

**The University of Texas at Austin
College of Liberal Arts**

**The Mexican Center of LLILAS and the
Andrew W. Mellon Doctoral Fellowship Program
In Latin American Sociology**

**Conference Proceedings of a
Research Workshop, March 4-5, 2004**

“The End of Public Space in the Latin American City?”



**Memoria compiled and edited by:
Dr. Gareth A. Jones
Dr. Peter M. Ward**

Other Issues Available in the
Contemporary Mexico Working Papers Series:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Number 1 | Mexico's Electoral Aftermath and Political Future , Sept 2-3,1994 |
| Number 2 | Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics , April 7-8,1995 |
| Number 3 | Housing Productions and Infrastructure in the Colonias of Texas and Mexico:A Cross Border Dialogue , May 5-6,1995 |
| Number 4 | Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics II , April 12-13, 1996 |
| Number 5 | New Federalism, State and Local Government in Mexico , Oct 25-26, 1996 |
| Number 6 | Mexico's 2003 Mid - Term Elections: Implications for the LIX Legislature and Party Consolidation , Sept 15-16, 2003. |

Conference Sponsors:

The Mexican Center of LLILAS
The College of Liberal Arts
The Dean of Graduate Studies

With additional support from:

The Texas Cowboys Lectureship
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Grant on
Latin American Urbanization at the End of the
Twentieth Century.

Proceedings/Memoria of a Bi-National Conference

Sponsored by

The Mexican Center of the Institute of Latin American Studies

At the University of Texas at Austin

March 4-5, 2004

The Copyright for this document is held by the Mexican Center of LLILAS

Referencing and accreditation should be as follows: Author's name, title of presentation, page nos., Jones, G.A and Ward, P.M et al., Memoria of the Bi-national Conference: " The End of Public Space in the Latin American City?", The Mexican Center of LLILAS , University of Texas at Austin, 4-5 March 2004.

This Memoria is available electronically at:

<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/llilas/centers/mexican/publications/index.html>

Table of Contents

Opening and Welcoming Remarks	
<i>Dr. Peter M. Ward</i>	1
 Public Space in the Latin American City	
 Session I: Public Space in the Latin American City- Part I	
A Geo-politics of Latin American Cities	3
<i>Gareth Jones</i>	
Globalization and the Crisis of Public Space: The Example of Mexico	
<i>Lawrence A. Herzog</i>	5
Disputa por la Ciudad y Espacios Publicos: Transformación de la Ciudad Latino Americana	
<i>Francisco Sabatini</i>	8
Staking A Claim: Street Vendors and Public Space in Urban Mexico, 1880-1930	
<i>Christina M. Jiménez</i>	9
Rapporteur Report	
<i>Paul A. Peters and Marissa L. Smith</i>	10
 Session II: Public Space in the Latin American City-Part II	
Urban Design and the Future of Public Space in the Brazilian City	
<i>Vicente del Rio</i>	12
Changing Public Spaces in the Spanish American Plaza and Barrio: Commodifying and Conviviality as Simultaneous Processes	
<i>Joseph L. Scarpaci</i>	15
Especial Segregation, employment and social inequality in Latin American Cities	
<i>Ruben Kaztman</i>	16
Rappoteur Report	
<i>Tania Vasquez</i>	16

Session III: Public Space, New Publics & Democratic Cities-Part I

Battle lines the shrinking public space: Youth gangs in El Salvador and Guatemala <i>Donna De Cesare</i>	17
The Stadiums of Buenos Aires: Conformity and Contestation in Public Space <i>Chris Gaffney</i>	20
Street Children, Public Space and State Indifference in Mexico City <i>Roger Magazine</i>	24
The Concealment of Public Space: Neoliberalism, AIDS, and the Regulation of Healing in Oaxaca <i>Matthew Gutmann</i>	27
Rapporteur Report <i>Jennifer Tovar</i>	29

Session IV: Public Space, New Publics & Democratic Cities – Part II

Imagenes, Sexo y Censura: Gender & Sexuality Redefinitions in Contemporary Mexican Society <i>Gloria González-López</i>	31
Public Spaces in a Segregated City: problems and perspectives from Lima <i>Jaime Joseph</i>	32
Las consultas del movimiento social “Alianza Cívica” como espacios públicos en México <i>Juan Manuel Ramírez Sáiz</i>	33
Spaces of democratisation: Neoliberalism and the strata of civil society <i>Jon Shefner</i>	34
Rapporteur Report <i>Marissa Smith</i>	35

Session V: Round Table Discussions: Research Priorities & Future Directions: The End of Public Space?

<i>Notes taken by Joseph Scarpaci</i>	37
---	----

Biographical Information	42
---------------------------------------	----

Copy of the Original Program	47
---	----

Summary

The Workshop explored controversial debates about the extent to which the public space, and access to it, is being eroded in contemporary Latin American cities. Participants were invited to discuss if or how public spaces – interpreted broadly -- are being eroded or reshaped by neo-liberalism, by the progressive withdrawal of the state from traditional arenas of social policy with or without replacement by civil organisations, by changes to consumption patterns, planning policies or globalisation. From various disciplinary and research perspectives, participants discussed the extent, pace and driving forces that shape access to spaces that were, in the past, arguably more truly “public” (or were they?). Such spaces include: plazas and parks; the street and thoroughfares; the marketplace (malls and shopping districts); transport systems; public housing and public education; and spaces of entertainment and recreation. Discussion considered whether, more broadly, public space is being recast as an outcome of the declining role of the state, and the pervasive shift from public to private provision of social goods, whether new axes of social exclusion are becoming entrenched, some elements of which are clearly spatial, while others are less obvious. Yet, research on public space also encounters a possible paradox. Across the region democratisation has opened up new opportunities of public space and new “publics” as citizens play a greater participatory role (and responsibility) in civics (public sphere). Discussions therefore assessed how far can we identify a greater acceptance of diversity notably in terms of gender and ethnicity, youth, sexuality, and other representations of difference. How have new, more global and accessible information flows opened the public sphere to greater transparency and scrutiny – probably as never before – and how has technology and media opened new spaces for social and political discourse? In short, what is the future of public space in Latin American cities and what are the driving forces behind future processes that will determine greater access or further segmentation?

Opening and Welcoming Remarks

Peter M. Ward (Coordinator of The Andrew W. Mellon Scholarships Program in Latin American Sociology at UT-Austin and Director of the Mexican Center of LLILAS):

Ladies and Gentlemen: it is my privilege on behalf of the Mexican Center of the Institute of Latin American Studies to welcome you all to the University of Texas at Austin. Thank you all for giving up two or three days of your lives from busy schedules in order to participate in this conference on “The End of Public Space in the Latin American City?” Several of you here are participating also in the follow-on meetings tied to Alejandro Portes and Bryan Roberts’ Andrew W. Mellon Foundation sponsored research network on “Latin American Urbanization at the End of the Twentieth Century”, and I am very grateful to you (and to them) for your willingness to combine the two events – I trust to our mutual benefit. This is, indeed, a distinguished group of scholars from the United States, Mexico, Latin America and Europe, and UT greatly looks forward to what promises to be both an important and fascinating series of interventions and discussions.

I should like to begin with several acknowledgements and words of thanks. First, my thanks go to Dr. Gareth Jones, a visiting scholar of LLILAS from the Department of Geography of the London School of Economics (LSE). This conference has been built around his studies at UT on a sabbatical, and it would not have happened but for his presence and leadership in bringing us together. The program is largely his design, so much of the credit for what transpires during the conference and the subsequent Memoria should be his – and ours collectively, of course. Also I wish to thank María Rojas and Ricky from the Mexican Center for their sterling assistance in organizing the logistical arrangements; and to thank colleagues and graduate students who are participating as rapporteurs to our discussions. The conference is sponsored primarily by the Andrew W. Mellon Latin American Sociology Fellowships Program that we are privileged to hold in the Department of Sociology – one of three such centers in the USA. In addition we have received generous support from the Cowboys Lectureship in the School of Graduate Studies, and from The Advisory Council of the Mexican Center of LLILAS. Last, and most important, on behalf of the University of Texas at Austin I would like to thank you all for coming – and especially our out-of-town visitors – who have given up two or three days of their lives in order to with us for this meeting.

As many of you know, Latin American Studies is a priority program on this campus, so much so that President Larry Faulkner in his first year as president made the “Latin American Initiative” one of his principal initiatives. Latin American studies is certainly one of the crown jewels on this campus: with more than 150 faculty whose mainstream research and teaching activities focus on the region ranging from salt domes in petrochemical exploration to understanding of Mayan glyphs; the Benson Latin American Collection which is widely regarded as the premier Latin American studies collection in the world; the treasures of the Blanton Art Museum and of the Harry Ransom Center (which include the Borges papers); as well as the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies which manages the largest undergraduate and graduate program in the country. And since 2002, we have the privilege of editing and producing the Latin American Research Review - the leading journal in the field. For further details about Latin American Studies at the University

of Texas may I invite you read the special issue of the Discovery Magazine available at the Latin American Initiative (LAI) website <http://utexas.edu/lai>

And so to our conference title: The End of Public Space in the Latin American City? Gareth Jones will shortly be invited to give us our “marching orders”; here I wish only to address the reason for my placing a question mark against the apparent truism. Most people today are no longer surprised at the argument or assertion that the public space is in decline, familiar as they are of the processes of inner-city population loss and decline; of the rise of gated communities and exclusion zones; the privatization of amenity rich landscapes and open spaces; and the reduced freedom and openness of access to commercial spaces such as malls. In short, exclusivity of access emerges either directly through control, or indirectly through pricing and through declining availability and reach of public transportation. So perhaps the surprise in the conference title is the fact that one should dare to question the assertion!

But we do so deliberately for a number of reasons. First, while recognizing the erosion of access outlined above, we should also remember that freedom of access has never been unfettered. Access is invariably predicated upon considerations of economic resources (the ability to pay), upon class, upon prejudices and discrimination, and by the way in which these spaces are represented and symbolized in relation to such considerations – acting to exclude or inhibit. And while *de jure* restrictions may not apply, *de facto* they often do. Second, my own work in recent years has explored the welcome changes wrought by democratization in Latin American cities, particularly the quickening of participatory democratic practices and the consolidation of civics and civic participation. Today, more than ever before, urban citizens are involved in planning and in governance, such that I believe one can argue that there is an opening of the public space born of democratic engagement. And such engagement has quickened through decentralization, devolution, transparency, and accountability: words that often had little purchase or meaningful translation into Spanish. But all are indicative of growing potential access to public space, even though such rights of citizenship also come with responsibilities. And, in embracing citizenship, one also legitimates the new structures of governance which can exclusionary such as new regulations to drive ambulantes off the streets, for example, thereby restricting freedom of access. My point is that this is a new “public space”, the nature and implications of which we need to unpack.

Similarly, while class and community based “digital divides” persist, access to the public information, and “virtual” discovery of public spaces is today unsurpassed whether these are regional, national or global, or are buried in cyberspace. This is a new public space, and we should explore how far it compensates for the loss of public space as we have traditionally come to know it. The plaza and agora now exist in virtual space and in democratic space, and who is to say that this not a legitimate and increasingly meaningful space of interaction and experience? Is this idea out of left field? It may be for some of you, but I hope that these are debates in which we will wish to engage in the next two days.

Once again, welcome, and enjoy!

Session 1

Public Space in the Latin American City – Part I

Chair: Peter Ward

- Gareth A Jones (LSE): Setting the Scene: A Geo-politics of Latin American cities
- Lawrence Herzog (San Diego State): Globalization and the Crisis of Public Space: The Example of Mexico
- Francisco Sabatini (Catholic University, Santiago, Chile): Contest for the City and Public Space: the transformation of the Latin American City

Gareth A Jones (LSE): Setting the Scene: “A Geo-politics of Latin American cities”

I would like to add my thanks to all of you for accepting the invitation to be here, to LLILAS for hosting the Workshop, to Peter for co-organising this event and to the rapporteurs (Tania Vasquez, Marissa Smith, Paul Peters, Jennifer Tovar).

My comments in introducing some of the themes that we might like to discuss over the next two days are partially covered in a chapter entitled “‘Todo es Posible’: The Geo-Politics of Democracy and Citizenship in Latin America”, forthcoming in Clive Barnett Murray Low’s “Spaces of Democracy: geographical perspectives on citizenship, participation and representation” (Sage). Nevertheless, let me start with a suggestion that runs through that chapter, and is illustrated by the vignette on pages 11-12 to the ‘charolazo’, that public space, who defines it and determines who can occupy it and how, is always fluid. In the case of the charolazo, my ‘right’ to be in a public space changed, with my ability to exert power over the police. From being ‘out of place’ I was suddenly in place.

Understanding public space as fluid allows us to be relatively optimistic against those that proclaim public space to be at an end. I am thankful for this as urban studies, geography and sociology have become dark disciplines in the past 20 years whenever public space has been on the agenda. Each time a new (physical) public space appears a phalanx of gainsayers claim “the end of public space”, of “real” public space, the socially progressive public space that make cities preeminent sites of democracy and pleasure.

In the context of papers such as that circulated here by Christina Jiménez on street traders in Morelia (see adjunct synopsis at end Session), it is worth considering the case for the prolonged death of public space. In the mid-late nineteenth century both modernity (Berman) and public space (Benjamin, Simmel) regarded streets, boulevards and arcades as spaces for mingling (across classes, genders), of being a ‘stranger’ and engaging with the intensity and diversity of urban life. The opening of streets, cafes, arcades to a more diverse public fostered what Sennett (1977) and Berman (1985) call “open minded public space”, deepening democracy and civics. Yet long before Michael Sorkin compared the (medieval) maxim that “city air makes

people free” to the notion that “there are no demonstrations in Disneyland” (xv), Georg Simmel argued that in time urbanites would become blasé about the world around them and would understand meanings in terms of quantities and not qualities, people will become reserved and invisible. To Simmel, the hope was that people would tread across the city, making ever more diverse contacts, but it is also from this time that conditions such as agoraphobia (the fear of being in open space) become ‘diagnosed’. Today, if we believe some writers, we must all be agoraphobic – indeed society and polity have become fearful of open space.

Is it more than irony then that today people in Latin America feel nostalgic to a time (and place), the late nineteenth century, when contemporaneously observers were already uncertain about whether public space was being ‘lost’ -- note Camilo Sitte on Vienna; Ebenezer Howard’s lament that cities denied people community. It is notable that this nostalgia only rarely draws positive positions with high modernists such as Le Corbusier and Norman Bel Geddes for whom the chaos of public space was politically more ambiguous, yet whose attempts to engineer social behaviour was based upon making the private public. Why is Brasilia regarded as inhumane whereas The Rockefeller Center (a privately owned designed public space ala a European citadel) has become an icon (for some) of urbanism and popular culture? What is the condition of Latin American debates on public space that in the US, for example, produced critiques of “empty public space” by Holly Whyte and Jane Jacobs? Why, if as Mike Davis has recently argued for US cities, Latinos have an almost natural affiliation to small scale, rich, public spaces, did the planning of the empty spaces endure for so long in Latin America itself? Is there a link here with the tension that runs through the politics of public spaces -- see Arendt and Habermas -- who were writing just as Latin American authoritarianism was being reshaped?

The prolonged death continues to the present. As neo-Marxism has left its parting gift of a Lefebvrian discourse of a “right to the city” questions are raised as to what kind of cities we now have a right to. In the introduction to *Variations on a Theme Park: the new American City and the End of Public Space* (no question mark) Sorkin suggests that we see “the emergence of a new kind of city, a city without place attached to it” In this ageographical city the historic politics of propinquity is undone as adjacency is instant and artificial. Sorkin goes on to make 3 claims about the characteristics of the new city: that the ties to specific places become loose as global production and mass consumption creates cities as a “swarm of urban bits jettisoning a physical view of the whole, sacrificing the idea of the city as the site of community and human connection”; cities become obsessed with ‘security’ as reflected in gated communities, surveillance and the management of abandoned people/space; cities become simulations (theme parks), in which everything becomes generic, in which people no longer relate cities to reality, no longer provides opportunities for people to act alone or collectively. Is this the future, or present, of Latin American cities too?

What are the implications of the death of public space for democracy and civics, and vice versa? As Peter noted, how do we understand the rise and deepening of democracy across Latin America with the apparent demise of public space? Is the possibility that public space can animate the public sphere less likely -- contrary to Arendt, Young, Benhabib -- if fewer spaces are accessible to anyone and mixing is less likely to be tolerated? Is the history of public demonstration in Latin America going the same way as in the US ? . Which, according to Fred Dewey: he has witnessed the replacement of face-to-face contact with façade-to-façade, or Trevor Boddy who suggests that protestors in public spaces are more likely to be looked upon as “pathetic” rather than political. I note here how street trader demonstrations in Puebla during the 1980s provoked the renaming of the zocalo as ‘La Borracha’ (porque siempre estaba tomada) but by mid 90s street traders had to come in by

pick-up truck. And, who hunger strikes in the DF zocalo? As a friend of mine commented when I asked what a particular protest was about, “I think it is teachers’ pay but who knows”. When asked why she didn’t know, the response was that she saw little point in starving yourself in public when so many were starving in private.

Is there, then, a space for optimism in our studies of urban and social change in Latin America? One suggestion is that the proliferation of malls, edge cities, festival landscapes, atrium hotels, and the demise of the plazas, streets,...have made the study of place and the politics of space more and not less important. We might also explore how cultural and urban studies are establishing how the meanings attached to spaces may change over time – the public spaces of Latin America (rarely created for the public) can become public through contestation of representation and meaning – in that sense street traders, youth gangs, and internet. As such, is the retreat of elites to malls and gated communities a cause for concern or an indication of having “lost” public space that we might welcome? Here Latin America challenges ‘the Los Angeles story’ in which privatization is matched by control, by displaying privatization as the loss of elite control. Who has the more power – a poor, black, youth transgressing the boundary of a mall, elite enclave or just sitting at the right traffic light, or the elite businessman nearing a favela? Is this a “possible politics” or hopeless optimism? Has marginalisation and exclusion gone so far that, finally, those “good arguments” that it can go no further might prevail? What I develop in the paper is that the politics of public space can be gleaned from how public and private are transgressed. My proposition is that spaces are public when they act as sites of the contestation of power – made public when they inform others about the discourses of groups who invest spaces with meaning – and are therefore performative, where identities are exposed, communicated, interpreted, understood, rejected.

Lawrence A. Herzog (SDSU): “Globalization and the Crisis of Public Space: The Example of Mexico”

The ideas in my presentation are taken from my forthcoming book, *Return to the Center: Politics, Public Space and City Building in Spain and Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). In the study of cities and regions, “globalization” has become an important paradigm for understanding the breakdown in the traditional hegemony of the nation-state as the dominant force in the restructuring of cities. Scholars argue that the national has been eclipsed by what are termed “transnational practices,” an amalgam of forms of control exerted by global corporations over societies at different scales (see Sklair, 1991). Consider, for example, how global companies manipulate consumer behavior through the design of consumer products: products like fast food, soft drinks and coffee are produced as uniform packages consumed in almost the same form across the planet. Once these products become cultural icons, global investors can control consumption through advertising. The homogenization of consumer products has been termed the “culture ideology of consumerism” (Sklair, 1991) and has garnered considerable attention from globalist scholars (Ritzer, 1996; Herzog, 1999).

My argument is that global corporate interests not only seek to homogenize and package physical consumer products, but the larger spaces within which those products are consumed—stores, hotels, restaurants, malls and so forth (Herzog, 2005). This homogenization and globalization of the built environment takes a number of easily identifiable forms:

- shopping malls that are routinely enclosed and decorated in homogenous styles—with color, comfort, and a feeling of safety and removal from the surrounding city;
- simulated streets and festival marketplaces which offer walkable “streets” protected from the automobile
- artificial, air conditioned interior spaces, such as the inside of giant hotel complexes, with monumental glass atria, stores, discoteques, restaurants, stately fountains, all allowing the city dweller to move off the “mean streets” of the real city (Davis, 1990);
- recreational spaces such as theme parks, designed around fantasy motifs that are entirely removed from any real urban context. These theme parks tend to spill back into the real city, allowing the “theme park” concept to begin to seep into American city building more generally (Sorkin, 1992).

The above factors are leading to an urban condition that can be best described as fragmented, one in which decision making is increasingly decentralized to suburban towns, where space is more and more privatized, and where physical sprawl and the dominance of the automobile are creating a city that is overly privatized, ego-driven and individualized, and where civic consciousness is in steady decline.

In “Looking South”, my objective is to turn attention to Mexico, and ask several questions: a) To what extent has globalization, privatization and the fragmented city phenomenon crossed the border into Mexico?; b) How has Mexico responded to these forces?; c) What are the impacts of globalization on Mexican public space? How is the nation adapting itself to the postmodern urban condition and the emergence of “cyberbia?”

Mexico City is an important place to explore these questions. It is the command center for global capital investment in Mexico. Further, since political power lies centralized here, much of the nation’s wealth is also concentrated here; this serves as a magnet for global investors. Mexico City encapsulates what we might call the “yin/yang” of globalization—it houses both the best and the worst of our global future. Its elite neighborhoods are among the most impressively designed urban communities in the Americas; its poverty is severe (Ward, 1990). Wealthy enclaves, from Polanco to San Angel, are set against a backdrop of smog, daily traffic gridlock, and increasing fear of crime in public spaces. Oddly, despite these limitations, Mexico City continues to have a rich public life. Its street and plazas are convivial. The core of the urban region continues to be filled with hundreds of thousands of people per day. Even major traffic arteries, such as Paseo Reforma Boulevard, retain a strong degree of walkability, and are surrounded by pedestrian scale neighborhoods. These neighborhoods—Colonia Roma, Condesa, etc.—retain a vital sense of place and identity, in part anchored by their lively public spaces—streets, plazas, parks, gardens. Mexico City’s historic center presents the greatest challenge to the nation’s ability to preserve good public spaces. The historic core is filled with some of the most important historic public places in all of Mexico—including plazas, gardens and courtyards. Yet the hyper-active growth around the inner core is increasing the pressure on the center: traffic, business, economic activity, commerce are all converging and the functional nucleus—the great zocalo—appears as if ready to burst open, like a gaping wound. The center cannot hold.

The zocalo screams out for remodeling; indeed the historic core desperately needs a new design plan that reorganizes the system of public spaces connected to the plaza mayor. But, thus far, the Mexican political system has been unable to address this critical urban question. No politician has been able to implement change, even though several design competitions have generated acceptable working design

plans. Sexenios have come and gone, but no solution has been reached. Meanwhile, the central core's public spaces are left to the cultural whims of a system that allows open spaces to become contested by various interest groups—from street vendors to political movements seeking a place to protest. There is a kind of lawlessness that ebbs and flows across Mexican public spaces. Mexico appears to be embracing many negative public space trends in the United States and other western cultures. We are beginning to see evidence of similar forms of “commodified” space invading the central city—from global corporate retail outlets and chain stores (7-11, McDonald's, Walmart, etc.) to shopping malls. One of the most striking forms of commodified space growing throughout Mexico is the tourism enclave. Tourism brings in some 10 billion dollars in foreign revenue a year, making it Mexico's second or third most important export activity. But, to what extent is Mexico altering its built environment and public spaces to create “other directed landscapes,” places designed for tourists, and not locals (See J.B. Jackson, 1970).

Examples of commodified tourism spaces abound. In Mexico City, the Zona Rosa neighborhood typifies this trend—it has been around for much of the second half of the 20th century, but the alterations have become more severe since the 1993 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement. This globalization of Mexico City's built environment should be a red flag for the government to rethink its urban future. The juxtaposition of new technology, global media, trans-national investment, and free trade imply a new kind of city-building that could disrupt or even destroy the strong neighborhood identity, the dynamic street life and pedestrian scale of much of the central urban core, and the active and convivial public spaces that have survived modernization in the last century. While this important global and socio-political debate unfolds, one must emphasize that there are many qualities that continue to make Mexican public space unique. These include:

- 1) Public space and memory. Mexico has a great affection for its past. This has even been institutionalized through the term “patrimonio cultural”, which, until the early 1990's, was a term used by the government to protect historic spaces and buildings as part of the national interest. Public spaces—plazas, gardens, parks, patios, promenades—were considered fundamental to the cultural patrimony, and were protected, as if it was official public policy to connect the physical environment and open space with the well being of citizens. Memory was part of the national obsession with identity, which became embedded in city places, and in the public life played out in these spaces.
- 2) Public space and nature. During the mid-19th century period of Emperor Maximilian and his wife Carlota, ideas of European landscape architecture were brought into Mexico—in particular, the notion of transforming un-landscaped zocalos into lush gardens of trees, grass, and flowers. This “greening” of public space has remained as a central element of Mexican urban design.
- 3) Public space and ritual. Being on the plaza, the street, or in the corner store—has long been part of the daily rituals of Latino and Mexican culture. Unlike its northern neighbor, the street and the square remain central to the daily rituals of millions of Mexican urban citizens.
- 4) Public space as contested space. One must acknowledge that in Mexican culture, public spaces are, in part, “up for grabs”. The political system has tolerated the use of public space for political protest. It has seen interest groups fighting for control of streets and plazas—street vendors, store owners and residents, for example (Jones and Varley, 1994). New global chain establishments (like McDonald's) will raise new questions about how much change should occur in public places (Herzog, 2002).

5) Public space as manipulated space. It has also been clear that during the 20th century, the post revolutionary Mexican government (through the PRI) utilized public spaces as places to manipulate public opinion in favor of the ruling party (Monnet, 1995). Celebrations of national identity were always held in historic public places, and architecture/landscape thus became a vehicle for promoting the PRI agenda of staying in power.

6) Public space and art. Mexico's has produced some of the greatest artists in the world—and many of these are globally recognized “icons”—Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera, Luis Barragan, Manuel Alvarez Bravo, etc. Art has always been a driving force in Mexican public space design, a quality that distinguishes it from other cultures. For example, the muralism movement is unique to Mexico, and involves embellishing public spaces with powerful murals.

7) Globalization and public space as multi-dimensional. It would stereotypically be argued that Mexican public space is altered by the United States, and not vice versa. In fact, the process may be more complicated. The “Towers of Satellite” a sculptured public space at the entrance to the first 1950's mega-suburb of Mexico City, were designed by Mattias Goeritz and Luis Barragan. The artists claim their inspiration came from visiting Manhattan (New York City) and observing its 1950's skyscrapers. The “Torres” were designed as hybrid “towers” that morphed into bright indigenous stone structures. These in turn have inspired artists and architects in their work in the United States, creating a series of cultural feedback loops between Mexico and its northern neighbor. For example, the main square of downtown Los Angeles, Pershing Square, was redesigned during the 1990's. It's sense of color, celebration, and it's modernist design have a strong connection to the work of Luis Barragan. The principle architect of Pershing Square's revitalization, was in fact, a Mexican—Ricardo Legorreta—and a strong disciple of Barragan.

To conclude, while public space in Mexico City (and other large cities in Mexico) is compromised by globalizing influences such as privatization and commodification, to date, scholars have not adequately addressed the culturally unique practices that allow Mexican urban public space to retain some of its dynamic qualities. Mexican cities are inherently more walkable than U.S. cities. Mexican urban culture tends to emphasize a pedestrian scale public life more than its northern neighbor. Indeed there are many positive forces at work that may keep public space thriving south of the border for years to come. Scholars and policy makers need to pay more attention to this. At the same time, it is critical that Mexicanist scholars also ask hard questions about the future impacts of globalization on Mexico's unique urbanism.

Francisco Sabatini (Catholic University-Chile): “Disputa por la Ciudad y Espacios Publicos: Transformación de la Ciudad LatinoAmericana”

La idea central de esta presentación es que estamos asistiendo a una transformación antes que a una desaparición del espacio público en la ciudad latinoamericana. La tesis de la desaparición parece estar fundada en una peculiar definición de espacio público, por lo demás bien extendida. Discutiré esta noción y ofreceré algunos criterios alternativos que podrían resultar más adecuados para comprender la situación que viven nuestras ciudades.

- La concepción modernista de los espacios públicos urbanos: las grandes explanadas de la democracia. Simetría entre libertad política y libertad física. El fracaso histórico de este enfoque modernista. Marchas y concentraciones políticas durante el gobierno de Salvador Allende en Santiago de Chile: entre

la conquista de la libertad y la abulia de las explanadas de la democracia; entre la producción social del espacio público y las ofertas estatales.

- Definición de espacio público y definición de ciudad: otredad, pertenencia, libertad. El encuentro con el “otro” (el distinto y el desconocido), el sentido de pertenencia a la comunidad, disputas y negociación en la producción del espacio público, participación individual o colectiva, integración a partir de la micro-segregación, ambigüedades inherentes (entre ser espectador y ser parte del espectáculo; entre la exclusión y la integración).
- Los nuevos espacios públicos: espacios comerciales (shoppings, supermercados) y puritanismo aristotélico; espacios de recreación, redes urbanas de transporte y comunicación. Amenazas a los espacios públicos tradicionales: el automóvil y la inseguridad Nueva ambigüedad: entre la producción inmobiliaria de los nuevos espacios públicos y la capacidad transformadora de la sociedad civil.
- El resurgimiento de lo local. Conflictos por externalidades y construcción social de lo público. Análisis de las fortalezas y debilidades de los distintos tipos de espacios públicos: shoppings y supermercados, plazas y calles, infraestructuras de redes.

**Christina M. Jiménez (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs):
“Staking A Claim: Street Vendors and Public Space in Urban Mexico,
1880-1930”**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, public spaces in many Mexican cities were transformed according to the aesthetic visions and commercial imperatives of the modernizing city. Research on this process has centered on how the Mexican state and political elite sought to control urban space and the people and activities in it since public spaces came to represent the modern aspirations of the nation. Commercial expansion, liberal politics, and urban modernity through these decades are thus portrayed as the development project of privileged groups. Contrary to standard depictions of this process as state-centered and elite-imposed, however, I argue that popular residents also envisioned urban public space in their own terms as revealed through their everyday actions and dialogues. In the late nineteenth century, while urban spaces represented spaces of display, performance, consumption, and control for some, public space in the city also represented spaces of economic and political production for others. Street-selling vendors, in particular, asserted themselves as legitimate political actors and local entrepreneurs by engaging with the ubiquitous discourses of liberalism, consumerism, and public beauty, and public health. This presentation complicates the dominant narrative of urban public space and political culture in Mexico during the Porfiriato, Revolution and post-revolutionary periods by positing a coexisting alternative narrative focusing on the claims and politics of urban vendors in Morelia, Michoacán.

The transformation of urban public space offered new potential sources of employment, access to public services, exposure to new experiences, and new possibilities for popular politicking. Thus apart from survival strategies, new urban identities, alternative forms of political engagement, and popular urban activism were produced in relation to urban space. The transformation of central public spaces literally created more physical space for new production and employment opportunities. It also generated possibilities for new forms of political engagement for working residents. From 1880 to 1930, public vending became a primary source of household survival for many working-class residents and recent migrants from the countryside. Through an analysis of the communications between street vendors

and the political elite of Morelia, Michoacán between 1880 and 1930, I argue that aspects of urban politics during the Porfiriato laid a foundation for the politics of the post-revolutionary state. Residents were able to secure many vital concessions or protections from local authorities during the Porfiriato based on a moral economy. In the 1880s, for instance, public sellers effectively embedded themselves and their businesses in central public spaces of the city, arguing for their own contributions to the aesthetics of urban modernity, local commerce, and consumer culture.

Vendors quickly became the most visible and controversial workers in shared city spaces. From 1888 through the 1910s, as growing numbers of urban poor turned to the informal vending economy for their livelihood, elite visions of urban public space came increasingly to conflict with popular claims to those same central locations. While municipal authorities continued to negotiate with certain vendors, it also targeted poorer vendors for removal from prominent areas, arguing that they posed threats to the health, morality and beauty of the city. The developmentalist belief that popular groups had to be culturally-reformed and socially-educated undergirded this exclusionary discourse. While sellers were not unilaterally excluded from public space, those who could conform to elite standards of cleanliness, morality, and aesthetics were given access to central spots, while other sellers were moved away from the visible central locations of the city. Through these decades, however, vendors continued to negotiate with government officials, employing collective petitioning and vertical and horizontal networks to defend their claims to city spaces.

Through their activism and politicking during 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s, vendors also effectively claimed city spaces as their own, a claim which has persisted through the twentieth century as evidenced by the permanency of the informal vending economy in Mexican cities. Thus I argue that contestations and negotiations over urban public space from the 1880s through the 1910s created a foundational dynamic of popular organizing and popular politics vis à vis the Mexican state. Contrary to the assumption that vendor politics over public space emerged only after the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), I argue that the roots of the informal vending economy and the central role of networks in urban politics and popular access to the state through group associations and collective petitioning are to be found in the late nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth century, vendors staked their claims to city space and political citizenship in a manner which had long-term reverberations in Mexico.

Paul A Peters (University of Texas) & Marissa L. Smith (Arizona State University) Rapporteur Report:

The topics of these papers reflect a converging emphasis on public space within the discourse of Latin American research. In the first of the presentations, Gareth Jones highlighted the transgression of public space within several Latin American contexts. This exposition was framed within the narrative of how public space is used to motivate and support democratic and participatory planning scenarios. Second, Lawrence Herzog discussed the re-thinking of the traditional narrative of public space. Through images and examples, globalised, simulated, and privatised spaces within Latin America were exposed. Third, Francisco Sabatini spoke of the end of public space in the Latin America city. Through short video, imagery, and telling statistics, he posited the need to redefine public space, to identify new forms of public space, and to re-consider the peculiarities of the Latin American context.

The first comment by Vicente del Rio pointed to the legal connection behind the appropriation of public space in Latin American cities. He noted that there is minimal

sharing of the civic elements of property and thus there is an invitation of trespass due to the granting of private ownership to civic space. Without this legal connection, it is not possible to re-claim private land for public use. A second connection drawn is that of the historical connection between cities and rural areas. The artefacts of colonisation have led to the perception that this is the only way towards economic growth.

Ruben Kaztman noted that public space fulfils a variety of functions within the urban environment and thus, it can be judged in terms of order, disorder, or enjoyability. Given this, it is difficult to change public space if the social goals are not clearly identified. The goals of alleviating poverty, reducing inequality, promoting entertainment, or improving democracy will all lead to differing impacts on the form of public space.

Manuel Gonzalez followed these comments, addressing regulation, administration, and law. He noted that public space in Latin America can be thought of as re-use, in that it has little regulation and the conquest of the space is by the first who take it. Public spaces are targets for appropriation without rule. For example, street vendors will either manipulate the authorities to take over public space, and be conversely manipulated by authorities in return. This duality of manipulation is exacerbated by a general unwillingness to enforce the law. Public space is therefore thought of as troublesome and that increasing it would see the demise of the rule of law and of Government as a whole. Thus, in keeping with the comments made by Vicente del Rio he reaffirmed that it would be interesting to look at public space in terms of law. This is, especially in terms of liability. These comments were followed by two additional points from del Rio. First, that the idea that great urban designs make great public spaces. Second, the notion that people purchase from street vendors because of solidarity can be questioned. He noted that the users of public space and local residents often hate street vendors, but they purchase from them because it is cheaper and more convenient.

David Stea drew parallels between the presentations of Gareth Jones and Lawrence Herzog, especially the idea of public space as a theme park, with the example of Las Vegas, where public space becomes semi-public and highly structured. This is a form of soft control, where people do not have free access to all space and thus become suspicious of the motives behind the provision of space.

In response, Gareth Jones confirmed the need to develop notions of social purpose and recognised that there is a difference between the Los Angeles school and Latin America especially in the absence of a social purpose debate in Latin America. What is the nature of the debate on social purpose? What is that debate and who is having it? Does it interact with the legal/social debates? Private/Public- street vendors bring private functions into public space, transcending the social norms, while remaining within the regulations and law. Displays of poverty and marginality are absent in debates of public space – the public are not withdrawing from space, but they are being limited in their actions. In his view the theme park argument has over-reached itself. While “there are no demonstrations in Disneyland” challenges do play out within these entities. He notes (contentiously) that McDonald’s is a democratic institution in many ways: in Puebla, it is the only locale in the lead mall that employs indigenous or mestizos, while other stores are whitening their clientele and staff. Moreover, in attempting to locate on Puebla’s zocalo, McDonald’s provoked a debate about public space and challenged what we think of as the mall, the plaza, and the public square.

Lawrence Herzog's response recognises the interconnections between one comment and another. Legal issues and the environment are big topics that deserve a lot of attention. The plazas in Morelia are overrun by street vendors, thus returning to comments on societal goals for public space. There is a diversity of positions on goals for public space (urbanism, capitalism, socialism, etc...) and there needs to be a reinvention of public space in accordance with these goals. Architecture does not always address the space around it, and is often in opposition to it. In response to Vicente del Rio, Lawrence Herzog observed that great buildings can make good public space; however, great big yucky buildings do not. Public space doesn't belong to anyone and therefore it is prone to appropriation. The political environment is much more negotiable than physical public space. The peculiarities of public space in Latin America, recognising the specific religious history of the region, are what we are all attempting to define. The duality is both wonderful and painful.

Francisco Sabatini commented that the notion of solidarity is a hypothesis and the criticisms are recognised. Indeed, people are opposing street vendors, rather than being opposed to them. This issue clearly needs more research. In some regions of Latin America, there is more open-space for the "other" than for the mainstream. The Latin American city is characterised by segregation, but it is still very open with a variety of different population groups living close to these spaces and in close proximity to each other. The ambivalence of public space is the core of this discussion, the essence of public space. Even in protest, the public space can be conservative, reinforcing duality and reducing the political power of action. This is the essence of public space.

Session 2

Public Space in the Latin American City – Part II

Chair: Peter Ward

- Vicente del Rio (Cal Poly State Univ.): Beyond Modernism: Contemporary Urban Design and the Public Realm in Brazil
- Joseph Scarpaci (Virginia Tech): Changing Public Spaces in the Spanish American Plaza and Barrio: Commodifying and Conviviality as Simultaneous Processes
- Ruben Kaztman (Catholic University, Montevideo): Spatial Segregation, employment and social inequality in Latin America cities

Vicente del Rio (California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo): "Urban Design and the Future of Public Space in the Brazilian City"

This paper addresses the preliminary results of an on-going research project on contemporary urban design in Brazil partially funded by the Graham Foundation. The research examines the evolution of Brazilian urban design from its peak with the new capital Brasilia to its decline after the modernist era, and concentrates on its resurgence in the last two decades. Several case-studies inform a critical assessment of urban design as recently practiced in Brazil, its role in the shaping of

the public realm, and in social and economic development. The research is meant to contribute to a better understanding of Brazilian urban design from an international perspective, and to foster a discussion on the applicability of its lessons to the US and other contexts.

Our findings indicate that public space in the Brazilian city is not about to end, but it is undergoing transformations that point toward opposite directions. One direction heads to a stronger seclusion of all social groups in their protected “home” spaces, while the other heads to the betterment of quality of public spaces at large, from neighborhood plazas to downtown revitalization. How contradictory or how complementary these directions are will depend largely on community participation and public involvement in local affairs, but also on the spatial dependence of cultural, political, and religious manifestations that are still deeply rooted in the Brazilian society.

To open the discussion let me make the following points of departure:

- 1) To consider public space as a) a specific spatiality; b) appropriated by the public at large, c) being under public ownership.
- 2) In Brazilian urban design, the struggle to overcome the modernist paradigm, its subversion of traditional urbanism, and the hegemonic image of Brasilia started in the mid eighties soon after the overthrow of the military and the return to full democracy.
- 3) The Brazilian Constitution (1988) and its regulation by the “City Statute” (2001) “confirmed and widened the fundamental legal-political role of municipalities in... directives for urban planning and in conducting the process for urban development and management” (Fernandes 2001). This ensures the social role of urban land beyond its economic value, but it also expands the principles set during the UN’s 1992 Earth Summit and other UN campaigns for more socially inclusive development.
- 4) With the return of democracy and the resurgence of parties with stronger social concerns, local governments revised planning programs including new participatory and socially oriented programs, such as legalization of land tenure and participatory municipal budgeting. The new political and social frameworks reflect in the way urban design is understood and practiced.
- 5) The practice of contemporary urbanism and urban design in Brazil have yet to be more systematically studied, and their advances remain largely ignored by international researchers.

Our research findings are:

- 1) Modernism continues to impact Brazilian cities for the better (by bringing in the functionality and urbanization much needed in developing areas) and for the worse (by facilitating spatial and social segregation),
- 2) Ground-breaking and successful projects in Brazil teach important lessons and point to new directions, such as in historical preservation, revitalization, and in the upgrading the quality of public space.
- 3) Our investigation reveals some of the limitations of urban design as currently practiced, as well as its permeation by some of the contradictions inherent in a free-market and global economy, such as the retraction of the public realm.

We offer four general trends in Brazilian contemporary urban design: a) urban design at the city scale, b) urban design for revitalization, c) urban design for social inclusion, and d) urban design for social exclusion.

First, urban design may be regarded as an instrument for social exclusion that limits accessibility and social encounters while preventing the unexpected. Social exclusion and spatial control are seen everywhere in major cities, most strongly in areas that have been designed according to the modernist tenets. Here, modernist urban design is easily appropriated by developers and by the “private realm”, which generates social environments that are sometimes strongly segregated. The rigid separation of land-uses and of typologies provided a rationale for a culture of seclusion as a response to the fear syndrome of the middle-class. The retreat to protected and secluded environments is partly a result of a society that is scared for its own personal security, but also as an expression of a socio-cultural gap that is increased by the market and by social expectations. Finally, gates and walls have become symbols of security but also of social belonging that developers sell as “new urbanism”.

Second, urban design for revitalization - the importance of historical, cultural, and economic patrimony of the downtown and historic areas. Most of these areas are still heavily utilized by a large population particularly because of public transportation nodes. Several revitalization projects have been implemented in Brazilian major cities, most with a cultural and recreational bias, and some include efforts to revitalize waterfronts. From the controversial renovation of the Pelourinho in Salvador, to the privately conducted revitalization of an industrial sector in Porto Alegre. Consider the Projeto Corredor Cultural in Rio de Janeiro. Starting in early eighties this is the first large scale urban design program in Brazil to combine historic preservation to cultural and economic revitalization in the inner-city. It involved an alliance of city planners and local retailers against gentrification and displacement from larger economic groups; in January 1984 an area declared special district with specific design guidelines and development requirements, building envelopes, design guidelines, a color scheme, signage control, and construction requirements were regulated; a system of technical assistance for property owners, developers, and architects was established, property tax abatements and other city based incentives were made available, and the city started complementary projects and cultural initiatives; the area has channeled private and public investments with dozens of cultural centers and new cafes, restaurants, and retail stores. Today, the project includes almost 3,000 buildings, of which 800 have been totally restored (September 2002) and almost 2,000 received partial betterments (painting, new signage), and a change of land-use zoning to provide for residential use.

Third, urban design for social inclusion. Design has an important role to play in the re-democratization of Brazil in guaranteeing the social function of the public realm. The quality of public spaces and services are major issues not only for citizenship but also for ameliorating the gap between rich and poor, and to compete for a better image nationally and abroad. We looked at several efforts for social inclusion and to recuperate the city – or at least parts of it – as a pluralist environment, while seeking to extend public services and cultural and social amenities to larger groups -- for example, neighbourhood upgrading in The Favela Bairro Program, Rio de Janeiro.

Conceived by the city government (1995) to integrate squatter settlements into the surrounding neighborhoods Favela-Bairro recognizes the social and capital investments of squatters by providing the communities with physical upgrading of public spaces, complementary social projects, and distribution of land titles. The

project represents an investment of US\$600 million and benefits a population of 500,000 in 120 favelas (60% of the city's squatter population) at a cost of US\$ 4,000 per family. The Favela Bairro methodology, the hiring of design teams for each favela project through public competitions allowed for a special attention to the quality of design and the specifics of each settlement: new roads and pedestrian pathways, access to infrastructure networks and city services, playgrounds, and sports fields areas. Some community facilities are provided such as day-care centers, and new housing units –to replace those that had to be evicted – and complementary social programs for community development, educational and income generation projects.

Fourth, enhancing the pedestrian experience, the example of Rio Cidade, Rio de Janeiro. Rio's Strategic Plan (1993-95) identified actions to recuperate the city's once famous world image, to attract new investments and tourism, and to restore quality in the public realm. Rio Cidade is a city-wide program that assumed urban design as a major contributor to the reconstruction of the image and the quality of life, place identity and sense of community, through more pedestrian-friendly streetscapes, and public spaces that could act as catalysts for social and economic revitalization. From 1993 to 2000 the program included 41 different project areas, and various design teams were hired through public competitions. The 15 projects built in the first stage represent a total public investment of approximately US\$200 million. The program was effective in enhancing local identity and community pride, and in revitalizing public life in several of the target areas. Although results vary in each case, all projects had significant local impacts, contributing to revitalize the public realm through a more pedestrian friendly environment, and injecting larger revenues for local retailers. The program has changed community perceptions and expectations, and its philosophy was incorporated into the daily concerns of the different city departments.

To conclude. While most of the contradictions of a global and free-economy are certainly present in Brazilian cities our studies also reveal that a number of government-sponsored projects are producing urban areas that are more livable, attractive, and responsive to communities. While private space becomes more entrenched and sometimes expands over the public realm, public space in Brazil seems to be alive and well. Socio-cultural patterns and traditions demand public spaces for their expression, such as carnival and several religious celebrations, soccer, etc. Most Brazilians still rely on the public realm for social encounters, dating, recreation, etc. The square, the sidewalk, the parks, and the beaches will always be fundamentally places of plurality, what evidently is particularly important for lower and middle-income groups. Urban design in Brazil seems to have overcome the limitations of the modernist paradigm and has expanded to a number of different approaches that are responsive to community needs and integrates interdisciplinary teachings toward real place making. Very differently from the previous modernist "portrait" of what a city should be like that relied on total control and centralized design, "post-modernity" has carved an urban design that follows no models but seeks "visions" of urban quality. In the quest for these visions, urban design as public policy seems to be fundamental for a truly pluralistic and culture-specific usage of the public realm, and for social and economic development.

Joseph L. Scarpaci (Virginia Tech): "Changing Public Spaces in the Spanish American Plaza & Barrio: Commodifying and Conviviality as Simultaneous Processes"

This paper opens with a consideration of the what I call "Modernity's toll on public spaces". This toll can be imagined in many different ways: the dominance of the

automobile (Moshe 1999); elite suburbanization (Ford's model, 1996); defensification of public spaces (Mike Davis' Los Angeles experience extended to Latin America); the loss of the 'public realm' & 'charm' (Kunstler 1996); gentrification that is now seen as global (Smith 2002); the fabrication of 'Spanish colonial design' outside the centro histórico (Herzog 1999); heritage as niche marketing (Tung 2001; Turnbridge et al. 2000; Runyard & French 1999).

Here I want to look at reviving local economy through heritage tourism – means striking a balance between local and tourist-based activities. (Using images) A Benetton store sells 'jeans' that cost a half year's wages for residents of Habana Vieja; The Plaza de San Francisco faces the cruise ship terminal where mostly Italian tourists enter Old Havana; Nightly ceremony re-enacting the closing of the city gates is one of the few venues where tourists and locals share a heritage experience each day; Home of Ché Guevara military museum and Commodifying Hemingway with Daiquiris at \$6 a drink (a week's wages for Cubans) and Papa's manuscripts are a national artefact. Is 'contriving heritage' denying conviviality? (Using Images) Commemorating where Ernest slept and partied at the Ambos Mundos Hotel in UNESCO World Heritage District of Habana Vieja; or professional salsa dancers and carnival reactors encouraging the public to dance (but what is the real story behind 'carnaval'?). (Using Images) I turn to "Sex and Cigars in the Public Realm" to consider conviviality and commodification in the black market of the centro histórico.

My summary and conclusions are that commercial land-uses are likely increasing in centros históricos; there is a rise of 'contrived' heritage settings that place locals and tourists side by side; historic preservation and gentrification are powered by economic multipliers and not a sense of enhancing the public realm; and, alas, there is great passivity among residents that means a need to reassess overly-romanticized notion of urban militancy.

Ruben Kaztman (Catholic University, Montevideo): "Spatial Segregation, employment and social inequality in Latin America cities"

(No Paper Summary Submitted)

Rapporteur Report: Tania Vasquez (University of Texas)

Four principal topics of interest emerged from these papers during discussions.

Culture and places: The mention that some Latin American cities have been promoting the participation of people, like the ex New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (Mexico City) as consultants on urban security, motivated the reflection that identity is related to very specific places (Herzog) or seen in another way, that places and locations have specific cultures. Lawrence Herzog mentioned as somewhat dangerous the "globalization of consultants" when finally public spaces are culturally determined and every city (and places within-cities as *plazas*) have their own cultural dynamics. Gutmann, referring to this intervention, argued that it was not a question about "outsiders that had always bad ideas", that consultants from other countries and experiences could have bad or good ideas, and it was important to hear and consider these ideas. Stea mentioned a idea similar to Herzog's, referring the fact that places like *plazas*, for example the *Plaza de Guanajuato* or *Jardín de la Unión*, remain places where people go to meet their friends even with the presence of communication facilities as telephone lines or internet.

Cultural nostalgia: connected to the previous topic, Matthew Gutmann suggested that some type of “cultural nostalgia” could be present in the discussion about the right way in which a city should be modified. He argued that public space is not ending but being reconfigured. Herzog emphasized again the importance of culture even when a place is not subject to be considered as part of the past or have a past origin, as for example the futuristic scenes of “Blade Runner”.

William Julius: The model for urban poverty in the presentation of Ruben Kaztman on Montevideo generated some discussion. Kaztman alluded to Julius’s approach showing its utility to study urban spatial segregation even in a country such as Uruguay, “where race is not an issue”. Jon Shefner mentioned that this model would not be applicable to Latin American countries since the model referred to de-industrializing cities and those were not conditions appropriate to Latin America that was mostly engaged in important processes of industrialization. Ruben Kaztman in his reply described that the tendency toward de-industrialization was general, and also affected Latin American countries. In addition, Kaztman mentioned that beyond that discussion and independent of de-industrialization the loss of state jobs produced by the transformation of the structure of opportunities greatly contributed to the increasing gap between education levels and employment. This factor being boosted by segregation contributed to keep residents of specific neighborhoods away from employment.

Gates and Fences: Vicente del Rio observed that the practice of surrounding residence areas with gates, fences and walls (alluding to some of the Brazilian cities he mentioned as examples in his presentation) was not a problem *per se* because people from the elite and poor people constructed walls and fences as a way to guarantee protection. Rather, the problem according to del Rio should be reframed as one of accessibility, and how to make public space accessible to everyone.

Session 3

Public Space, New Publics & Democratic Cities – Part I

Chair: Gareth Jones

- Donna De Cesare (UT): Battle lines in the shrinking public space: Youth gangs in El Salvador and Guatemala
- Chris Gaffney (UT): The stadiums of Buenos Aires: Conformity and Contestation in Public Space
- Roger Magazine (IberoAmericana): Street Children, Public Space and State Indifference in Mexico City
- Matthew Gutmann (Brown): The Concealment of Public Space: neoliberalism, AIDS, and the Regulation of Healing in Oaxaca

Donna De Cesare (UT): “Battle lines in the shrinking public space: Youth gangs in El Salvador and Guatemala”

With ethnographic/journalistic photographic documentation, my research indicates parallels between policies which lead to social polarization and the closing of political space in Central America in the 1980s and current postwar criminal justice policies which restrict access to public space as the real and perceived threat of juvenile delinquency results in increasingly repressive policing policies in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala.

The context to this research. After the conflicts of the 1980s ended in Central America, peace accords paved the way for broader public participation in politics, economic development and social policy. There have been important advances: curtailing of military power, greater press freedom, and greater economic diversification and modernization as these societies negotiated an end to war and opened up to the global economy. However my photographs show that the effects of globalization are not restricted to economic issues of job creation, trade and labor migration. We can see in the transfer of Los Angeles gang culture to Central America that began in the post-war period, a globalized reaction to crime which results in greater social exclusion for some social sectors.

There are of course a variety of “push” and “pull” factors which make participation in gangs attractive to young people in marginal communities in the US and in Central America. Among the pull factors are adolescent identity formation and the sense of belonging, power and economic incentives that gangs offer members. Push factors include poverty, racism, traumatic early childhood experiences of domestic or social violence and social marginalization. Those issues are explored in other work I have done and are beyond focused scope of this presentation.

Parallels in the processes and effects of a primarily “security” focused response to social issues: Through documentary photojournalism (my own photographs taken when I covered Central America for *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek* and other major media) I illustrate factors leading to the closing of political space in El Salvador in the 1980s as well as processes and struggles which lead to a re-opening of space for political participation culminating in peace accords. I argue that the current anti-gang legislation enacted in Central America (modelled albeit in more extreme form on gang ordinances used in the US) is creating a visibly dangerous increase in social polarization and is displacing and spreading gangs geographically as well leading to increasingly violent reaction from gangs in a pattern similar to the polarization that occurred during the lead up to civil war in the 1980s.

The main points of the presentation are illustrated with documentary captioned images.

1) Closing of Political Space in Central America in the 1980s and Intensifying Conflict:

- In El Salvador popular movement organizing for land reform and political participation confronted escalating repression in the late 1970s leading to political polarization and a counterinsurgency war.
- State terror squeezes the remaining political space.

- Local humanitarian organizations struggle with “neutrality” in the face of accusations that make some of their members targets. (Priests, labor activists teachers are targeted for assassination.)
- Some groups form associations with the armed opposition or adopt an ambiguous semi-clandestine mode of operation.

2) Reopening Political Space/Peace process:

- The popular movements regroup gradually opening public political space and sometimes appropriating private space with a combination of legally sanctioned actions and actions that are considered provocative and illegal.
- Illegal actions include: land invasions, political occupations, defacing public or private property with political graffiti.
- Legal actions include: street marches, formation of NGOs, formation of new political parties.
- Peace accords finally end civil wars

3) In the US legislation aimed at rising drug and gun violence affects Central American refugees who most often live in barrios affected by poverty and US social problems:

- Gang Ordinances: 1988 Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act (STEP Act) Twenty-eight states and the District of Columbia follow California's lead.

Ordinances give police officers broad powers to determine probable cause: Police may stop or arrest defendants associating with a gang member (even if they are brothers.) Being with any other person is a potential offence. Visiting a friend's apartment, without written or oral consent of the owner or lessee can be a trespassing crime. Curfew requirements limit when defendants can be out at night. A littering clause makes it an offence for a defendant to drop a cigarette on the ground.

- 1994 Three Strikes Laws enacted: a person convicted of a two felonies receives double the standard sentence. A person with convictions for two serious or violent felonies will receive a sentence of 25 years to life if convicted of a third felony, even a non-violent crime.
- 1994 Proposition 187 passes: although constitutionality challenged, the ballot initiative to deny healthcare & education to undocumented immigrants and their children has a chilling effect on immigrant communities
- 1997 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act takes effect: in fiscal year 1997, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deported over 10,000 aliens. Almost half of these deportees had been convicted of a crime in the United States. A large share of those deported have contributed to escalating gang violence and Increased drug trafficking in Central America. The numbers of criminal deportees sent to Central America has risen every year since 1997

4) Public Space and Crime Control in Central America: Policies modelled on the US

- In 2003 Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala intensified repressive measures against youth gangs with new legislation and policing policies.
- Operacion Liberacion in Honduras, Mano Duro in El Salvador and Operacion Escoba in Guatemala make gang membership a crime and having tattoos evidence of membership.
- Gang membership is punishable in Honduras with sentences of up to 12 years imprisonment. In El Salvador children as young as 12 years old may be tried as adults.
- Guatemalan President Berger is currently studying the laws in Honduras and El Salvador

Effects of Policies:

- Gang violence and violence against gangs (extrajudicial killings of youth by private security forces, police and vigilantes) does not appear to be much effected by the legislation. Gangs may be less visible in public spaces, but the associated violence remains high. Casa Alianza and other non-governmental groups and researchers working with marginal youth claim that inter-gang violence and extrajudicial targeting of marginal youth by security forces and vigilantes remains at unusually high levels compared with other countries in Latin America.
- Gangs are being displaced and have been spreading in rural Guatemala. Mexico has complained of gang violence from Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street—the two LA gangs which dominate Central American cities—spilling over into southern Mexico as repression pushes gang members out of their traditional zones.

Strategies for Reopening Space:

- Youth violence prevention programs like Caja Ludica in Guatemala use arts to open space for creative expression and a voice for young people;
- APREDE Alianza para prevencion del Delito begins a program of negotiating gang truces, educating parents and school children about violence and holding roundtable discussions including government, police, community leaders and gang involved youth.
- On March 3, 2004 Casa Alianza and CEJIL (the Center for Justice and International Law) presented their concerns over the thousands of youths being jailed as criminals for simply bearing a tattoo, before a closed session of the Inter American Commission of Human Rights in Washington D.C.
- Central America NGOs begin meeting in 2003 to develop a regional strategy for addressing the increasingly repressive government response to youth

Some of these organizations have become targets of politically motivated violence or threats of violence for their outspoken defence of the basic human rights of marginalized youth.

Chris Gaffney (UT): “The stadiums of Buenos Aires: Conformity and Contestation in Public Space “

Greater Buenos Aires has more stadiums than any other city in Latin America. These stadiums are complex, quasi-public spaces that bring together a broad spectrum of society into a single architectural container. From hot dog vendors plying the aisles for minimum wages, to players of middle-class origin on the field, to the team owners cavorting in the luxury boxes, every social class is represented in the crowd. Additionally, the stadiums serve as symbols of sub-cultural, neighborhood, class, gender, and national identity as well as the locus of pre-meditated violence, ritualized identity performance, and the state-sponsored production of spectacle. The stadium is frequently one of the most prominent and expensive features of the built environment yet it is one of the least used. The communicative properties of the stadium extend well beyond the rare occasions in which events are held. As a constitutive element of the cultural landscape the stadium is involved in the production and reproduction of a constitutive set of material and social practices and relations. Moreover, the soccer stadiums of Buenos Aires are dynamic spaces where the social, cultural, economic, and political orders of the city are contested and reproduce a dominant social order.

I argue that the role of the stadiums is changing in relation to the shifting social, economic, and political conditions of Buenos Aires and Argentina as a nation. The problematic violence associated with the stadium is, in part, a manifestation of a crisis of identity that is a product of Argentina's ongoing economic, social, and political instability. In the face of declining opportunities for positive self-expression through education or employment, the male (and increasingly female) youth of Buenos Aires (and beyond) are turning to soccer as a means of producing social cohesion, social narratives, and individual and collective identity. These fan identities are part of a complex web of relationships that involve club directors, police, ordinary citizens, and a variety of political forces that take their most physical and most public forms in the stadium. Let me begin by showing how the stadiums function within the larger space of the city.

Stadiums embody a very particular kind of public space that is different from spaces such as streets or plazas in that they are not freely accessible or in Buenos Aires constructed with public monies. Stadiums are more akin to museums or amusement parks in the sense that one can enter with a ticket or membership card, but the time of entry into the space of the stadium is highly circumscribed. Most notable, access is conditioned by the control of social clubs that provide a number of social services to members, among them free access to soccer matches. Thus, the stadium is a quasi-public space that creates notions of belonging, insiders and outsiders, as well as conditional insideness.

The stadium exerts a continual influence on the urban matrix. Even when the stadium is silent, it exists as a landmark and node of geographic reference: the conceptual space of the stadium operates in the culture at large, defining the bounds and meaning of a “public” beyond the issue of physical access. There are three main factors at play here:

- 1) Stadiums are a combination of space and power that embody and impose messages. The monumental qualities of stadiums “mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought” (Lefebvre 1974: 143). In abstract terms, the stadiums

dominate horizontal and vertical space, filling city-dwellers' conceptual geographies with static frames of geographic reference. The stadiums help to define urban zones and are used by residents for way-finding. Thus, "El Monumental" of River Plate with a capacity of 70,000 dominates the relatively low-lying barrio of Nuñes. These massive structures figure heavily in the ways in which local residents orient themselves in city-space. The need for public transportation to matches determines the location of bus stops, train, metro, and road development and on game days special transportation lines are routed to and from the stadium. In many parts of Buenos Aires, stadiums serve as symbolic representations of barrio identity and for many engender strong feelings of belonging, fear, empathy or antipathy. As such, stadiums help form a sense of place even for those who never pass through the gates.

2) The production of value associated with stadiums in most Latin American cultures is high. People are passionate (or at least informed) about teams even if they never go to stadiums; brothers, fathers, and relatives may go to games while mothers, wives, or sisters watch on TV. Soccer players are cultural icons and media coverage borders on obsession. Each event that occurs in a stadium is planned, discussed, enacted, and reenacted in excruciating detail. The cyclical nature of sport ensures continuity with place and social narrative that helps to construct the socio-cultural fabric. Stadium space acquires sedimented layers of meaning that bind the present to the past through processes of memorialization, sub- and macro-cultural narrative (i.e. River Plate winning the championship in 2002 and Argentina winning the World Cup in 1978 in the same stadium), and the production of myth through literature, media, behavioral norms, and oral communication between group members.

3) The ritualized confrontations that occur in the stadiums are between imagined communities that constitute powerful identities at a variety of scales. Each team and stadium has its own origin myths and localized histories. These sub-cultural narratives are propagated through the daily press, iconographic representations of place, and through the transference of normative behavior in the stadium. These varied identities take the stadium as their metaphorical and actual "home", and the stadium itself stands as a symbol of club, sub-cultural identity, and historical narrative. This last idea has been validated in recent years by the museumization of stadiums and as tourist destinations that promise a "fun filled adventure in the city of football" (see tangol.com.ar, efdeportes.com).

Militarized Space and Space of Spectacle and Ritual

Unlike plazas that can become militarized for a time, the stadium exists in a permanent state of architecturally enforced fortification: barriers separating fans from the field and from each other are topped with barbed-wire and patrolled by security forces, attack dogs, and water cannons. The streets around stadiums are militarization with hundreds and sometimes thousands of battle-ready security forces adding to an already tense environment. This militarization of space is so commonplace as to go unnoticed by most who attend the stadium but read metaphorically we can see barriers to social advancement, the containment of dangerous (poor) elements of society, and social agency limited by the threat of state-sponsored violence.

The stadiums are loci of the production of spectacle and ritualized behavior. The spectacle of the stadium is as much a product of the action on the field as the behavior of the fans both inside and outside the stadium. While the game exists as entertainment for the masses, the masses in turn perform their identities for themselves, their rivals, the media, and through the media the public at large. These

elaborate performances draw from popular culture, historical events, and essentialized notions of self and other. Violence is also a ritualized performance of identities that would not occur without the stadium providing a scene for ritual and spectatorship.

Key to understanding soccer violence is the barra brava. The barra brava are hierarchical organizations of primarily young, economically and socially disenfranchised men that are paid by the club in a variety of ways. Some members are given fictitious jobs in the companies of directors, others are given tickets to sell on game days, while others have relationships with the stewards of the clubs and collect money from spectators who are then slid under the turnstiles. The barra brava can also act in a more sinister fashion in the service of club directors by disrupting rival businesses, smuggling drugs, or engaging in violent acts against other barra brava and the police. Here, the barra brava is organized as a paramilitary organization with specific codes, behaviors, and modes of accruing status within the group. There is a strict division of labor within the barra brava; the youth rise up through the ranks by stealing banners of opposing teams, showing courage in battle or crime. The barra brava is, paradoxically, the most visible social element of the club in the stadium as they occupy entire terraces and are fundamental in the creation of the 'atmosphere' of the stadium.

The constitution of a barra brava's membership is dependent on the team and its location within the city, however, from my observations, many of the barra brava have little education and very limited economic opportunities -- a boast of Boca Junior's barra brava "El Doce" is that hardly any of its members have finished primary school. This marginalization is to a large degree reversed within the social structure of the stadium, as the barra brava command as much attention as the players on the field. In this sense, the barra brava's visible actions in the stadium and through media operate within the public sphere otherwise denied them by structural economic restraints. Violence is a demonstration of frustration and marginality, as well as an alternative social hierarchy. Yet, the barra brava have a vested interest in maintaining the social order that permits the staging of sport while acknowledging through their actions that this very system creates the conditions of their marginalization. It is unclear that the barra brava is actively aware of these paradoxes as one rarely sees signs of political protest in the stadiums. The textual messages displayed on terrace banners have more to do with localized geographic identity, dedication to rock and roll, alcohol, cocaine and marijuana, or vitriol aimed at rival clubs.

Preparing for violent confrontations is a primary occupation of the barra brava, who carry small arms, knives and sharpened poles, outnumber the police by as many as ten to one and literally operate on and in their "home ground". When there is a known truce between barra brava groups, the police are notified by the clubs that they will not need to provide as much security for the match. However, police complicity is suspected when confrontations do occur, as police presence may be absent (or the police occasionally instigate violence to ensure the need for their services). These confrontations frequently have a high human cost, and yet they fuse stadium identities with the surrounding urban space, weaving a violence-based spatiality into a spatial order where violence is masked and indirect (Harvey 1973). Too much violence, however, and the stadiums are closed, the team fined, or the league suspended (as happened twice in 2003), thereby depriving the barra brava of access to the public sphere.

My argument is that the stadium becomes a site for socially transgressive modes of behaviour. Soccer and the stadium provide increasingly marginalized youth with access to powerful vehicles for individual and collective expression that have

oppositional identities readily constructed for them: the higher classes in the platea, rival teams and fans, and the forces of the state arrayed to contain them. The barra brava is a powerful mechanism through which individuals without social agency outside the stadium can find it within the stadium. The passions generated by this sense of belonging and opposition, as well as the virulent rhetoric of fandom, allow the stadium to take on the role of a transcendent space, where the fans are more important than the players on the field or the directors in the owner's box. Rather than the game's rule-based spatiality, the fan offers a spatiality that explodes rules and their human costs. It is a form of romanticism; a very masculine utopia of brute force and clannish intensity.

Stadiums in Buenos Aires will most likely never be the sites of major political resistance. When compared to other public spaces such as plazas and streets, the stadium is the least used for overt political action. In the wake of the economic and political crisis of December 2001, thousands of middle-class people took to the streets to protest the government's decision to close financial institutions. For several months, the *cacelerizados* ("pot bangers") blocked roads, demonstrated in front of the national congress, smashed the windows of banks, and occupied the Plaza de Mayo. Many of these protests adopted songs and organizational tactics from the stadium. Indeed, one of the most common signs of social solidarity was the blue and white jersey of the national soccer team. However, as the soccer season began, there were few manifestations of political opposition to be found in the stadiums, although a surge in stadium violence saw more than 15 people killed in three months. The only political banners I witnessed asserted Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas (Falklands) and several banners with pictures of Osama bin Laden claiming him as a member of the barra brava of Almirante Brown (indicating a willingness to accept the most despised members of society as well as their dedication to violent acts).

This presentation has traced the paradoxical and limited nature of stadiums as public space in Buenos Aires. I show that the stadium cannot be classified as either public or private, but rather a quasi-public space that operates at a variety of levels. The principal actors within stadium space are a highly particular and partially self-selected public that is produced through the histories, gender roles, cultural values, identities, and social, economic, and political conditions of Buenos Aires and Argentina. The stadium is both a place and a space where social norms are communicated, policed, and transgressed. The action on the field is contained within a temporal structure that stands out from the rhythm of everyday life and thus imbues the action in the stands with a quality that is particular to that space and place. Everyday behavioral norms are suspended within the walls of the stadium. When these transgressive behaviors literally break the social and physical barriers constructed to contain them the state intervenes in the form of riot police, attack dogs, water cannon, and legislation (In 2002 a judge in Buenos Aires proposed setting up a courtroom on the streets outside of soccer stadiums to expedite processing of violent fans). The events that occur in and around stadium space figure heavily in everyday life in Buenos Aires. Speech patterns are pervaded by references to soccer, the stadiums are landmarks and mnemonic triggers, and powerful political and economic actors position themselves in relationship to the production of spectacle, media events, and populist discourse. The stadium is a valuable lens through which social and cultural process can be observed and understood.

Roger Magazine (IberoAmericana): “Street Children, Public Space and State Indifference in Mexico City”

So-called street children in Mexico City occupy urban space in a particular manner, especially since neoliberal reforms led to the elimination in the early 1990's of the city government's efforts to round them up off the streets and lock them in reform schools. While this particular manner shares certain features with how neighborhood youth gangs, on the one hand, and squatters, on the other, use urban space, it is also distinct from both. Also, this particular manner is somewhat difficult to characterize in the general terms usually used to describe the urban landscape since it lacks the possessive and exclusive basis of the private and the generality or universality of the public.

Street children and their occupation of urban space: so-called street children leave their rural homes between the ages of 9 and 20 to seek work and adventure in cities, following a migration pattern found in many central and southern Mexican villages. However, whereas most of these young migrants send home part of their earnings, thereby maintaining relations with their parents and other family members who will later help them to re-settle in the village when they marry, the young migrants under discussion here have severed relations with family members and do not send remittances. They usually explain this decision with reference to abuse from stepfathers and other family members, but this choice is also related to obligations acquired in the city to spend their earnings in ways encourage the formation and reproduction of relationships among others like them.

Welfare organizations consider them to be of the “street” because of the supposedly impersonal public spaces in which they spend all their time, and to be “children” because they are under 18 years of age and thus presumably characterized by an immature physical, mental, and social state, and by a need for adult support and supervision. Yet, the spaces they inhabit are hardly impersonal. And, furthermore, this specifically Western notion of childhood disregards the rural Mexican idea that sons and daughters should contribute labor and resources to their parents' households, often by means of migration to urban centers. Usually, they refer to themselves as members of particular “bandas” (gangs), a convention I try to follow to avoid the distortions caused by the term “street children.”

The gangs consist of 20 to 80 members whose ages range between 9 and 30. Women make up only one fifth to one third of the groups, depending on the individual banda. They usually emerge in or around places with high concentrations of pedestrian and vehicular traffic such as subway stations, markets, shopping centers, and plazas, since they generate income by begging, mugging, washing windshields and doing other odd jobs. At least one banda and often more can be found near the bus stations and the train station: the migrants' points of entry into the city. The gangs are associated with these places and often derive their names from them. They take shelter in out-of-sight or disregarded spaces such as abandoned buildings, accessible rooftops, or subway ventilation tunnels.

My ethnographic research in 1996 and 1997 focused on the two bandas living in the area around the train station. One of these gangs, La banda del Dico, derives its name from the furniture store next to the abandoned building where the 60 or so members slept from the group's emergence around 1990 until they were evicted by the owner in 1998. The space known the Dico begins on the busy sidewalk outside the building's entrance on one of the city's main thoroughfares. There on the sidewalk, a visitor or passer-by encounters some of the younger members, 10 to 14

years old, begging for money and an odour of garbage and human faeces coming from the building, which lacks proper drainage and garbage collection service. A makeshift door blocks the entrance to the building. Inside, a large open space, which banda members use as a common area, is surrounded by small rooms where they sleep. This arrangement facilitates the emergence of marriages and families among the members, who treat the rooms as private spaces and the open space as a domestic (for cooking and washing) and recreational area, recalling the *vecindades* that house some of the city's working class families.

La Banda de Ferrocarriles, takes its name from its original place of residence: Mexico City's only train station. A few years after the banda emerged, however, authorities forced them to leave and to look for other places to sleep. Since then, they have slept in a number of places such as a dumpster behind the train station, on top of a shelter for a bus stop, a building rooftop, and various inexpensive hotels in the area. They have had to abandon their sleeping spots every few months when, for example, the city removed the bus stop shelter, the legal occupants of the building complained about their rooftop neighbors, or a hotel manager let them stay more nights on credit than they were able and willing to pay. In contrast to the Dico banda, almost all of the Ferrocarril members are men. A few of them are married and have children, but their wives live elsewhere. This difference between the bandas can be explained by the fact that the spaces where the Ferrocarril members sleep are not readily available for private or domestic activities. However, sleeping on top of a bus shelter or lounging, day after day, under the stands of a recreational center's soccer field hardly leaves the public character of these spaces completely intact.

Both bandas occupy the thoroughfares and the commercial and government properties that constitute the ostensibly public interstices between residential neighborhoods. In contrast to gangs of neighborhood youths, the bandas do not aspire to control or protect a territory. Yet this does not mean that space is insignificant to them. The area they consider home and specific sites within it are vitally important in the formulation of their collective identity. For example, Ferrocarril members can spend hours reminiscing over shared adventures, always situated in specific and familiar places.

Some tentative conclusions, which I hope to explore further, regarding the bandas and public space in Mexico City include:

- The observation that the elimination of the city's efforts to keep banda members off the streets, brought about by neoliberal reforms, resulted in a freeing of public spaces from state control. Banda members, who recalled hiding from authorities and escaping reform schools, celebrate the change. However, we should be wary to equate this freedom from state control to something like democratization and hence to the active promotion of universally accessible public spaces. Rather than protecting citizen's access to public space and public space itself, this state project could better be described as one of indifference. Or in other words, it constitutes an abandonment of public space to the likes of street children as the flipside to privatized security in middle- and upper-class gated communities. I should note that I do not mean to exaggerate this before versus after contrast, considering that state indifference is nothing new to Mexico City and its residents, and that government authorities continue, at specific times and in specific places (recall, for example, the Ferrocarril members' frequent moves and the Dico members' eventual eviction), to concern themselves with the presence of the bandas.

- Thus, this shift in state policy and the banda member's subsequent use of the urban landscape could be interpreted as a loss of public space, although not to privatization but to neglect. Banda members' disheveled appearance, as well as their odors and possessions detracts from the intended attractiveness of parks and other public spaces. Furthermore, their presence constitutes an apparent and sometimes real threat to the security of certain citizens, at times restricting their movements in and use of public spaces.
- However, I would add that many of the working-class residents and workers in the area where the bandas live did not perceive this loss as such since to begin with they did not primarily understand the space around them through the categories public and private. Rather, my unsystematic observations suggest that they divided space into "casa" (house) and "calle" (street), and characterized the latter as dangerous and exciting in contrast to the security and familiarity of the former. Thus, the presence of the bandas and the state indifference would not have changed much for these residents and workers, especially if we consider that the previous efforts to rid the streets of vagrants and other undesirables was hardly unthreatening for some of them at certain moments.
- If categorizations of the spaces in the area inhabited by the banda members do not conform to notions of the public and private, then there is a need for other concepts in our analyses. I have already mentioned the local concepts casa and calle as well as the existence of common domestic spaces not clearly classifiable as either public or private. However, the case of the bandas suggests the need for even more specific concepts. Perhaps we need to think of the banda-ization of space, which, although awkward, preserves the particularity of the case.

Matthew Gutmann (Brown University): "The Concealment of Public Space: neoliberalism, AIDS, and the Regulation of Healing in Oaxaca"

The Birth and Concealment of the Neoliberal Clinic (with apologies to Foucault): the presentation will document the growing problem of treatment of AIDS among return migrant men in Oaxaca, who in turn infect their sexual partners, and the impact of extremely limited funds for antiretrovirals in the state. Public space here is construed broadly as a matter of the public good (health care) as well as a physical location. With respect to the public good, in the period of neoliberal reforms of the 1990s, expanding coverage to a greater number of people has been a key element in the proclamations issuing from the Ministry of Health and other institutions charged with providing health care to the public in Oaxaca and Mexico as a whole. On physical space, one site for my recent ethnographic fieldwork has been the COESIDA clinic in Oaxaca City where patients from all over the state of Oaxaca must come for diagnosis and treatment, sometimes travelling great distances on a monthly basis. That is, for those in the know, this space exists as a site for health care pilgrimage.

Neoliberalism is associated by health practitioners generally in Mexico with less money to heal. This is linked to the expressed wish by COESIDA Oaxaca (Consejo Estatal de SIDA, part of the national AIDS program known until 2001 as CONASIDA and since then as CENISIDA) personnel in Oaxaca City that only a limited number of men and women afflicted with HIV/AIDS ever learn that a clinic like COESIDA exists, because there is no money to provide them with the medicines necessary to sustain their lives. Although it is certainly not the goal of any health care practitioners to

deny services to those in need, the concealment of public space where people might turn for treatment in effect has become public health policy in the time of limited financial health resources.

One paradoxical aspect of the issue of the increasing reliance on local measures to deal with problems whose origins are national and even international concerns the public space of transnational migration: illegal men get infected on the northern side of the U.S.-Mexico border, attempt to receive treatment in the United States for as long as they can, and then return to die and be buried on the southern side of the border, sometimes infecting their sexual partners in Oaxaca before they do die.

The understanding of the Clinic as Public Space is situated within processes of democratization and new roles in public for citizens, including with respect to the privatization of health care, and how different groups attempt to claim and define urban spaces. The social production of public health spaces and social construction of public health spaces are engaged and contested in public arenas. The ostensibly visible is disappeared in public health spaces. While the 'Global Talk' is of Expanded Public Health Care Spaces, Local Exigencies is to Abandon Them.

Considering spatial health policies in Mexico overall:

- Spaces that are held (in past or present) to be more public than they really are as a result of neoliberalism – e.g., *public* health.
- Decentralized “public” services leading to the space of even urban health care shifted from clinic and hospital to home, generally “managed” by women.
- Social exclusion and reduction of citizens’ rights through structural readjustment policies.
- Social security coverage increased 10 percent annually until 1980s, 5 percent during 1980s.
- 1979: IMSS-Solidaridad implemented to incorporate unprotected groups.
- 1991-1995: Strengthening physical infrastructure of health services in poor, rural areas.
- 1996: Program of Health Sector Reform: abandon social security strategy and replace with dual policy of market commodities and poor relief, introducing private sector as a key actor in health. Structural change contained in Program shares much in common with World Bank’s Investing in Health (1993). (The World Bank is now playing a dominant role internationally in issuing statements and reports on HIV/AIDS and developing policies to control it, including with respect to the relative importance of prevention and treatment.)
- 1996-2000: Program for Extension of Coverage, to offer basic health services to 10 million more Mexicans.
- New “equal pay for equal services,” versus old “pay according to income and receive according to need.”
- Withdrawal of state from public policy and social welfare, despite discourse of broadening rather than reducing coverage.
- Commodification of services and benefits.
- COESIDA funds: 60% federal, 40% state.

In Oaxaca:

- Officially, 100s of new clinics built in Oaxaca in 1990s.
- In state of Oaxaca, between 1986 and December 2002, 1847 cases of AIDS, of whom 2/3 have died.
- Conservative estimate: 3-4 times this number are in fact seropositive (and undetected), or even as many as 10-15,000. (By the standards of some parts

of the world, particularly parts of sub-Saharan Africa, where as many as 25-30% of entire populations are infected, the seroprevalence rate in Oaxaca is at most 0.5% of the population)

- The largest single population group among those with AIDS in Oaxaca are migrants. The second largest population group are *amas de casa* who have been infected by their husbands and boyfriends returning from El Norte and from work in the fields and cities of northern Mexico. Thus the question of transnational spaces is intimately connected to AIDS in Oaxaca.
- Less than 200 patients are treated with antiretrovirals at any one time – there are no federal or state funds for the others. All must receive their medicines in the Oaxaca City COESIDA clinic, regardless where they reside in the state.
- Triage to weed out those with problems related to “economic, social, and cultural conditions of the patient.”
- Despite ample brochures and walls painted with information about VIH/SIDA, the director of the state-run AIDS clinic in Oaxaca City states remorsefully but firmly that he hopes to hell the vast majority of people who are HIV+ never, ever find out about his clinic, about COESIDA, or even about what the nature of their illness is. His reasoning is deceptively simple: what’s the point? There are woefully insufficient funds to help those in need, so it would be better for all concerned if people just died as they are going to anyway, without benefit of knowledge of the exact nature and terms of their illness. It is far less painful for all concerned if the vast majority of those suffering from AIDS just die without even trying to cure themselves.
- Those who will not receive treatment: “cuando nosotros observamos de que el paciente no acude a sus citas, no toma el medicamento adecuadamente, o tiene condiciones como alcoholismo u otros factores que de plano no van a tener muy buen apego”. No sense in “wasting” precious money on these patients.
- 4-5 promotores de salud for the state as a whole (at least 3.6 million persons).
- Minimal costs of antiretrovirals in 2003: 4700 pesos/month. Often as much as 10,000/month.
- “Qué pasaría si todos los vivos llegaran un día?” “Pues, no alcanza el dinero. Nadie podría sostener una economía así. Porque es una economía de desgaste.” The new manuals emphasize “costo-beneficio” and adherence.
- New módulos de extensión de servicio especializado on the Coast and in the Isthmus.

Antiretroviral politics:

- False choices between prevention and treatment policies. Primary prevention touted as more cost-effective: the space of healing depends upon who will be healed.
- Assumption that developing countries cannot afford to provide care and treatment for people living with HIV and AIDS.
- Brazil, 1991: Brazilian National AIDS program makes AZT available through free distribution of medications. AZT produced locally. World Bank declares this economically irrational and unsustainable.
- Mexico continues to pay international pharmaceutical industry close to full price for antiretrovirals.
- Locating the public space of healing: Is AIDS in Oaxaca primarily a problem for the Oaxacan state? The Mexican state? The United States? The World Bank? The United Nations?
- It makes little sense today, if it ever has, to talk about the state of democracy (and the erosion of public space in Latin America) in individual locales, even

spaces as large as countries. The example of public health and AIDS shows how healing, like democracy, is an international process.

- Funding health care in Oaxaca—in this case for AIDS treatment and more specifically access to medications that might allow people to live relatively healthy and long lives—may best be understood as part of a globalized and commodified practice of eminently democratic states and market that is rooted in wage labor whose replacement is easier with new bodies than the healing of old.
- There is no indication access to the health care will grow in the near future, as the space of health care is shifted from public to private, including from public clinic to private home.
- Nor have more global information flows about the existence of medications that can keep people with AIDS alive and relatively healthy, antiretrovirals, led to greater accessibility of these drugs to treat those suffering with the syndrome.

Rapporteur Report: Jennifer Tovar (University of Texas)

The four intriguing presentations inspired equally stimulating discussion centered in the definition of public space. The major themes of the discussion focused around the following questions. What does the Barra Brava truly represent to the soccer fans of Buenos Aires? Whose responsibility are the “street children of Mexico City” and have they taken public space intended for all or just the undesirables? Where does health care delivery fall within the realm of public space and responsibility? Is public space gender defined?

The topic that inspired the most discussion was Chris Gaffney’s presentation of the Barra Brava. The theme of conversation was whether the Brava was a form of expression of social frustration in public space as first proposed by Joseph Scarpaci. This was followed by a question from Peter Ward with respect to the function of the Brava for the soccer clubs. Francisco Sabatini stated that the Brava has a role in the soccer experience. There is public involvement and the Brava is an example of society’s participation in the sport and serves to make money for the team itself. Vicente del Rio added that the Brava is an investment for the club but sometimes it gets out of hand. Perhaps it is an unconscious protest of the economic circumstances of Argentina. Lawrence Herzog questioned if there were differences between stadiums with respect to public participation. Finally, Consul Alejo from the Mexican Consulate concludes the discussion on the Brava by stating that this is not a new phenomenon and that this tradition has a history all throughout Latin America. He points out that the difference today may be the increased urbanization of Latin American and therefore greater awareness of the Brava’s existence. Chris Gaffney responded to some of this discussion by adding that he chose Buenos Aires because there are more soccer stadiums there than any other city in Latin America. His dissertation compares Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro and he found that the stadiums in both cities serve as a public place to socialize, attendance is a family tradition, children are able to form role models of soccer players, and most importantly the spectacle draws interest from the public. He concluded by commenting that there is social frustration in Buenos Aires and proposes that it may be easier to be expressive in the context of a soccer stadium than on a street corner.

On the topic of the street children of Mexico City, Joseph Scarpaci asked whether “the street kids are a problem and is there a shared responsibility?” Gloria González

López questioned the definition of street child in this case and how can Roger reconcile the differences in his work from the portrayal of street children in the film “De La Calle.” Additional comments were made by the audience with respect to the questionable indifference by the government or is it merely a change in conception of public space and how it is negotiated. Another audience member asked why the street children in Mexico are not associated with the same level of violence as in Brazil, and whether the spaces the street children use are places no one else wants.

Roger Magazine began his response by stating that the street kids of Mexico City are not in the prime public space. He added that appropriating space makes it meaningful. Now there are opportunities to negotiate public space, indifference goes in spurts and depends on who is in town (i.e. the Pope). He continued by asserting that there are misconceptions that the lifestyle is associated with danger. Furthermore street kids may occupy sewers that once served a certain function that now are neglected which adds to this notion. He concludes by giving the example of Banda members who commuted from a family home to be with the banda to illustrate that bandas do not fit the operational definition of “street kids.”

The most pressing question with respect to Matthew Gutmann’s presentation was what is being concealed. Dr. Gutmann responds by defining concealment as a lack of publicity of HIV-AIDS treatment rather than the disease itself. This is not the result of disinterest in serving those in need, but rather from the shortage of medicines to treat the illness. Matthew Gutmann finishes by saying that despite government policy to provide health care, it is impossible to treat everyone due to inadequate resources.

With respect to Donna De Cadsnn’5(presentatiotioyouWitbeggsot iEl Salvadt os)6(and)JTJQ.0007 Tc public spass.
in

- Jon Shefner (U. of Tennessee-Knoxville): Spaces of democratization: Neoliberalism and the strata of civil society

Gloria González-López (UT-Austin): “Imágenes, Sexo y Censura: Gender & Sexuality Redefinitions in Contemporary Mexican Society”

In this presentation, I examine the ways in which Mexican immigrant women use media as a public space to explore private matters—their sex lives. Based on tape-recorded in-depth individual interviews with 40 immigrant women, I illustrate how media becomes a public and safe space to explore multiple expressions of gender and sexuality. These women use media, Spanish-language talk shows in particular, in order to project, process, redefine, influence, shape, contest and continuously reinvent their sex lives. Women engage in this process in Mexican immigrant communities exposed to Spanish-speaking media in the U.S.

I conducted these interviews during the 1997-1998. Participants were adult Mexican women who migrated to the United States when they were at least 20 years old, and they were between the ages of 25 and 45 at the time of our interviews. All of them have lived in the United States between five and 15 years. Half of the sample was born and raised in the state of Jalisco (20) and the other half included women born and raised in Mexico City (20). I recruited these women at community-based agencies and schools located in Los Angeles. Participants identified themselves as heterosexual. In my research, I use pseudonyms in order to assure the confidentiality and privacy of my respondents.

Through these interviews, I collected the sex life histories of these women. Media and popular culture was only one of the aspects I explored in the larger project. Through their narratives, I learned about the multiplicity and fluidity of women's experiences of heterosexuality. I also learned that these women had written their sex histories not in a vacuum but within complex social, cultural, and historical contexts. In their narratives, most of them reported watching talk shows on Spanish-speaking television networks. Talk shows affect women's experiences of sexuality in two ways. First, whether they inform or whether they conceal the audience, they teach these women to redefine their sexualities and sex lives in multiple and sometimes complex ways. And second, Spanish-speaking talk shows offer Mexican immigrant women a safe space to bring out knowledge on their own sexualities from the margin of silence to the center of attention and discussion in order to be explored, challenged, and renegotiated as a source of liberation.

What do these women say about talk shows and their own sexual experiences? The impact of Spanish-speaking talk shows on their lives goes from basic learning about sexuality and developing the skills to provide an appropriate sex education as mothers and grandmothers to important changes in their sex lives and their sexual ideologies and behaviors. General findings include the following:

- Talk shows become symbolic public spaces providing meaningful sources of information that have the potential to provide powerful tools for sexual liberation. Women who reported feeling “emancipated” after learning about sex while watching *El show de Cristina*, *Sevcec*, or *María Laria* used expressions such as *más libre*, *más abierta*, *más desenvuelta*, and *con menos vergüenza*, to describe the feelings they experienced while or after watching these shows.

- Talk shows offer sources to become sexually literate as women and as concerned mothers with regard to the sex education that can be offered to children and grandchildren. Some reported engaging in conversations with their children and grandchildren while watching the show. They used the show as a tool to engage in sex-related conversations with their children, a dialogue that would be difficult to have in “normal” circumstances, as they reported.
- And talk shows have a potential impact on the actual sexual behavior of women, especially within the context of their marital relationships. However, women are not passive but active social agents who scrutinize the content received from these shows. Some of them were critical of these shows and questioned the quality of the information they were exposed to. For a few of them, talk shows had not offered them any new or valuable information on sexuality.

Jaime Joseph (Alternativa, Peru): “Public Spaces in a Segregated City: problems and perspectives from Lima”

The paper describes the changes in the ‘public spaces’ in popular urban districts in the Northern Cone of Metropolitan Lima. The survey covers the past 25 years and looks at social organizations and movements as well as the changes in the urban settings brought about in the period that covers the last years of the Velasco dictatorship, through the Fujimori quasi dictatorship and up to the present democratic transition and regionalisation process. The point of view is from a Peruvian NGO ‘Alternativa’ which has worked with community organizations and local governments during these stages in promotion, training, education and research. The presentation understands ‘public space’ as ‘lugares de concertación’, referring to the explosion of participatory experiences which have been promoted by a widespread spectrum of organization as different as the World Bank, international cooperation agencies, NGOs, government, as well as public spaces which have been created by the social organizations themselves.

The presentation draw upon the experiences of one of the most complex districts of the Northern Cone, San Martín de Porres, and shows how public spaces (lugares de concertación) go back to the struggles against the military dictatorship in the late 1970s, basically as opposition movements. With the return of elected municipal governments in 1980 public spaces were set up for ‘citizen participation’ and development planning. During the height of terrorism, followed by the Fujimori government, these public spaces while reduced in number and impact were points of resistance. In the present stage of democratic transition and regionalisation, the question is raised as to the sustainability of such public spaces. Linking these experiences to urbanist reflections on public spaces such as streets, municipalities, parks and meeting places, we can reflect on the lack of such spaces in the larger scenarios such as the Northern Cone where different districts and their social organizations are convening in broader development projects.

Juan Manuel Ramírez Sáiz (ITESO-Guadalajara): “Las consultas del movimiento social “Alianza Cívica” como espacios públicos en México”

Desde los años 30 del siglo pasado, la sociedad mexicana se encuentra estructurada corporativamente desde el Estado y ha estado supeditada a él. Este es

el modelo bajo el cual se constituyeron las principales organizaciones de empresarios, profesionistas, obreros y campesinos. En este esquema de relaciones entre Estado y sociedad, los espacios públicos y la opinión pública manifestaban más los proyectos e intereses del Estado y de los grupos articulados a él que los de la sociedad y la de individuos y organizaciones independientes. Eran espacios públicos colonizados por el Estado. Ciertamente afloraban también las opiniones autónomas de otros empresarios, profesionistas, obreros y campesinos independientes. Pero éstas eran minoritarias frente a las de la sociedad corporativizada. Los espacios públicos independientes eran precarios. A pesar de la alternancia en el gobierno que tuvo lugar en el 2000 (en la que el PAN consiguió la presidencia de la república), esta situación aún prevalece. Por ejemplo, actualmente el gobierno panista mantiene el reconocimiento a los sindicatos “charros” o corporativos y les otorga apoyo público. Otros exponentes de la reducción de los espacios públicos en México son: a) Las formas de democracia directa (plebiscito referéndum, iniciativa popular y revocación del mandato), como medios de expresión de la opinión de los ciudadanos, no están legisladas a nivel federal, b) tampoco están reglamentados los debates que se realizan, en los periodos electorales, entre los candidatos a puestos de elección (sobre todo en las entidades federativas y en los municipios) para que los ciudadanos expresen sus intereses y los candidatos hagan explícitos sus planteamientos y sus programas de acción. A pesar de que estos asuntos son de interés público, los partidos deciden a su arbitrio efectuarlos (o no) así como fijar la fecha y la hora de su realización, la temática a abordar, el conductor responsable y hasta la duración del evento, y c). en las consultas públicas que organiza el gobierno, éste no se encuentra obligado a argumentar o justificar las propuestas de los ciudadanos que incorpora a sus programas o las que rechaza. Debe reconocerse que ahora existe mayor apertura para que los medios de comunicación operen como transmisores de la opinión pública. Son crecientes los programas realizados en ellos con participación de los espectadores, oyentes o lectores. Pero el precio de esta apertura está siendo que la definición de lo público tiende, cada vez más, a ser establecida mediáticamente. Entonces, como observa Sartori, la generación de la opinión pública autónoma se enfrenta a una contradicción: para que pueda constituirse una opinión que sea verdaderamente del público, ella debe estar expuesta a flujos de información sobre el estado de la cosa pública. Pero cuanto más se abre y expone a flujos de información exógenos (que recibe del poder político o de instrumentos de información de masas), más corre el riesgo de convertirse en hetero-dirigida.

En este contexto, analizo las consultas públicas realizadas, a nivel nacional, por el movimiento social “Alianza Cívica” (A.C.) como espacios generados para la expresión de la opinión pública de ciudadanos autónomos. Se trata no de espacios públicos físico-espaciales sino socio-políticos y ciudadanizados. Se realizaron a través del debate ciudadano (foros, campañas y talleres). Fueron experiencias de construcción de espacios públicos que se llevaron a cabo en ámbitos fundamentalmente urbanos y cuyas manifestaciones principales se dieron en la Ciudad de México. La A.C. es un actor básicamente urbano e incluso metropolitano. Las consultas públicas de A.C. constituyen experiencias innovadoras en la trayectoria del espacio público mexicano. La mayor parte de ellas se llevaron a cabo antes de la alternancia política en el poder federal (1994-1997). Después de ella, la A.C. realizó escasos pronunciamientos sobre asuntos de interés público, tales como la ausencia de pacto social que se dio en la transición democrática mexicana, la falta de cambios en el tipo de relación que el Estado mantiene con la sociedad así como el estancamiento en que han caído los poderes Ejecutivo y Legislativo. De 1997 a 2002, las consultas de A.C. prácticamente desaparecieron. Está disminuyendo entre los ciudadanos la capacidad de crear espacios públicos. La principal expresión pública reciente de A.C. se dio en 2003, con motivo de la renovación del Consejo

General del Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE). Al respecto, realizo un balance acerca de los aportes y las limitaciones de las consultas de A.C., como espacios públicos para la manifestación de los intereses y opiniones de los ciudadanos.

Jon Shefner (University of Tennessee, Knoxville): “Spaces of democratization: Neoliberalism and the strata of civil society”

This paper addresses how we can think of opened political space – public space in the terminology of this research workshop – by evaluating how economic shifts have helped to precipitate political change. I address the structure agency problem by recognizing that although structural shifts may shift the political terrain, real change requires active expressions of agency by collective actors. Specifically, I argue that neoliberal economic policies create a set of shared hardships that may open possibilities for political change. Taking advantage of that political space requires those share to hardships find a common language of contention and strategies to exert pressure on longstanding political systems.

Using data drawn from qualitative field study in Guadalajara, Mexico, I examine changes in community organization politics. Classic studies have defined the politics of such organizations as embedded within a corporatist state defined by clientelist relations. These studies summarized Mexican neighborhood politics in the following way:

- Political grievances are precipitated by local needs.
- Community leaders' ties to powerful extra-community actors are used to obtain local benefits.
- Political demands are partially satisfied in exchange for systemic support.
- When states work with local organizations, the organizations become isolated from potential allies. Isolation helps maintain the local focus of political action.
- Through its response, the state or party attempts to channel dissent in ways that maintain hegemony.

My research, and that of others, finds such characterizations archaic. Although clientelist political behaviors certainly persist, many other forms of neighborhood politics exist. This paper documents the activity of a neighborhood organization and its participation in the national democratization movement. This activity contradicts much of the classic model, as the neighborhood organization (the UCI) focused on extra-local and non-material goals with a series of coalition partners. I attempt to explain this changed politics with an explanation that integrates the economic impetus for such change with the possibilities for new political expressions. Economic changes alone, of course, cannot open the spaces necessary for political changes. Alternative ideologies must also be available to put forth different claims. Additionally, the organizational environment must make resources available to carry the process forward. That is, economic change may provide the opportunities for change – may open the political space - but a process of political change also requires networks, an alternative ideology, organizational capacity, and some apparent level of resources.

Even with this set of requisites fulfilled, the direction of political change is open and contingent. Far from the endless optimism of many of the recent analysts of civil society, my analysis questions the outcomes of coalitions and democratization. The importance to Mexico of formal democratic change cannot be disputed; nor can the

influence of civil society on the process. However, too much of analysis bringing civil society to bear neglects a critical view of the outcomes of collaborative action for coalition partners. My argument suggests that our investigations of civil society must focus on how differentiated they are – their internal strata – rather than follow a static state-political society-civil society trichotomy where the first two actors are somehow corrupt and co-opted, but the latter represents greater democracy. At this point, we are better off discussing how civil society is stratified by class, ethnicity, gender, locale, as well as the intersections of these categories, rather than assigning it some monolithic progressive character. If we return to analytic categories of greater complexity and definition, we will be more able to understand how different political strategies may respond to various forms of political and economic exclusion.

Rapporteur Report: Marissa Smith (Arizona State University)

Two central themes emerged from the discussion generated by the papers. The first half of the discussion examined and reflected upon the struggle to define and describe public space. This dialogue spawned the second theme, namely the relations between notions of democracy and public space.

Arriving at a definition of public space is a crucial starting point for further discussions. What is meant by public? Are public spaces physical, tangible, and geographical or are they also social and political? Should public spaces be considered as an alternative to thinking about public space in the singular? Are singular notions of public space limiting? Might a consideration of spaces in the plural alleviate the difficulty in distinguishing between types of public space? Can we talk about reconfiguring public spaces or contemplate hybrid spaces? Words associated with public space include conviviality, pride, violence, social groups, gender, and income among others. How do we as researchers explore the issues introduced by this word association? Reflecting the complexity of public spaces were the responses to these inquiries. The assertion that public space is both physical and virtual was contested and the suggestion made that perhaps what was being discussed was political space which can reflect public space and vice versa.

In response to this contestation of social/political/virtual space was the suggestion that while these are public spaces they land in physical spaces. Expressive rationales, or the coming together of the physical and social, was suggested as a way to consider and reconcile these different realms of public space. The example of political protest occurring in a public plaza was offered to illustrate the connection. While recognizing the difficulty of defining public space, pluralizing public spaces as a solution was problematic for several panelists. Allowing everyone their own public space was seen as dangerous and permitting cultural relativism. Public space is not neutral, if it were the discussion would simply be about space. Further it was suggested that everything does not occur equally in public spaces, some things are seen as negative and some as positive. Understanding good versus bad distinctions is possible through an understanding of what our informants think and what we think. Models for a diversity of public spaces must be utilized but not to the point of atomizing these spaces. The notion of hybrid public spaces might be useful but also has the potential to gloss over issues of power and inequality. Reconfiguring spaces by accounting for change over time might ease the diversity issue.

The second theme, the notions of democracy and public space, concerned what it means to participate in public spaces. What does it mean to be a citizen? How are issues resolved in public spaces without town meetings? How do people discuss issues of participation? Is this a legitimate line of inquiry? It was generally agreed upon that a discussion of participatory democracy and the spaces created by unions and parties is constraining because it does not take into account new forms of participation in democracy. Looking above these groups at the larger political specter is limiting as well since formal and grassroots movements are intertwined and one cannot exist without the other. Consideration of these new spaces of activity, spaces of citizenship, the internet, etc. recalled the debate on the definitions of public space. The reluctance of many group members to consider virtual, political, and social realms as public space reemerged, underlining the importance of defining public space. In response, engaging in spatial nostalgia was cautioned against as limiting and counterproductive.

The model of Los Angeles, its lack of public space and the resulting loss of participation in public life, was introduced as important to informing a larger narrative of loss. Globalization, resulting in external control over public spaces, added to the narrative of loss. Los Angeles as a model for Latin American cities was met with resistance by several participants. The application of a specific model derived from a single city in the United States, coupled with the issue of spatial determinism were seen as obstacles to its usefulness. Generalizing about Latin American cities and public spaces ignored the unique civic consciousness of these cities.

Finally, an exploration of gender, race, age and income affecting social behavior and public space was mentioned by several panellists with participants agreeing that further exploration into these issues is needed. Additionally, examining the link between local political participation and larger scale political processes was presented as a realm of further investigation. The creation of new public spaces, virtual, political and social, was regarded as an exciting new avenue of investigation but not at the expense of traditional physical public spaces. Finally, the definition of public space emerged as the single most challenging portion of the workshop and the theme that provoked the most debate. While a single definition of public spaces might be unachievable some framework is necessary to direct future research endeavors and discussions.

Session 5

Round-Table Discussion: Research Priorities & Future Directions: The End of Public Space?

Notes taken by Joseph L. Scarpaci

Gareth Jones: I would like to make three points. "What kind of a workshop is it when no one disagrees?" We all seemed to agree on points, many of which are questions. Is the concept of public space so broad that we need to recast the idea into a broader venue? What is public space, specifically and more generally? What are the implications for dealing with public space in social sciences and policy? Reflecting on public space, it seems it is dealt with singularly. Would seeing the concept as plural allow us to make more connections historically and contemporarily? We might pluralize the term and concept because it is multifaceted. Does public space allow us to debate the normative frameworks of society? It should not privilege one aspect of

debates on public space over the other: political, cultural, social, and related forces. Public space must bring together all kinds of geographic locales and places. Yet, to bring the city into the discussion has been difficult since folks have notions of public space and cities as unrelated concepts.

The second point is: Can we talk about the reconfiguration of public space as Matt Gutmann proposed? Yes, but the caveat is that “towards what”? Is the answer hybrid spaces? Does something else capture that re-configuration? There is a project that inspires me; whether Latin American cities and politics can be thought of differently? Is it different from the Latin American school? Is there a Latin American school, reflecting perhaps the relationship of the region with modernity as unique?

The third point concerns a variety of terms and their meanings: mingling, conviviality, identify, configuración, confidence in public space, social groups (word association), commodification, absence...of (social groups, ethnic groups, genders, income groups), venting social frustration via guerillas and death squads or violence writ against the body, the state, and the masses. As researchers, how do we get into those issues? In 19th century, people walked and touched the cities? (Note to Scarpaci: this is like Margartia Gutman’s and others who have focused on themes related to the ‘Re-imagining the city’). Being a flaneur in Cali today is probably different than 19th century Paris requiring us to think about the limits of walking the city and getting in touch with public spaces.

Vicente del Río: As an architect, I had a problem with the title of the conference. For me, public space has a very specific geographical, physical, locational quality. When Peter said that the Internet is a public space, I disagreed. We need a definition of public space. Maybe the workshop was a function of political space, which sometimes reflects public space. We should add intervention and perception to Gareth’s list. We want citizens to be proud of their spaces, as the case of Curitiba makes clear. We need a better quality of public space. Now, people talk urbanism in the streets of Brazil and compare and contrast places. It is good to discuss the city in the public sector.

Gareth: Pride can also be a socially loaded term. Regaining pride in one’s city legitimated historic city preservation. It resonates with 19th century moralist debates about the city. Sometimes it (pride) means eliminating street vendors.

Vicente: I mean pride in our neighborhoods too and not just cities

Larry Herzog: I was struck by the leap from the morning to the afternoon. This was a good thing because it tied together two strands. On one side, we have the physical aspect of definable characteristics: tangible, sensory, connects to community, differently, but perhaps. If we could impose an ideology, it would be to protect walkability. It is also a political and social realm that has homelessness, children, gangs, and hooligans. Many people enter this public realm. They don’t have a physical expression but they have a role there. We struggled with that. Matt had wonderful photos of places; he was forcing himself to talk about public space. He need not have done that. Donna’s photos also did the same. I wanted to know your reactions to this. Is the issue the stadium or the dynamic in that stadium in Chris’s study? There are linkages. There is a micro v. macro approach too. Political, sexual transformation. How does sexuality fit? Is there a public space for television? I was struck with what Juan Manuel said: he mentioned expressive rationales. There is a connection for us. People who protest care about identity and care about where they protest (Note: Jaime Joseph said there were not such places). *Todo tiene que aterrizar*. Everything is virtual but I wake in a room with walls. People protest in

Mexico but they do, perhaps, care about spatial identities. Juan believes that this is empirically true and we need to connect the social and physical.

Roger Magazine: We can follow up on that. I mentioned that I am interested in public (and private) as a folk concept. It is a typical anthropological move. We must define it and place in a wider social context. It is almost impossible not to do this. We can join these disparate elements if we do this. In this sense, I would disagree with Gareth. There are not public spaces since it leads us to a cultural relativism. There is a family of concepts that link us together. If we talk about public space we should note it is not neutral; so why not just talk about space? Examples: what offended people here about space? Answer: that clientelism exists? Street kids are a problem. What we see as a good and as a problem is one thing, but we are not completely comfortable, that everything occurs equally. We can join these disparate things by understanding the idea that the state and NGOs use these concepts; bring in what our informants think and what we think.

Chris Gaffney: There is a difference between what we see and what we study. These are multifaceted. Some people understand that some spaces are not theirs. Some places are transgressive places that can transform cities. These spaces are part of a continuum that can inform the larger sociospatial dynamic element of the city. A particular public acts out in a particular place and for a particular reason.

Matt Gutmann: The issue of pluralizing space will not solve all problems. We need to account for a diversity of experiences in the same space that is important. How can we do that by not atomizing it? The concept of hybridity is that it glosses over questions of inequality and power. Still, there is a need to bring in models that account for a diversity of experiences. Reconfiguring helps with time lines. Eric Wolf in anthropology worked with closed corporate communities. There were never closed villages in Latin America due to migration and market routes. It did not just appear. That time-line approach does not mean there is not culture but it does mean that we need to account for change. I liked Peter's arrows this morning to look at two-dimensional notion of change. Statisticians use boxes and all is static. That is one point. Another is that I am provoked by Jon's comments on civil society but work on *clases populares* is glossed over among them (race). This is a huge aspect. I am intrigued by ideas of confidence. The knee jerk reaction is that the *calle* belongs to the guys, but it depends on the place. It depends on the time of day. Lots of variability. Age too. Youth, gangs at night as well. It does not mean people are not individuals. My final point is broad and concerns democracy. It is problematic along the lines of civil society because we all talk about it but it means different things. No one is against democracy. It is implicit in many discussions but the whole notion of Habermas (you don't have town meetings so how do you resolve issues?). This is a problem in Latin America. How do people discuss issues? Voting or free trade? The Zapatistas are viewed differently in Mexico because people participate in various kinds of way in the public spheres and public realm. We need to clarify these ideas.

Peter: Is this is a legitimate area of public space?

Matt: Yes. I am trying to think about what it means to get out of bed and be a citizen. Do you wait 6 years to be a citizen? The photo ID campaign created energized Mexicans. (More discussion ensued about what this means on the left and the meaning of social movements.) For a while, it seemed that everything was boiled down to social movements and political parties. I am preoccupied with what it means to have people participate in democracy. Public space is ambiguous but important.

Peter: I was a bit disturbed about participatory democracy and unions and parties, They all use space but we are constrained because our research discussed this morning shows how there are new forms of participation. Town meetings are not new but thinking about citizenship and rights form part of a discourse. When I see how local governments and citizens emerge, I see them as new spaces. Sometimes they are conventional like rotary clubs. When I say they are opening and civics is on the rise. However, if you are looking at Juan Manuel and his Acción Cívica in 1994 and 2003 I think it is constrained.

Jon: I saw the leap too (and agrees with Larry) and I agree that looking at participation via unions or movements is very limiting. No less limiting is looking above (institutional levels). My academic heroes are Francis Fox Piven and Cloward: they trace the ongoing relationship between movements and politics. Poor People's Movements and Regulating the Poor. When we look at politics, we must look at broad spheres of activities. They are inextricably linked. We need to do that work to join them. We should go in that direction. Popular politics alone will not solve problems, nor will grassroots activities. Many social behaviors go into this. I want to make three points.

1) We talked about winners and losers. That was subtly defined. I would not talk about public spaces (plural) but maybe it is; these are socially variable conceptions that reflect class, gender.

2) Many of us addressed globalization as a force. I think that pushes us to trace the national and local connections. These are still the fruits of human decision-making processes. What are the feedback loops to winners and losers. Therefore, we need historical work and ethnographic work that is both micro and macro such as that by Philippe Bourgois and his study of crack dealers in NYC.

3) Finally, urban planners and architects are good at making explicit the issue of locale and livability. We [other social scientists] lag behind them.

Vicente: I have a question. I was involved in neighborhood associations in Río and I wonder if the majority of the people can think and participate in city politics without reflecting in their own daily lives? Always the same five or six people come to these kinds of meetings unless a road is coming into someone's land. It is hard to get neighbors involved. How can you do that at the city level, getting folks involved without understanding broader issues?

Matt: Ethnographers don't have to: you hang out with people and drink beer with them, your problems are real, and I don't have answers. A discussion about "Bowling Alone" and Putnam is that people are bowling but not joining leagues. Are you doing it as a community member or as individual? Things change over time. There is an exaggerated literature that poor people can only think of their own survival. I traced a gendered difference in terms of voting. Nevertheless, my experience showed that there was much more fluctuation among guys and there was more of a steady state of interest among women. Don't know how to test that. In my experience, people are concerned about broad issues: what does it mean? It is not just the governor's office.

Larry: I want to explore Peter's idea that we don't have to be spatial fetishists. I do think that we have to consider how society embraces public life. We were too quick to throw out *The City of Quartz*. The world is gated, malled, privatized, commodified, fast-food covered, and those behaviors make people lose their sense of space and there is a loss of participation. I worry about places that get more privatized. If we lose public space, we lose civic consciousness. When people were shooting on LA

highways, it was the result of a lack of public life. You mentioned town meetings. There is a feedback loop; thinking of the Greek public meetings. If that is coming back, we have to look at the LA school because there are trends. Globalization means there is external control over our cities. There is a loss of democracy when decision makers are in Tokyo. I don't want to generalize and say that globalization is an evil machine. There is a narrative of loss.

Gareth: The point I was raising via Davis as a straw man was the spatial determinism. "This world in which...etc etc...." It is LA, not this world. We pick up on globalisation but are prone to do so, in urban studies, by focusing on Los Angeles and New York as the lens through which we understand urban and civic processes. We need to step back from that and say, "hold on!" Places in Latin America are different. I learned yesterday that there is far more civics, and people do have a spatial understanding of it all. That may be spatially deterministic but we can overbend that benchmark.

Peter: Things like greater transparency in local government and more accountability of what is going on city hall are all aspatial. These new spaces are tied to the city. I am excited about those spaces. How do we conceptualize those things?

Larry: There is a trend whereby students at universities in between classes sit in their cars and talk on their cell phones. They don't engage. Let's talk about that. While there is lots of Internet information, I don't want to ignore how important our spatial behavior. Lefebvre said that our behavior is spatial, consciously or unconsciously.

Gareth: Sitting in cars means nothing much happens. When you are in the plaza, it is a sensory environment.

Donna: People trying to retake the space with gangs shows that a group of street kids in Guatemala that is now performers. I saw a performance and the school kids watching them wanted to know who they were and could not believe they were Guatemalan. When I told them, they were awestruck. They wanted to link with them. We can open that public space and NGOs try to do that. Another NGO I work with uses gang members who go into schools and meets with mayors and makes the youth come to the table, and they dialogue about what to do to make the city pleasant. In Colombia, there is a Metro, everyone is proud of it, and they can all come together.

Vicente: Peter mentioned what I said about public space. I have a doubt. I think we can communicate via the Internet but is it really communication? Can we have a revolution? We need a physical expression.

Sisi from Berkeley: the public private dichotomy and I have worked in Havana. This is a folk concept. When I go to Havana, I see it works differently. Some countries there is an idea the developing nations will have a democracy like USA and others, and that public space will lead to this, well, we might differ from that.

Ms. Pérez: The level of space and place are important and different concepts. There are real dangers of reification. Space is open to any form, including the virtual. Lefebvre's spatial practice. It is important to come back to the body and root it in place. Space is not a thing but place is; we can be concrete about that.

Gloria: I am one of the few who is not nostalgic. My presentation yesterday does not reflect my intellectual passion. As a sociologist interested in space, gender, sex, I am concerned about issues of social justice. So yesterday, I was trying to connect with

social justice. After interviewing 40 women and 20 men, I was a rape counselor, I don't have time to be nostalgic. I think that urban spaces make immigrant men and women sexually vulnerable. What does it mean to have a sex life when you are poor and undocumented? Crowded housing. A jornalero on the corner who tries to send a check each month home is in a very difficult position.

Epilogue

The discussions had to be concluded but the debate about the condition and future reconfiguration of public space in Latin America will continue. If a reminder were needed about the importance of public space, politics and civics to the Latin American city, we only need to consider 27th June just three months after the Austin workshop when people marched through Mexico city to protest at the level of crime and apparent government incompetence. The march illustrated many of the points discussed in Austin, both in terms of the symbolic importance of particular urban spaces with the demonstrators filling the *Paseo de la Reforma* before occupying the *Zócalo*. The march also drew enormous media attention, nationally and internationally, that involved a critical analysis about the performance of the Mexican police force, the impetus to crime from social inequality, the decline of corporatism, and the fragility of rule of law. Perceived by some as a genuine social movement drawing together a plurality of organizations under the heading of "United against Crime", others saw the march as manipulated by the Right to undermine the aspirations of Manuel López Obrador, the mayor of the Federal District, to the 2006 presidential elections. One feature of these debates was how each side drew different impressions of how much of "the public" was in the public space that day: the national government claimed almost 1.5 million, the local government claimed a few hundred thousand, some of the organizers put the number at between 500 and 800 thousand.

A number of participants expressed the hope that some of the workshop papers would be collected into an edited volume. At the present time a proposal is under review with Blackwells for an edition as part of the Urban and Social Change Series. If accepted, this volume will draw together contributions from the workshop and commissioned chapters concentrating on public space and sphere in Mexico. We have urged other presenters to consider working their papers into articles and know that many are in the process of doing so. We look forward to seeing these in print in due course. But, in the meantime enjoy this *Memoria*.

Gareth A Jones & Peter M Ward
Austin, June 28 2004

List of Contributors

Donna de Cesare

School of Journalism
University of Texas at Austin
1 University Station A1000
Austin, Texas 78712-0113
Tel: US+ (512) 471-1980
Email: ddecesare@mail.utexas.edu

Vicente del Rio

Department of City & Regional Planning
California Polytechnic State University
San Luis Obispo
California
Tel: US+ (805) 756-2572
Email: vdelrion@calpoly.edu

Chris Gaffney

Department of Geography
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712
Tel: US+ (512) 471-5116
Fax: US+ (512) 471-5049
Email: geostadia@mail.utexas.edu

Gloria Gonzalez-Lopez

Department of Sociology
University of Texas at Austin
Burdine Hall, Room 336
Austin, Texas 78712-1088
Tel: US+ (512) 232-6343
Fax: US+ (512) 471-1748
Email: gloria386@mail.la.utexas.edu

Matt Gutmann

Department of Anthropology
Brown University
Providence
Rhode Island 02912
Tel: US+ (401) 863-7732/3251
Fax: US+ (401) 863-7588
Email: Matthew_Gutmann@Brown.edu

Lawrence A. Herzog

Director, Institute for Built Environment
School of Public Administration and Urban Studies
San Diego State University
San Diego, CA 92182-4505
Tel: US+ (619) 594-6964
Fax: US+ (619) 594-1165 or 594-8748
Email: laherzog@mail.sdsu.edu

Christina Jimenez

Department of History
University of Colorado at Colorado Springs
1420 Austin Bluffs parkway
PO Box 7150
Tel: US+ (719) 262-4076
Fax: US+ (719) 262-4068
Email: cjimenez@mail.uccs.edu

Gareth A Jones

Department of Geography & Environment
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
UK
Tel: UK+ (20) 7955 7903
Fax: UK+ (20) 7955 7412
Email: g.a.jones@lse.ac.uk

Jaime Joseph

Alternativa
Centro de Investigación Social y Educación Popular
Jr. Emeterio Pérez 348
San Martín de Porres
Lima 31, Peru
Tel: Peru+ 481-5801
Fax: Peru+ 481-6826
Email: jaime@alter.org.pe

Ruben Kaztman

Catholic University of Uruguay
Facultad de Ciencias Humanas
Montevideo 11600
Uruguay
Tel: Uruguay+ (2) 487 2717
Fax: Uruguay+ (2) 487 7391
Email: kaztman@adinet.com.uy

Roger Magazine

Departamento de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas
Universidad Iberoamericana,
Prol. Paseo de la Reforma 880
Lomas de Santa Fe, 01210
México, D.F
Mexico
Tel: Mex+ (55) 5950-4000, ext. 7554
Fax: Mex+ (55) 5950-4223
Email: roger.magazine@uia.mx

Juan Manuel Ramírez Sáiz

Departamento de Estudios Sociopolíticos y Jurídicos
Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente (ITESO),
Periférico Sur Manuel Gomez Morín 8585
Tlaquepaque, Jalisco CP 45090.
México
Tel: Mex+ 3669 3440, ext. 3723
Fax: Mex+3134 2926
Email: jmramire@iteso.mx

Francisco Sabatini

Instituto de Estudios Urbanos y Territoriales
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
Santiago, Chile
Email: fsabatin@puc.cl

Joseph L. Scarpaci

Department of Geography
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg
Virginia 24061-0115
Tel: US+ (540) 231-2089
Email: scarp@vt.edu

Jon Shefner

Department of Sociology
901 McClung Tower
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996
Tel: US+(865) 974-7022
Fax: US+ (865) 974-7013
Email: jshefner@utk.edu

Peter M. Ward

The Mexican Center
Institute of Latin American Studies
Sid W Richardson Hall
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, Texas 78712-1167
Tel: US+ (512) 471 5551
Fax: US+ (512) 471-3090
Email: peter.ward@mail.utexas.edu