ID 1596 | FROM MACRO-LEVEL POLICIES TO MICRO-LEVEL PRACTICES: CHANGING GLOBAL ECONOMIC LANDSCAPES AND PROLIFERATION OF MIDDLE CLASS GATED COMMUNITIES IN MEXICO

Emma Regina Morales Garcia de Alba[1]
[1]University of Sheffield
trp11erm@sheffield.ac.uk

ABSTRACT: Gated Communities are a global phenomenon that has gained academic attention in the past three decades. The discussion about these fortified enclaves may have started in the United States of America (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Davis, 1998; Low, 2001), but in the last decade, the debate has extended worldwide, particularly in contexts of large socio-economic disparities like Latin America. Gated Communities in countries like Mexico are no longer a "privilege" of the affluent classes but it has become a common choice for middle class groups. The conditions of insecurity, violence, and growing distance between socio-economic groups have normalised the presence of these enclaves to the point that municipal authorities, developers, financial institutions, and citizens, consider them as a desirable residential option for orderly urban development. The process of normalisation of gated communities in Mexico for the middle classes is not a simple matter of choice. On the contrary, the emergence and proliferation of gated communities can be linked to the policies promoted by global financial institutions. The proliferation of these large-scale enclaves for the middle classes could only happen in a context of neoliberal urbanism. Since the 1990s, national economic, housing, and urban development policies have aligned to global financial interests by deregulating planning, changing land tenure options, financialising housing development, and promoting a debt-driven economy (Zanetta, 2004). The "borderless world" of free market housing strategies is actually contributing to the creation of physical walls, fences, and gates segregating people by income. Segregation by design has become common in Mexico with tangible and intangible borders and the governance problems and tensions are already taking a toll. The growing inequality in the country is increasing strains between social groups fuelled by fear. Aspirations and anxieties are changing everyday practices decreasing shared spaces and increasing spending in security. The promised wall along the Mexican border by Trump is not that different from the walls separating poor neighbourhoods from middle class and high-income gated communities in most Mexican peripheries. The experience in Mexico where global economic policies have shaped modern peripheries can serve as an example to understand how trends are shaping political, economic, and spatial relations. European countries are known for urban development and housing policies that foster diversity, inclusion, multiculturalism, and sustainability. However, the current political context of fear, far-right movements, and anti-immigrant groups might aim to promote divisive urban developments like those in Latin America. Learning from the proliferation of middle class gated communities in Mexico can provide some hints of the challenges and the risks of these sort of enclaves in terms of urban governance in the long term.

1 INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of gated communities has been analysed in academic literature since the late 1990s and early 2000s (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Marcuse, 1997; Davis, 1998; Low, 2001). The earliest literature focused on socio-spatial segregation and the appearance of exclusive fortified enclaves for the affluent groups. However, the presence of gates and fences in housing developments has extended to different socioeconomic groups and there are examples of this all over the world. The analysis of these enclaves has left the residential realm, incorporating in the discussion more complex territorial challenges including governance, management, politics and social cohesion. In Mexico, gated communities are not new; there are examples of their existence for high-income population since the beginning of the 20th century (Scheinbaum, 2010; García P. & Hofer, 2006). However, in the past couple of decades, these residential fortified enclaves have become normalised, particularly for middle-income groups. In my doctoral thesis, I argue that the proliferation of middle-class gated communities in Mexico is not only a matter of choice of individual families self-segregating, but a complex combination of policies and practices, where municipalities, developers, and residents have more incentives to build, manage, and live in this sort of developments than in the traditional open street neighbourhoods in the inner city.

During my research, I found that residents, developers, and even public officials justified the "normalisation" of middle-class gated communities in Mexico due to the growing concerns in relation to crime and violence in recent years. However, the roots of these spaces can be found in transnational economic interests. After important efforts in the 1970s and 1980s of state-funded programs aimed at the most vulnerable population and the creation of valuable welfare institutions, Mexico's political and economic policies drifted to an open neoliberal model, with clear socio-economic distinctions, and a more tangible spatial segregation. The presence of fences, gates, and other security features have become "the new normal" and this has had serious implications in social interaction, urban management, and overall urban governance, and that is why it matters to understand why these enclaves exist and how they became normalised. In the early 1990s, as part of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), there were important changes in Mexican economic, political, housing, and planning national policies, connected to recommendations from global financial institutions like World Bank (Moreno-Brid, Pérez C., & Ruíz N., 2005; Vidal, Marshall, & Correa, 2011; Zanetta, 2004). The changes in land tenure and housing provision policies had clear macro-economic goals, but its impacts went far beyond the national housing and planning systems, reaching individual households. An open campaign to improve the quality of life of all Mexicans was expressed in reaching a middle-class status, which was tangibly shown through privately owned automobile, homeownership, and access to privately run services like education, security, health, etc. (De la Calle & Rubio, 2012; Walker, 2013). Middle-class gated communities boomed under these global economic policies, engaging thousands of families into the challenges of a debt-driven economy. In my thesis, I propose that the discussion about middle-class gated communities should address all these issues beyond the fortified enclave, and that is why in my research I focus of "gatedness", a practice-based analysis of gated communities.

Middle-class gatedness or the proliferation and normalisation of gated communities for middle-income groups in Mexico is a relatively recent phenomenon, since middle classes lived until the 1980s and early 1990s in open-street neighbourhoods in central areas. In the early 2000s, an ambitious national housing strategy contributed to the creation of new suburban residential enclaves around the most important cities. Around the same time, conflicts between drug cartels and organised crime became more visible, and stories about kidnappings, burglaries, and extortions became more common. The "talk of crime" as Caldeira calls it (Caldeira, 2000), became part of daily conversations. In the last decade "talk of crime" passed from coffee shop small talk to Facebook timelines, WhatsApp groups, and dramatic media warnings. After living in the UK for a couple of years, I was very surprised during fieldwork to see how this fear had grown amongst my closest friends and family members, and how it was affecting everyday lives and choices. Restaurants were no longer chosen for the quality of the food or service, but according to safe parking conditions. Residents interviewed in the gated community Lomas de Angelópolis in the metropolitan area of Puebla-Mexico in 2013, shared significant security concerns that "forced" them to leave their old neighbourhoods, even though they were aware that the quality of the housing, location, and overall facilities were satisfactory. Fear of crime and violence has made every other person a potential threat, and gated communities embody this need to segregate physically from them.

Mexico's metropolitan areas are full of fear-driven spatially segregated expressions, and they have reshaped not only the urban structure of the cities but also the capacity of social interaction. The challenges and risks of these changes in urban and social relations relate to growing inequality and subsequently increase in crime, corruption, delinquency, and distrust. The current atmosphere of fear in Europe, widely spread by far-right and anti-immigrant groups, is threatening principles of diversity, inclusion, multiculturalism, and sustainability. These valuable principles seem almost impossible to attain in Mexico under current circumstances. In this paper, I will discuss the role of global economic policies in the shaping of modern peripheries and the role of fear and distrust in the reshaping of socio-spatial relations. The aim is to give a general idea of the risks and challenges of the normalisation of these fortified enclaves. The article is organised in two sections. The first section is about the impact of macro-level economic policies in micro-level housing practices, using the example of the proliferation of middle-class gated communities in Mexico. The second section is a discussion about the difficulties of "building bridges in a time of walls". This section focuses on the risks and challenges that come with the normalisation of a "gated life" and how it makes it more difficult to accomplish just, inclusive, and equitable urban spaces.

2 FROM MACRO-LEVEL ECONOMIC POLICIES TO MICRO-LEVEL HOUSING PRACTICES: MIDDLE CLASS GATED COMMUNITIES IN MEXICO

Socio-spatial segregation is not new in Mexico; it can be traced back to pre-Hispanic times and the Spanish viceroyalty. The Mexican nation after the independence maintained pre-existing stratified social structures. Even after Spanish ruling, characterized by high levels of inequality based on race, ethnicity, religion, or origin, cities were organised in a socially segregated way (Scheinbaum, 2010). However, for centuries there were “shared spaces”, places where different social groups could meet, such as churches, parks, promenades, green areas, and even streets. In recent years, this socio-spatial segregation has become more tangible and the number of shared spaces has diminished importantly. The emergence and proliferation of gated communities cancels the possibility of physical cohabitation. The changes in land, planning, and housing policies in the early 1990s in Mexico contributed to the privatisation of urban development and the financialisation of social housing provision. These macro-economic policies have had a very determinant role in “gating up” society because the housing market was seen as an economic boost tool, and the presence of privatised governments, securitised environments, and isolation from municipal governments was seen as economically convenient.

The financialisation of social housing institutions like INFONAVIT, the national salaried workers’ housing fund institute, is an example of the drift in housing and planning policies, which contributed since the early 2000s to the extension of sprawling metropolitan areas. The outcomes of this sprawling model of urban development has brought serious problems in the provision of adequate public services, health, sports and entertainment facilities, public transport, security, amongst others. One of the main problems of the housing production process since the 2000s is that the federal goals were mostly quantitative, and the lack of qualitative standards contributed to low-quality housing production in inadequate urban surroundings. Most of the new social housing developments from the 1990s and early 2000s were built in unserved peripheral land surrounded by poor infrastructure and agriculture land. This condition contributed directly and indirectly to the emergence of gated communities for all socio-economic groups. The isolation from the city became a motivation for fortification. On the other hand, the financial incentives for developers and people interested in acquiring a house were mostly concentrated in new housing developments. Therefore, the combination of the two situations made it easier for middle-income groups to buy houses inside gated communities. The incentives were not only concentrated in financial possibilities to build and acquire, they were also promoted by poor peripheral municipalities with no resources to provide the services needed. Municipalities joined developers and even created ad-hoc planning regulations, so that these private investors covered urbanisation, maintenance, infrastructure, and security costs.

The increase in housing production after the 2000s indicates how profitable it became, bringing the main housing developing companies to the Mexican stock market. The economically focused housing provision strategies are far from the original constitutional aim of providing adequate and dignified housing for all. The economic forces and stakes are so high that they can be seen as a way of transnational spatial governance. In this borderless world, where geographic boundaries are less important than economic flows, the housing market can become a dangerous tool. The moment national housing policies abandon the goals of adequate housing and leave it to the market; the risks of creating unequal urban environments are bigger. The physical fortification of houses, neighborhoods, cities, and even countries are as much as a result to increased fear and security concerns, as a global financial market outcome. Political conflicts and social unrest have become a motif for displacement not just from war torn areas, but also from formerly safe inner cities.

The walls and fences have become the tool to isolate from the surrounding hostile conditions and therefore the entitlement for its use becomes increasingly acceptable. There are conflicting positions around walls and fences and Trump’s proposed wall in the Mexican border shows the complexity. The wall-building phenomenon seen from a middle-class housing development in Mexico seems acceptable because of the individual and collective interests protected. However, the same people condemn Trump’s proposed border wall. The normalisation of the residential gated community and the opposition to the border wall raises several questions, which show how hard it is to determine individual and collective “rights”. The issues around gun control are similar. Middle-class gated communities are filled with armed private security guards. Inside this premises it is seen as acceptable. However, every other person with guns outside the gates or privately securitised spaces like banks, shopping malls, universities and even parks, is seen as a threat. The same is happening in some areas within the European Union. Principles of diversity, inclusiveness, and multiculturalism are under threat because the fears, risks, and security concerns of the

few, are shaping the physical urban spaces for the most. Transnational planning strategies coming from Europe focus of adequate public transport, liveable housing, quality public spaces, but the reality of fear-driven and unequal urban environments like the Mexican one, prefer copying spatial segregation strategies from places like the US. The transnational planning influence has left the official planning models of land use, zoning, and densities and prioritised the discourses of security and economic growth fuelled by anxieties and aspirations. The influence in policy is no longer expressed in national, regional, and local laws and regulations, but rather on "supranational" markets that profit from such aspirations and anxieties. The new tendencies of governance in privatised government-run spaces like gated communities show the disassociation between the tangible territory within the physical walls and fences, and the real city outside the gates.

The housing policies of the 1990s in Mexico have already shown the short-term impacts of segregated urban structures, such as the disconnection between residents with local authorities, connectivity and public services problems, and also an increase in everyday expenses linked to transport, maintenance fees, and payment of other privately run services. The transnational planning influence we are observing in this case is not a formal one, but the construction of policies built on economic interests and meanings. Healey (2013) provides conceptual and methodological tools "for the critical analysis of transnational flows of planning ideas and practices" (p. 1511). In the paper, the author goes through different theoretical approaches from globalisation and international literatures, and points out that the analysis should focus on the flows, rather than the origin of the ideas. For instance, Mexican housing policies since the 1990s are closely linked to the recommendations from the World Bank to enable housing markets to work. However, as Zanetta (2004) points out, the Mexican government chose to ignore the parts of the policy recommendations that were inconvenient for their economic growth purposes.

The kinds of transnational flows can also get "lost in translation" and accomplish different goals. One example in relation to gated communities, is how new urbanism principles of design have been used by developers to market their private enclaves which sell quality public spaces, community life, and walkable areas. The discourses are "perverted" for particular interests. On one hand, new urbanism principles that would aim to accomplish inclusive and diverse communities become ideal urban exclusive design. The discourses are also perverted for real estate interests. The "compact city" discourse is used for isolated high-rise building projects. In the case study I used for my doctoral thesis in Puebla, I analysed a whole section of a gated community with high-rise buildings completely unrelated to any of the values and principles of compact cities. The flows of transnational planning lose its value in translation in terms of meaning, for instance "the right to the city", used for decades by the most progressive planners has reached main stream and has been interpreted by mid-level public officials to push all sorts of policies, projects, and activities. The flow patterns are no longer unilateral, coming from an "accomplished" planning system into a "third world" or "developing" country. The flows move in different levels and networks. "Good practices" come from all over the world. For instance, Medellín and Bogotá have become world best practice examples of social justice with their public transport, public space, and cultural facilities projects. Porto Alegre's participatory budgeting has been copied and adapted in several countries. Therefore, transnational flows of planning ideas and discourses come from all directions but are also "lost in translation" in all directions. Developers inside gated communities conveniently include those ideas, policies, and practices that fit their purposes and the lack of adequate municipal planning systems give them the freedom to define their own strategies.

When it comes to middle-class gated communities in Mexico, policies and practices intertwine with each other in connection with aspirations and anxieties. Urban policies are transformed to fit private developer's interests. In addition, policies and practices are designed according to fears, security concerns, and special interest groups. The planning model in countries like Mexico are still promoting modernist ideals, which have proved detrimental for cities, like the investment in car-oriented infrastructure, suburban isolated life, and sprawl. This shows that even if planners have knowledge that the current housing and urban development model is not the best one, they are unable to change it because of the strong pre-conceptions and meanings of economic growth, security, and competitiveness that come with them. The micro-practices in household levels become a priority for citizens over the collective rights and benefits. Therefore, discourses and practices that shape policies are clearly defined and modified by meanings (Wagenaar, 2011).

The transnational planning discourses and practices in gated communities in Mexico bring the combination of twentieth century modernist urbanism, with millennial dream community life. The policy discourse analysis focuses on the mentalities and how they become institutionalized into practices (Healey, 2013, p. 1517). Gated communities are places of metaphors, perceptions, dreams, and avoidance for individuals in designed communities. The value of planning under the privatisation of urban development has lost its collective appeal. Forty years of institutionalised planning in Mexico has not convinced the population on the benefits of state planning, locating private urban designers into a more powerful level. The main concern in Latin American countries is not how to plan but how to manage. Since the problem is not getting things done but what happens afterwards, that is another reason why gated communities have become so appealing. Private governments assume the present and future responsibilities. Gated community designers bring all the new elements of the "creative classes" into their developments to bring the youngest and the hippest population. It is important to look at the attitudes, the interconnections, the ideas, and the perceptions. As Shove et al (2012) propose, social practices should be analysed considering the "competences, meanings, and materials", which means that it is not only the capacity of the state to propose planning frameworks, but also the capacity to materialise them, and most importantly how actors interpret them. A diminished state under the influence of the privatisation of urban development is a serious governance threat with potentially high risks in the future.

Micro-practices are connected to macro-level economic policies. If we pay close attention to global financial institutions recommendations, we can track how their impact goes down to individual households. The Washington Consensus and its deregulation, privatisation of state roles, and commercial liberalisation can be identified in national laws, policies, plans and programs, but they are also identified in the increase of private automobiles, home ownership, consumer debt, and changes in consumer consumption patterns. The neoliberal policies in households is one of the mentioned risks, because economic uncertainty can potentially affect middle-income groups with the risk of losing everything they own.

The problem with aspirations and anxieties defining planning policies, ideas, discourses, and practices is that they can throw back unintended consequences. The issue about middle class gated communities in Mexico is that the whole concept of a fortified housing residential enclave with a private administration has not only become normal but "desirable", particularly under the current perception of insecurity and violence, which means that under these circumstances it is extremely difficult to "bridge gaps". In the following section, I will address this issue in detail.

3 BUILDING BRIDGES IN A TIME OF WALLS

In Mexico, gated communities have become so normalised for middle-income groups, particularly in suburban areas, that it would seem that this is the only valid way to accomplish the goals of habitability, security, quality urban spaces, and community life. For residents and potential buyers, security or at least the feeling of security is the priority number one. A fear-driven urban development is hard to modify because it would require changing people's perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. When we talk about building bridges in a time of walls, it is easy from a theoretical position to show the advantages from open, diverse, inclusive and multicultural communities. However, it only takes one story of "talk of crime" to make the exclusive, segregated, safe and reliable gated community more appealing. Mexican planning is a bricolage of local traditions and knowledge with imported policies and practices. Since the 20th century, there have been attempts to experiment with foreign ideas, from garden cities to smart cities. The problem is that these influences in the context of fear-driven development produce highly segregated spaces. In a recent smart city exhibition in Puebla, the large majority of the companies exposing their products were surveillance and security systems. Some visitors even pointed out that it was more a "big brother" exhibition than a smart city one. The transnational planning ideas of securitisation have found fertile ground in Mexico, and even people living in supposedly safe gated communities continue investing in CCTV systems, electrified gates, and other security items.

The risks and challenges of modern Mexican gated communities is not just in the shape of walls and fences but the inequality and the physicality of segregation. It is not only the increasing gap between the rich and the rest of the population, but also the super-stratification of middle to lower-income groups. Gated communities in that sense should be seen as a dangerous urbanisation model in terms of governance. Case studies all over the world help understand the challenges of the changing transnational political economic landscape. In the case of Mexico we can see how crises and political uncertainty are

shaping and reshaping the urban structure. The difference between Europe and America, and the north and the south are an opportunity to learn from each other's mistakes. Particularly under the challenges of urban governance, climate change and economic turmoil, as they do not respect geopolitical boundaries.

The Mexican middle-class gated community I analysed in Puebla during my doctoral studies can be seen as an "extreme case" because of its large scale and multi-clustered structure (more than 21,000 houses located in stratified mini-gated communities). The research showed that residents felt judged by outsiders and considered they had valid reasons to live in a gated community and it had nothing to do with the exclusiveness, status, and prestige drivers usually mentioned in literature. There were three main issues why these residents considered that gated communities are not only desirable but necessary:

1. Municipal authorities are unable to respond to their needs and they feel that private administrations are more reliable and provide better services.
2. Their family's safety is more important than anything else is and if it takes a wall, a fence, a security guard, a camera, and an alarm, these residents would not hesitate to pay for all of these, because it provides them peace of mind.
3. The ideal of a shared space for all sounds good, but they would rather live amongst "people like them". The residents I interviewed do not consider themselves racist or discriminatory but defend their right to hang out with people with the same interests and tastes.

From a policy perspective, it becomes very hard to promote inclusive urban environments, because the meanings attached to this model of "safe urbanism" is so strong. The "new normal" makes the traditional city undesirable because it does not offer the same elements of beauty, security, reliability, and infrastructure. The risks and challenges of these urban segregated structures is that once they become normal, people become "numb" and stop feeling or realising the conditions of disconnection and isolation. Gatedness is becoming so desirable that it is leaving the residential areas and reaching public spaces, universities, state facilities, etc. In Puebla, even bike lanes and public parks are being gated, because people feel safer that way. Public and private universities are incorporating more access control strategies and increasing their security budget to fulfil their students' expectations. The problem with this normalisation is that it makes it more difficult to make changes in policies and practices. Scholars and planners are interested in regulation that would prohibit this sort of enclaves; however, what we have seen in recent decades is that planning regulations only work when residents are convinced of their benefits. Otherwise, they will not try to enforce such regulations. Most residents in the city of Puebla value the presence of 24-hour security personnel or safe and closed environments. These become more important than location in relation to work, school, or public spaces. In my thesis, I propose that in order to change policies and practices, we should start focusing on meanings rather than regulation and planning instruments. The research in Puebla showed that as long as the meanings attached to projects gave them a positive feeling, there would be no opposition. Even though they knew the project was not complying to federal or state law. The clearest example was the construction of the International Baroque Museum designed by the famous architect Toyo Ito. It was more important to have an outstanding architectural project from a famous architect than protect one of the few spaces left for metropolitan parks and public green areas.

The normalisation of gated communities in Mexico, gives us a glimpse of how the new normal justifies patterns of behaviours and understandings and therefore political discourses. Presenting my research in European planning conferences has proved a very interesting opportunity since it made me realise, that even myself as a researcher, I had grown so used to these developments that I could not see some of the issues. It also made me aware of how many students from European countries found these enclaves as a completely different reality from where they came from. However, an interesting issue I found with my research is that even Europeans who would probably live in tower blocks in the central areas in their own countries preferred the gated options once they came to Mexico. In Puebla, in the case study I analysed, several real estate agents chose houses within the premises for Germans working at the newly built Audi factory or the executives at Volkswagen. The support for this choice was based on security concerns, but that does not change the fact that residents have found at ease in these enclaves and would not want to move out. So, how do you build bridges if the benefits of building walls seem so much better? Perhaps the answer is in everyday life practices and recognising the value of shared spaces. Not just green areas and parks, but shared spaces for education, health, culture, entertainment, sports, etc. Elements that make our everyday lives better that help us fight our fears and security concerns.

The walls separating the poor from the rich and even the high middle-income resident from the low middle-income resident seem like they are here to stay as long as the incentives to do something different are not as attractive. The Mexican border wall or a gated community wall does not fix any of the structural challenges our countries are living, it only makes people “feel safer” and modify social interactions. Empirical research about gated communities has shown that these places are not immune to crime and violence, the difference is the type of crime. The same happens with other border control strategies aiming to stop criminal acts. The border is not a mind-changing threshold that immediately blocks and changes behaviours. Meanings become more powerful than the tangible objects. What can we do to regain trust? What can we do to increase tolerance to difference? How do we change our relationship with the outside? Mexican planning is facing a very difficult phase. Traditional institutionalised planning has failed and private urban development has promoted segregation, exclusiveness, and social discrimination. This is the time to search for alternatives in times of uncertainty. The alternatives are emerging out of other global economic trend: financial instability. Millennials are choosing cohabitation and other shared spaces housing and working strategies. Weather this is a temporary trend or a real policy solution, we should be paying attention to the meanings and values of these shared economies and systems, but also the risks of financialisation of shared economies to avoid the downfalls of Uber and Airbnb. This is a time to include meanings in policymaking so that implementation strategies are more effective. This is the time to work with future scenarios that show us the benefits of inclusive urban spaces, and the risks and challenges of segregated fortified enclaves. This is the time to regain our capacity to feel and relate to the other outside of my immediate circle.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The effect of gated communities is a sort of “numbing urbanism” in the sense that we do not even feel anymore. It is not the problem of how fear is shaping our lives, but rather how it has made us numb. Willing to sacrifice our freedom, our choices, and our feelings for security is putting our cities at risk. The normalization of gated communities is not just about how we want to protect from outside dangers, it is also a tangible expression on how segregation, exclusion and spatial discrimination have become the new normal, and how this new normal is shaping people’s perceptions, actions, and practices, but also shaping policies and discourses. The Mexican government has been aiming towards the middle-classification of the Mexican population. This process of middle-classification of people was an attempt to erase the memory of poverty and large inequality that prevailed since the Revolution. However, instead of creating a common ground and space for all, the economic policies that shaped this thought, has also been directly and indirectly involved in the shaping of newly unequal cities and metropolitan areas. This is the time to rethink the way we understand public and private roles in urban development, but also an opportunity to shape policies through the understanding of meanings in order to make cities more livable.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Blakely, E. J., & Snyder, M. G. (1997). Fortress America: Gated Communities in the United States. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Brookings Institution Press .

Caldeira, T. (2000). City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo. London: Berkely University of California Press.

Davis, M. (1998). City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles. London, UK: Pimlico.

De la Calle, L., & Rubio, L. (2012). Mexico: A Middle Class Society - Poor No More, Developed not Yet. Mexico City: CIDAC.

García P., B., & Hofer, A. (2006). Housing for the Working Class on the Periphery of Mexico City: A new version of gated communities. Social Justice. Privatization and Resistance: Contesting Neoliberal Globalization, 129-141.

Healey, P. (2013). Circuits of Knowledge and Techniques: The Transnational Flow of Planning Ideas and Practices. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(5), 1510-1526. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12044

Low, S. M. (2001). The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear. American Anthropologist, New Series, 103(1), 45-58. doi:10.1525/aa.2001.103.1.45

Marcuse, P. (1997). The ghetto of exclusion and the fortified enclave: new patterns in the U.S. American Behavioural Scientist, 41(3), 311-326. doi:10.1177/0002764297041003004

Moreno-Brid, J. C., Pérez C., E., & Ruíz N., P. (2005). The Washington Consensus: A Latin American Perspective Fifteen Years Later. Journal of Post Keynesian Economics, 345-365.

Scheinbaum, D. (2010). Gated Communities in Mexico City. A historical perspective. In S. Bagaeen, & O. Uduku, ated communities : social sustainability in contemporary and historical gated developments. London: Earthscan.

Shove , E., Patzar, M., & Watson, M. (2012). The Dynamics of Social Practice: Everyday Life and How it Changes. London: SAGE.

Vidal, G., Marshall, C. W., & Correa, E. (2011). Differing effects of the Global Financial Crisis: Why Mexico Has Been Harder Hit than Other Large Latin American Countries. Journal of the Society for Latin American Studies , 30(4), 419-435.

Wagenaar, H. (2011). Meaning in Action: Interpretation and Dialogue in Policy Analysis (2015 ed.). New York: Routledge .

Walker, L. (2013). Waking from the Dream: Mexico's Middle Class after 1968 (Kindle Version ed.). Stanford University Press.

Zanetta, C. (2004). The Influence of the World Bank on National Housing and Urban Policies:The Case of Mexico and Argentina during the 1990s. Wiltshire, UK: Ashgate.

ID 1636 | SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS AND URBAN LEGACIES: THE 2014 FIFA WORLD CUP, BRAZIL

Eduardo A. C. Nobre[1]
[1]Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo
eacnobre@usp.br

ABSTRACT: The idea of organising Sports Mega-Events had been defended by strategic urban planners as a way to attract considerable public and private resources to be invested in cities. In this respect, the city of Barcelona has been an outstanding example for the urban transformations as a result of the 1992 Olympic Games. The construction or renovation of ports, airports, public transportation and sports facilities, housing, hotels and tourism developments is regarded as the urban legacy of organising such mega-events. In October 2007, Brazil was chosen to organise the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Seemingly a natural vocation due to the country´s historic relationship with football, the competition to host this mega-event was related to the political project of its governors during a period of rapid economic growth and the emergence of the country on the world scenario. Between October 2007 and July 2014 a series of projects in infrastructure, mobility and stadia construction was carried out at a cost of ten billion dollars. The aim of this paper is to understand the main results of the World Cup interventions in Brazil, which were its main urban legacy and who were the winners and losers in this process.

1 THE RATIONALE FOR SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS PLANNING

The idea of promoting sport mega-events has been defended by international urban strategic planning consultants as a way for cities to compete with each other for the 'scarce international investment' and achieve economic development in a 'highly competitive environment' of contemporary capitalism[1]. They say that when hosting these events, a considerable amount of public and private investment in

[1] We refer here to the concepts of current capitalist development stage, where the global accumulation regime is given by the dominance of finance capital over the productive, made possible by international capital flows deregulation and the adoption of the neoliberal political and economic doctrine (Chesnais & Brunhoff 2005, Foster 2010, Harvey 1990, 2005).