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Abstract

This project examines the paradox of the rise of privatization of urban space with the emergence of democracy as it pertains to the case in Mexico City. The aim is to bridge the gap of different areas of study by including analysis from political scientists, anthropologists, and sociologists. There is also a discussion on Carlos Monsiváis's *Los rituales del caos* as it relates to the project both as a literary work but also as a perspective on Mexico City and the different aspects living in the metropolitan area. The analysis throughout the project includes the importance of public space for democratic regimes and the effect that the rise of private and gated communities have on the quality of democracy. Citizenship is also a major theme throughout the project, and allows for a discussion about the recent trend of globalization and the neoliberal belief in the market. Even though this project looks at several different disciplines, there is common ground between these disciplines that allows for a proper analysis of multiple aspects of urban studies. The conclusion based on this analysis is that while the rise of private and gate communities doesn't completely prevent democratic regimes from consolidating, this trend challenges the ideals of democracy to the point that it affects the quality of democracy that the regime can achieve.

Introduction

The aim of this project is to answer the central question, which is how to explain the paradox between the privatization of public space with the emergency of democracy in a nation-state? Throughout the different chapters of this project, the central theme of will be the analysis of the increasing of privatization of urban space and its relationship with democracy. In order to analyze this relationship, Mexico City will be used as a case study example. The reason for choosing an urban area within a nation-state is because it gives a practical and concrete example in order to analyze this question. Urban areas like Mexico City are increasingly where citizens around the world are choosing to live, work, and recreate. Urban areas with massive populations, or what many political scientists call "megacities", are confronted with special challenges such as sustainability, population increases, resource management, slums, and others. As a result, it is extremely important to study these urban areas and urban politics to learn how the way cities function and are governed affect the country as a whole. Mexico City, being both the capital of Mexico and the country's largest urban area by far, is the center of Mexican government and can be viewed as the benchmark for the health of Mexico's democracy.

The theme of the democratization process is a major focus for political scientists that study the countries of Latin America. Mexico's democratization process is one of the most studied and interesting case studies in the region. There are many reasons for this including the geographical closeness with the United States, the size and makeup of the population, the history of revolutions and fights for power, but the most interesting aspect from a political science viewpoint has been the nature of the democratization process. Prior to democratization, the authoritarian Institutional Revolutionary Party, or the PRI,

ruled Mexico for over seventy years. While many Latin American countries did have authoritarian regimes at some point during the twentieth century, Mexico's PRI-ruled government was successfully able to control power longer than many other authoritarian regimes in the region. The Mexican government, while authoritarian, was not a military state like in countries such as Chile and Argentina that used a great deal of force to maintain power. This aspect makes both the regime itself unique and the government structure that followed unique as a result of this difference with other Latin American countries.

While unique in many aspects, the Mexican example has many similar characteristics with other recently democracies that provide a good comparison. This transition to democracy that Mexico underwent makes it a very valuable case study in a comparative sense because it underwent this transition during a time when many other countries were attempting the same thing. Many of the countries in Latin America that underwent the democratization process under the time period that renowned political scientist Samuel P. Huntington defines as the "third wave" of democracy since the process began in the latter half of the twentieth century (Huntington 5). Mexico can be tied in to many of these countries because the country had a transition to democracy that occurred while the country was also liberalizing, or opening up, its economy. A key aspect of the nature of the democratization process in Mexico was that it took place mainly in the electoral sector. This meant that much of what changed in Mexico during the 1990s and culminated in the 2000 presidential election was the increase of electoral competition, especially at the subnational level. It does not necessarily mean that there were substantial increases in rule of law or there was a general adoption of principles that

many researchers would consider consolidated democracies. It is under these circumstances that Mexico as a comparative case study is both similar and different to many other countries that have recently transitioned to democracy.

There is a great wealth of sources that look at different aspects of democracy and the process of democratization. The majority of political scientists that look at these topics look at them from an institutionalist perspective. Most political scientist analyze institutions such as the branches of government, the electoral process, or the protection of rights through the law when judging the level of democracy in a country. Analyzing a democracy from this perspective often involves looking at what the ideal or what most countries considered highly democratic countries do and comparing this standard to what newly democratic countries do. Political scientists under the institutionalist perspective include people like Samuel Huntington, Keith Faulks, Larry Diamond, and Leonardo Morlino to name a few. There are also political scientists that look at other perspectives other than institutions to determine the level of democracy in a country. One of the more recent developments has been the study of the importance of public space for the health of democracy. This group of political scientists includes the work done by John Parkinson. In addition to the political scientist perspective, there are many sources that look at aspects of democracy and democratic citizenship through an anthropological or a sociological point of view. This is especially true for authors that study urban spaces. This group of authors includes Teresa Caldeira, Susan Bickford, Emilio Duhau, and Néstor García Canclini. It is possible to gain an excellent understanding of the way that countries transition to democracy and exhibit democratic principles by using all these different perspectives. These different perspectives can add to the understanding of

democracy because each brings a different analysis of what democracy and democratic society mean.

The manner in which this project looks to add to the literature that is already available about the transition to democracy, and the specific Mexican case, is to combine many of these different perspectives to create a better understanding of democracy and the democratization process. It is likely that when either political scientists or anthropologists do their studies they only consult others in their specific field and don't branch out for further perspectives. Even within the field of political science, it is possible for institutionalists to not add in to the conversation of political scientists analyzing the importance of public space in democracy. The same can go for anthropologists and other political scientists. The underlying contribution of this work is to build upon Teresa Caldeira's seminal work *City of Walls*. This book looks at the gated communities in São Paulo and their effects on citizenship through the creation of segregation and exclusion. The work of this project looks to include more of a political science perspective with a focus on the democratization process and the value of public space for democracy. Additionally, the case study of Mexico City should add a slightly different case than that of São Paulo even though there are many similarities between two of the largest urban areas in the Americas. It is with this new focus towards private communities and private spaces in the urban setting that there will be a renewed academic conversation to Caldeira's work, which was published in 2000. This addition will be able to fill in a gap that currently exists in the current academic discussion.

The main argument of this project is that while the rise of gated or private communities come as a direct challenge towards democratic principles, it is not

impossible to have a democracy and democratic society in places where these communities exist. It does however make it much more difficult to have the fulfillment of democratic principles like an open and free society based on a certain level of equality be able to form. Private and gated communities are especially problematic to newly formed democracies because there is a lack of tradition of democratic principles in society. The almost direct concurrence of a rise in democracy and a rise in gated communities has created a new definition of citizenship based on wealth with a creation of secondary class citizenship. All in all, these trends of gated communities are problematic for democracy, but not a complete inhibitor of democracy forming in a country.

The way that this thesis will be expanded on is through three distinct chapters on the topic. The first chapter looks at the different theoretical arguments involving democratization, the role of public space in democracy, and the impact of private communities on society and democracy. The second chapter is a case study of the Santa Fe neighborhood of Mexico City. This case study adds to the arguments analyzed in chapter one by giving a concrete example through which these perspectives can be looked at. Santa Fe encompasses a wide range of themes that will be looked at including gated communities, inequality, exclusion, and the idea of a global city. The third and final chapter will analyze the themes of Carlos Monsiváis's *Los rituales del caos*. Mosinváis's renowned work brings in the literary view of Mexico City and sheds light on many of the topics discussed in the first two chapters of the project. This work gives a good perspective on what it is like and what it means to live in the Mexico City metropolitan area and how different classes of people are affected in different ways in the city.

Chapter 1: Analysis of Democracy and the Role of Urban Space

Introduction

The aim of this first chapter is to analyze the different discussions about democracy including the discussion on urban space, citizenship, and gated communities. This chapter will include instances of comparison between newly democratic countries since the other parts of this project will focus on Mexico City, the largest urban area within a recently democratized country. There will be a mix of arguments made by political scientists as well as sociologists and anthropologists. This will help to create a fuller understanding of democracy and how the project will progress from this initial discussion. Since the case study of this project is a Latin American city, it is important to look at democracy with special attention towards how it is practiced in urban areas since over the past fifty years there has been a massive urbanization in Latin America, and most of the population growth during the next century in this region will continue to be growth of urban populations (Koonings & Kruijt, 2009, 8, 9). This continuous growth in urban populations in Latin America will continue to pose a challenge to the principles of democracy and citizenship in these urban areas. This chapter will look at the institutionalist argument about democracy and newly democratic countries, but the main focus of this chapter will be on citizenship in a democracy and the importance of public space in a democracy. Additionally, this chapter will analyze how the privatization of public space affects democracy and citizenship.

The increased privatization of urban space and the rapid rise of private, gated communities that have accompanied the democratization process in Mexico is a phenomenon that has occurred around the world, especially in countries that transitioned

to democracy around the same time like Brazil and Thailand. This phenomenon puts into question the quality of democracy that can be created and sustained in Mexico. It is therefore imperative to analyze the different arguments about democracy, especially as it pertains to the importance of space and citizenship in the urban environment. What are the different characteristics and principles of democracy? How do different types of space personify these principles? How does the continuous rise of private and gated communities fit into democracy? These are some of the main questions that this chapter will address. The analysis of these questions will help set the basis to be able to look at the specific case study of Mexico City in the second chapter of this project.

Definitions of Democracy

In order to fully understand what a democratic society is, it is important to look at the standards that political scientists believe are required for a regime to be considered a democracy. This discussion for a basic understanding of democracy pertains solely to the institutions that political scientists would consider democratic governments. Douglas A. Chalmers describes representative democracy, the form that most modern democracies take, as a government where "the people rule and are sovereign because their welfare is the standard against which the regime is measured" (Chalmers 15) and "is a system composed of persons elected to 'represent' geographic units or political parties" (Chalmers 16). The famous Austrian political philosopher Hans Kelsen defines democracy in its most basic terms as "a form of government in which those affected by collective political decisions participate either directly or indirectly in making these decisions" (Córdova Vianello, 68). Both definitions of democracy give ample

background for which to judge the way governments of nation-states are being run and how citizens of these nation-states should be given a say in the political decisions that affect them. Córdova Vianello adds on that most modern democracies are also constitutional forms of democracies since “the exercise of political power is regulated and limited by parameters set in a constitution which the government must recognize as well as protect the rights of its citizens” (Córdova Vianello 68-69). These important standards for what constitutes a democracy are valuable as a litmus test for whether or not Mexico and its government are a democracy.

When looking at the political institutions in Mexico, it is generally understood and agreed upon by most political scientists that the country is a democracy. On a superficial level, it is easy to see how the Mexican government can be considered democratic. Elections are held regularly, there are changes of power from one political party to another on various levels of government, and differing opinions about how the government should best represent the people are expressed through political parties and different parts of civil society. Most Mexican citizens my age have grown up with a framework in place for democracy as well as believing that their government can do much better to be more democratic. This does not mean that there is a lack of institutional problems in Mexican governmental institutions. Political Scientists Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino believe that there are eight dimensions to measure the quality of democracy, which are rule of law, participation, competition, vertical and horizontal accountability, respect for civil and political freedoms, implementation of greater political equality, and responsiveness (Diamond and Morlino 22). Based on these dimensions that Diamond and Morlino believe are the basis of judgment for the quality of

democracy, it is easy to see the criticism of Mexican political institutions as they pertain to democracy, especially when it comes to human rights protections for Mexican citizens and the rule of law (O'Hagan 1, Ackerman 41). Without question, these structural problems within the Mexican democratic system must be improved for democracy in the country to be stronger and of higher quality. However, in the most general definitions of democracy, it can be judged that Mexico does exhibit characteristics of being a representative, constitutional democracy.

What is most important in this work is not to look so much at the democratic institutions in Mexico, but to see how democracy is practiced in everyday life. It is not enough to consider a country or a society truly democratic simply based on the fact that its citizens have the right to vote for its elected officials that govern under the laws and guidelines set by a constitution. It is necessary to look beyond basic definitions and focus on how citizens interact with one another as well as with their government. Diamond and Morlino believe that the three main goals of an ideal democracy are "political and civil freedom, popular sovereignty (control over public policies and the officials who make them), and political equality (in these rights and powers) as well as broader standards of good governance" (Diamond and Morlino 21). If a democratic government is ruling a country, then its citizens and the way that citizens interact with one another in daily life should exhibit democratic principles. Academic John Parkinson believes in the idea of a holistic democracy, and he believes, "Democratic life gains its energy and vitality from millions of small-scale participatory moments in many different locations at many different times, all contributing to a diffuse public conversation" (Parkinson, 2009, 76). This idea of holistic democracy demonstrates an approach towards analyzing the actions

of citizens as well as the functioning of institutions. Government institutions are important to look at when judging democracy, but it is equally valuable to analyze the way that citizens are able to interact with the government as well as how citizens interact with each other.

When looking at the democratization process of many countries, it is almost all about how the institutions have changed to become more democratic, but rarely do citizens of a new democracy receive a great amount of attention. Iris Marion Young introduces the idea of "deliberative democracy", which tries to depict the way that citizens should interact with their government as a way of justifying the democratic system (Young 103). Young goes on to add that deliberative democracy "exhorts participants to be concerned not only with their own interests, but to listen to and take account of the interests of others insofar as these are compatible with justice" (Young 103). Young's idea is based on a deeper understanding of the principles of democracy. Not only is the study of democracy a focus on institutions, but also it is the study of a set of principles where those who participate in democracy have the interests of not just themselves but their fellow citizen. Additionally, democracy requires citizen participation in ways that go beyond voting. As John Parkinson puts it, "Citizens are expected to engage with each other in the informal public sphere and to communicate with their representatives, to press public claims on them" (Parkinson 72). Parkinson adds to the claim made by Young because he includes a dimension of citizens interacting with other citizens. Young's deliberative democracy deals with the interaction between citizens and their government whereas Parkison addresses the importance of informal interaction between citizens as well as with elected officials. What both are getting at is the

importance of public life for a democracy, whether that be interactions between other citizens or interactions between citizens and their government. An engaged public is achieved through having a more open society that is inclusive to different sets of beliefs and an interaction between citizens and the government officials that represent them.

Citizenship and the Built Environment

The principle of citizenship for each member of a nation-state is a fundamental aspect of a strong democratic society. Citizenship within a democracy must exhibit some type of fundamental difference, or at least show signs of different characteristics, from citizenship in an undemocratic regime. The principle of democratic citizenship is understandably more difficult to accomplish in a new democracy in the way that it differs from the simple definition of democracy like a regime that gives citizens the right to vote and situations of change in the ruling party as well as representatives representatives that belong to these political parties. Voting for representatives is one fundamental difference for democratic citizenship. However, there must be more fundamental changes to rights for citizens than simply having the right to vote for representatives. This is very much a structural change to the existing form of government rather than a change in society that promotes more openness and equality. Koonings and Kruijt argue, “Individuals and communities are, ideally, citizens because they are rights-bearers to the extent that they are incorporated into nation-states and into the international community which abide by the principles of democracy, rule of law, and humanitarian standards” (Koonings and Kruijt, 2010, 13). Diamond and Morlino have a similar statement when judging the quality of democracy, they include the respect for civil and political freedoms as well as

"the progressive implementation of greater political (and underlying it, social and economic) equality" (Diamond and Morlino 22). Much of the institutions in a democratic involve promoting equality through the protection of human rights in order to develop proper citizenship under a democratic government.

It is important to analyze these civic freedoms and attempts at greater equality to determine the quality of a newly democratic regime. What has been largely missing from the changes that have been brought on by democratization in Mexico has been the absence in the changes in society and the social aspects of democracy (Olvera 102). The majority of study and discussion surrounding democratization continues to be around the increasing competitiveness of elections, the changing of power from one political party to another, and many other characteristics about democratization that pertain to institutions. There is still much to be desired about citizenship as it pertains to civil society as well as the use of public space by citizens in a democratic society (Olvera 102). The creation of a more complete citizenship is something that can be viewed as a more substantive dimension to analyze the quality of democracy. This is why electoral democracy is the most basic form of democracy. Diamond and Morlino do address the need to analyze the respect for civil and political freedoms as well as political equality, which in turn addresses questions of social and economic equality. However, a question about citizenship in democracy qualifies as another way of studying the level of democracy in a country.

Before proceeding, it is important to give a definition of citizenship. According to Keith Faulks:

> The status of citizenship formally expresses an individual's membership of a political community. The rights and responsibilities which flow from

> this membership shape the reciprocal relationship between the individual and the political community, and differentiate citizenship from mere residency (Faulks 73).

Within this description of citizenship, there is a clear relationship between the individual and the greater community. There is also a set of rights that gives citizenship meaning in a democracy. Additionally Faulks argues, "Citizenship can only be inclusive if it is independent of the market and becomes the main organizing principle of society" (Faulks 87). Faulks argues for a certain degree of equality and inclusion that is necessary for those pertaining to a nation-state to be considered a citizen. This view of citizenship will be important later in this chapter, as there will be greater analysis of private communities and democracy.

The built or constructed environment that a citizen lives in has an impact on citizenship and what democracy in a country will look like. As was stated earlier, Latin America as a region and the globe as a whole continue to become more urbanized. The result is that the built environment in the urban landscape is most crucial since it affects the majority of citizens. The centrality of urban areas for democracy is not a recent phenomenon due to an increasing urbanization of various regions of the world. The city-states of ancient Greece helped to provide the basis of what many modern democracies look like. Cities and urban areas are more influential in the formation of democracy due to universal urban characteristics such as density, diversity, publicity, cultural vitality, and political power (Bickford 355). The environment that urban citizenship is formed in defines what it means to be a citizen, especially in a democratic society. Aspects of urban life such as cultural vitality, diversity, and political power are not the same for every citizen because urban environments are not built equally. This has been a problem that

has dogged democracies since the time of the ancient Greek city-states. Bickford points out that Greek political philosophy "engaged in a variety of political and ethical themes, including the problems of citizenship in a context of formal equality and material inequality" (Bickford 355). This dichotomy poses a serious challenge to democratic principles in urban areas throughout the world where material inequality usually is greatest and most evident, especially in Mexico and Latin America. In the Mexico City example, the wealthiest delegation has an average annual income of $29,647.55 compared to $5,968.83 in the poorest of the sixteen delegations (Lida 46). Therefore, the built environment of these urban areas must face the challenge of believing in formal equality while exhibiting numerous aspects of material inequality as they pertain to citizenship in a democratic society.

Both public and private interests influence the makeup of the built environments in urban landscapes. Obviously, there is a difference in how these two spaces are constructed as well as how they impact urban environments and urban citizens. While it is not possible in a democratic society for the government to completely decide what the private sector does with the space that it owns in the urban area, democratic institutions hold a great deal of say about how cities and urban areas are structured. Stephen L. Elkin as well as other academics have argued, "institutions govern and structure how citizens experience each other and how they experience the built environment" (Quoted in Bickford 366). Therefore, it is necessary to recognize the role that institutions have in influencing the way citizenship is practiced. The built environment of an urban area can be influenced by government officials through zoning laws and other regulations about the types of construction that can be built. As Elkin mentioned, institutions structure how

citizens experience built structure, and built structure influences citizenship in a democratic society. It is possible that institutions can solidify democratic principles within a society by creating social spaces that develop better interactions among citizens (Bickford 371). Beliefs in an open and free society are directly correlated to the promotion of social space where citizens of varying socio-economic levels and political opinion can interact. It makes sense for a democratic government to want to foster these types of social spaces in order to solidify and legitimize democracy in the nation-state.

Different examples of newly democratic regimes promoting democracy through urban space exist in the region of Latin America. Colombia's focus on public spaces is a prime example. Páramo, Arroyo, and Milena highlight the work that officials in Bogotá have done towards improving public spaces including the revitalization of different parks throughout the area, an increase in public transportation, and the creation of more large, open spaces in the metropolitan area (Páramo, Arroyo, and Milena 12-13). These are all efforts to attract more people to use the spaces and to create a better sense of community. The example of Colombian institutions promoting the increase in public spaces provides a concrete way of attempting to create a more democratic society in a society that does not have a long tradition of democratic beliefs (Páramo, Arroyo, & Milena 15). The promotion of ample public space by a democratic institution shows the desire to redefine citizenship to make it more compatible with democratic principles. Colombia shows the influence that institutions have in the expression of democratic principles via the urban built environment. Urban space has a major influence on the quality of a democratic regime and citizenship. The increased promotion and revitalization of large areas of

public space throughout urban areas not only improves the quality of life for citizens, but also helps to solidify democracy among citizens.

Space and Democracy

There are several different forms of urban space that arise from this concept. When most people, or scholars, think about space in the urban environment, most tend to look at space being either "public" space or "private" space. The labels of public or private when looking at urban spaces are topics that need to be analyzed and defined in order to have a good understanding of what type of space a certain area is. There can also be disagreement about whether or not a space is public or private based on who is asked. It is not so much an idea of stark black-and-white contrasts, but rather almost a scale of what can be considered public and what can be considered private. Additionally, within the urban environment, these spaces are often bordering each other, and there can be tension about what is what. In order to be able to fully judge and look at public space, I will use Parkinson's categories of what can be defined as public in contrast to private space. According to Parkinson the public label refers to the following:

> 1. Freely accessible places, where everyone has free right of entry or free right of informational access, as opposed to places that are not freely accessible, that have controllers who limit access to or use of that space
> 2. The things that concern, affect, or are for the benefit of everyone as opposed to things that primarily concern individuals
> 3. The people or groups that have responsibility for things covered in (2)—"the public" as a noun, rather than an adjective
> 4. Things that are owned by the state or the people in (3) and paid for out of collective resources, like government buildings, military bases and equipment, and so on, as opposed to things that are individually owned, including things that are cognitively "our own," like our thoughts, goals, emotions, spirituality, preferences, and so on (Parkinson, 2012, 73).

The main focus of this project will look primarily at public spaces as defined in primarily the first parameter and perhaps the second parameter as well. Parkinson also looks at public space such as the Internet, but for this project, I will focus solely on physical space, and physical space in the urban environment. From Parkinson's definition, it is easy to label places such as parks, city squares, and libraries as public spaces since citizens are able to freely access them regardless of their backgrounds. What will become more interesting and will be looked at more in depth will be spaces such as shopping malls, which exhibit characteristics of being both a public space and a private space. In general, public spaces are thought of as places of free access and generally as a common good for all citizens.

The importance of public space to democracy is inherent in the characteristics that public space embodies. Anthropologist Teresa P.R. Caldeira argues, "These ideals of the democratic polity—openness, indeterminacy, fluidity, and coexisting, unassimilated difference—have found of their best expressions in the public spaces of modern cities" (Caldeira 303). Caldeira makes a very compelling argument. Her belief in the importance of public space as a place for bringing citizens of various socio-economic standing together goes together with Bickford's ideas about the built environment and democracy. This ability that public spaces have of bringing citizens together makes these areas in urban landscapes the ideal places to foster a sense of an urban community that recognizes the socio-economic diversity of the area that these citizens are living in (Páramo, Arroyo, & Milena 7). A strong sense of community is important for democracy because of the principle of democracy for emphasizing the collective citizenry over a small group of

wealthy individuals. This type of urban space also helps to promote civic freedom and equality because it is space that can be used by an citizen regardless of their background.

The built environment that doesn't allow for this emphasis can create issues for a democracy. Jane Jacobs argues, "In city areas that lack a natural and casual public life, it is common for residents to isolate themselves from each other to a fantastic degree" (Jacobs 65). This argument by Jacobs highlights the necessity for a public life, especially within a democracy. In the Mexico City example, David Lida describes, "Well-off *capitalinos* (residents of Mexico City), by restricting themselves to specific zones of the city, do their damnedest to insulate themselves from the existence of the poor" (Lida 30). What Jacobs argues proves to be an accurate depiction of the situation in Mexico City. Urban areas with strong public life are more inclusive and can bring citizens of all social status together whereas weak public life leads to strong separation of social classes. There of course will be a need for privacy for every citizen, but urban space that allows for what Jacobs calls "natural and casual public life" is important for democracy. The built environment of the city can encourage a strong public life to help create a strong sense of community and openness.

This brings up the more encompassing function that public spaces serve in democratic societies, which is the socialization of citizens. If we are to attend to the belief that democracy is something that must be learned, then increasing or improving public space as a part of the democratization process is a welcomed occurrence. Pablo Páramo, Burbano Arroyo, and Andrea Milena believe, "Public spaces provide places to meet and interact with every citizen regardless of their social status, and where citizens can feel equal to everyone else, which is a democratic element" (8). Public spaces help to create

social equality due to the ability of every citizen regardless of income, gender, etc. to use the space. Since social equality is an underlying aspect of political equality according to Diamond and Morlino, public spaces improve this dimension of the quality of democracy. Large areas in the urban environment that deny access to citizens work against this idea of a progressive movement towards greater social and economic equality. Democracy depends on some level of equality, and it is hard for the quality of democracy to increase when there is not an increase of public space but rather an increase of private communities around the urban landscape.

The characteristics of private space are very different from the characteristics of what is considered public space. In private space, the community or the state owns it by the individual rather than. John Parkinson also has four parameters for what can be defined as private:

> 1. Places that are not freely accessible and have controllers who limit access to or use of that space
> 2. Things that primarily concern individuals and not collectives
> 3. The people who primarily deal with such items; or rather, the roles that people play when they are so dealing, referring to the common distinction between politicians' 'private', commercial, and family interests and their 'public' roles managing collective resources and concerns
> 4. Things and places that are individually owned, including things that are cognitively 'our own, like our thoughts, goals, emotions, spirituality, preferences, and so on (Parkinson, 2012, 52).

These definitions of private space should not necessarily be viewed as the complete denial of democratic principles since many of the modern democracies have been focused on the protection of private property. Living and growing up in a privately owned home does not necessarily mean that antidemocratic sentiment is being socialized into the persons living in the home. Democracy has been able to grow as citizens have continued to live in their own home with their own parcels of land. There is nothing completely

inherent about the definitions of private that Parkinson suggests that make private space undemocratic. He adds:

> The public/private split liken to be constitutive of democracy itself: it creates normative room for citizens to exercise individual autonomy free from interference by others, and a public sphere in which conflicts between those autonomous decisions can be resolved, or at least discussed (Parkinson, 2012, 50).

In reality, there is always going to be a balance between what is public and what is private in a democracy. What someone does in their own private home can affect his or her neighbors, which would make a private act become public because it is affecting the collective. On a more citywide scale, these differences and the balance between them become more apparent and involve larger actors including local and national officials, multinational corporations, and the urban citizenry. The public versus private balance is crucial to strike within all democracies, but particularly newly democratized ones. The reason being that many political scientists believe that for new regimes to achieve long lasting and legitimate democracy, reforms that improve democratic quality are essential (Diamond & Morlino 20). Colombia is an example of how the increase of public space can be seen as a reform to create a legitimate belief in democracy among citizens. The balance of having enough public space to spawn democratic values while also giving citizens the freedom to live where they want is a balance that any democratic regime must confront.

The Rise of Privatization of Urban Space

The recent trend of building new private and gated communities raises a debate about the private/public split. This trend has shifted the balance towards greater

privatization since more and more citizens are moving into these private neighborhoods. The unique aspect of this privatization of urban space is that it is not simply private homes, but entire communities that are closed off from the outside. Caldeira considers these types of communities to be “fortified enclaves”, which are “private property for collective use, and they emphasize the value of what is private and restricted at the same time that they devalue what is open and public in the city” (Caldeira 258). What Caldeira is referring to are communities that take away the need to go out of the gates since their needs can be met within the confines of the space that is either guarded or walled off from the outside world. It is then understandable to see how these communities and what they represent come into conflict with democratic values. These communities have an implicit message of exclusion and segregation from those who don’t live there. In a sense, it begins to create an idea of two different worlds, but also two different types of citizens. Gated communities create a clash of values between the values of self-interest and materialism, which Faulks considers “neoliberal values”, and co-operation and interdependence, which he claims are “virtues of citizenship” (Faulks 82). It is possible that there is co-operation among those living in the gated communities, but there isn’t interdependence among citizens that live on both sides of the gates or walls because there is this barrier. The recent developments and increases in private and gated communities emphasize the values of self-interest over the virtues of citizenship like interdependence. This emphasis has changed the balance not only of public and private but of citizenship versus complete free market values.

Before going further into the democratic, or rather undemocratic nature of these private, gated communities, it is important to look at many of the common characteristics

that these communities display. There are disagreements between academics about what constitutes a gated community, but there could be general characteristics about what is a gated community. The general consensus about gated communities is that they are housing developments that restrict public access through some form of gates, barbed wire, walls, and fences (Atkinson & Blandy 177). In addition to these characteristics, gated communities can include a variety of services including things such as various types of stores and recreational facilities (Atkinson & Blandy 177). The inclusion in these communities of services such as shops and recreational facilities provides information as to the way that citizens who live in these communities lead their lives. If almost all of their necessary services are met within the gates or walls, the residents don't have to actually go outside of the gates. These characteristics back up Caldeira's claims that they are "fortified enclaves". Gated communities provide characteristics to show that they are not in line with what has been generally considered to be democratic principles, which are ideas about openness and a sense of community. The only sense of community is the community that is within the gates or walls.

Additionally, the trend about the growth of gated communities is the most important aspect of these communities. The growth of these communities first began as a contrast to the open spaces in urban areas in Latin America in the 1970s and really took off as the primary form of expansion in cities around the world (Rojo Mendoza 124). This rapid form of expansion and new development in urban areas, especially in Latin America, is changing the outlook of cities. It is impossible to deny the impact of these places due to their immense popularity and expansion among citizens who can afford to live there. Obviously, not every form of urban expansion has taken the form of private

communities. For example, a good deal of the metropolitan expansion in the United States has been the creation of suburbs that cause their own sets of issues with exclusion and privatization (Atkinson & Blandy 178). The difference between these types of architectural developments and gated communities is the implicit message that gates, fences, and other security measures have for those who cannot gain access into these neighborhoods. The segregation and exclusion of citizens via gates and walls essentially creates islands within the urban landscape where the wealthy are protected from the perceived dangers of the real world.

This brings up the motivation that many have for moving into these gated communities. The reasons for middle and predominately upper class citizens for moving into private communities often depend on which region of the world the individual or family lives in. For many in Latin America, the main reason for individuals moving into these guarded, private communities is the fear of crime (Duhau 140). This fear has to take into account the citizens who are making these decisions do not trust their government to be able to provide protection. The level of violence and insecurity that existed in Mexico City during the mid-1990s caused a rise in gated communities, the privatization of public life, and the pervasiveness of fear in public life (Castillo 181). This is an example of citizens taking matters into their own hands. In this case, it is personal security that is in question in nation-states where there is a lack of confidence in the political institutions providing protective services. Fear in this situation has shaped public life and the built environment in many areas of Latin America.

An emphasis on personal choice over relying on government has been a recent trend. These worries over security, coupled with the fear of being a victim of crime, are

the results of the increasing importance in the globalized society on personal choice (Rojo Mendoza 126). This emphasis on the value of personal choice discredits government institutions as a resource that has the best interests of their citizens in mind. McIlwine and Moser believe, “The fortification of the rich in their residential enclaves and the increasing privatization of public space have effectively encouraged the marginalization of the poor, exacerbating their experiences of insecurity” (McIlwine & Moser 122). Additionally, the choice to live in gated communities actually makes these residents more fearful of contact with strangers when they leave the private protection that living in these closed off communities provide (Atkinson & Blandy 181). This process is therefore creating a vicious cycle where the citizens move into these private communities because of the fear of crime and then crime becomes more focused among the poor. Another dimension to the private communities is the effect a private community has on those growing up in one. Bickford sees this as a threat to democratic politics because “when we become so accustomed to the walls that we forget they are there, for then we begin to imagine that ‘the world’ consists only of those in our gates” (Bickford 363). It is possible that this would lead to a generation of those born into gated communities who fear going outside the walls. The culture of fear only continues to get worse with the additional number of people moving into these gated communities, which will only make the trend harder to break. There becomes the sense that there truly is not a world outside of the gates for those that live within them, and at the same time, the wealthy don’t truly exist for the poor because they are physically excluded from interacting with them via some form of barrier.

Privatization of Space and Democracy

Now that both types of urban space have been looked at, it is necessary to analyze the relationship between this privatization of urban space and democracy. Caldeira points out this phenomenon in São Paulo, "its walling process has coincided with the organization of urban social movements, the expansion of citizenship rights for the working classes, and political democratization" (Caldeira 298). This trend represents a contradiction in many aspects. However, Caldeira recognizes that it is possible that these opposing processes can happen simultaneously in the same urban environment (Caldeira 298). The question is how do these processes relate to one another and affect the built environment. From there, it is important to recognize the roles that these different types of spaces play in democratic regimes.

Public and private spaces are inevitably both a part of the built urban environment. At the same time, this built environment should include areas that promote democratic principles. There are different kinds of urban space that serve different functions for the community, and as a result, the built environment's effect on democracy depends on the kind of urban space that exists. If we look back at Parkinson's four parameters of public space, we can see these different changes. According to Parkinson, parameter four, which is the space used for the performance of political roles, is absolutely necessary for a democracy, and characteristic one, which is space that is openly accessible, can also be necessary for democracy but is not as important (Parkinson, 2012, 69). This argument by Parkinson is understandable because it makes sense that a physical space where citizens can show their opposition to what elected officials are doing is an important aspect of democracy. It is easier to see a nation-state be

considered democratic despite having large numbers of private communities dotted across its urban landscape so long as there is ample space where citizens can assemble and protest. It is much more unlikely for a nation-state to be considered democratic if large public spaces for citizens to voice their opinion were nonexistent even though private, gated communities were nonexistent as well.

At the same time, the existence of public spaces that are free and accessible compared to privatized spaces such as gated communities should be appreciated in the role they play in democracy. I would question the quality of democracy if urban landscapes were completely dominated by these private and gated communities. Caldeira argues, “The quality of the built environment inevitably influences the quality of social interactions that take place there” (Caldeira 298). The importance of these types of public spaces for democracy is very similar to the argument made about the quality of democracy. The basic definition of representative democracy being a government where citizens can vote for those who make decisions on their behalf is similar to Parkinson’s fourth characteristic of public space. Free and open elections where power switches from different ruling parties and public spaces that are used for the performance of political roles form the basis of what a democracy is. Ideas about the quality of democracy and the principle of citizenship in a democracy as well as the availability of open and accessible public space help to form a stronger democracy where the society itself exhibits democratic principles in everyday life. It is possible that civil society can be created within these private and gated areas of the city where many citizens live and recreate. However, Parkinson argues that “there are questions about how inclusive and democratic a purely private style of civil society can be” (Parkinson, 2009, 77). This point by

Parkinson is important because despite the maintaining of many open public spaces that already existed and still play an active role in democracy, the rapid increase in the development of private, gated communities provides a legitimate challenge to the principles of democracy and citizenship. It is therefore possible to have democracy, but the quality of it and what it means for society as a whole is put in to question by these developments.

These developments have coincided with the process of globalization in the world as well. In relation to this idea, Atkinson and Blandy believe:

> Gated communities are an example of a much wider rise in contractual governance, resulting from the new relationship between state, market and civil society, designed to address concerns about social order: the contract of membership takes center stage in the age of 'responsibilization', in which 'exclusion from club goods may be tantamount to exclusion from key aspects of citizenship (Atkinson & Blandy 183).

The processes of globalization are largely based on the adoption of free market economics around the world. This has led to analysts like Parkinson to come up with the term of "market democracy" for many of the countries that adopted free market policies alongside their trend of becoming more democratic. Market democracy can be defined as "the idea that democratic values are best realized not by governments but by empowering people in the markets" (Parkinson, 2009, 79). Faulks argues, "The values of the free market and those of citizenship stand in tension with each other and represent distinct organizational principles upon which society can be based" (Faulks 82). After looking at both Faulks and Parkinson, it is reasonable to argue that the unhinged belief in the free market has changed the meaning of citizenship in a democracy. A government that has adopted neoliberal ideals and market principles renders citizenship as a form of purchasing power. In many ways, the gated communities that have risen up throughout

the urban landscape across Latin America and have transformed the built environment of these locations are a result of these ideals. Valenzuela argues, “In the last few years, urban projects are increasingly related to better attraction of capital investments in order to achieve greater economic performance in the city” (Valenzuela Aguilera 61). While market democracy can still be considered a form of democracy where citizens have rights and are able to be represented by government officials, the resulting democracy is one where wealthy citizens are closed off from the rest of society, and where vast levels of inequality are apparent in the urban areas by how these cities are constructed. In market democracy, citizens are treated more as consumers rather than citizens with social rights.

There is an innate contradiction within this market democracy in that while it has given citizens more freedom with the increase in rights, the increase in segregation and exclusion because of gated communities has led to undemocratic city spaces. Caldeira points this out:

> On the one hand, because recent urban transformations are mostly not the result of imposed state policies but rather of the way in which the citizens engage with their city, they can be seen as a form of democratic action, it has produced mainly undemocratic results. The perversity of this engagement of the citizenry is that it leads to segregation rather than tolerance. On the other hand, as citizens build all types of walls and controls in the city space, they create limits to democratization (322).

What the rapid expansion of gated communities tells us about the nature of democracy in newly democratized nations is that there exists this strong belief in markets and the self-interest of citizens. It results in citizenship that actually needs to be bought, or at least placed on the market, to determine the rights that citizens have. It is important to recognize in Caldeira’s quote that the citizenry who are building these walls and segregating themselves are mainly upper class and some middle class individuals. The

lower middle class and working class citizens are left out of this process. While it may be seen as a positive that the government is letting the citizens decide where and how they want to live, it is actually leaving the majority of the population being closed off from these elites. Additionally, it is evident that governments actually promote these developments and can help explain the wide expansion of gated communities (Atkinson & Blandy 182). This relationship is a clear sign of preference to the wealthy at the expense of everyone else. This is shows the weakness of citizenship when market values are given preference because those who can pay for citizenship receive the representation of government officials. The expansion of gated communities are a result of the new form of democracy that while increasing some rights actually reduce these some freedoms for citizens of lesser socio-economic status.

It is not simply in these gated communities where undemocratic principles are explicitly evident, but also in urban spaces throughout the built environment of cities. Public spaces in a market-oriented vision of democracy don't require public spaces to be political or really serve a social function (Parkinson, 2009, 79). This goes against thoughts of public space being a space of democratic socialization based on openness and equality. Instead, for those that live in gated communities, the socialization that exists there is based on the idea that those not living in the gates should be feared and segregated. It is difficult to consider this type of system to be democratic. It is true that under democratization certain groups gained rights from government institutions, but at the same time, the way daily life is occurring in urban areas, democracy is not practiced. Segregation is evident and second-class citizenship is rather common. The virtues of citizenship like co-operation and community are ignored with the increased walling off of

sections of cities. Essentially, the democratic principle of equality is ignored in favor of segregation and privileged citizenship, which must be acquired via wealth. Despite many advances that have occurred under democratization, the trend in the built environment of urban areas prevents the full implementation of these democratic advances to occur.

It is not as big of a problem that the wealthy urban elite benefit from these gated communities, but rather the effect that their actions have on everybody else. The relatively small number of wealthy individuals who are living in these gated communities call into question the idea of a spatial contract, which if continuing on its current trend, could lead to a degradation of urban social relations (Atkinson & Blandy 179). When Atkinson and Blandy discuss the "spatial contract", they refer to writers like Herbert Gants who believed that it was important for there to be socially diverse areas because meeting people of different social backgrounds and experiences creates empathy among diverse populations (Atkinson & Blandy 179). This idea will be discussed further in the second chapter when looking at the Santa Fe district in Mexico City and how the increased segregation via gated communities has distorted Gant's vision of socially diverse areas. These new developments have ghettoized both the wealthy and the poor because both groups are increasingly clustered amongst themselves and not in these socially diverse areas (Atkins and Blandy 180). In Latin American metropolises, the trend has been an expansion of slums and a deterioration of working class neighborhoods over the past two to three decades, about the same time period of this increase in private communities (Koonings & Kruijt, 2010, 12). Therefore, it is important to remember that the privatization doesn't affect just the wealthy, but the working and poorer classes that are increasingly marginalized amongst themselves.

The increasing income inequality, socio-economic exclusion, and ghettoization that is creating this new urban form is causing cycles of violence that are hard to overcome. A major reason why wealthy individuals move into these private communities is because of fear of insecurity, but these actions can actually make the already insecure neighborhoods of cities more insecure. Koonings and Kruijt believe, "This phenomenon of social exclusion-cum-violence shouldered by the masses of the urban poor tends to destroy the foundations of the democratic theory and its domains of citizenship" (Koonings and Kruijt, 2010, 21). A recurring theme is that private communities create and reinforce a distinct break in citizenship between those that have money and those that do not. The wealthy live in their clean, safe, and gated bubbles while the poor continue to be shunned into precarious living conditions that are often unsafe to live in. If a democracy is supposed to reinforce ideas of equality and openness in a society, there should not be citizens essentially living in two different worlds separated by various forms of security reinforcements closed off from the rest of the metropolis.

Conclusion

The democratization process is an extremely complicated process that involves the governmental institutions of a nation-state as well as the citizens of said nation-state. When most academics look at newly formed democracies, the general focus is on the institutions and how they have changed. The actual society, and how it adopts democratic principles, is often overlooked. There are also various regimes that can be classified as democratic. Most modern democracies are forms of representative, constitutional democracies. The idea of market democracy, which is the idea that democratic values are

best realized by empowering people in the markets, is a very interesting idea about a distinct form of democracy for several reasons. In many ways, it departs from forms of democracy and changes what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society. The citizen is now also a consumer in the marketplace. Market democracy is an important concept for newly democratized nation-states such as Mexico because they underwent the democratization process during the prominence of neoliberal economic philosophies that advance the belief in globalization. This is not to say that every country that believes in free market economics is a market democracy. Instead, a market democracy is one that emphasizes the power of the markets over the social rights of citizens. The trend, especially in liberal societies in the traditional use of the word, has been to shift this balance from social rights to the markets even though the trend towards democracy has brought about new civic freedoms.

The recent trend towards the privatization of space in urban areas coincides with this increasing shift towards the emphasis on free markets. Private and gated communities are a part of the built environment of urban areas since the built environment includes the relationship between public and private spaces. Public spaces can be categorized into four main senses, and the ones most pertinent to democracy are the characterization as freely accessible spaces and spaces that have a specific political performance. Private spaces are generally characterized as spaces that limit access to or use of space and are owned by specific individuals instead of a collective. The categorization of spaces are much more of a scale between public and private rather then it being one or the other. There is also a balance that must be struck between the two since both have distinct functions for democracy. Public spaces naturally are more

conducive to democratic principles because they allow citizens of various socio-economic statuses to come together and use the space. This action allows citizens to think of themselves as a collective that are all equal. Public life is part of the essence of democracy. Democratic states that want to enhance democratic principles among society should actively promote public spaces as a way of instilling these principles in the citizenry. Citizenship in a democracy is based on inclusion and helping the create spaces that promote equality help to combat the situation of urban areas that are full of material inequality. The built environment of urban spaces in a democracy should be one that enhances citizenship by creating a strong public life that evokes equality.

The major challenge to this notion, especially for newly democratized nation-states is the rapid increase of private, gated communities. These communities have the implicit message of segregation and exclude the vast majority of citizens who cannot afford to live within the gates or walls. These communities are a result of the philosophy of a market democracy. Citizens have greater freedom, but the freedom for the rich grants them the ability to wall themselves off from the rest of society, creating a primary citizenry for them and creating secondary citizenship for everyone else. These communities don’t necessarily make it impossible for democracy to advance in newly formed democracies because much of the advances in democracies have coincided with the rise of gated communities. However, it morphs democracy into a market democracy where segregation based on inequality is acceptable as long as there are still major public spaces where citizens can demonstrate displeasure with their government. Society as a whole should embody democratic principles, and as long as gated communities continue

to develop and become the preferred living space for those that can afford it, a full democracy based on equal rights for citizens will be rather difficult to achieve.

Chapter 2: Santa Fe: A Case Study on the Privatization of Urban Space

Introduction

The aim of this second chapter is to use the theoretical analysis made in Chapter one and apply those principles to the use of space in Mexico City. This chapter is analyzing the Santa Fe area, which is on the very western edge of Mexico City. Santa Fe is the most ample section of the Mexico City metropolitan area to analyze for the themes of this project because of the way that it was designed and the role that it plays in Mexico City. The area is defined by its large amount of high rises for multinational corporations, gated communities and private apartment buildings, lack of walking areas, and Mexico's largest shopping center in the district. In addition to the corporate business headquarters and shopping spots, there are private universities located in Santa Fe. Santa Fe essentially is a globalized city unto itself that mirrors developments of high rises and corporate headquarters that dot major cities around the world like New York, London, Tokyo, and Hanoi. It is also a part of a global trend towards gated communities that have created "new towns" where rising inequality over the past few decades has transformed cities around the world (Provost and Kennard 1). While the new version of Santa Fe is home to many of Mexico City's multinational elite, the surrounding areas, and specifically Pueblo Santa Fe, are among some of the city's most marginalized neighborhoods. The whole Santa Fe area exhibits some of the starkest examples of inequality in the entire Mexico City Metropolitan area. Yolanda Rodríguez López calls it "a paradox in which the richest people in the country live near the some of the poorest in the city" (Rodríguez López 11). As a result, Santa Fe is one of the most interesting and complicated sections of Mexico City for sociologists, political scientists, and other professionals to study.

Santa Fe provides this project the most logical case study for looking at how developments that create walled cities and vast inequalities affect democracy and what is considered a democratic and open society. Much of the new construction that happens in Mexico City is modeled after the way Santa Fe is built (Lida 50). The expansion of this Santa Fe model for any new construction shows the increasing need to understand the effects that this type of urban area has on democracy. My argument is that the new Santa Fe represents very undemocratic principles in its development due to its closed off nature toward anyone who does not have the economic means to go or live there and its lack of any form of public space. The exclusive and unequal nature of Santa Fe enhances the already unequal society in Mexico City. Santa Fe represents a haven for the elite of both Mexico and the world that prevents anyone not representative of this class of citizens to be to access and use the space like the elite can. Santa Fe denies the full allowance citizenship to the surrounding working classes by making it extremely difficult to enter the area, and these surrounding areas lack the economic benefits of neighboring such a wealthy area of the city, thus creating a larger area filled with tension between the wealthy and working class areas.

History of Santa Fe

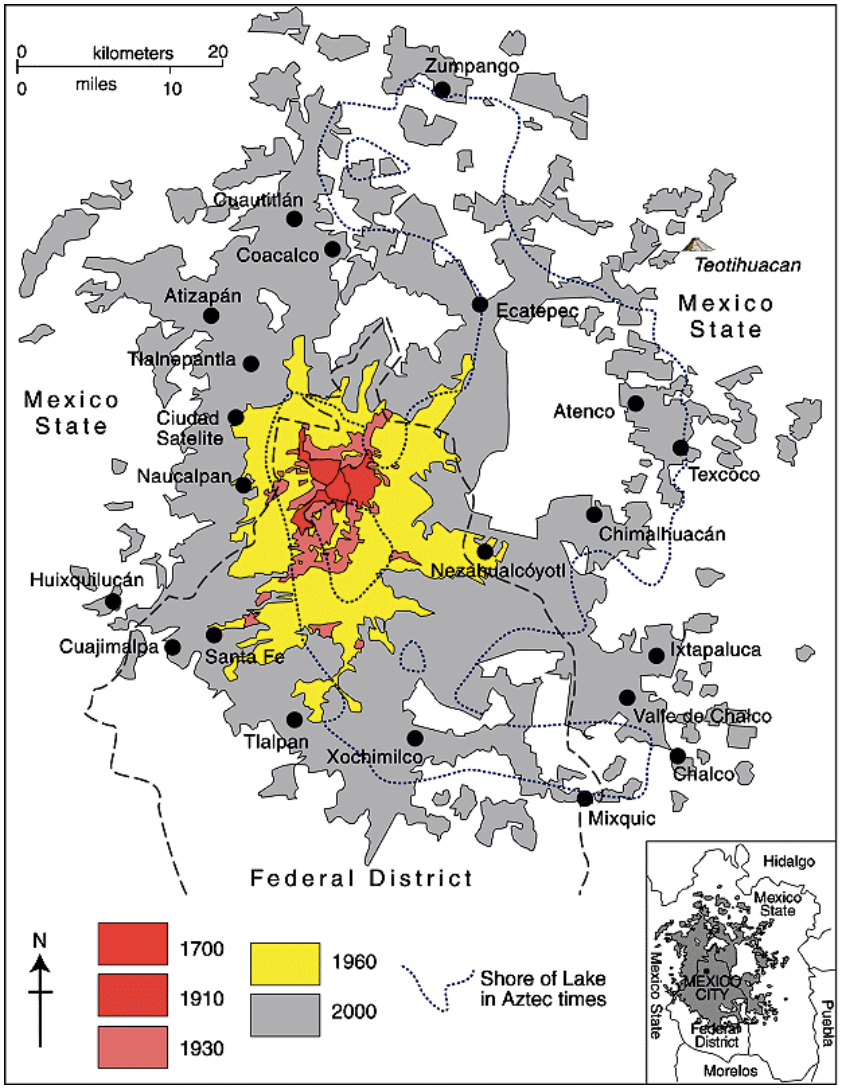

Figure 1 Map of Mexico City. Santa Fe in lower left corner.

Much of Santa Fe's history dates many centuries back before the Mexican government chose it as a location to set up headquarters for many multinational corporations. The history of the town of Santa Fe starts with the Spanish colonization of the region. Vasco de Quiroga, a Spanish judge of the Second Audiencia, acquired land near the former Aztec capital in 1532 and built a church, a hospital, an orphanage, and a school for a town of almost completely indigenous people (Tellechea 6). The center of what is considered Pueblo Santa Fe are the original buildings that Vasco de Quiroga planned out in the "hospital town" he called Santa Fe. Quiroga had the idea of creating a community that looked after the well being of everyone in the community (Rodríguez López 8). Some residents of Pueblo Santa Fe like a taxi driver we

had during our trip to Mexico City believe they can trace their roots to the original indigenous population from around the founding of the town by Vasco de Quiroga. The indigenous influence was one of the defining characteristics of the working class area of Santa Fe before an influx of migration from other parts of the city and the nearby provinces.

The Santa Fe area gained a very different reputation during much of the twentieth century. Until the 1980s, the area that now houses the Latin American branches of some of the most important corporations was a garbage dump where several thousand people lived off the money they made from scavenging the trash (Lida 48). In addition to the garbage dump Santa Fe used to be known for, there was also a great deal of sand mining as well as a gun powder factory that provided employment opportunities for many working class people in the area. A taxi driver taking us through Santa Fe proudly admitted to us that several members of multiple generations in his family worked in the gunpowder factory. Many in Santa Fe, especially those who live closest to the main road through town that is Vasco de Quiroga Street, have strong ties to the town and its working class origins. The majority of the population growth that did occur during the second half of the twentieth century was from migration from nearby states (Rodríguez López 11). This tremendous influx of migrants from surrounding areas into Santa Fe led to a great deal of growth in housing without any type of coordinated planning or zoning laws (Rodríguez López 11). The result has been an increase in the amount precarious living conditions in the area. An additional problem that many older residents recall about the time period of the 1980s that continues to plague the community is the arrival of the *Panchitos* gangs that caused much of the criminal activity in the area. There are certain

initiatives, including an initiative by the Iberoamericana University, to help deter specifically young men from joining the gangs in the area. Despite being located in an outlaying area, the area around what is now the new, corporate Santa Fe did have a great deal of working class residents who made a living in the sand mines, the gunpowder factory, and other places before the government strategically chose the area to create headquarters, upscale communities, among other things.

The 1980s caused a several structural changes for the Mexican economy as well as the local economy of Mexico City as it transitioned to a market economy from the previous import substitution industrialization policies that previously defined the economy. This resulted in a change of the Mexico City economy to become more of a service-oriented economy instead of an economy based on heavy industry and manufacturing (Castillo 181). The opening up of the economy to foreign corporations meant that the Mexico City area needed spaces for more corporate headquarters and be able to attract global elite to the city. Many in the city government saw the Santa Fe area as the perfect location to develop a really globalized area with the most modern facilities to help attract many of the top corporations to relocate their headquarters to the area (Lida 48-49). A few of Mexico's most recognized architects were chosen to help design the plan while many of the corporate building designs were done by international architecture firms (Moreno Carranco 79). It is interesting to point out how the overall changing of the economy in Mexico affected the urban fabric of Mexico City. The Santa Fe project was a part of the proliferation of urban projects that were dedicated towards attracting investment in financial services, technology software, and communications (Duhau 137). Néstor Canclini describes Santa Fe as well as other parts of Mexico City

like the Historic Center, Reforma-Polanco, Periférico Sur as “globalizing utopias” which form a large rift from what most of the city has to deal with (Canclini, 2010, 191). The globalizing aspect of the new economy has emphasized these pockets of the city to attract foreign capital and tourists, but the question then becomes whether or not parts of Mexico City outside of these sections have benefitted as well.

It is possible to describe the commercial Santa Fe as almost an enclosed island of globalization amid a sea of marginalized neighborhoods that surround it. The megaproject of Santa Fe can represent the embodiment of this new trend towards privatization of urban space. As Caldeira recognizes in Brazil, “Although Brazil has always been an unequal society, the privatization of the public sphere that I have been describing is something new, and the tendency to create private islands of privilege seem to have grown stronger” (Caldeira 281). This same tendency is evident in places like Santa Fe. The enclosed aspect of Santa Fe is an aspect that Canclini criticizes about the globalized city by stating that it “has turned Mexico City’s metropolitan area into the region responsible for the highest expulsion rate of Mexicans to the United States” (Canclini, 2010, 191). The high rate of migration to the United States is a result of many of the structural problems that the economy of Mexico City has. The majority of the population is left without benefit as most of the changes that were brought about went to a wealthy few.

The recent history since the creation of the new Santa Fe has been a history of stark contrasts. On the one hand, it is the most economically active area of the whole city with over 170 corporate offices, 114 restaurants, seven schools, and two private universities in addition to a commercial center that is visited by eight million visitors

each year (Moreno Carranco 79). On the other hand, there are around a quarter million residents living near the poverty line who reside in the areas surrounding the prosperous Santa Fe (Lida 48). The differences represent the vast inequalities that exist between the two areas and have been exacerbated in recent decades, a time period coinciding with increased democracy in Mexico. Many political commentators find levels of inequality like those in Mexico are troublesome for Mexico as a new democracy. Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino observe, "While democracy does not demand a certain set of substantive social or economic policies, it does in practice presuppose a degree of political equality that is virtually impossible if wealth and status inequalities become too extreme" (Diamond & Morlino 27). The current situation of an enclosed area that has the living quality and income comparable to any place in the developed world being located where hundreds of thousands in the immediate surrounding area are struggling through poverty is something that could not be passed off as a nonissue. This has serious implications when a young democracy like Mexico is in question. Therefore, in many ways the history of stark contrasts in recent Santa Fe developments encapsulates the challenge that Mexican democracy faces.

This drastic difference comes from how the resources are distributed to the areas. Pueblo Santa Fe never saw any inversion to help its own community despite the amount of government inversion into the modern, global Santa Fe. The only changes that the community has seen has been the increase of traffic due to cars passing through to the modern Santa Fe and the increased contamination of the river that many residents believe has come from the buildings of new Santa Fe. Job opportunities in the new Santa Fe are available, but they are predominately low-paying service jobs as maids, janitors, and

cooks. New urban zones like Santa Fe located around the world are not suited for non-skilled workers except domestic service jobs (Provost & Kennard 5). Many of the areas surrounding the modern Santa Fe are where the non-skilled workers live. The jobs that are available for the residents of the surrounding area of Santa Fe represent a shift from the manufacturing jobs that many residents used to work when the gun powder and mining factories were located in Santa Fe to the new service oriented economy located in the commercial and business centers that the new Santa Fe houses. The low paying service jobs are in stark contrast to the high salaried elites that work in the headquarters of the multinational corporations and live in the nearby gated communities.

Santa Fe as a "Global City"

Global cities, according to Saskia Sassen, "are those that connect regional, national, and international economies with the global economy while serving as vital points where the flow of capital, information, merchandise, and immigrants intersect and where these flows are redirected" (Moreno Carranco 77-78). It is easy to make the case that the Mexico City metropolitan area can be considered a global city. According to Canclini, "What makes Mexico City a global city is not its primary status within the region nor its connections with a national urban system, but rather its critical nodal position within economic and communication networks" (Canclini, 2010, 188). The new Santa Fe functions as this type of global city where the regional and national economies of Mexico City and Mexico as a country can be connected to the larger, global market. Being the headquarters of many multinational and foreign corporations that do business

throughout Latin America, Santa Fe exhibits economic power that expands beyond national borders.

Santa Fe resembles what many other parts of the world have experienced as a part of globalization. Patricia Safa observes, “Some parts of the city have been rapidly transformed by globalization, but the influence of globalization has been irrelevant to other parts of the city and has increased the unequal access to goods and services in the city” (Safa 149). Santa Fe is a perfect example of this. Deyan Sudjic describes this phenomenon in Mexico City as “the chronic symptoms of uneven development in its lurch towards the global economy” (Sudjic 171). The influx of global capital being invested in headquarters and apartment buildings for their top associates in the new Santa Fe has created a global city that is on par with any city in terms of amenities and services. At the same time, the areas that surround the new Santa Fe continue to more or less the same amount of wealth that was there before the Mexican economy was opened up and the Santa Fe megaproject was constructed. As David Lida describes, “Santa Fe is actually a tale of two cities” (Lida 51). Pueblo Santa Fe has remained relatively untouched from any type of foreign capital or investment. The area has been the focus of government and private sector-sponsored neighborhood projects as well as work done by the local university but it has mostly experienced negative side effects such as increased contamination and traffic. The number of informal settlements in the area has increased by 350% (Tellechea 12). The globalization process and the desire to create a “global city” have had uneven effects on Santa Fe. There has been an increase in the number of top-end apartments and gated communities, but there has also been an increase in informal settlements and houses. The megaproject of Santa Fe transformed the former mining and

dumping area into the headquarters of several multinational corporations as well as highly exclusive gated communities, but the area remains a tale of two cities.



Figure 2 The difference in living conditions in Santa Fe

Access to Santa Fe

One of the defining characteristics about Santa Fe is the difficulty that exists to try and get to the commercial centers, corporate headquarters, and private housing complexes. For a person who lives somewhere in the center of Mexico City or anywhere not within the vicinity, it can be quite an adventure, especially if they do not have access to an automobile. Using public transportation to get to Santa Fe is not particularly easy. The expansive metro system of Mexico City can take one to the majority of places in the metropolitan area. Santa Fe is not one of these locations. The metro system only gets you close enough to be able to take a taxi that could take anywhere from fifteen minutes to possibly an hour depending on traffic or take a *colectivo* bus which would take add another fifteen to twenty minutes to the taxi trip. Using a car and driving to new Santa Fe is the easiest and most convenient way of getting there, which cannot be said of most areas in Mexico City where the metro and other mass transit options are much more

convenient and quicker. This aspect makes Santa Fe seem like a city unto itself that is separate from what is considered to be Mexico City.

The difficulty of access to Santa Fe has many implications that go beyond just simply making it getting there an adventure. Susan Bickford acknowledges, "Common-interest developments, or CIDs, and gated communities purposely design 'border vacuums' to ensure seclusion and control" (Bickford 369). So there is a definite purpose to further seclude the area not just from physical walls and gates, but also through limited access to the area. Parkinson discusses the implications of this type of limited access to certain areas of an urban area. He says:

> This does not necessarily mean that one cannot get into or out of such exclusive zones; even without private security guards patrolling exclusively upper class neighborhoods, crossing these boundaries require more conscious effort, a deliberate decision as opposed to relying on chance encounters. Because people tend to go with the flow rather than against it, these pattern mean they are much less likely to encounter others, less likely to understand others' needs and desires, and less likely to feel that they are members of a common public (Parkinson, 2012, 74).

Santa Fe isn't located near the city center or located near where much of the preexisting infrastructure that connects the city is focused, but rather is located on the outskirts of the city. According to Moreno Carranco, "These characteristics help make Santa Fe seem part of the city but at the same time something separated, new, and different from the rest of the city" (Moreno Carranco 79). The location of the new Santa Fe also raises many problems for transportation and getting into the area. The current infrastructure only allows the area to be accessed by cars and buses. While these buses do run regularly from the working class neighborhoods to the upscale corporate locations on Vasco de Quiroga, it is rather time consuming and doesn't allow access to parts of modern Santa Fe that aren't directly next to Vasco de Quiroga. This is a form of limiting access because car

ownership is a privilege for those who can afford it. There is a certain income level required to be able to purchase and maintain ownership of a car. Having a location that can only really be accessed by car or bus makes it an area excluded from many people of lower income and wealth. Segregation and exclusion of access to the spaces in Santa Fe are exhibited in the design of Santa Fe because of the ways that it is extremely difficult for citizens of lower incomes to access the space.

A project aimed at increasing potential access to Santa Fe is the creation of a high-speed train that passes through Santa Fe. The route of the train is supposed to go from near the metro station Observatorio on the western end of Mexico City, make a stop in Santa Fe, and end outside of Toluca in Zinacantepec while making other stops along the way (CNNMéxico 1). This project could make it possible for citizens of Mexico City and the surrounding areas to be able to access Santa Fe without needing to arrive via automobile. By putting a station near the Observatorio metro station, it will be possible for citizens throughout Mexico City to be able to get to Santa Fe through the mass transit system. This gives much greater access to citizens since they can reach this destination relatively easily without having to have the purchasing power to buy a car. Santa Fe can become less of the isolated area that it currently is. While the increase in connectivity with the city and the surrounding areas, many in Pueblo Santa Fe show concerns towards the project. Many have protested the route of the train, citing that it will force many of them to have to leave their homes. These protests have actually prompted project planners to move the route through the surrounding ravines rather than through parts of the community (Rodríguez & Martínez 1). Despite this decision, many in the area including Javier from Casa Meneses questioned the train's benefit to the community. It is

a very valid concern since if having a global city in the immediate area didn't improve living conditions in Santa Fe, why would a train stopping in the corporate area improve anything in Pueblo Santa Fe? It has to go back to where resources are allocated in the area. Projects like the high-speed train and Santa Fe as a megaproject show that much of any decision made in the area is to ease the concerns of the wealthy individuals rather than economic benefits for the area as a whole.

The design of the built environment immediately raises the question of who benefits from the designed space and who is hurt from it. Moreno Carranco argues, "In the majority of contemporary megaprojects the design is based on enclosure and segregation. Santa Fe is one of the poorest examples of the availability and utilization of public space in all of Mexico City" (Moreno Carranco 80). The overwhelming dependency of the use of cars proves to be a deciding factor in who is able to go and who can't. It is impossible to walk anywhere outside of the buildings themselves, and a car must be used to go from the headquarters of a major company to a restaurant to get lunch for example. The setup of the new Santa Fe subtly rejects the access to the space by people who do not have the financial resources to own a car. Biking or even walking through Santa Fe is extremely difficult due to the lack of sidewalk space. Caldeira criticizes these types of developments by saying "Streets designed for vehicles only, the absence of sidewalks, enclosure and internalization of shopping areas, and spatial voids isolating sculptural buildings and wealthy residential areas effectively generate and maintain social separation" (Caldeira 307). One of the most interesting aspects of Santa Fe is observing how each person that goes there arrives at an area like the huge commercial center. Most of the people working as cooks, janitors, product vendors, etc.

take the *collectivo* and use the walking entrance while those there to shop or to eat drive themselves to the parking lots out in front of the stores. Car ownership is a symbol of social status around the world, and the setup of Santa Fe makes it extremely prevalent. The space itself has created the segregation and makes it possible for minimal interactions to be taken place between citizens of different socio-economic status.

Besides the transportation difficulty to gain access to the space in Santa Fe, a feeling of surveillance and segregation exists that suggests that many people do not have the right to access the space. It is impossible to walk around any of the commercial or corporate areas of Santa Fe without seeing some form of private security. Every building in Santa Fe is watched by private security men, which help to mark the buildings as places where a form of identification is needed to enter the building. This contributes to a sense of constant surveillance that is present in Santa Fe, especially for those who appear like they "don't belong". These characteristics of Santa Fe help contribute to greater tension, separation, discrimination, and suspicion, which have become the "new hallmarks of public life" (Caldeira 297). Feelings of tension and suspicion are not necessarily natural feelings among interactions between people of different socio-economic statuses. It is rather the result of the built urban environment, especially in closed environments like Santa Fe. When discussing the mindset of those that live in gated communities, Caldeira believes, "People feel restricted in their movements, afraid, and controlled; they go out less at night, walk less on the street, and avoid the 'forbidden zones' that loom larger and larger in every resident's mental map of the city" (Caldeira 297). The gated communities exacerbate an already existing problem in Mexico City. Within the metropolitan area, "a persistent culture of fear and insecurity pervades the

urban realities of life" (Castillo 182). This combination creates a vicious cycle that will only continue to repeat as residences in this area continue being extremely popular and spaces modeled after Santa Fe continue to pop up around the city.

One of the groups of people in Santa Fe that many who want to maintain Santa Fe as an attractive place for global companies see as unwanted inhabitants of the small amounts public space exists are street vendors that commonly sell food, drinks, and cigarettes to people in Santa Fe. Many in the neighborhood associations in Santa Fe do not like having street venders selling products in their area. Many wealthy residents and businesspeople in Santa Fe view the street venders as bad people or are dirty and give a negative image of the area (Moreno Carranco 81). There have been efforts to try to relocate or remove all together these street vendors. These efforts are based on the ideas of creating an homogenous area only for the elite, which is reinforced by the built environment of Santa Fe. The street vendors represent a break in the goal of creating a homogenous zone within a rather heterogeneous metropolitan area. Caldeira suggests, "There is always room for diverse and sometimes subversive appropriations of spaces and for the organization of social actions that counter those shaped by spatial practices" (Caldeira 298). Street vendors in Santa Fe perfectly embody this idea of taking back the space despite practices and designs that implicitly prevent these types of actions. A street vendor that we interviewed, who had been selling a variety of products normally sold in a convenience store, discussed how many of the street vendors in Santa Fe created a petition that was taken up by a local delegate and taken to court where a judge ultimately ruled that the vendors had the right to sell their products on the streets in Santa Fe. Nowadays, vendors like him are able to be out on the streets selling without worrying

about being harassed by police. This effort represents the taking back of space from those trying to privatize it and an increase in citizens' rights to space.

The street vendors in Santa Fe represent the combating of the homogeneity of the space as well as the limits to this retaking of space. Sergio López Ayllón and Rodrigo Meneses see street vendors in Mexico City as having a right to the space since it represents a form of public space (López Ayllón & Meneses 235). On the one hand, it creates a greater diversity of citizens using the space, but on the other, there are questions about whether or not there are any interactions with people from various socio-economic backgrounds. Moreno Carranco describes eating street food in Mexican society as an "opportunity of making possible equality and the reconciliation of differences" and writes that these street vendors have a diversity of people that use their services (Moreno Carranco 82). However, when visiting with the street vender outside the mall in Santa Fe, there was very little indication that wealthy people came out to buy food and eat next to others who were the service workers making much less. Everyone we saw coming up to buy from the vending car appeared to be more or less of lower middle income. The street vendor admitted that much of his time selling products out of his van has been spent selling to construction workers during their lunch breaks. It is possible that other street vendors in different locations in Santa Fe serve customers from a wider range of socio-economic backgrounds. The street vendors in general in Santa Fe represent an important retaking of space for every citizen regardless of socio-economic status, but at the same time it is questionable how much interaction between citizens of different social classes occurs in these spaces. There is still little interaction that exists between the wealthy and

the working classes, but at least the working class circle is able to exist within the area of the wealthy.

Relationship between the Two Santa Fe's

The relationship between the new, globalized Santa Fe and the settlements that surround it, including Pueblo Santa Fe, is characterized by very little interaction from either group (Tellechea 11). Very rarely do the citizens of each community meet or have any form of communication with one another. The only citizens that actually spend their time in both Santa Fe's are the people who are the secretaries, janitors, restaurant employees, etc. in the large commercial center or the major headquarters. This doesn't really suggest major interactions between citizens of different socio-economic statuses because any type of conversation would almost certainly pertain to the service that the worker from Pueblo Santa Fe or another working class area nearby is offering to the businessperson or shopper. While talking with natives of Pueblo Santa Fe, the sense of the situation was that there was very little interaction with those that lived in the gated communities of new Santa Fe.

It is at the same time important to recognize the work being done to bridge the interaction gap between the two Santa Fe's. One of the private universities in new Santa Fe, the Iberoamericana University, has the philosophy of service to the community and building a relationship with the working class areas that are in the area. The Ibero has sponsored centers such as the Casa Meneses, which acts as a community center for education and neighborhood improvement among other services, and a technology center to give computer and Internet access to mainly help children improve their technological

literacy. The university also recognizes many of the socio-economic problems that many of the neighborhoods that surround the new Santa Fe face. The Ibero has done a good deal to get students to do social work and to build social relationships with those in the working class neighborhoods by building social capital through libraries and literacy programs for young children (Rodríguez López 30-31). The attempts by the Ibero reinforce the belief by Caldeira that while the quality of the built environment influences the quality of the social interactions that take place there, it does not define them completely (Caldeira 298). While the built environment of the new Santa Fe represents a form of exclusion and segregation from the surrounding neighborhoods, there are examples like the Ibero that show a relationship between the two can exist.

The closeness in terms of distance between these two different areas almost forces some level of relationship despite vast differences in wealth and social status that define the area. The example of the Ibero is a positive form of outreach from the new Santa Fe to the working class Santa Fe, but this does not mean that it is the norm. As Sameul Tellechea describes, “There are no buffer zones between the rich and the poor, and most (the residents of both new and old Santa Fe) are unhappy with the situation” (Tellechea 17). It is understandable to see why. There continues to be newer developments of wealthy apartments, shops, and hotels that are unaffordable for those living in Pueblo Santa Fe. The original plans of the high-speed train connecting Mexico City and Toluca was going to displace many living in the working class neighborhoods near Santa Fe. Walking or just even driving through Vasco de Quiroga, the main throughway of both areas shows the little amount of distance that separates the areas with the “dividing line” being a roundabout. Headquarters of major multinational corporations are a few

kilometers away from small houses built on the side of ravines. This geographical closeness spurs greater tension between the two sides of the roundabout because the vast socio-economic differences are so visibly exploited.



Figure 3 Roundabout that separates old and new Santa Fe

While being in Santa Fe, it appears that the wealthy part of Santa Fe is continuing to encroach upon the space considered to be Pueblo Santa Fe. A Hyundai car dealership was recently opened on the roundabout that is supposed to separate the two Santa Fe's. There are also two upscale hotels that appear to have been recently built about half a kilometer east of the roundabout in what is still supposed to be a part of Pueblo Santa Fe. The encroachment further down Vasco de Quiroga is evidence that the so-called border between the two Santa Fe's is starting to lose its role as a buffer zone between the two areas. The geographical closeness of the two areas of vast socio-economic differences creates a great deal of tension between the two sides of the roundabout, which is exacerbated by the further encroachment of new, wealthy developments into what is considered Pueblo Santa Fe. It is likely that hotels, restaurants, and businesses that represent the new Santa Fe will continue to push the boundaries of where the wealthy,

new part ends and where the poorer sections of Santa Fe begin due to the amount of revenue that the wealthy area brings into the city. It will be interesting to see the limits of how intrusive the new wealthy parts of Santa Fe can push into the poorer surrounding areas before there becomes some type of rejection on the part of the working class

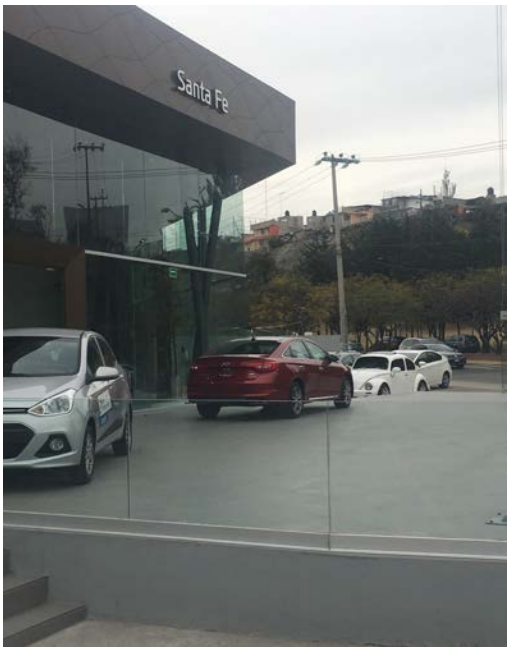

Figure 4 Hyundai dealership next to roundabout in Santa Fe

neighborhoods that have existed before the original plans for new Santa Fe existed.

Shopping Centers as New "Public Spaces"

One of the aspects that make Santa Fe so recognizable is the large shopping center located in the area. It is the third largest shopping center in all of Latin America. What interests so many in the shopping mall from an academic standpoint is how it can possibly act as a form of public space due in part to the almost complete lack of it everywhere else in Santa Fe. Even those in popular culture are fascinated by the potential of the mall representing public space. The famous Mexican writer Carlos Monsiváis

believes that the mall has taken the place of the streets as a place for citizens to encounter each other (Monsiváis, 1995, 168). The popular Mexican movie *Amar te duele* is about teenagers from different social classes meeting and dating in the shopping mall in Santa Fe. It is a good story, especially as it contrasts what is really the norm in the area. Overall, there are many conflicting views about what a space like a shopping mall is supposed to represent and whether a place like it serves as an adequate public space within democracy.

An important aspect to understand about a shopping center as a public space is to understand the purpose of the space. Parkinson argues, "How we should react to the features of a particular space when it comes to unscripted encounters with strangers depends very much on the capacities, uses, and purposes of the space in question" (Parkinson, 2009, 73). While many people do agree to meet up at a shopping center since there are several food options next to the stores in the shopping center, the principle reason for going to there is to buy. The shopping center differs from an open space like a park because the prices of goods or the increased presence of security can deter many people from wanting to come. Caldeira describes shopping centers as "spaces of controlled circulation", which "come to assure that distinction and separation are still possible in public" (Caldeira 319). Many citizens would be deterred to going to upscale shopping centers like Santa Fe because they know that they cannot afford to buy any of the things that are there. They know they have no reason to go because they cannot fulfill the primary purpose of the space, and they don't go. The shopping center can act as a private space while still being open to the public because it deters people of lower socio-economic status from coming. This is the form of controlled circulation that Caldeira

describes. Many citizens of working class backgrounds don't go to shopping centers like the one in Santa Fe because they can't afford anything there. The result is that shopping centers are in many ways private because of this circulation control. Even if there are no physical barriers like walls or gates that prevent people from entering these spaces, the nature of the space is responsible for the types of people that enter in the space.

This controlled circulation aspect of shopping centers is what helps many who live in the gated communities feel comfortable to going to a space that is "public". This is especially true for parents who have children. Juan, a father of two children, takes them to Santa Fe on the weekends because he says; "I can't take them to the parks because parks don't exist anymore because of the current insecurity" (Moreno Carranco 84). In this way, the shopping center in Santa Fe replaces parks as urban space because they are perceived as safer because of the controlled circulation. It explains why in addition to stores and restaurants, there are spaces specifically for kids to play like Kidzania, an arcade center, ArtPark, and an ice rink in the Santa Fe mall. The commercial center in Santa Fe provides enough spaces to replace what could be traditionally thought of as a public space while still being more of what Moreno Carranco calls a "private-public space" (Moreno Carranco 83). It is different from going to the Zócalo during the holiday period to ice skate. There, it is free and open to the public in a very accessible part of the city. The ice rink in Santa Fe provides the same service but makes it less public due both to its location within the shopping center and the price that it costs to skate. Children of upper-middle class and the wealthy that grow up in Santa Fe live behind the gates and walls of their communities and then go out into the "public space" of the big shopping center. They never really experience people of other socio-economic backgrounds. This

presents a problem when believing that democracy needs citizens who see themselves as a community rather than individuals when making decisions. Openness is a part of being in a democracy. As Jane Jacobs puts it, “No normal person can spend his life in some artificial haven, and this includes children. Everyone must use the streets” (Jacobs 36). This is part of the problem with shopping centers being public spaces. They fulfill people’s desires to be out in public without really being in a public space interacting with citizens of various socio-economic backgrounds. For a democracy to function, there should be true public spaces for random interactions that make people of different backgrounds feel a part of the same community. Shopping centers prevent this from happening because they are naturally spaces that control circulation.



Figure 5 The skating rink in Santa Fe shopping center

Conclusion

Santa Fe is a city of contrasts. It exemplifies the starkest example of the effects that globalization has had on the country as a whole. It is a contrast in that in an effort to become more global, it has in many instances disregarded some of the democratic principles. The liberalization of the Mexican economy coincided with increased democratic rights. Yet, inequality that has been exacerbated by globalization factors has left Santa Fe as an area divided between the haves and have-nots. While democracy is not necessarily about creating perfect equality among the citizenry, the vast inequality that has expanded because of globalization leaves Mexico

and its urban areas with a problem for the health of democracy. Santa Fe exemplifies an area where the rich isolate themselves from the poor via gates, walls, surveillance systems, or simply the logistical process of accessing the space while the areas surrounding this almost island of wealth lack signs of the benefits of globalization.

The barriers to access of space that the wealthy in Santa Fe put up to avoid any contact with anyone not like them has created an area of minimal interaction. There is no interaction between citizens of different socio-economic levels because the built environment is not set up to allow for these spontaneous interactions. There is next to none open walkways, green spaces, or anything else that would be considered real public space. The only location that exemplifies some level of a public space is the huge shopping center. There is evidence to suggest that citizens of different socio-economic backgrounds use this space (Moreno Carranco 83), but it is hard to consider this space as a public space. There is a level of control to who comes into the mall because the purpose of the place is to shop, and most citizens of less wealth cannot afford to buy the products in the stores. The built environment of the wealthy area is not or was never constructed to be an open space conducive to citizens of various socio-economic status randomly passing by each other or interacting.

The end result of this construction has been an area sharply divided. The two Santa Fe's share the street of Vasco de Quiroga with a roundabout that divides them, which is about where the relationship between the two areas ends. Many people in Pueblo Santa Fe do work the low paying service jobs in the corporate headquarters, apartments, stores, and restaurants in the new Santa Fe, but this is the only relationship between the residents of the two areas occurs. There is no real sense of community between the two

that makes them think of both areas as one Santa Fe because there is such little interaction between either side. Much of this comes from the clear divide that exists between the two areas, which is largely based on wealth and economic influence. Additionally, walls and gates that create little area for open or even mixed spaces close much of the newer Santa Fe off from those who don't live in the residences. This type of hyper-separation and walling off of each other is troubling for a new democracy. Citizens on some level should know how decisions affect society as a whole and not simply the small group of people that surround them. Santa Fe is set up in a way that the two sides inhabit two different countries. The wealthy actively reject their fellow citizen because the other has much less money than them. The working class people in Santa Fe have little reason, and it takes a great deal of effort, to enter the places where interactions between them and the wealthy are possible. These are troubling signs for the relationships between citizens and democracy on a deeper level.

Capítulo 3: Una análisis de los temas de *Los rituales del caos*

Introducción

Todas las grandes ciudades históricas en el mundo como París, Roma y Jerusalén llaman la atención de la literatura y los lectores de obras literarias. La Ciudad de México no es una excepción. Desde su inicio como una civilización, la región que actualmente es la Ciudad de México ha sido un tema central en la literatura. Como dice Beatriz Gracía Torres, "La Ciudad de México ha sido descrita, poetizada, narrada desde antiguo disfrutando de un protagonismo casi absoluto" (García Torres 484). Los aztecas, el grupo indígena que controlaba mucho territorio en lo que es el país actual de México, escribieron sobre lo que era la capital de su imperio, Tenochtitlán, a través de sus códices. Cuando Cortés y sus soldados españoles llegaron y conquistaron la región, escribieron una gran cantidad de obras literarias describiendo lo que estaba en la región. A partir de la historia del país actual de México, la Ciudad de México ha sido el énfasis como el centro de una civilización y una metrópolis. Una de las grandes razones para hacer este tipo de trabajo es anotar la información histórica y analizar las perspectivas sobre la ciudad durante la época en que se escribió. La importancia de la región que se considera la Ciudad de México la hace un lugar central para los historiadores, los escritores y los periodistas que quieren describir la grandeza o la destrucción de la metrópolis. Por eso hay una abundancia de literatura escrita sobre la Ciudad de México.

En la época moderna, la actual capital de la República Mexicana ha atraído a muchos escritores mexicanos a escribir diferentes tipos de obras sobre ella. Uno de los escritores más famosos es Carlos Monsiváis. En su obra literaria *Los rituales del caos* que se publicó por primera vez en 1995, el escritor mexicano Carlos Monsiváis describe

la Ciudad de México como una ciudad que siempre está al filo del abismo, pero funciona cada día por las acciones de los que viven en la ciudad. Hay diferentes aspectos de la ciudad que contribuyen a este caos como, por ejemplo, la cantidad de gente que vive en la región metropolitana, el sistema del transporte público y la falta de oportunidades para la mayoría de la población. Además, el caos de la ciudad significa algo diferente para gente de diferentes clases sociales. Monsiváis aprovecha el estilo literario de la crónica para describir la Ciudad de México como una entidad diversa que junta actores y circunstancias diferentes. A partir de este estilo literario, Monsiváis puede enfocarse en los positivos de la ciudad y los negativos como la opinión que es una entidad que excluye y controla a la gente de las clases bajas. Monsiváis y su libro representan un grupo de escritores que usaron la forma literaria de la crónica y cambiaron el discurso sobre la Ciudad de México. Él y sus obras representan un cambio con la literatura sobre la Ciudad de México que vino antes porque esta literatura trató la ciudad como una entidad singular. Los temas de *Los rituales del caos* se enfocan en la desigualdad de la ciudad, los efectos del neoliberalismo y cómo se controlan las masas por la construcción de la ciudad y las acciones de los ciudadanos.

La crónica como estilo literario y Monsiváis como cronista

El estilo de literatura que usa Monsiváis en *Los rituales del caos* es la crónica, la que se convirtió en un estilo literario muy popular para escribir sobre la experiencia urbana. El uso de la crónica para describir la experiencia urbana no es algo nuevo. En México, la crónica ha sido una forma literaria desde la época de Bernal Díaz del Castillo y sus crónicas sobre su experiencia en la Nueva España (García Torres 484). Entonces,

Carlos Monsiváis es parte de esta línea de escritores que han escrito sus experiencias y sus perspectivas sobre la urbe que hoy en día es la Ciudad de México. Estas obras literarias que los escritores escribían y los escritores mexicanos modernos escriben cuentan la historia de la región. Según Monsiváis, "la crónica, al verter literariamente vivencias locales y nacionales es inmejorable aliada y cómplice de la Historia" (Monsiváis 755). Por esto, la crónica es una forma única de literatura porque como dice Monsiváis la crónica tiene esta alianza con la historia. La crónica es muy diferente de los tipos de literatura de no ficción porque es una observación de la historia. Entonces, en alguna manera, los cronistas como Carlos Monsiváis y otros son historiadores porque cuentan la historia de la experiencia urbana. Además, Monsiváis cree que "el deber de la crónica es hacer espacio público disponible por los que no lo tienen" (Monsiváis 34). Esta opinión de Monsiváis es importante porque muestra que él escribe sobre la experiencia de otros que viven en la Ciudad de México y el significado profundo de esta experiencia. La crónica es un estilo que puede enfocarse más en todas los aspectos de la vida urbana.

La forma en que se escriben las crónicas es diferente de otras formas literarias, y esta forma permite que las crónicas pueden llegar a una audiencia más grande. Hoy en día, se publican con mucha frecuencia las crónicas en los periódicos en los países hispanohablantes y solamente se escriben en libros después de ser publicadas en los periódicos (Gelpí 212). Hay una razón muy importante para esta tendencia. Según el cronista mexicano Jorge Joaquín Blanco, "Se publican las crónicas en los periódicos porque es una buena manera de atraer a los lectores que no les gusta leer muchos libros" (Blanco, Ceñero y Villoro 62). Las crónicas son escritas para el público general y no para

los ciudadanos con el nivel más alto de educación. Todo el mundo que puede leer puede entender el lenguaje usado en las crónicas porque los cronistas las escriben para los que compran y leen los periódicos en lugar de los libros. Carlos Monsiváis era un cronista que tenía muchos vínculos con los periódicos en México. Él escribió muchos artículos para muchos periódicos y revistas además de ser cofundador y director de algunos diarios que tenía mucha influencia en México (Biografías y vidas). Monsiváis representa la tendencia de los vínculos entre la crónica y el periodismo que fue muy evidente durante el siglo veinte, especialmente porque los periódicos y las revistas eran el modo más usado de encontrar información sobre los sucesos actuales. Esta tendencia de las crónicas es la manera más interesante que hace distintas las crónicas.

La crónica puede tener el propósito de imponer sus creencias en el lector sobre lo que escribe de la ciudad o el país. Como dice Blanco, “La crónica demanda un reportero observante y compasivo que cuente su propia impresión personal sobre el evento” (Blanco, Ceñero y Villoro 61). En este sentido los cronistas son como reporteros y testigos de la historia. Carlos Monsiváis cree:

> Al perder la crónica el tono urgente del compromiso de ideología y partido, se opta por lo que se llamará “costumbrismo”, la tarea relatora que exhibe lealtades locales, regionales y nacionales, y el compromiso solidario: construir a esta sociedad que será una nación, fortalecerla desde la elección de vestuario para las fiestas, desde la predilección por un platillo, desde el sermoneo dedicado a las señoritas en edad de merecer” (Monsiváis 756).

Obviamente, cada época histórica del país puede afectar el mensaje que se trata de transmitir al lector además de las creencias propias de cada cronista. Entonces, hay un ritmo o una tendencia por cada época que influye cómo escriben los cronistas. Lo que escriben los cronistas modernos como Monsiváis o Elena Poniatowski va a ser muy

distinto de lo que escribe los cronistas españoles como Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Una razón para esta tendencia es la diferencia en la composición de la ciudad, pero también los eventos históricos crean perspectivas diferentes para cada grupo de cronistas. Para los conquistadores españoles como Díaz del Castillo, el propósito de escribir sus crónicas era informar y persuadir a la monarquía española. Para los cronistas que escribieron durante la época de las guerras de independencia, escribieron para generar un sentido de nacionalismo. Para Monsiváis y otros que han escrito durante los últimos veinte o treinta años, los temas centrales son la sobrepoblación de la región metropolitana, la destrucción del medio ambiente y la desigualdad extrema. Todos los eventos y circunstancias son fundamentales para los cronistas porque su literatura y sus perspectivas dependen de lo que sucede.

La tendencia de los cronistas de la segunda mitad del siglo veinte como Monsiváis es una tendencia muy particular. Juan Gelpí describe la situación así, “La nueva crónica en América Latina, en el desarrollo de lo que Carlos Monsiváis juega un rol clave, coexistir con la crisis de los procesos de modernización y crecimiento urbano que afectaron muchas ciudades latinoamericanas después de los años sesenta” (Gelpí 211). Los cronistas latinoamericanos se han enfocado en estos sucesos en las ciudades porque han sido la característica más profunda de estos lugares. Además, la crónica como un género de literatura tiene una ventaja para discutir este tema. García Torres cree, “La crónica se postula como género privilegiado para acercarse a esta megalópolis descentrada que ya solo puede ser asumida de modo fragmentario y que requiere un género híbrido que transmita la multiplicidad de la materia que trata” (García Torres 485). Juan Gelpí está de acuerdo con esta declaración porque dice, “La nueva crónica

urbana puede llegar a un público bien leído y resiste las pretensiones científicas o todas abarcadas a partir de su preferencia por presentar segmentos de sucesos urbanos" (Gelpí 211). La nueva crónica sobre las ciudades latinoamericanas representa la desorganización que ocurrió durante la segunda mitad del siglo pasado. Es por eso que una crónica representa la ciudad porque muchas veces la crónica puede ser desorganizada y parecer que no hay una identidad central en la obra. La crónica puede cambiar desde un evento o un lugar de la ciudad a otro tema completamente diferente sin problemas. Es la mejor manera de contar la situación de una ciudad porque eventos ocurren o gente vive pero no afectan una parte diferente de la desorganizada ciudad moderna como una crónica en el libro no afecta la siguiente crónica de un libro.

El significado del título *Los rituales del caos*

El título *Los rituales del caos* forma la base fundamental del libro de Monsiváis. El término "ritual" significa que hay un tipo de comportamiento que los ciudadanos de la Ciudad de México tienen para sobrevivir la ciudad que es marcada por el problema de la sobrepoblación. Según la Real Academia Española, el "ritual" significa un conjunto de ritos de una religión, de una Iglesia o de una función sagrada (Word Reference). La definición oficial de la palabra "ritual" es interesante porque significa que Monsiváis utiliza un juego de palabras con el título. Si los rituales representan los actos cotidianos de los ciudadanos de la Ciudad de México, la ciudad es la Iglesia o una institución sagrada. Monsiváis aprovecha el hecho de que más de ochenta por ciento de la población pertenecen a la religión católica (World Factbook). Ya que son católicos fieles, hacen

diferentes cosas comunes que no son leyes pero las hacen como si fueran así. Según Tania Gentic-Valencia sobre el libro:

> La premisa fundamental del argumento de *Los rituales del caos* es que lo que antes se concebía como el caos de las masas—y que se oponía al orden oficial—está regido por un orden, así como las instituciones estatales, y por estructuras de reproducción que aseguran la repetición de un comportamiento que, aunque diferente de la norma, debe ser reconocido como "mexicano" (Gentic-Valencia 113).

Monsiváis usa la palabra "ritual" para el título porque son actos que los que viven en el Distrito Federal hacen, y se vuelven parte de una identidad compartida como una nacionalidad a pesar de las diferencias extremas que existen.

La segunda parte del título *Los rituales del caos* sirve como un sentido opositor de la primera parte del título. El caos en el contexto es la institución que agrupa los ritos. Sin embargo, esta idea es una paradoja porque el caos no puede ser una institución por su naturaleza. Por lo general, el caos se relaciona con la anarquía que es el enemigo de las instituciones porque no hay leyes o no se obedecen las leyes cuando hay anarquía. Entonces, ¿cómo es posible que el caos pueda ser algo como una Iglesia? Florido Alejo lo describe como "ese 'feroz desorden' desde el cual se guarda la construcción de un orden" (Florido Alejo 247). Lo que Monsiváis sugiere en el título es que el caos es la religión de la Ciudad de México. Para él, "En el caos se inicia el perfeccionamiento del orden" (Monsiváis, 1995, 15). García Torres no postula el caos como la religión de la Ciudad de México, sino que sugiere que la urbe contemporánea es naturalmente caótica (García Torres 485). Es casi ya que hay tanto caos en el Distrito Federal que lo hace funcionar. Entonces, es verdad que el caos es una característica de las ciudades contemporáneas, pero el título de Monsiváis describe una casi paradoja de lo que los habitantes de la ciudad hacen para vivir allí.

El caos es un tema central en muchas de las crónicas contemporáneas sobre la Ciudad de México. Es posible que los cronistas mexicanos reflexionen sobre la percepción de la ciudad que los mexicanos tienen sobre la ciudad. Durante la época que Monsiváis escribió su crónica, la taza de crimen en el DF era muy alta por la situación económica, y esto creó una percepción de miedo en la ciudad (Lida 202-203). García Torres describe la situación así:

> "Las cicatrices del mencionado progreso desdicen la promesa: la ciudad es el peligro, el caos, el amontonamiento, la suciedad, la soledad del individuo perdido en la multitud. El cronista que quiere contar el día a día de la Ciudad de México se encuentra frente a una megalópolis asediada por el tráfico y la creciente inseguridad, consumidora insaciable de recursos y generadora de contaminación ambiental, visual y acústica" (García Torres 484).

Es el trabajo del cronista describir las perspectivas de los habitantes de la Ciudad de México sobre sus experiencias en ella. Si la experiencia es una experiencia de lo caótico, la crónica va a describir caos. José Joaquín Blanco, otro cronista famoso cree, "La Ciudad de México es el apocalipsis diario. Por todas partes se derrumba, se enfanga, se construye, se vuelve a derrumbar" (García Torres 484). Muchos de los cronistas de la Ciudad de México usan esta idea que el DF es tan caótico que es una ciudad apocalíptica. Monsiváis reconoce este sentimiento de que la Ciudad de México es una ciudad apocalíptica, pero la llama una "ciudad post-apocalíptica" (Monsiváis 21). Monsiváis se distingue del sentimiento que tiene la mayoría de los habitantes de la Ciudad de México por su creencia que a pesar del caos y, de hecho, por el caos hay orden.

El uso del término "ciudad post-apocalíptica" obliga una explicación del significado de este término y el significado de la Ciudad de México como una ciudad apocalíptica. Esta idea de la Ciudad de México como una ciudad apocalíptica está basada

en los sucesos de los años setenta y ochenta. En los años setenta, había predicciones que el crecimiento sin fin de la población convertiría la ciudad en una megalópolis con una población de más de treinta millones de personas en el año 2000 (Sudjic 170). Estas predicciones de una población insostenible causaba a escritores como Carlos Fuentes escribir sobre la ciudad como una ciudad que estaba en el filo del precipicio. Además, los niveles muy altos la contaminación del aire durante los ochenta y el terremoto en 1985 crearon imágenes de destrucción y desastre que lo hizo fácil llamar la ciudad como una "ciudad apocalíptica" (Lida 3). Según Monsiváis, la Ciudad de México es una "ciudad post-apocalíptica" porque las ventajas son mayores que los horrores (Monsiváis, 1995, 21). Entonces, los habitantes de la ciudad funcionan en la ciudad porque creen que vale la pena seguir viviendo en ella. Como dice Lida, "La Ciudad de México es un lugar exigente para vivir, pero es un lugar gratificante para vivir" (Lida 5). Lida y Monsiváis comparten esta creencia, y probablemente, la mayoría de los habitantes de la Ciudad de México están de acuerdo. Es este sentido que da la impresión que la Ciudad de México es una ciudad post-apocalíptica en lugar de una ciudad apocalíptica.

"La hora de la identidad acumulativa"

La primera crónica en *Los rituales del caos* es la crónica fundamental que forma la base de la idea que tiene Monsiváis que dentro de las masas grandes de gente hay grupos individuales que existen y forman la identidad acumulativa. La Ciudad de México no es solamente una masa de conformidad, sino que es una acumulación de diferente gente que forma las masa. La reseña de Florido Alejo de esta crónica es que "La síntesis de Monsiváis es una ciudad post-apocalíptica, donde la convivencia se hace tolerable en

ese teatro callejero donde cada actor representa su propia obra" (Florido Alejo 249). Esta síntesis de Monsiváis hace dos cosas para el libro en total: establece la idea que la ciudad es la multitud de la gente que habita la ciudad y hace más posible entender la ciudad desde la perspectiva literaria. Según García Torres, "La idea de post-apocalipsis articula una forma de entender la ciudad, establece la metáfora desesperada a través de la cual la urbe se vuelve comprensible" (García Torres 485). Es comprensible porque la ciudad ya no es una tragedia o una ciudad fallida sino una ciudad llena de rituales que la hacen funcionar. La ciudad funciona como una serie de crónicas porque es una colección de historias y pensamientos como la ciudad es una colección de gente que forma una sola ciudad.

El énfasis de Monsiváis en el post-apocalipsis es lo que lo distingue de los otros cronistas sobre la ciudad. Es un contraste con el escritor famoso Carlos Fuentes quien escribió sobre los grandes problemas de la Ciudad de México para justificar la idea de que la ciudad era un fracaso (Celorio 50). Monsiváis reconoce estos problemas graves, pero también reconoce el casi milagro que la ciudad todavía funciona. La razón por esto es que según Gracía Torres, "Monsiváis tiene la noción de post-apocalipsis significa que el habitante de la Ciudad de México es el resultado y no la causa de los males" (García Torres 485). Gentic-Valencia cree que "en *Los rituales del caos*, el cronista evoca a través de la descripción y estructura retórica de la diferencia una inclusión futura de todos los elementos de la sociedad que se base en las realidades ya existentes" (Gentic-Valencia 112). Monsiváis se enfoca en la idea de la ciudad como una multitud de gente para mostrar que todas la partes de la sociedad se adaptan para mantener el funcionamiento de la ciudad. La adaptación de los habitantes a las condiciones de la

Ciudad de México es como es posible que la Ciudad de México sea una ciudad post-apocalíptica.

Lo interesante de esta crónica es la creencia de Monsiváis en los beneficios de vivir en la Ciudad de México que son resultados de los problemas o el caos que caracterizan la ciudad. Él escribe:

> La ciudad funciona de modo que a la mayoría le parece inexplicable, y cada quien extrae del caos las recompensas que en algo equilibran las sensaciones de vida invivible. El odio y el amor a la ciudad se integran en la fascinación, y la energía citadina crea sobre la marcha espectáculos únicos, el "teatro callejero" de los diez millones de personas que a diario se movilizan en el Metro, en autobuses, en camiones, en camionetas, en motocicletas, en bicicletas, en autos (Monsiváis, 1995, 21).

Durante esta crónica, Monsiváis sugiere que las ventajas de vivir en la Ciudad de México sopesa las desventajas como "los riesgos de la contaminación, el ozono, la inversión térmica, el plomo en la sangre, la violencia, la carrera de ratas y la falta de significación individual" (Monsiváis, 1995, 20). A partir de esta crónica, Monsiváis pinta una pintura favorable de la Ciudad de México. Todavía menciona los grandes problemas que tiene la Ciudad de México y que tienen que enfrentar los ciudadanos de la urbe, pero no son tan grandes como las oportunidades que presenta el DF. A Monsiváis le fascina este balance que existe entre la ventaja y la desventaja, el orden y el caos y la masa y el individuo. La Ciudad de México es única por este balance de características opositoras, y los habitantes tratan de encontrar su lugar en este balance.

Esta crónica también menciona la multitud o las masas que dan miedo a los ricos o las élites de la ciudad. Entonces, hay un deseo por parte de la élite de controlar las masas que en su mente es el caos de la ciudad. Hay muchas tácticas que los ricos usan para evitar o controlar a las masas. Según Monsiváis, "La élite se resigna, da por

concluido su libre disfrute de las ciudades y se adentra en los ghettos del privilegio: ‘Aquí todo funciona tan bien que parece que no viviéramos aquí’. Y lo exclusivo quiere compensar por la desaparición de lo urbano” (Monsiváis, 1995, 23). Esta cita de Monsiváis describe de manera casi perfecta la situación en Santa Fe que se analiza en el capítulo 2. Es una forma de segregación espacial de la ciudad que es un resultado del miedo de las masas de la ciudad. Es la manera de los ricos de enfrentar el “caos” de la Ciudad de México. Esta segregación es también el resultado de los procesos de globalización que se inició en México durante las décadas de los ochenta y los noventa, durante la época que escribe Monsiváis sus crónicas. Como dice Néstor García Canclini, “En las metrópolis…la globalización selectiva excluye a desocupados y migrantes de los derechos humanos básicos” (Canclini, 2009, 26). Entonces, la respuesta de la élite de controlar a las masas durante la época de la globalización ha sido la desventaja de las masas. La identidad acumulativa es una identidad doble que por un lado, son las masas que tienen que enfrentar los retos de la falta de espacio propio y el caos y por otro lado, es la élite que trata de controlar a las masas a partir de tácticas de exclusión.

El metro, el ejemplo del caos y la segregación de la Ciudad de México





Figure 6 El metro durante hora pico

La crónica “La hora de Robinson Crusoe” es la crónica sobre el metro que le da al lector la experiencia de estar en el metro durante las horas cuando es casi imposible encontrar espacio. El título de esta crónica es interesante porque el personaje de Robinson Crusoe que toma muchas aventuras y viajes donde sufre muchas dificultades (Robinson Crusoe-Book Summary). Monsiváis usa este título como una metáfora de la experiencia de usar el metro. El fotógrafo Héctor Mediavilla que vivía en el Distrito Federal dice sobre el metro, “(Los habitantes) no tienen otra opción de evitar de estar parte de las masas (que están en el metro). Tienen que aceptar la situación” (Byrnes 1). En su obra, Monsiváis también describe el uso del metro durante las horas donde hay más gente como una experiencia de las masas. Imágenes como estas agregan a la idea que la Ciudad de México es una ciudad que está al filo del abismo. Mediavilla añade sobre el metro, “Lo que me mostró sobre la metrópolis es que hay algo que no nos funciona bien como seres humanos en nuestra relación con nuestro medio ambiente” (Byrnes 1). Mientras que estas imágenes y las descripciones del metro muestran una ciudad que está cerca del filo de abismo, respaldan la creencia de Monsiváis que la Ciudad de México es una ciudad

post-apocalíptica porque los ciudadanos conviven con estos problemas. Usar el metro es un ritual de la ciudad que funciona a pesar de sus problemas. Como dice Monsiváis, “El usuario acepta las fatigas de la convivencia y, lo acepte o no, admira los espectáculos a su alcance, que en sitios con espacio disponible o posible le parecerían abominables” (Monsiváis, 1995, 169). En esta crónica, Monsiváis da la impresión del metro como ejemplo de los problemas de la estructura de la ciudad que los habitantes tienen que enfrentar.

Además de ser una característica fundamental de la noción de una ciudad apocalíptica o post-apocalíptica, el metro representa la desigualdad masiva que existe en la Ciudad de México. Es evidente cuando alguien usa el metro que hay una cuestión sobre quién está en el metro y quién no lo usa. Juan Villoro describe la situación así, “A pesar de la cantidad de ellos, se seleccionaron sin error: descender las escaleras es cruzar una línea de segregación racial” (Villoro 131). Es obvio que hay una separación entre el tipo de gente que usa el metro y los que no lo usan porque casi toda la gente que usa el metro tiene la piel oscura que en México cualifica a la gente como mestizo o indígena. Los ricos casi siempre son los que tienen la piel clara y rasgos europeos. Por eso, los pobres tienen que entrar en esta situación post-apocalíptica donde no son individuos sino una sola masa. Monsiváis escribe, “El que posee un solo cuerpo y, además, gana muy poco, ve nulificarse las enseñanzas de los cursos de autoayuda, y siente que a su alrededor todo se derrumba con tal de hacerle compañía” (Monsiváis, 1995, 166). El metro representa una perdida de identidad singular para el usuario. Los ricos pueden ser individuos, pero los pobres siempre son una masa.

El sistema de transporte público que es el metro puede representar una forma de control del gobierno sobre las masas en la ciudad. Monsiváis dice, “Los representantes de la autoridad pueden convertirse en arcángeles de fuego, pero el usuario nunca transita al rango de espada ígnea y debe conformarse con visajes y maldiciones y mentadas de madre, esas que nunca derriban los muros de Jericó” (Monsiváis, 1995, 174). Un tema central en esta crónica sobre el metro es la conformidad y la aceptación de las condiciones del metro, pero también de la posición socio-económica en la ciudad. En otra parte, Monsiváis usa el metro como una metáfora para la ciudad. Mucha gente, especialmente los ricos, puede ver las masas de gente pobre como una amenaza y como el problema sistémico de la ciudad. Sin embargo, Monsiváis cree que las masas son el resultado del sistema y no la causa de los problemas de la ciudad. A la misma vez, esta percepción de los que tienen poder afecta las decisiones de los oficiales en el gobierno. Es importante entender que las condiciones y la infraestructura del metro es el resultado de las decisiones de los que están en el poder.

El metro puede representar una trampa para los usuarios según tu clase social porque los de las clases trabajadoras tienen que enfrentar los retos y los problemas de usar el metro durante la hora pico. El metro representa una separación de las clases porque existe una división entre los usuarios del metro y los que no usan el metro. Además de ser una trampa simbólica, el metro es una trampa física porque no se pueden acceder muchas secciones de la ciudad por varias razones. Mientras que el metro significa la habilidad de transportarse en la Ciudad de México, es una forma de control de las masas porque las masas que usan el metro son controladas por las rutas de las líneas pero también porque la cantidad de gente que usa el metro se hace conformar a un

comportamiento de la angustia que el metro causa. Se causa la angustia en el metro por la falta de espacio propio porque los trenes siempre están completamente llenos. El metro "es la vida de todos atrapada en una sola gran vertiente, es la riqueza fisonómica, es el extravío en el laberinto de las emociones suprimidas o emitidas como descargas viscerales" (Monsiváis, 1995, 177).

"La hora del acenso social"

"La hora del acenso social" es la crónica en *Los rituales del caos* donde Monsiváis critica más la economía y la ideología neoliberal que cualquier crónica en el libro. En esta crónica, Monsiváis usa subsecciones para describir la mentalidad de cada década del neoliberalismo en México. En esta crónica usa la frase "la religión del éxito!" para comparar el neoliberalismo con una religión como el catolicismo, y si se acuerda de lo que dice antes sobre la religión en México, la religión involucra todas las partes de la vida sin pensamiento crítico. Es esta religión del neoliberalismo que ha cambiado la definición de la ciudadanía. Según Monsiváis, "la inmensa verdad" de la religión del éxito es "el dinero es lo que nos distingue de los elefantes y de las hormigas" (Monsiváis, 1995, 218). La implicación que el dinero es lo que nos distingue de los animales ignora las otras características humanas como la forma de pensamiento, las emociones, la empatía y muchas más. Por eso, Monsiváis muestra cómo el neoliberalismo trata de simplificar la experiencia humana a lo económico, y específicamente el dinero.

Hay grandes implicaciones a este punto de vista del mundo. Crea la idea de que la ciudadanía incluye la clase social de la que pertenece el ciudadano, y esta ciudadanía en realidad es la habilidad de comprar o adquirir. El antropólogo argentino Néstor García

Canclini discute mucho y critica esta nueva definición de la ciudadanía bajo la creencia neoliberal. Canclini dice, “Recordar que los ciudadanos somos también consumidores lleva a encontrar en la diversificación de gustos una de las bases estéticas que justifican la concepción democrática de la ciudadanía” (Canclini, 2009, 30). Los ciudadanos como consumidores favorece la creencia en el mercado sobre los derechos sociales que merecen los ciudadanos. En este escenario, Canclini cree, “El derecho de ser ciudadano, o sea, de decidir cómo se producen, se distribuyen y se usan esos bienes, queda restringido otra vez a las élites” (Canclini, 2009, 26). El politólogo Keith Faulks está de acuerdo con Canclini porque dice, “Mientras que se ve la ciudadanía como cosa secundaria a los valores del capitalismo, mantendrá un estatus débil y superficial propenso a dilución por parte de las élites” (Faulks 82). Entonces, el neoliberalismo y el fiel inquebrantable en el mercado resultan en el ciudadano como el consumidor, una tendencia que Monsiváis critica mucho en la crónica “La hora del acenso social”.

La privatización del espacio por las ideas sobre la ciudad global causa esta ciudadanía secundaria. El espacio se puede considerar un bien común, y esta privatización es otra forma de exclusión de la gente popular que crea la ciudadanía secundaria. Además es otra forma de controlar las masas. Si se piensa en la construcción de los centros comerciales y el uso de los centros comerciales como “espacios públicos”, este fenómeno marca una diferencia con la idea sobre qué define el espacio público. Monsiváis menciona cómo el centro comercial ha tomado el lugar de la calle como espacio público (Monsiváis, 1995, 168). Esto significa un control de las masas porque como se mencionó en el capítulo dos, los lugares “públicos” como el centro comercial no son espacios públicos de verdad porque por su naturaleza van a filtrar a gente que no

pueden ir por los precios o algo así. Además, la noción del centro comercial como un espacio público respalda la idea del ciudadano-consumidor porque personas de la misma condición social van a estos lugares y se siguen rutinas predecibles del comportamiento de los individuales que están allí (Páramo y Burbano 15). Si los centros comerciales son los nuevos espacios públicos, los ciudadanos ya son consumidores en lugar de ciudadanos que toman las calles para encontrarse o protestar el gobierno. Antes, el ciudadano implicaba alguien que participaba en la democracia, pero ahora significa que el ciudadano tiene que comprar y consumir muchas cosas como su deber cívico.

Monsiváis explica en “La hora del acenso social” la promesa falsa de los beneficios del neoliberalismo para todos los ciudadanos. Monsiváis escribe que “El darwinismo social nunca muere” (Monsiváis, 1995, 218) lo que implica que el darwinismo social es parte de la religión del éxito. La creencia fundamental de la religión del éxito es que puedes ganar todo lo que quieres si trabajas por ello porque según el darwinismo social solo los más fuertes o más inteligentes sobreviven. El éxito de una persona es determinada por su naturaleza o por su deseo según la religión del éxito. No importan las circunstancias sociales o económicas, sino es tu culpa o que “el éxito es una convicción íntima” (Monsiváis, 1995, 226). Monsiváis rechaza esta creencia. Él dice, “Quien en estos años quiere triunfar será siempre un fracasado, el triunfo es cada vez más herencia genética: destreza en las finanzas, la política, el cultivo de las relaciones”, y “hoy el secreto de cualquier ganancia es el dinero y dinero llama dinero y quien no tiene dinero nunca lo tendrá y la moral del dinero no pasa por los gimnasios de la voluntad” (Monsiváis, 1995, 226). Lo que dice Monsiváis es que los que vienen de la riqueza tendrán éxito mientras que los que no vienen de la riqueza o se nacen en la pobreza no

tendrán éxito en el sistema capitalista que tiene México. Monsiváis cree que no importa el esfuerzo o la determinación que tiene una persona porque lo importante es la riqueza de los padres o la familia.

En la Ciudad de México y México por lo general, la pobreza y la desigualdad son tan altas. No puede ser que casi la mitad de la población vive en la pobreza porque no tiene la convicción. Según David Lida, "La movilidad social es casi non existente en la Ciudad de México. Te da una posición en la sociedad y te espera quedar allí" (Lida 36). Obviamente, hay muchos problemas estructurales que impiden la posibilidad del acenso social. El tema de la desigualdad y la pobreza es una realidad que la Ciudad de México tiene que enfrentar. La democracia implica que hay algún nivel de igualdad socio-económica y que no hay barreras que excluyen a los ciudadanos. La ciudadanía no puede ser algo que se tiene que comprar. La religión del éxito es problemático porque impide que el gobierno y la sociedad enfrenten el problema de la falta del acenso social que mejoraría la democracia.

Conclusión

El deber de un o una cronista de una ciudad como la Ciudad de México es contar la historia actual de la ciudad. A partir de la historia de la Ciudad de México, ha habido cronistas que han escrito la historia de las características más importantes que definen la época cuando se escribió. Los cronistas modernos como Monsiváis y otros tienen la responsabilidad de contar la historia que muchas veces incluyen actos de periodismo y opinión. El discurso de la ciudad ha cambiado mucho durante los siglos, pero durante los últimos cincuenta años mucho del discurso es sobre la urbanización y el fracaso de este

proceso. Además, el tema de la desigualdad y la pobreza es algo que es muy evidente en la ciudad, y los escritores ponen sus perspectivas en este y otros temas. Es esta razón por qué la crónica como estilo literario provee una abundancia de obras literarias porque hay tantos aspectos distintos de la ciudad en que se pueden enfocar.

Carlos Monsiváis en *Los rituales del caos* escribe sus crónicas sobre el sistema actual de neoliberalismo y cómo se afectan los ciudadanos en la ciudad que tienen que enfrentar las consecuencias de la planeación urbana fallida. Esta planeación fallida es la razón que muchos creen que la Ciudad de México es una ciudad apocalíptica, y es solamente por los esfuerzos y las adaptaciones de los habitantes que la ciudad sobrevive. Monsiváis representa una brecha con algunos de los cronistas de la Ciudad de México porque describe la situación en la Ciudad de México como una ciudad postapocalíptica. Mientras que se enfoca partes de las crónicas a esta idea, el tema más recurrente de Monsiváis es el personaje de las masas y los subtemas de las masas que incluyen el control social, el cambio de la ciudadanía y la desigualdad. La masa es el personaje recurrente en *Los rituales del caos* porque representa la percepción que los habitantes de la Ciudad de México tienen. La característica principal de la zona metropolitana es la sobrepoblación y la urbanización masiva. Monsiváis reconoce que los problemas de las masas no son la culpa de las masas sino la de los que gobiernan. Son las masas que tienen sus rituales para sobrevivir el caos que es la Ciudad de México porque tienen que enfrentar más problemas del caos que otros. Las masas son la mayoría en la Ciudad de México, entonces lo que les pasa es la experiencia de la mayoría de los habitantes de la ciudad. Los grupos definen el caos en diferentes maneras y para los ricos y la clase

media, el caos es la sobrepoblación, pero para las masas, el caos es la experiencia cotidiana de la ciudad y los intentos de controlar a las masas.

Conclusion

The aim of this project was to answer the question: how is it possible to have a paradox of an emergence in democracy accompanied by the increase in the privatization of urban space? The central theme behind this project was to analyze the relationship between public space and democracy. How important is public space for the health of a democracy, and what is the effect of the rise of private and gated communities on democracy? These questions were both analyzed from a theoretical standpoint in chapter one as well as using the case study of the Santa Fe neighborhood of Mexico City in chapter two. The city of Mexico City and the Santa Fe neighborhood were selected for important reasons. They were chosen specifically because of the potential there was for the theoretical argument made in the first chapter and the ability of the area to be compared to other examples of the rise of privatization in cities around the world. The global population is increasingly becoming more urbanized with more and more people everyday moving to live in massive urban areas such as Mexico City. These urban areas face serious questions of sustainability, inequality, crime, slums, and many others in addition to questions of democratic health. It is through the extensive study of these areas that there will be a better understanding of the issues and how it can be possible to improve the problems faced by urban areas around the world. This question of the balance between privatization and democracy will continue to be faced by urban areas around the world.

The conclusion made about the main question of the project is that it is not impossible for democratic regime to become consolidated in a recently democratized society that also has seen a rise in private and gated communities. The main reason

behind this is that it is more important for democracy to maintain open spaces and squares where citizens are able to gather and actively speak out against what the government is doing than to have no private or gated communities. Additionally, built environments have a large impact on the social relationships and the types of interactions between citizens can occur, but as was the example of the Ibero, these relationship and interactions are not completely defined by the built environment. At the same time, the rise of privatization of urban space and gated communities does represent a fundamental challenge toward democratic principles being adopted in society. These democratic principles include citizenship based on social rights, openness and public life, a sense of community, and a certain level of equality. The focus of this project was on the way that different types of urban space affected these democratic principles. This emphasis has made the project use more sources from sociology than political science, but at the same time, there has been a focus on the importance of public space in democracy and the politics of citizenship. When looking at the health of democracy, analyzing topics beyond the institutions of a country is a very valuable way of determining how healthy a democracy is.

There is considerable value in measuring the quality of a democratic regime in a country by analyzing the institutions, but at the same time, there should be a focus that looks at how democracy is played out in everyday life. This is especially important for analyzing democracy in urban areas. At this level, ideas about citizenship and the built environment are critical. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the ancient Greeks had to face the challenge of finding a balance between the naturally unequal urban environment and creating equal citizenship. The quote by Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino that says,

"it (democracy) does not presuppose a degree of political equality that is virtually impossible if wealth and status inequalities become too extreme" (Diamond and Morlino 27). It is therefore critical to have a built environment that promotes a certain level of equality in both wealth and status for there to be a healthy democracy. Additionally, there must be a balance between an emphasis on free market values and social rights of citizens for proper citizenship to exist in a democracy. The works by Diamond and Morlino and Fualks highlight the need for democratic regimes to have these certain characteristics to be considered high-quality, consolidated democracies that guarantee proper citizenship to all citizens. This institutionalist approach formed an excellent basis for analyzing how the inequalities and free market values played out in the urban environment.

This created common ground in order to analyze the effect that privatization of urban space and the rise of gated and private communities has on democracy. This rise in gated and private communities over the past few decades has changed the built environment of large parts of urban areas around the world. In Mexico City, it is exemplified in Santa Fe. The modern Santa Fe is characterized by the high prevalence of gated communities and a lack of any type of public space in addition to being a very wealthy area with headquarters of multinational corporations alongside working class neighborhoods and some of the most marginalized in the metropolitan area. It is a physical representation of the inequality in wealth and status that exists between those who can afford to live and shop in the area and those who live in the working class areas around it. The new Santa Fe excludes citizens of lower economic status through both the physical walls and gates in the area but also the way to access the area through the need for a car. The location sifts out who goes and who doesn't because of the lack of walking

areas and public transportation on top of the fact that the area is extremely difficult to reach from other areas of Mexico City. This built environment has created a second class of citizenry in the metropolitan area that is based on income level and social status. The private and gated communities form a type of inequality that is not only existent in the purchasing power of the citizens but in the physical barriers towards interactions between members of different socio-economic groups.

These characteristics of private and gated communities present a substantial challenge to democratic regimes. Private and gated communities have changed the characteristics of the built environment in urban areas. Caldeira and others argue that these communities weaken public life in urban areas and deteriorate the social relationships between citizens of different socio-economic backgrounds. These trends lessen the likelihood of a high-quality democratic regime. However, this does not mean that a democratic regime cannot exist or be of relatively good quality in a country where there are a large number of gated communities in urban areas. Many of the recent increases in democratic regimes have coincided with the rise of private communities. The built environment does not completely control the types of social interactions that occur amongst citizens. At the same time, private communities are a physical form of inequality and promote self-interest over the expansion of social rights that are critical for citizenship. It is through these characteristics that privatization of urban space is a challenge to democracy but not a complete impediment.

Carlos Monsiváis criticizes much of the neoliberal belief in the free market as well as the control of the masses by the wealthy and powerful. Néstor García Canclini also discusses the theme of citizenship under neoliberal thinking as the ability of one to

consume goods. Monsiváis chronicles the lack of social mobility in the city and the solidity in the belief that it is up to the individual to gain wealth. Citizenship based on consumption and second-class citizenry are concepts that are seen throughout Mexico City and are a partial result of the built environment of the city. The wealthy are continuously more secluded among themselves in the gated communities of sections like Santa Fe who travel the city via cars while the poor are marginalized to certain areas of the city as well as in the cramped mass transit system. The criticism of this inequality is evident in Monsiváis's chronicles as well as the chronicles of others writing about Mexico City.

The rise of the privatization of urban space is a global issue that poses a threat to democracy. Democracy does not mean that citizens must be completely equal, but a continuous level of extreme inequality and a built environment that promotes this level of inequality comes at odds with democracy. It is therefore critical for a change in inequality and the built environment for a regime to be considered a high-quality democracy. Without this, a regime cannot be considered a high-quality democracy due to this inequality as well as the lack of true citizenship for the population of the country.

This project was taken up to address the gap in academic literature that currently exists. There is very little study between the rise of gated communities and the health of democracy in society. Much of this problem stems from the lack of intermingling between the different academic disciplines. In order to analyze the main questions and themes of this project, it was necessary to research a range of sources. The discussion presented in this project incorporates analysis done by political scientists who look at the institutions present in the democratization process, political scientists who analyze the

role of public space in a democracy, and sociologists and anthropologists that look at a wide range of topics that include the relationship between exclusion and secondary citizenship and the importance of intermingling between social classes among other topics. The result was that this project was both unique in the academic world, but also a challenge to find the common ground between the different areas of study. It was clear through the research that there were points of overlap between the different disciplines, and these overlaps are where the most productive analysis of the topic was done. The hope is that there can be further research between the academic disciplines. Topics such as the ones addressed in this project can be addressed from different disciplines and it is necessary for greater discussion between academics of different disciplines to analyze these topics for greater understanding of how urban areas such as Mexico City function.

The analysis done in this project is encompassing of several different topics, yet can be expanded upon in several different ways by different academics. The biggest limiting factor of this project was enough perspective from those actually living in the private communities on the relationship between them and those living in the working class neighborhoods in the area as well as their views on public life. At the same time, this project's aim was ultimately to start to bridge the gap between the different disciplines that study urban areas to come up with a relatively comprehensive study of the paradox of increasing democracy and increasing privatization of space. There should be more studies or at least communication between the disciplines on this subject. For example, it would be interesting to see an economic study of the area including distinct studies about the change in income levels of the working class areas around Santa Fe to see if the wealth of the new Santa Fe has trickled down to any of the surrounding areas.

This is another area that would be valuable to look at. In the end, academic studies like this project should do what it takes to analyze the relationship between different aspects of the urban environment in order to find ways to create a more inclusive and functioning society that will continuously be concentrated in urban areas.

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Links

Map of Mexico City: http://geo-mexico.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Fig22-2-v2-MexicoCity-Growth-color.png

Photos of Mexico City metro: http://www.hectormediavilla.com/stories/#/megalopolis/