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URBAN PROJECTS, STIGMATIZATION, AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES IN THE INDEPENDENCIA NEIGHBORHOOD OF MONTERREY, NUEVO LEÓN, MÉXICO ¹

PROYECTOS URBANOS, ESTIGMATIZACIÓN Y DISPUTAS TERRITORIALES EN LA COLONIA
INDEPENDENCIA EN MONTERREY, NUEVO LEÓN, MÉXICO

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La ciudad de Monterrey se ha desarrollado como espacio de grandes desigualdades y fenómenos socioespaciales cada vez más notorios. Sus distintas problemáticas han sido utilizadas por el gobierno y la iniciativa privada para justificar las intervenciones en barrios populares, como es el caso de la colonia Independencia. El objetivo de este artículo es el de analizar los aspectos que convierten a esta colonia en un espacio en disputa e identificar cómo esto se expresa territorialmente a través de las (in) acciones de actores públicos y privados. Se utiliza una metodología cualitativa apoyada por entrevistas, charlas informales y observación no participante realizadas durante el 2019 y el 2020. Se evidencia que el abandono y la falta de inversión por parte de los gobiernos hacia las colonias populares forma parte de un proceso de revalorización urbana que busca atraer inversiones privadas para acabar con la presencia de esos “otros” a quienes se les considera una amenaza para el orden urbano.

Palabras clave: intervenciones urbanas, renovación urbana, desarrollo urbano, espacio urbano

The city of Monterrey has become a space of great inequalities and increasingly notorious socio-spatial phenomena. Its different problems have been used by the government and the private sector to justify interventions in working-class neighborhoods, as is the case of the “Independencia” neighborhood. This article looks to analyze the aspects that turn this neighborhood into a disputed space and identify how this is reflected in the territory through the (in)action of public and private actors. It uses a qualitative methodology supported by interviews, informal talks, and non-participant observations that were made in 2019 and 2020. The paper shows how abandonment and a lack of government investment in working-class neighborhoods is part of an urban revaluation process that seeks to attract private investment to these sectors and end the presence of those “others” who are considered a threat to the urban order.

Keywords: urban interventions, urban renewal, urban development, urban space

I. INTRODUCTION

The shift towards a neoliberal model has caused the State to leave the provision of basic services for the population in private hands. This has made the social divisions of the space increasingly noticeable, producing housing, consumption spaces, infrastructure, and services in line with the socio-economic level of the population (Brenner et al., 2015; Duhau & Giglia, 2008). In this way, winning and losing spaces have been created based on the decisions of public and private actors. For Lefebvre (2013), the urban space is a social product reflecting the production relations, the historical context, and the practices and imaginaries of individuals in a given physical space, resulting in great inequalities that are manifested physically and symbolically in the territory. However, cities, apart from being ideal places for the concentration of wealth, are also places of resistance and political counterpower (Therborn, 2020), which makes them spaces in constant dispute between those who establish "the rules of the game" and those who do not adapt to these dynamics.

The conformation of the Monterrey Metropolitan Area grew in spaces with very noticeable contrasts between residential areas for the high-income population and working-class neighborhoods. The metropolization of the city began within an industrial boom for northern Mexico, which, due to its location, communication routes, and connection with the United States, facilitated investment. This allowed Monterrey to consolidate itself as a city of great economic development.

Many of the central neighborhoods and their problems have been used to justify interventions made through social programs or urban projects, whose interest has been to transform these areas. Some authors have analyzed the background and the eviction mechanisms in the city of Monterrey as a consequence of the urban projects that have taken place. In this sense, the analysis of José Manuel Prieto (2011) highlights the relationship that urban projects have in the media and political discourse, where they have sought to solve the problems of insecurity, deterioration, and road congestion in the city. Meanwhile, Rodrigo Escamilla (2014) and Jaime Sánchez (2019) have analyzed the path of the city of Monterrey toward the logics of modernization with the Gran Plaza, Fundidora Park, and Santa Lucía Riverwalk projects. Although it was possible to transform the urban order thanks to the government's ties with private initiatives for these projects, this modernization has also involved losses in heritage and the expulsion of inhabitants.

This article takes the Independencia neighborhood, located in the municipality of Monterrey, as a case study, as this was one of the first neighborhoods formed outside

the foundational center, and given its land occupation characteristics. The goal is to analyze aspects that make the Independencia neighborhood a disputed space and to identify how this is expressed territorially through the action and inaction of public and private actors. The analysis revolves around two lines: social processes and urban renewal projects. The first explores the processes of social stigmatization and urban fragmentation. For the second line, two projects were analyzed: the "Monterrey-Valle Oriente road interconnection" and the "Mercy Memorial". Both lines were based on a qualitative methodology made using semi-structured interviews, informal talks, and non-participant observation techniques.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Elites, territorial stigmatization, urban fragmentation, and megaprojects

In all societies, the political, administrative, economic, religious, and military spheres are led by organized groups that make up a minority of the population (Bolívar, 2002). This dominant minority, namely, an elite, is the one who makes the decisions that affect the lives of the rest of the people or influences those who do. With this, they seek to promote their interests and obtain the support of the masses by using force, institutions, the media, or by appealing to sentimentalism (Bolívar, 2002; Therborn, 2020). The influence and power elites have within public affairs are accompanied by speeches that legitimize the decisions made by these minority groups. According to Janoschka and Sequera (2014), the power of one social group over another not only implies the control of the political and economic sphere but also that their ways of interpreting reality are accepted by the rest of the social groups as universal. That said, one can understand the power of the state in the construction of discourses or, as Robin (2009) mentions, in the creation of the objects of fear. Together with the State, elite groups and the media play an important role in creating and reproducing these narratives that guarantee society's functioning.

These narratives are also reflected in expulsions and evictions, making them the most violent and visible face of criminalization processes and the construction of territorial stigmas (Rolnik, 2017). Urban management and the policies implemented by public administrations have standardized practices and mechanisms that displace informal economic activities, low-income residents, and/or people living on the streets, turning spaces into exclusive and exclusionary places with a strong class connotation. As a matter of fact, it is the working classes that suffer the most displacements and expulsions from their territories (Janoschka & Sequera, 2014).

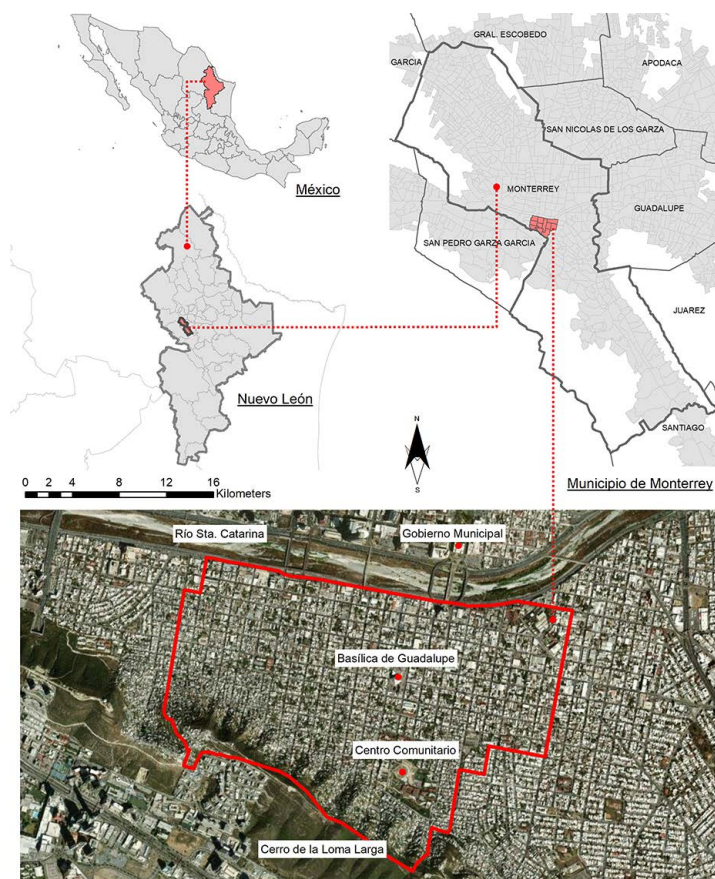


Figure 1. Location of the Independencia neighborhood. Source: Preparation by the author using ArcGIS 10.5 and Google Earth Pro.

Following Harvey (2007), urban transformations are characterized by what he calls “urban entrepreneurship”, which are alliances between public and private sectors that seek to attract investment and speculative construction to trigger the city’s economic development through public discourses about the benefits that such interventions will have for the population. This is related to territorial stigmatization processes which, in turn, accompany the metropolization of cities. This is how social groups in certain neighborhoods are marked, being attacked and recognized at a social and spatial level as a synonym for misery, crime, and moral degradation, which are, in themselves, the causes of the social ills that afflict cities (González, 2018).

In another aspect, megaprojects and the real estate market follow the same logic with “urban renewal” programs, which seek to transform areas that are “frowned upon” to give them a new image. Harvey (2007, p. 377) mentions that “the city has to seem like an innovative, interesting, creative, and safe place to visit”. Such processes allow entrepreneurs

and real estate developers to try to attract consumers through cultural innovation, the improvement of the urban environment, and attractions such as shopping malls, exclusive restaurants, and leisure options (Harvey, 2007).

This is related to the moments of destruction and creation that neoliberal urbanism has. In cities, inhabitants are increasingly familiar with the destruction of traditional neighborhoods and public spaces that are replaced by new places for the consumption of the elite. Likewise, the construction of megaprojects and gated neighborhoods that introduce new forms of surveillance and social control is commonplace (Brenner et al., 2015), opening a path to urban fragmentation associated with metropolization and globalization processes and the emergence of separation logics and new urban boundaries (Smith & Williams, 1986; cited in Prévôt, 2001). These divisions mainly manifest themselves in large walls, electrified fences, and security cameras, involve a social classification, and turn isolation, division, and surveillance into a status symbol (Caldeira, 2007).

III. CASE STUDY

The Independencia neighborhood was the first real-estate development outside the city's foundational hub. It was formed with the arrival of migrants from several states of the republic who settled on the southern bank of the river. This group came to work in different trades such as laborers, artisans, carpenters, painters, shoemakers, and blacksmiths, among others, in search of better living conditions and attracted by the industrial boom (Palacios & Martínez, 2014; Zúñiga, 2010).

The neighborhood is bordered to the north by the Santa Catarina River and to the south by the Loma Larga Hill, which separates the municipality of Monterrey and the municipality of San Pedro Garza García. To the west, it adjoins the Pio X neighborhood, and to the east, the Nuevo Repueblo neighborhood (Figure 1). The total population living in Independencia according to the 2020 Population and Housing Census conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) is 28,438 inhabitants.

The Independencia neighborhood is classified as a working-class neighborhood, as it is an area that has initial irregularity in land occupation and self-built housing (Duhau & Giglia, 2008). This is because, in 1960, neighborhood growth was based on clientelistic

exchanges between the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and the inhabitants, allowing them to take land on Loma Larga Hill with the promise of regularizing their land and providing services in exchange for votes. In addition, it has a privileged location due to its proximity to the city center, important road arteries, public transport routes, metro lines, and access to many services such as hospitals, schools, government offices, etc.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out using a qualitative methodology to obtain information on the possible aspects that could turn Independencia into a space disputed by the government, private initiative, and the inhabitants.

The fieldwork took place at different times of the year, starting in 2019 and ending in 2020. 15 semi-structured interviews were conducted with residents of the neighborhood who were involved in some kind of neighborhood organization (Table 1). The semi-structured interviews were divided into five sections, ranging from basic data of the interviewees, such as family members, occupation, age, place of birth, gender, and schooling, to their opinion on sociability between neighbors, perception of security, government action, and urban projects. In addition, specific questions were asked related to the

Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Position in the neighborhood	Years living in the neighborhood
Interviewee 1	Male	25	Therapist	Neighbor	25
Interviewee 2	Male	45	Graphic designer	Member of "Neighbors in Resistance"	26
Interviewee 3	Female	40	Trader	Member of "Neighbors in Resistance"	30
Interviewee 4	Female	64	Housewife	Church Community	40
Interviewee 5	Female	44	Housewife	Church Community	29
Interviewee 6	Female	21	Student	Neighbor	21
Interviewee 7	Female	39	Employee	Church Community	39
Interviewee 8	Male	43	Cook	Church Community	43
Interviewee 9	Female	56	Employee	Church Community	29
Interviewee 10	Female	54	Housewife	Neighbor	----
Interviewee 11	Female	58	Housewife	Church Community	30
Interviewee 12	Male	50	Taxi Driver	Neighbor	50
Interviewee 13	Male	33	Designer	Member of "Neighbors in Resistance"	33
Interviewee 14	Male	35	Priest	Church Community	----
Interviewee 15	Female	61	Academic	Member of "Neighbors in Resistance"	----

Table 1. Characteristics of the people interviewed. Source: Preparation by the author

threats they perceived in the neighborhood. The goal of the questions was to know the inhabitants' perceptions and whether they managed to identify any relationship between government actions and urban projects.

To analyze the fragmentation, the boundary concept was used to understand the divisions the space has beyond elements that can be physically perceived. Boundaries do not just represent physical obstacles that prevent or allow entry to certain places but rather affect the social and imaginary structures that separate and distance that which displeases, produces repulsion, or alters (Vergara, 2015).

Natural, physical, and symbolic elements were identified to reflect on what boundaries imply as articulating, connecting, or separating elements in a city's structure, taking data from the 2016 National Housing Inventory. Regarding the urban projects, the interviews had a section that sought to find out the opinion of the inhabitants about them, whether they knew them, and what their position was in this regard.

The interviews and informal talks were conducted individually and were recorded and transcribed for analysis. In addition, multiple tours and photographic records were made throughout the neighborhood. Finally, the internet portals of the "Mercy Memorial" project and the Strategic Projects Trust (FIDPROES), in charge of the "Monterrey-Valle Oriente Road Interconnection", were used as sources of information since there was no response from the authorities to have a formal interview.

V. RESULTS

Social and territorial processes: territorial stigmatization and urban fragmentation

Stigmatization by the media has historically been constant, portraying the neighborhood as a violent and unsafe place. However, its inhabitants consider that crimes and violence in the area are greatly emphasized, but that the same approach is not taken for other areas of the city where similar or much more serious cases occur. Even less is said about these situations in the higher socioeconomic status neighborhoods. The inhabitants say that they have noticed actions by the government and the media that make them sense a struggle for the territory and the discredit towards those who live in the neighborhood:

"... for me, it is a wave where they are fighting against us to get that land because it is valuable [...] I have always known these labels were intentional, because [...] you

don't have to be so smart. I was looking at other neighborhoods and saying well that's uglier, why are they talking more about us than others..."⁴(Man, 33 years old, designer, member of "neighbors in resistance")

The inhabitants see that there are ties between the authority's abandonment of the neighborhood, the stigmatization of its inhabitants, and urban renewal projects, to justify interventions. They try to make it seen that the proposed projects are needed to end the place's problems, insisting that these will improve the inhabitants' quality of life, and bring economic, social, and cultural benefits:

"... it's because of the location we have, it's very privileged in the city. So, it's clear to me that private initiatives through construction companies and real estate developers are disputing the territory [...] you see the things they do in the neighborhood [...] you no longer see it as a coincidence, like these constant smear campaigns in the media, because you are already beginning to notice that well, it's no coincidence, that they've permanently abandoned us ..." ⁵ (Woman, 40 years old, trader, member of "neighbors in resistance").

To the south of Independencia is Loma Larga Hill, a division between the municipality of Monterrey and San Pedro Garza García, known as the place where the city's elite lives. To the north is the Santa Catarina River, which separates the neighborhood from the center of Monterrey, a place where political, economic, social, and cultural life is articulated (Figure 2). These natural boundaries are used as social differentiators, a separation between classes. On one side, the working class, and on the other, the upper class. This is stated by one of the neighbors:

"... here is Monterrey and over there is San Pedro. Here is the division [...] I am from Oaxaca and I met my husband here in the Del Valle neighborhood (San Pedro) where he worked on the construction site [...] I was working in Coatzacoalcos, Veracruz, and from there, my boss brought me here, I worked in a house, she brought me here to look after her children..." ⁶ (Female, 58 years old, housewife, church community).

One of the physical barriers that can be seen at the top of the Loma Larga Hill is the wall that separates the gated "Vista Real"

⁴ Interview conducted on January 16, 2020.

⁵ Interview conducted on January 13, 2020.

⁶ Interview conducted on July 2, 2019.

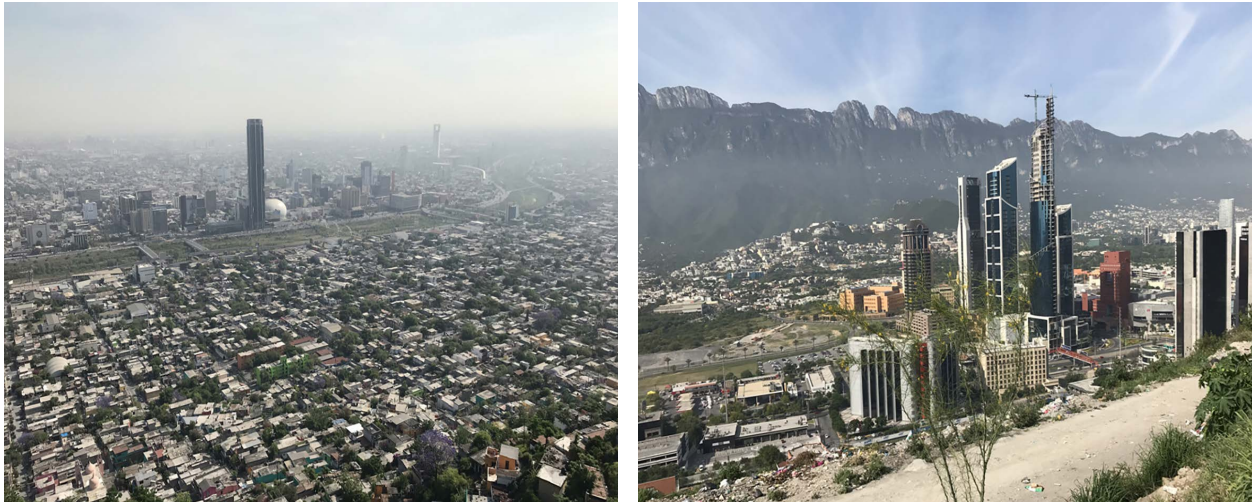


Figure 2. Natural boundaries. Left. View towards the Santa Catarina River. Right. View from the Loma Larga Hill towards San Pedro Garza García. Source: Own preparation by the author using fieldwork files.



Figure 3. Physical boundaries. Left. Stairs that lead to the top of the hill. Right. Dividing wall between the Independencia and Vista Real neighborhoods. Source: Own preparation by the author using fieldwork files.

neighborhood, belonging to the municipality of San Pedro Garza García in the Independencia neighborhood. This neighborhood has all the security measures, with a guard house, electric fence, and cameras. Another example is the stairs that work as links to other parts of the neighborhood, which, given their topography, deny vehicle access. These stairs have a symbolic role that marks a difference between those above and those below, those who live in irregular and those who do so in regular settlements (Figure 3).

Urban renewal projects: Monterrey-Valle Oriente Road interconnection and Mercy Memorial

A popular practice in Mexico is the makeover of working-class neighborhoods through government-sponsored programs that offer to paint the facades of homes with striking colors, such as the “Transforming Monterrey” program. This program focused only on changing the aesthetics of the Independencia neighborhood and not on solving issues such as the lack of



Figure 4. "Transforming Monterrey" Program. Source: Government of Monterrey and fieldwork files.



Figure 5. Monterrey-Valle Oriente Road Interconnection project. Source: Strategic Projects Trust (FIDEPROES).

basic services, insecurity in land tenure, or guaranteeing access to health, work, and education. In addition, there is no evidence that this program has reduced criminal activity, or improved the inhabitants' quality of life (Figure 4).

In addition to these programs, the neighborhood has sought to promote two projects in recent years. The first one with the support of the State Government, the municipalities

of Monterrey, San Pedro Garza García, and the Strategic Projects Trust (FIDEPROES), called "Monterrey - Valle Oriente Road Interconnection"⁷, which looked to unite these two municipalities through a raised viaduct that would pass over Loma Larga Hill with four lanes in each direction, one exclusive lane for public transport and one for pedestrian access. According to what is mentioned on the project's website, the goal is "to improve the sector's economic, social, and cultural

⁷ On June 25th, 2019, the Secretary of Management for Environmental Protection in Official Document No. SGPA/DGIRA/DG/04855 denies the environmental impact authorization for the project.

activities by regenerating the urban environment and solving the city's mobility problems" (Strategic Projects Trust, n.d.), in addition to generating an increase in the capital gains of the real estate equity (Figure 5).

The second project, called "Mercy Memorial", is led by the Banregio banking institution and the Archdiocese of Monterrey, with the aim of "transforming a memory of violence into a space of mercy" (Memorial de la misericordia, n.d.). This comprises building a community center and a 160-meter-high monumental cross on the top of Loma Larga Hill, as well as a 12-meter monument to the Virgin of Guadalupe on public land that was donated under commodatum to the trust.⁸ (Figure 6).

It is worth highlighting the symbolic burden this project entails, as it shows that the problems are a matter of mercy and not of social justice. It is hoped that the monumental cross will inspire people to be better, leaving aside the shortcomings and lack of opportunities that they live day by day. This is what one of the neighbors says:

"I don't agree, the neighborhood is one of the most representative of Monterrey and it cannot be destroyed for the interest of a few, you cannot remove that identity, nor evict the population [...] the neighborhood does not need a cross, besides what benefit does it have for the community, people need community centers, education, values, recreational centers ..."⁹ (Male, 25 years old, therapist, neighbor)

The price they are offered for their homes is too low. It would not allow them to acquire a property in a location close to the city center, as the land is priced at around 30,000 pesos (approx. US\$1,750). The justification for this low-ball offer is that these homes are in an irregular situation, which makes it impossible to offer a higher amount.

Since this area is where the inhabitants have their activities, maintain their social relationships, and have a history related to that environment, moving to the peripheral areas of the city would imply a deterioration in their quality of life:

"... the big guys are going to resist, no one, not even those from below... tell your grandfather to sell his house, they have an incredible affection for their property that they won't want to [...] the key is the



Figura 6. Mercy Memorial (Memorial de la misericordia) Source: <http://www.memorialdelamisericordia.org/>

abuse they're doing with the payment [...] why don't they want to leave? because they say there... no way... it doesn't suit me, I'd better stay here because what do I buy with that, I can't buy anything, they go to Villa Juárez, Ciénega de Flores ¹⁰ with what they give [...] here the main excuse is urban development, that they want to help you with traffic..." ¹¹ (Male, 50 years old, taxi driver, neighbor)

The neighbors show a lack of clear information from the government and ignorance about these projects. There is also uncertainty about what there is and what it would imply for the community of Independencia. This is how they express it:

"I don't know anything about the interconnection, I just know that they want to open it up, but I haven't paid attention to it, I think it's a very interesting topic for the neighborhood, but I've never focused on what they're really going to do, why they're going to do it,

⁸ The first plot of land is 33,292.437 m², donated with an indefinite grant, and the second is 12,972.80 m², granted under a 30-year trust to the "Cruz de Monterrey" Banregio Trust 851-01371. Published in the Official Gazette of the State of Nuevo León on May 21st, 2018, Decree No. 383, and in the Monterrey Municipal Gazette, Volume XXVII, February 2021, respectively.

⁹ Interview conducted on July 17, 2019.

¹⁰ Juárez and Ciénega de Flores are considered peripheral municipalities that have not been integrated into the Monterrey Metropolitan Area.

¹¹ Interview conducted on January 24, 2019.

for what purpose, how it's going to benefit us. I look at the newspapers, well not really. I've never focused on checking this out, I don't have time, because of work [...] de la Cruz, I didn't even know about that, what do they want to do?" ¹² (Male, 43 years old, cook, church community).

"... (the interconnection) is an invasive, ecocidal project and an irruption in the tranquility of the community. It threatens the patrimony of all the neighbors, as well as their way of life [...] (the cross) is a vain and ostentatious project by the church that would only displace the people who live on Loma Larga to begin the imposition of real estate developments and to gentrify the area as a whole ..." ¹³ (Male, 45 years old, graphic designer, member "neighbors in resistance").

VI. DISCUSSION

Independencia neighborhood, conceived as a working-class neighborhood and located in the central area of the city of Monterrey, is, according to Rolnik (2017, p. 138), becoming "a reserve, susceptible to being occupied at any time by fractions of financial capital in its incessant search for new guarantees for its assets." This clearly turns the neighborhood into a space that is in dispute between real estate investors, the government, and residents, due to the economic interests at stake.

This 'urban entrepreneurship' strategy seeks to restore the flow of capital to the city centers through alliances between public and private sectors, in addition to creating favorable economic conditions to attract investment through different mechanisms, such as regulatory and management policies aimed at modifying land uses and the property system (Harvey, 2007; Salinas, 2014). An illustrative example of this approach is the donation of state land to the Banregio financial institution for the Mercy Memorial project.

In this context, as Harvey (2007) points out, improvements focus on physical aspects of the environment, prioritizing investment and economic development through speculative construction, rather than undertaking actions that contribute to improving the living and working conditions of the neighborhood's residents. It was seen that the inhabitants of the Independencia neighborhood have noticed that government actions

and public speeches have not focused on addressing the real needs of the area, but rather have focused on the implementation of aesthetic improvement measures, such as painting facades with striking colors, or the implementation of urban renewal projects. This has contributed to reinforcing the social stigmas that justify these actions in terms of improving the urban image in low-income areas.

Urban fragmentation in the neighborhood can be perceived by the boundaries that, due to their daily use, seem to be invisible, since they work as a connection between the population and their sources of work and facilitate access to other places, but they are sometimes overwhelmingly palpable. In this case, Loma Larga Hill has a dual role of uniting and separating, reflecting the differences, conflicts, and inequalities that are closely linked to power relations (Jirón, 2019). In this regard, Alejandro García (2010, p. 33) mentions that "in the neighborhood, you go down to work and go up to the house, upstairs is rest, support, downstairs is discrimination, exploitation.

The lack of State intervention has led to the gradual deterioration of city centers due to the absence of public investment in infrastructure and maintenance. However, this situation lays the foundations for real estate investors and developers to acquire cheap land, plan urban renovations, and modify land uses (Contreras, 2017), which also justifies population evictions. Thus, areas such as the Independencia neighborhood meet the ideal characteristics to carry out urban renewal actions that mainly benefit private investment. Similarly, these initiatives involve diverse mechanisms of dispossession, which begin with a lack of information about the projects being provided, followed by intimidation and violence exerted by "pressure groups" that come to the houses to threaten their occupants. To this are added the "accidental" landslides or the isolation of the affected population, as has been seen in other areas of the city center, which leads to the inhabitants finally agreeing to negotiate for better payments for their homes (Sánchez, 2019).

In the Independencia neighborhood, the 'neighbors in resistance' group documented on their social networks that in 2018 "some people were tricked and sold their houses for ridiculous amounts" (Del mero San Luisito, 2023) and that with the authorization for the construction of the "Monterrey-Valle Oriente road Interconnection" being denied, they were left in ruins. However, in 2022,

¹² Interview conducted on July 17, 2019.

¹³ Interview conducted on July 7, 2019.



Figura 7. Protest of Independencia neighbors against the “Mercy Memorial” project on August 8th, 2021. Source: Facebook - Del Mero San Lusito.

given the housing and water crisis that the city of Monterrey is experiencing, new homes have been built in these spaces.

Therborn (2020) recognizes that cities become ideal places for the concentration of wealth, but also places of resistance and political counterpower. Thus, the urban projects presented here have raised diverse opinions, legal actions, and social mobilizations by the inhabitants, who seek to confront these processes of revaluation of metropolitan areas that follow capitalist logic (Figure 7).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This article analyzed the stigmatization and urban fragmentation processes that have led the Independencia neighborhood to become a key point for intervention through urban projects, justifying these actions due to the deterioration and stigma suffered by its inhabitants. The findings presented show that the abandonment and lack of investment in infrastructure, equipment, and services by the government towards working-class and central neighborhoods are not a mere coincidence, rather they are part of a revaluation process that seeks to attract

private investment to these sectors of the city. In addition, the power relations there are between the elites of the city and the rest of the population become evident, which not only have great weight in political and economic decisions but also influence public policies and urban development plans.

It is evident that the projects presented here, namely, the “Monterrey-San Pedro Road Interconnection” and “Mercy Memorial”, are far from being the solution to the problems that afflict the city. Although they are posed as solutions to problems such as road congestion, insecurity, violence, and inequality, in reality, they become an excuse to end the presence of those “others” who are considered a threat to the urban order, leading to forced expulsions and evictions.

Some of the limitations encountered during this work are related to the lack of updated data and the limited availability of information for public consultation. It is necessary, based on this study, to ask new questions about what is currently happening in many Latin American cities concerning urban land revaluation processes through urban projects and real estate developments. This would provide the basis to talk about other phenomena such as the financialization of housing, real estate speculation, gentrification, and socio-spatial segregation.

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