonymous	21-Nov-13	Resident of Lomas I: Man / Married / no children / Architect / Bought house with bank loan
9	Residents & Potential Residents	“Carolina”	Anonymous	21-Nov-13	Resident of Lomas I: Woman / Married / Recently moved in after previous residence was burgled
10	Residents & Potential Residents	“María”	Anonymous	25-Nov-13	Resident of LOMAS I: Woman / Divorced / Retired / lives alone / needed special house layout for health issues
11	Residents & Potential Residents	“Rodrigo”	Anonymous	3-Dec-13	Resident of LOMAS II: Man / Single / Constant work travel / leaves house alone constantly / used INFONAVIT loan as deposit
12	Residents & Potential Residents	“Paola”	Anonymous	7-Jan-14	Landowner in Lomas I – La Isla / Lives in another gated community / bought land with husband to build house, and sold after they got divorced
13	Residents & Potential Residents	“Miguel”	Anonymous	16-Dec-14	Resident in LOMAS III: Man / Married / Unable to work / has a degenerative disease / house bought on bank loan paid by daughter
14	Residents & Potential Residents	“Paulina”	Anonymous	16-Dec-14	Resident in LOMAS III: Woman / Married / temporary jobs / struggling to pay mortgage
15	Residents & Potential Residents	“Daniela”	Anonymous	17-Dec-14	Future resident in LOMAS I: Woman/ Married / Disabled child / paid fully / high-income family
16	Residents & Potential Residents	“Santiago”	Anonymous	13-Jan-15	Resident in LOMAS I: Man / Single / working in Real Estate / bought house without mortgage
17	Government & Policymakers	V. Cabrera	Virginia Cabrera Becerra	25-Oct-13	Former Public Official State of Puebla/Urban Development/ Professor /

					Member of the National Researcher System (SNI)
18	Government & Policymakers	R. Eibenschutz	Roberto Eibenschutz Hartman	30-Oct-13	Former Public Official / Former Vice-chancellor of UAM Xochimilco / Director of the Programme of Metropolitan Studies / Policymaker and Planning Expert
19	Government & Policymakers	G. Sandoval	Georgina R. Sandoval	16-Nov-13	Former Director of Housing Agency Casa y Ciudad / Member of National Council for Housing
20	Government & Policymakers	E. Betancourt	Enrique Betancourt Gaona	23-Nov-13	Former Executive Director of the National Centre for Crime Prevention / Crime Prevention Strategy Leader
21	Government & Policymakers	M. Bartlett	Manuel Bartlett Díaz	29-Nov-13	Former Governor of the State of Puebla / Former Secretary of State / Senator for the State of Puebla / Promoter of Angelópolis Regional Programme
22	Government & Policymakers	G. Vargas	Gerardo Vargas Pino	6-Dec-13	Former Public Official from the Secretariat of Urban Development – Puebla / former public official in housing institutions
23	Government & Policymakers	E. Ortiz	Enrique Ortiz Flores	16-Dec-13	Director of Habitat International Coalition – Latin America (HIC-AL) / Former Head of FONHAPO / National Housing Policymaker
24	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Liliana”	Anonymous	3-Dec-13	Mid-level Public Official from INFONAVIT
25	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Pedro”	Anonymous	3-Dic-13	Architect / Designed several houses and buildings in different clusters in Lomas / Used to live in Lomas
26	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Mauricio”	Anonymous	5-Dec-13	Construction Material Provider
27	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Francisco”	Anonymous	7-Dec-13	Bank Institution Representative
28	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Adrian”	Anonymous	11-Dec-13	Architect and Constructor / Responsible for the design of houses and flats in several clusters
29	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Esteban”	Anonymous	13-Dec-14	Real Estate Sales Agent
30	Developers, Constructors & Financial Enablers	“Emiliano”	Anonymous	17-Dic-14	Representative of Real Estate Developing Company / Project Manager
31	NGO’s, Experts & Academics	F. Vélez-P.	Francisco Vélez-Pliego	28-Oct-13	Researcher / Head of Social Science and Humanities Institute BUAP / Member of Architectural Heritage Citizen’s City Council
32	NGO’s, Experts & Academics	M. Reyes	Miguel Reyes	21-Nov-13	Researcher / Director of the Observatory of Wages
33	NGO’s, Experts & Academics	L. González-A.	Luis González-Arenal	11-Dec-13	Architect / Builder / President of the College of Architects of Puebla
34	NGO’s, Experts & Academics	D. Fernández	David Fernández	31-Mar-14	Researcher / Expert in Social Exclusion / Vice-chancellor Private University /
35	NGO’s, Experts & Academics	M.E. Sánchez-D.	María Eugenia Sánchez-Díaz de Rivera	Nov-14	Researcher / Social Exclusion

36	Outsiders and Neighbours	“Jorge”	Anonymous	23-Oct-13	Member of the National Academy of Architects / Builder
37	Outsiders and Neighbours	“Pamela”	Anonymous	21-Nov-13	Resident of neighbouring High Income Gated Community “La Vista Country Club”
38	Outsiders and Neighbours	“Carmen”	Anonymous	18-Dic-13	Resident of neighbouring gated community “Alta Vista”
39	Outsiders and Neighbours	“Amalia”	Anonymous	11-Jan-15	Housemaid in Lomas / Resident from Santa Clara Ocoyucan

LIST OF OBSERVATION EXERCISES

TYPE OF DATA	PARTICIPANTS / GROUPS OBSERVED	EVENT (S)	LOCATION	NOTES
Observation	Residents and Visitors (all ages)	Visited restaurants, coffee shops, and bars. Different times of the day	Sonata District	6 site visits accompanied by acquaintances
Observation	Residents and Visitors (all ages)	Open events to the public. Dog shows, concerts, exhibitions	Green Areas	4 site visits
Observation	Estate Agents and Potential Residents	Open Houses in new developments	Lomas II	2 site visits
Observation	Estate Agents and Potential Residents	Sales Offices	Mi casa en Lomas	3 site visits
Casual Conversation	Residents (“Rodolfo”) (“Gabriel”)	Social events inside a residents’ house in Lomas	Lomas I & Lomas II	8 occasions
Site Visit	Residents	Social visits to other gated communities in Mexico	Guadalajara, Cuernavaca, Querétaro, Mexico City, Saltillo	12 occasions
Site Visit	Residents and Security Personnel	Social visits to other gated communities near Lomas	La Vista, Country Club, Rincón de los Reyes, Altavista	3 visits
Site Visit	Residents	Old Traditional Middle Class Neighbourhoods in Puebla	San Manuel, Bella Vista, Gabriel Pastor	3 visits
Casual Conversation	Constructor	Social Conversation with two different constructors with large projects in Lomas	Lomas II & Sonata	2 occasions
Site Visit	Residents	Town of Santa Clara Ocoyucan City Centre	Santa Clara Ocoyucan	3 visits
Observation	Government Officials	OECD Presentation of Puebla-Tlaxcala Report	Centro de Convenciones	
Observation	Government Officials and Policymakers	SEDATU Consultation Forum	Puebla & Mexico City	
Observation	Government Officials, Policymakers & Academia	II Seminario Repensando la Metrópolis	UAM Xochimilco	

LIST OF CASE-RELATED DOCUMENTS AND DIGITAL SOURCES

1) International and National Policy Papers and Reports on Mexico and Puebla

4. OECD Urban Policy Reviews: MEXICO. Transforming Urban Policy and Housing Finance (2015)
5. OECD Territorial Reviews: Puebla-Tlaxcala (2013)
6. Latinobarómetro (2013)
7. INEGI: Las Clases Medias Mexicanas (2013)
8. México Evalúa (2014)

2) Housing Laws, Policies and National Programs from 1990s to 1994

1. Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2014-2018
2. Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano (2014)
3. Ley General de Vivienda 2006
4. Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos 1993
5. Programa Nacional de Vivienda 2014-2018
6. Ley General del Equilibrio Ecológico y Protección al Medio Ambiente 1998

3) Housing and Social data form 1990, 2000, and 2010

1. Zonificación Catastral y las Tablas de Valores Unitarios de Suelos Urbanos y Rústicos, así como los Valores Catastrales de Construcción por metro cuadrado, para el Municipio de Puebla (2014) Ayuntamiento de Puebla.
2. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda (1990)
3. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda (2000)
4. INEGI. Censo de Población y Vivienda (2010)
5. Prontuario de Información Geográfica Municipal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (2009)
6. Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares (2014)
7. Encuesta de Satisfacción Residencial (2013)

4) Regional and Local Urban Planning Instruments

1. Programa de Desarrollo Regional Angelópolis (1993)
2. Decreto que crea un Fideicomiso Público para la Administración de Inmuebles y Ejecución de Obras Públicas en la Reserva Territorial Atlixcáyotl-Quetzalcóatl (1999)
3. Plan Municipal de Desarrollo Urbano Sustentable de Puebla (2007)
4. Plan Sectorial de Medio Ambiente, Desarrollo Urbano y Obras Públicas (2005-2011)
5. Manual Ciudadano para la Prevención del Delito. Puebla. IMPLAN (2012)
6. Ley de Fraccionamientos y Acciones Urbanísticas del Estado Libre y Soberano de Puebla (2004)
7. Programa Sectorial de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo Urbano (2011-2017)

5) Websites and Social Media created by Developers and Real Estate Agents

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mi Casa en Lomas | www.micasaenlomas.mx |
| 2. High Towers | www.hightowers.mx |
| 3. Grupo Proyecta | www.grupoproyecta.com |
| 4. Gran Reserva by Lomas | www.granreservalomas.mx/ |
| 5. Cascatta | www.cascatta.com |
| 6. Punta Cascatta | www.puntacascatta.com/ |
| 7. Lomas de Angelópolis | www.lomasdeangelopolis.mx |
| 8. Distrito Sonata | www.districtosonata.com/ |
| 9. Facebook Lomas de Angelópolis | www.facebook.com/LomasDeAngelopolis/ |
| 10. Twitter Lomas de Angelópolis | www.twitter.com/ldeangelopolis |

ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN SPANISH

BANOBRAS	National Works and Public Services Bank <i>(Banco Nacional de Obras y Servicios Públicos)</i>
CONAPO	National Population Council <i>(Consejo Nacional de Población)</i>
CONAVI	National Housing Committee <i>(Comisión Nacional de Vivienda)</i>
CONAFOVI	National Committee for Housing Promotion <i>(Comisión Nacional de Fomento a la Vivienda)</i>
CORETT	Commission for Regularisation of Land Tenure <i>(Comisión para la Regularización de la Tenencia de la Tierra)</i>
DUIS	Sustainable Integrated Urban Development <i>(Desarrollo Urbano Integral Sustentable)</i>
ENIGH	National Household Income and Expenses Surveys <i>(Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares)</i>
FOBAPROA	Banking Fund for the Protection of Savings <i>(Fondo Bancario de Protección al Ahorro)</i>
FOGA	Guarantee Fund and Support for Housing Loans <i>(Fondo de Garantía y Apoyo a los Créditos para la Vivienda)</i>
FHP	Public Housing Trust Fund <i>(Fideicomiso Fondo Habitaciones Populares)</i>
FONACOT	National Fund for Worker Consumption <i>(Fondo Nacional para el Consumo de los Trabajadores)</i>
FONHAPO	National Fund for Popular Housing <i>(Fondo Nacional de Habitaciones Populares)</i>
FOVI	Operating Fund and Banking Financing for Housing <i>(Fondo de Operación y Financiamiento Bancario a la Vivienda)</i>
FOVISSSTE	Housing Fund of the Institute of Social Security and Social Services for State <i>(Fondo de la Vivienda del Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado)</i>
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade <i>(Acuerdo General sobre Comercio y Aranceles)</i>

INCO	National Institute for the Consumer <i>(Instituto Nacional del Consumidor)</i>
INEGI	National Institute of Statistics and Geography <i>(Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática)</i>
IMF	International Monetary Fund <i>(Fondo Monetario Internacional)</i>
IMSS	Mexican Social Security Institute <i>(Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social)</i>
IMPLAN	Municipal Planning Institute <i>(Instituto Municipal de Planeación)</i>
INFONAVIT	National Workers' Housing Fund Institute <i>(Instituto del Fondo Nacional de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores)</i>
INVI	National Housing Institute <i>(Instituto Nacional de Vivienda)</i>
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialisation <i>(Industrialización por Sustitución de Importaciones)</i>
ISR	Income Tax <i>(Impuesto Sobre la Renta)</i>
ISSSTE	State Employees' Social Security and Social Services Institute <i>(Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado)</i>
IVA	Value Added Tax <i>(Impuesto al Valor Agregado)</i>
LGAH	Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos <i>(Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos)</i>
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement <i>(Tratado de Libre Comercio de Norteamérica)</i>
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development <i>(Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económicos)</i>
ONAVI	National Housing Organisations <i>(Organismos Nacionales de Vivienda)</i>
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries <i>(Organización de los Países Exportadores de Petróleo)</i>
OREVIS	Subnational Housing Agencies <i>(Organismos Estatales de Vivienda)</i>

PAN	National Action Party <i>(Partido Acción Nacional)</i>
PRD	Democratic Revolution Party <i>(Partido de la Revolución Democrática)</i>
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party <i>(Partido Revolucionario Institucional)</i>
PROFECO	Office of the Federal Attorney for the Consumer <i>(Procuraduría Federal del Consumidor)</i>
SAHOP	Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works <i>(Secretaría de Asentamientos Humanos y Obras Públicas)</i>
SEDATU	Secretariat of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development <i>(Secretaría de Desarrollo Agrario, Territorial y Urbano)</i>
SEDUE	Secretariat of Urban Development and Ecology <i>(Secretaría de Desarrollo Urbano y Ecología)</i>
SEDESOL	Secretariat of Social Development <i>(Secretaría de Desarrollo Social)</i>
SOFOLES	Sociedades Financieras de Objeto Limitado <i>(Limited Purpose Financial Companies)</i>
SHF	Federal Mortgage Society <i>(Sociedad Hipotecaria Federal)</i>
SRA	Secretariat of Agrarian Reform <i>(Sociedad Hipotecaria Federal)</i>
UAM	Autonomous Metropolitan University <i>(Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana)</i>
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation <i>(Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura)</i>