



TOWARDS A MORE EQUAL CITY

Guadalajara: Revisiting Public Space Interventions through the Via RecreActiva

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Cover photo: Via RecreActiva - Guadalajara

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Highlights

- ▶ In 2004 the municipality of Guadalajara in Jalisco, Mexico, established the Via RecreActiva, a *ciclovía*, or bike path, that operates every Sunday. Today, four out of the nine municipalities in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara close major streets and over 220,000 people use the path.
- ▶ The Via RecreActiva has had a clear "before" and "after" effect on the surrounding community. It marks the consolidation of both political and economic power around the importance of and investment in public space.
- ▶ The momentum created by civil society groups that advocated for the Via RecreActiva shifted demands for basic public infrastructure to progressive political commitments. This has increased transparency, created new roles for public space activists in municipal institutions, and institutionalized participatory processes.
- ▶ Investing in public spaces can unite competing interests and encourage them to move towards progressive politics. To sustain transformation, this case suggests implementing social measures to address the uneven distribution of investment and potential displacement and inequality.



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Guadalajara is the second-largest city in Mexico with over 4.8 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area.

Guadalajara's urban growth has been rapid and discontinuous, which makes it increasingly difficult to provide quality services and infrastructure.¹ Between 1990 and 2015, 97 percent of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara) growth occurred outside the boundaries of the municipality of Guadalajara itself, either at its periphery or as discontinuous urban areas.² In terms of economic and political investment, the city has historically been divided between the more affluent west and the poorer communities in the east. The role of public space in addressing issues of inequality in Guadalajara is not clear. Public spaces such as plazas, parks, green spaces, streets, and sidewalks help facilitate civic participation and encourage people to interact with each other and nature, both of which are fundamental rights of citizenship. However, investing in public space does not always show a direct impact on inequality or even on increased accessibility.

This case looks at the establishment of the Via RecreActiva (VR) in 2004, currently held every Sunday from 8 AM to 2 PM. *Ciclovías* close roads to motorized vehicles for several hours to allow citizens from all classes of society to enjoy the space by riding bicycles, walking, or exercising. Four out of nine municipalities participate in the VR, which connects spatially segregated areas in Guadalajara, but it remains largely limited to the center of the metropolitan area.

There is a clear “before” and “after” the VR. It marks the consolidation of both political and economic power around the importance of and investment in public space. The development of the VR was led by influential members of the business community. Enrique Peñalosa, the former mayor of Bogotá,

Colombia, influenced a group of businesspeople initially seeking to fund programs that would change their city's image. This led to increased political and economic investment in public space, including projects like the VR.

Three years later, organizations came together to fight for increased accessibility and investment in nonmotorized mobility and public space while protesting planning efforts that prioritized motorized transportation. In 2010, this coalition, which included some of the same actors who set the VR in motion, successfully halted an elevated expressway called the Via Express, which prioritized motorized mobility. The coalition moved to demand increased public participation and transparency in planning processes and governance decisions.

Some of those active in the fight against the Via Express now hold important governance positions. Some form part of the Citizens' Movement (Movimiento Ciudadano), the new political party that displaced the traditional National Action Party (Partido Acción Nacional) and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) and won the municipal seat in 2015. Municipal programs, such as Free Sidewalks (Banquetas Libres), and new regional entities like the Planning Institute for the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara (Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara), which encourages intermunicipal and metropolitan cooperation, have institutionalized some of these changes at different scales. In May 2016 the state adopted the new Electoral Code for Participation, establishing additional governance tools, including participatory budgeting and popular consultations.³ Despite these victories, further transformation is challenged by the imbalance between private investment in development and investment that meets public needs.

This case shows how civil society activism and broad sectoral stakeholder engagement around public space helped create space for social engagement that not only increased awareness of street use as a more democratic public space in Guadalajara, but also led to certain improvements and policy changes. In addition to increasing funds and political support for public space and nonmotorized transportation, the effort led to the inclusion of activists who helped push for these changes in the city's new administration. Now, however, as the new administration begins to take on new projects—including a light rail transit line—it faces the challenge of planning collaboratively with civil society organizations, and especially with residents who are concerned about gentrification and displacement. Challenges involving accountability and trust between civil society and government continue to linger, limiting the reach of this transformational change.

About This Paper

This case study is part of the larger World Resources Report (WRR) *Towards a More Equal City*. The WRR uses equitable access to core urban services as an entry point for examining whether meeting the needs of the under-served can improve the other two dimensions of sustainability. The city case studies examine transformative urban change, defined as that which affects multiple sectors and institutional practices, continues across more than one political administration, and is sustained for more than 10 years, resulting in more equitable access to core services and a more equal city overall. The goal of the WRR case studies is to inform urban change agents—including policymakers at all levels of government, civil society organizations, the private sector, and citizens—about how transformative change happens, the various forms it takes, and how they can support transformation towards more equal cities.

Box 1 | Abbreviations

AMG	Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara (Guadalajara Metropolitan Area)
BRT	bus rapid transit
IMEPLAN	Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara (Planning Institute for the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara)
GDL	Guadalajara
MC	Movimiento Ciudadano (Citizens' Movement)
PAN	Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party)
POTMet	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial Metropolitano (Metropolitan Master Plan)
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party)
UDG	Universidad de Guadalajara (University of Guadalajara)
VR	Via RecreActiva
WRR	World Resources Report
ZMG	Zona metropolitana de Guadalajara (Metropolitan area of Guadalajara)

Figure 1 | **Guadalajara at a glance**



Type of jurisdiction	Metropolitan area	
Population in:		
	1990 ^a	3,160,000
	2000 ^b	3,752,597
	2015 ^c	4,865,122
Total land area (in km ² , 2016) ^d		3,269
GDP per capita, Guadalajara (2005) ^e		\$9,273
Human Development Index, Guadalajara (2010) ^f		0.75
Human Development Index, Mexico (2010) ^g		0.80
Gini coefficient, Guadalajara (2010) ^h		0.43
Population living below the poverty line (% , 2010) ⁱ		27.6
Population living in informal dwellings (%)		N/A
Access to electricity (% households, 2015) ^j		99.8

Access to piped water on premises (% households, 2015) ^k	98.3
Access to flush toilet (% households, 2017) ^l	99.5
Trips by mode (% , 2015): ^m	
Bus, taxi, microbus	36
Walking	30
Private car, truck, or motorcycle	25
School and labor transport	4
Bicycle	2
Metro, bus rapid transit, and light rail	1
Other/unspecified	2
Average trip length (km) ⁿ	8
Average prices of urban services:	
Electricity (per kWh, 2017) ^o	\$0.19
Water (per m ³ , 2014) ^p	\$0.83
Sewage treatment (per m ³ , 2014) ^q	\$1.85
Public transport ride (microbus; bus and metro; mototaxi, per trip, 2017) ^r	\$0.33; \$0.37 \$0.26–0.79
Average price of gasoline (per liter, 2017) ^s	\$0.87
Primary decision-making level for cities:	Municipal government
Type of city leader, term years, and term limits:	Municipal mayor, 3 years, limited to 2 terms

Note: All prices are reported in US\$ using market exchange rates for the source's corresponding year.

Sources: a. Camposortega, 1991; b. INEGI, 2010; c. INEGI, 2015; d. IMEPLAN, 2016; e. INAFED, 2005; f–g. UNDP, 2010a, 2010b; h–i. CONEVAL, 2010; j–m. INEGI, 2015; n. Moovit Insights, n.d.; o. INEGI, 2017; p–q. CEA, 2014; r. INEGI, 2017; s. INEGI, 2017.

1. CONFRONTING THE PUBLIC SPACE CHALLENGE IN GUADALAJARA

Growing levels of inequality and privatization that result in fragmented and unequal cities have fueled an important debate around the significance of public spaces. Public spaces can be important sites for public services, community development, and civic participation.⁴ However, the political, economic, and social determinants of public space are complex. Public space interventions can bring together oppositional actors and contribute to both democratic and exclusionary practices, including segregation, discrimination, and privatization.⁵ The rapid growth of cities has made this issue even more challenging, as governments often fail to integrate communities or provide quality services and infrastructure.

This case study introduces the Via RecreActiva (VR) in Guadalajara to examine how public space interventions can trigger or limit a political transformative process. The VR is a *ciclovia*, or bike path, that operates every Sunday from 8 AM to 2 PM. *Cicloviás* close roads to motorized vehicles to allow citizens from all classes of society to enjoy the space by riding bicycles, walking, or exercising. Our research contributes to the understanding of public space as a political domain where both private and public sectors come together and can either contribute to or limit changes towards a more equal city. This case study does not measure the health or economic benefits of a *ciclovia* or public space itself. Rather, by analyzing existing research, government data, and key informative interviews with representatives from government, civil society, and academia, it examines how public space can bring together

political, economic, and symbolic investments to transform infrastructure, public participation, political accountability, and financial allocations.

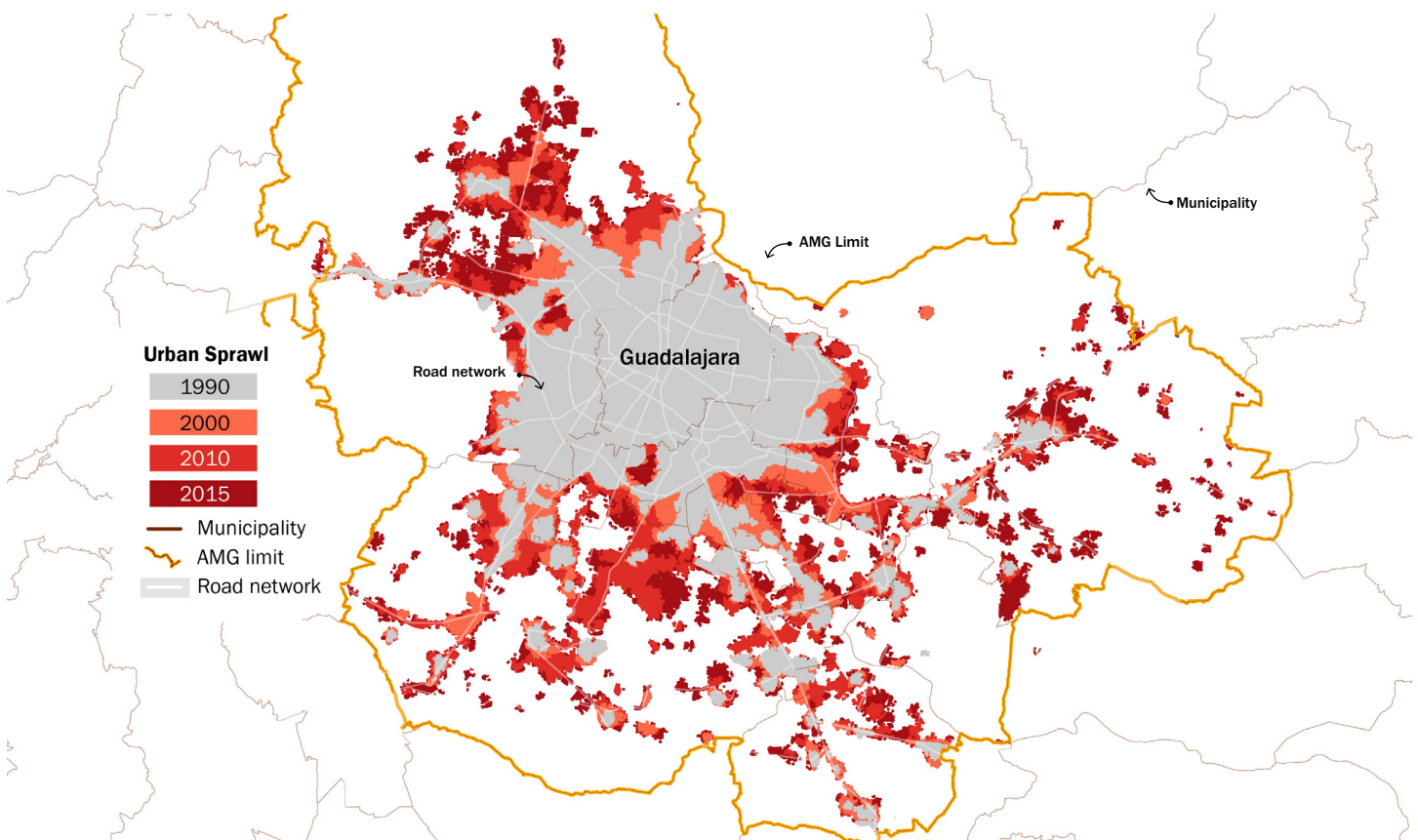
Guadalajara is the second-largest city in Mexico, with over 4.8 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area of 3,265 square kilometers (see Figure 1).⁶ Guadalajara’s rapid and fragmented urban growth makes it increasingly difficult to provide quality services and infrastructure.⁷ Between 1990 and 2010 the population increased by more than 50 percent while the urban area grew by 382 percent.⁸ Between 1990 and 2015, 97 percent of the growth in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara; AMG) occurred outside the boundaries of the municipality of Guadalajara itself, either on the periphery or as discontinuous urban areas.⁹ This expansion and fragmentation, which is visible in Figure 2, increases the costs of providing urban services and negatively impacts the area’s economic and social networks.

In the AMG, land has often been underutilized.¹⁰ Multifamily and low-income housing are largely available outside the city limits, where families can afford the cost of the land but services

are limited.¹¹ At the same time, like many other cities in the global South, Guadalajara has witnessed the development of high-end housing and the lack of affordable housing in well-connected locations at the center of the metropolitan area.¹² The growth of the technology industry alongside the development of high-end lofts and offices in the city’s well-connected areas has further pushed construction of low-income housing to the city’s periphery.¹³ If this trend continues, the AMG would require 41,844 hectares of urban land by 2045, implying a growth of 57.4 percent of the city’s current urban area.¹⁴

The metropolitan area is historically divided in terms of economic and political investment, with more affluent communities in the west and poorer communities in the east. Guadalajara’s metropolitan area includes nine municipalities, and 27.6 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.¹⁵ The municipalities of Guadalajara, Tlaquepaque, and Tonalá register the densest populations above the AMG’s average, as seen in Table 1.¹⁶ The municipality of Guadalajara has one of the most economically powerful and spatially central municipalities as well as the highest population density. The municipality borders Zapopan, the most affluent and largest municipality.

Figure 2 | **Map of urban expansion**



Source: IMEPLAN, 2016.

Table 1 | **Population Density and Urban Area Percentage by AMG Municipality**

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION 2015	URBAN SURFACE (HA)	POPULATION DENSITY (POP/HA)	URBAN SURFACE PERCENTAGE OCCUPIED BY MUNICIPALITY
Guadalajara	1,460,148	13,815	106	19.1%
Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos	53,045	2,396	22	3.3%
Juanacatlán	17,955	432	42	0.6%
El Salto	183,437	4,404	42	6.1%
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga	549,442	11,711	47	16.2%
Tlaquepaque	664,193	8,568	78	11.8%
Tonalá	536,111	6,723	80	9.3%
Zapopan	1,332,272	22,129	60	30.5%
Zapotlanejo	68,519	2,284	30	3.2%
AMG	4,865,122	72,462	67	100.0%

Note: Numbers have been rounded off.

Source: INEGI, 2015.

Guadalajara’s significant amount of abandoned public space has deteriorated the city’s quality of life.¹⁷ The absence of social life in public spaces, the perception of danger and actual experience with crime, the lack of civic participation and social interaction, the lack of identity with and connection to the environment, and the lack of recreational activities (which increases sedentariness and promotes physical inactivity) all impact residents’ quality of life. Lack of public spaces or walkable areas—apart from colonial plazas—and areas that were not originally integrated within the larger plan for the city are responsible for lowering the quality of life.¹⁸

As has happened in cities in the United States and Latin America, Guadalajara has created both rich and poor gated communities as a response to both the lack of public space and the fear of crime and outsiders.¹⁹ What could be considered public space often lies behind private walls, in gated communities, or requires a fee. Moreover, publicly accessible spaces often lack public investment. State and civil society efforts to transform public spaces must negotiate with private interests that have a heavy hand in shaping the city’s political and built environment.²⁰

In terms of travel, pedestrians and cyclists in the AMG represent almost 32 percent of total travel, with 30 percent being pedestrian trips and 2 percent bicycle trips.²¹ Despite this high percentage of nonmotorized transportation, pedestrians and cyclists do not have safe and adequate infrastructure. The cycling network makes up 52.18 kilometers (km), and these are divided into 25 segments that are sometimes disconnected and unsafe.²² Furthermore, this infrastructure is largely uneven, with more segments in the northwest and south of the city but none in the southeast.

Description of Data and Methods

This case study is part of the larger World Resources Report (WRR) *Towards a More Equal City*, which focuses on equitable access to core urban services. The WRR is a series of working papers on housing, energy, the informal economy, urban expansion, water, sanitation, and transportation that analyze sectors and themes across struggling and emerging cities in the global South.²³ The WRR views equitable access to urban services as an entry point for examining whether meeting the needs of the under-served can improve economic productivity and

environmental sustainability for the city. The WRR also features a series of city-level case studies on urban transformation, of which this case study is a part. The case studies examine different cities to assess their experiences with transformative urban change. This is defined as change that affects multiple sectors and institutional practices, continues across more than one political administration, and is sustained for more than 10 years, resulting in more equitable access to core services—a more equal city. These cases do not reflect best practices but rather highlight how change rarely reflects linear progress; they tell the story of the tussle between competing interests under often changing conditions. The goal of the WRR is to inform urban change agents—government officials, policymakers, civil society organizations and citizens, and the private sector—about how transformative change happens, the various forms it takes, and how they can support transformation towards more equal cities.

This case study examines the possibility of using public space as a trigger for urban transformation in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, Mexico. The analysis identifies the role of different actors as well as limitations, barriers, and threats to the long-term success of the transformation process. It addresses the following research questions:

- ▶ How has the approach to public space yielded increased equitable access to the urban planning process, development, and core services?
- ▶ What was the impetus for these transformations, and who are the main actors involved in both contributing to and/or challenging them?
- ▶ What kind of evidence exists for the success of these interventions?
- ▶ What are the challenges of institutionalizing these changes and new practices?

The case study builds on existing research, as well as primary and secondary data analysis. Primary data was collected through semistructured and structured interviews with a range of key informants from the government, civil society, and the private sector (see Appendix A for the list of respondents). Participant observation at public spaces and events was another important source of data collection. All quotes have been translated from Spanish. Lastly, the case study also includes archival data, including public plans, strategic plans, and government policy.

What we mean by public space

Many of the key informants we spoke to in Guadalajara defined *public space* in a way that was based on their own experiences. Public space was more than parks, plazas, streets, sidewalks, and open space. It also included the unused space between apartment buildings and urban forests.²⁴ Many also referred to the potential for public space to create opportunities for democratic participation. In addition to public protests, this meant bringing together different populations in public space to encounter and recognize each other's different experiences in the city.

However, we recognize that people may experience exclusion from public space differently depending on their class, race, gender, and physical ability, and that public space can both contribute to democracy and be a site for inequality, authoritarianism, and violence.²⁵ Decisions to invest in public space can be the result of meeting middle-class aspirations of a certain active and urban lifestyle rather than be part of a push towards increased democracy and equality that recognizes a city's range of needs.²⁶ We hope this study allows for a more nuanced understanding of public space interventions to achieve a more equal city.

2. BEFORE AND AFTER THE VIA RECREACTIVA: CONDITIONS AND TRIGGERS FOR TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE

The case study introduces the VR as a window through which to better understand how and if public space interventions can help trigger larger urban transformative planning and policy. The VR represents a key intervention that began in September 2004 in the Guadalajara municipality. Relevant context and actors can be seen in Figure 4. As several of our respondents explained, there is a “before and after the Via RecreActiva” in Guadalajara. As one former activist who is now a state representative explains:

One of the issues that marked the metropolis was the Via RecreActiva: The issue of closing [the streets] using a more complex idea of [what is considered] public space—that not only considers public squares, the park, the Plaza de Armas, or the city’s principal plaza. It seems to me that, without necessarily being aware, those who were promoting this or the authorities at the time, marked a before and after the Via RecreActiva.²⁷

The VR brought Guadalajara’s transportation, education, public security, and health sectors together to plan a *ciclovía*-style road closure that has taken place every Sunday from 8 AM to 2 PM for over 13 years; more than 52 public events are hosted in the space every year.²⁸ The route is 63 km long and has over 220,000 users each week.²⁹ Residents from six of the nine municipalities use the VR, and almost half (48 percent) of these users arrive on bicycle.³⁰

Connecting Uneven Geographies

From its inception, the VR ran across an economically and historically uneven geography marked by Independence Avenue (Avenida Independencia). Figure 3 illustrates the VR routes in Guadalajara and three surrounding municipalities, connecting communities with different degrees of marginalization.³¹ One of the respondents described the geographical inequalities as follows:

This issue about this avenue is a topic that must really be taken into account if you are analyzing Guadalajara—this phenomenon that exists since the founding of Guadalajara, where there is a very clear, socioeconomic division of these two sides of the river, what was once the San Juan de Dios River, where the

western part has been the most advantaged in terms of development, vegetation, investment, equipment, in whatever you want. There is a great contrast.³²

The VR connects four of the nine municipalities (see Figure 3). Expanding the route requires appropriate multisectoral and cross-jurisdictional partnerships, political support, and effective management and promotion. The Zapopan municipality integrated the VR in 2007, while the Tlaquepaque municipality did so in 2008. Finally, in 2009, the VR reached the municipality of Tonalá. Each municipality (either its council of sports or youth development) is responsible for administering, programming, and financing its section of the route. In addition to adding more municipalities, data shows that about a quarter (26 percent) of participants are relatively new and a large majority (79 percent) participate two or more times a month.³³

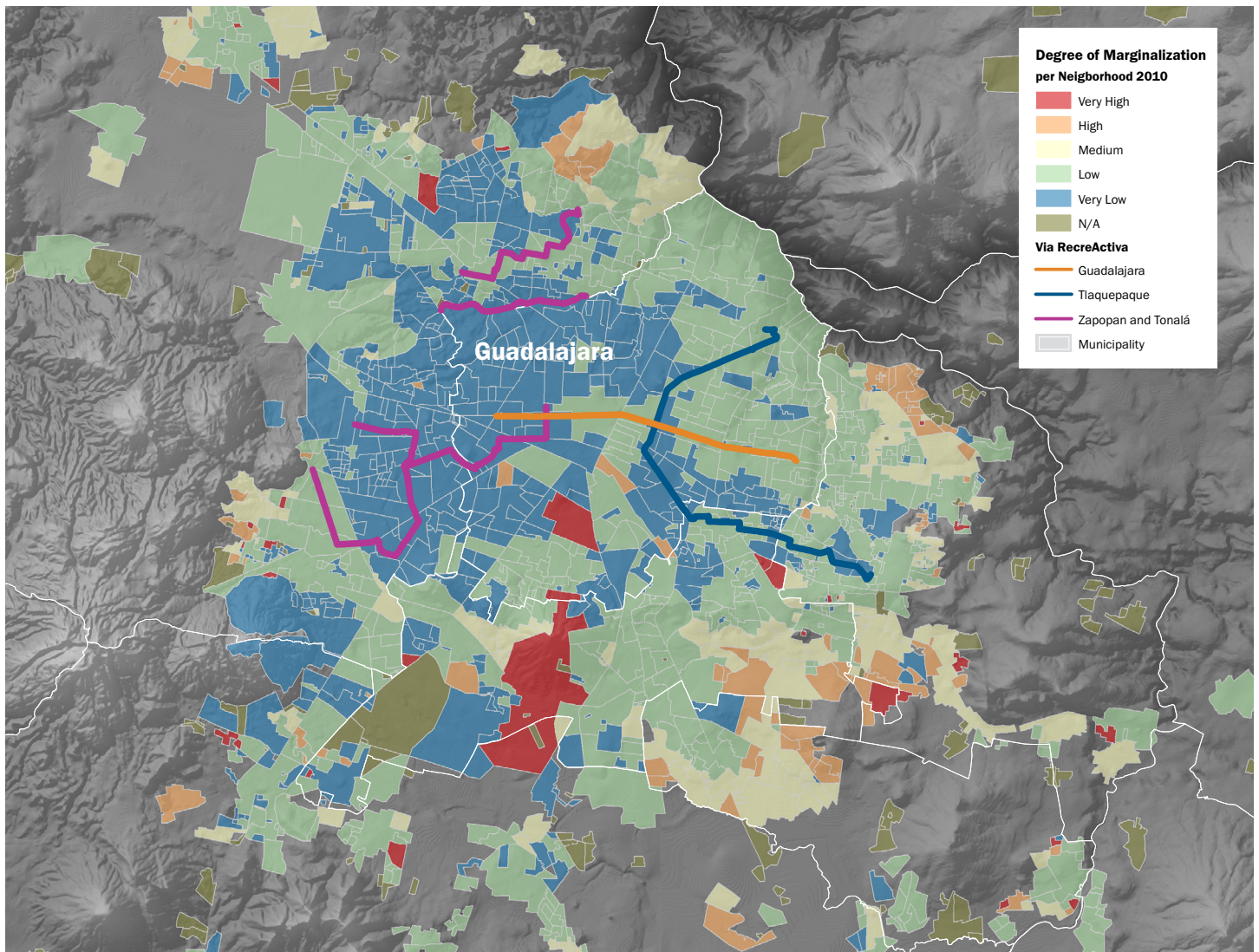
Closing the street for nonmotorized transportation across the metropolitan region sparked new ideas regarding what public space could look like. One respondent commented,

[The Via RecreActiva] was a great catalyst that enabled the recognition of “others” as occupants of public space with the right to use the street—a place considered exclusive to car use. Sunday provides some time for those “weird ones” who do not drive, but instead occupy the street and [occupy] Sunday. But through the years this exercise has built a collective imaginary, a presence, an existence, but not [a] right! But at least some equity, and at least making those other uses visible on the Via.³⁴

This respondent noted the accessibility and connection to the “other” but also pointed to the failure in granting increased formal rights to public space or the street.

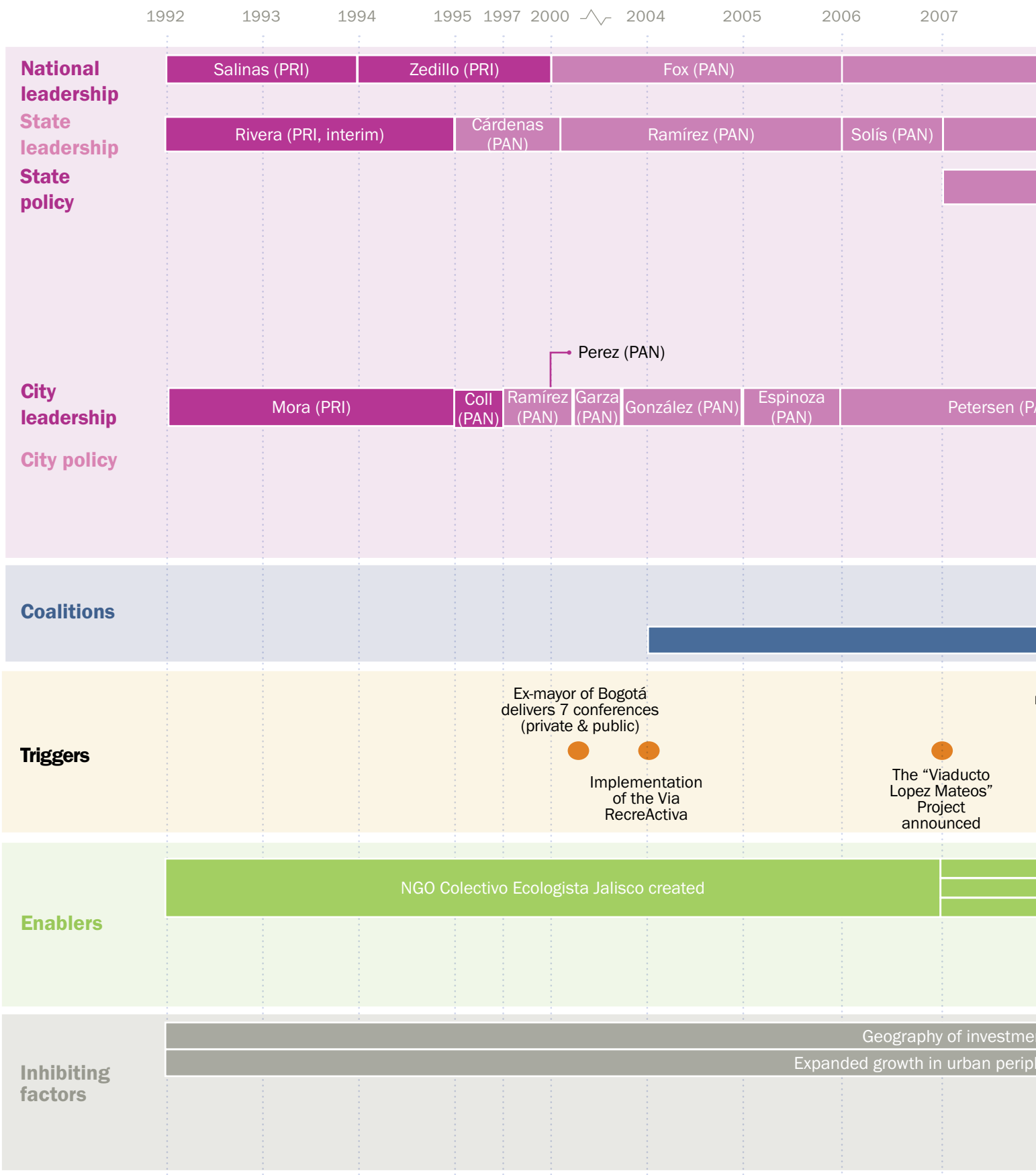
Despite this growth and expansion, the VR infrastructure focuses more on affluent parts of the city, in terms of income levels and investment in historic and commercial infrastructure. The large majority of participants (84 percent) are residents from either the municipality of Guadalajara or Zapopan, where there are more affluent neighborhoods and a high degree of acceptance of the VR (70 percent of residents living within 500 meters of the program corridor approved of program, and 80 percent of those were willing to use it).³⁵ However, there are no survey results for Tlajomulco de Zúñiga or other municipalities on the periphery of the metropolitan area. Residents from Juanacatlán, Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos, and Zapotlanejo are not represented by the current research on the VR.³⁶

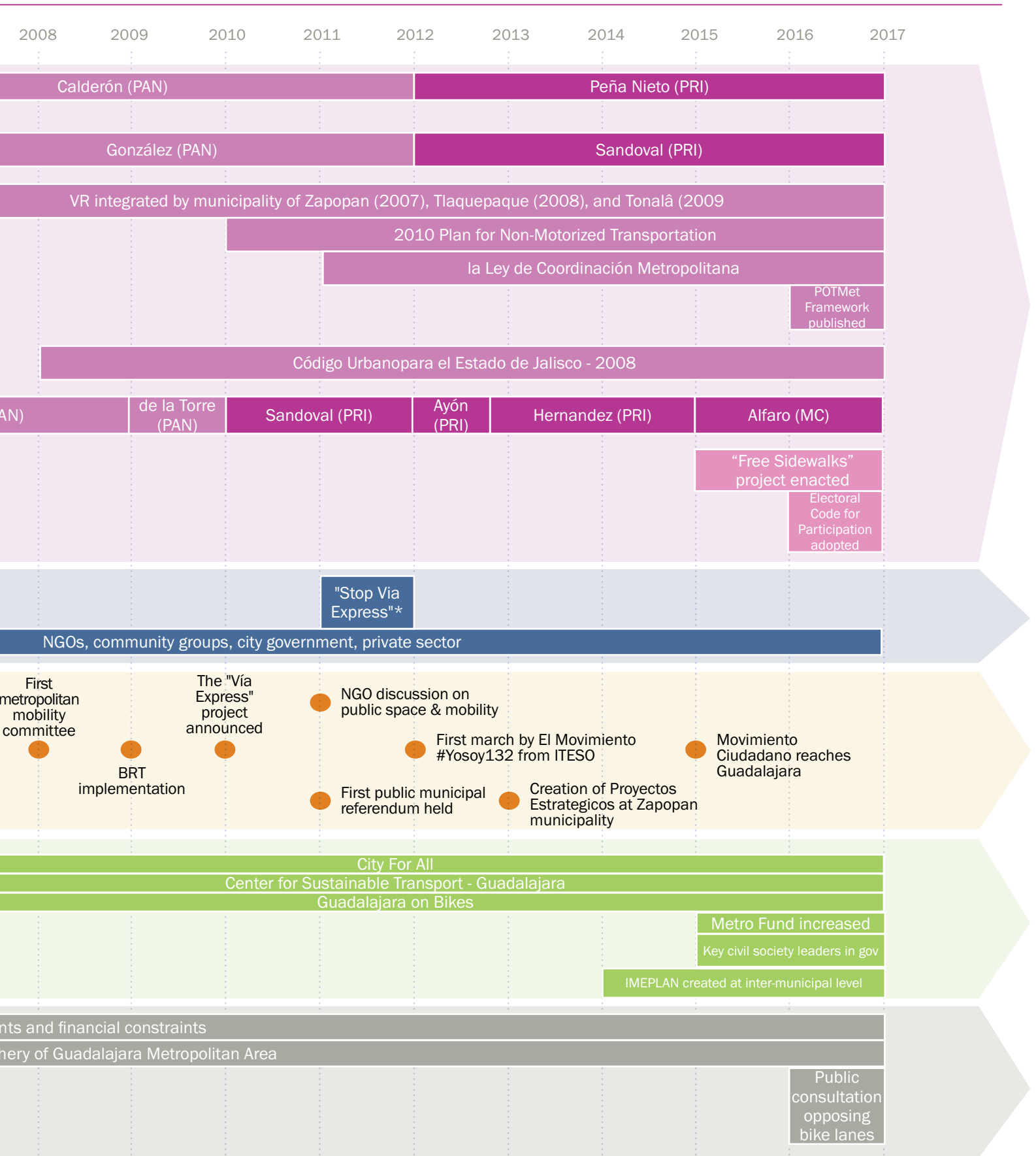
Figure 3 | Map of ZMG urban marginalization and Via RecreActiva in Zapopan, Guadalajara, Tlaquepaque, and Tonalá municipalities



Sources: Urban marginality is from authors' analysis based on CONAPO, 2010. VR routes are from IMEPLAN, 2019a.

Figure 4 | **Timeline of the Via RecreActiva in Guadalajara**





*Grassroots movements rarely have an official end date. This is meant to mark the historic movement and collective actions.

The Via RecreActiva's Implementation

This section explores how the VR became possible and details the actors involved. In 2003, a group of private business owners in Guadalajara came together to fund a new regulation to rebrand the Plaza Tapatía as a cleaner city center. As part of a fund-raising and media event, the group paid to bring Enrique Peñalosa, the former mayor of Bogotá (1998–2000), to Guadalajara. According to Montero (2017), Peñalosa is a “persuasive practitioner” who has become an ambassador of the “Bogotá model,” which includes public space interventions as an economic and community development strategy.³⁷

This relationship started an intense process where urban planners, civil society, business leaders, politicians, and journalists constructed a new common vision for mobility and public space in Guadalajara.³⁸ There was an intense interchange between Bogotá and Guadalajara during this period, including several “study tours” funded by both the private sector and institutions such as the Hewlett Foundation. Those who participated in the study tours represented a potential economic and political force that could invest in this new vision.

The VR was the result of an alliance of elite representatives, including the private sector, civil society, funders, media elites, and urban planners. It began to alter their conceptualization of public space and how it could transform the city. Business owners shifted their investment from branding and constructing their plaza to making the city more humane and livable. A clear joining, if not coalescing, of the original business owners and the nonprofit sector took place when they formed a nonprofit organization called Guadalajara 2020. This alliance helped

ensure funding and established political relationships with the state.³⁹ According to interviews, the mayor of Guadalajara at the time, Emilio González Márquez of the National Action Party (Partido Acción Nacional; PAN), saw the VR as a political opportunity during a time when the opposition party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional; PRI), advanced politically in Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, and Zapopan. The VR’s low political threat and opposition, the rapid and visible impact on the city, and the potential media attention helped push the project through.

In our interviews, respondents shared that journalists who participated in the study tours and shared the process to construct the new vision were central to introducing concepts such as “nonmotorized mobility” and “*ciclovía*” to the public. Respondents also mentioned that journalists provided time and space for public opinion to take shape.⁴⁰ Those who organized the trips purposefully invested in allowing journalists to gain a deeper understanding of this new vision, which included providing them with information, material, and interviews.

The annual cost per capita of Guadalajara’s VR, illustrated in Table 2, was less than that in both San Francisco and Medellín. The total annual costs were US\$908,582, and the program’s annual cost per capita was \$6.50 in 2009.⁴¹ The cost of the VR is an important factor in its implementation.

Table 2 | **Ciclovía Costs and Benefits**

	ANNUAL COST PER CAPITA	COST-BENEFIT RATIO FOR HEALTH BENEFIT FROM PHYSICAL ACTIVITY
Bogotá	\$6.00	3.23–4.26
Medellín	\$23.40	1.83
Guadalajara	\$6.50	1.02–1.23
San Francisco	\$70.50	2.32

Note: Figures are reported in US\$.

Source: Montes et al., 2012.

3. CITIZEN GROUPS, FINANCIAL SUPPORT, AND INSTITUTIONALIZED PARTICIPATION: ENABLERS OF CHANGE

Three key enabling conditions allowed for further political and economic change beyond the creation of the VR. The first was the alliance of citizen groups, which advanced ideas around public space and nonmotorized transportation, and demanded that the public be able to enjoy more participation in planning processes. The second enabler was the financial support that came “after the Via” and helped bring projects to fruition.⁴² Finally, the third enabler was the governance decisions that institutionalized participatory policies and planning at the metropolitan scale.

Bringing Together Civil Society

In 2007, four years after Peñalosa’s visit in 2003, individuals and some organizations came together at Plaza del Sol, a commercial center, to contest a plan to increase traffic flow on Lopez Mateos Avenue, an important avenue that traverses a large part of the city. Despite the visible investment in the VR and a change in political rhetoric, there was an obvious incongruity in policies around mobility and public space. Despite civil disobedience, weekly gatherings, and actions regarding public space and nonmotorized mobility, civil society lost this battle. However, the effort served to bring together a range of artists, practitioners, activists, researchers, and organizations who collaborated to improve the experience of living in the city.⁴³

In addition to Guadalajara 2020, new urban groups like the Ecologist Collective (Colectivo Ecologista Jalisco), City for All (Ciudad para Todos), and Guadalajara on Bikes (GDL en Bici) saw the city and its urban planning policies as their site of struggle. For example, City for All formed in 2007, linking improvements

in mobility to citizen-led, city-wide transformation. The organization’s goals ranged from “increasing the power of people to decide how they want to move, ensure safety, dignity and respect in those modes of mobility” to “making sure that cities return to belonging to their inhabitants.”⁴⁴

That same year, the Citizen Council for Sustained Mobility (Consejo Ciudadano para la Movilidad Sustentable) formed and included Guadalajara 2020, the Ecologist Collective, City for All, and Guadalajara on Bikes. In 2009, two years after the council was formed, Jalisco’s state government invested in an executive plan for nonmotorized mobility. In 2010 the state government passed the Master Plan for Non-Motorized Urban Mobility due to pressure from civil society.⁴⁵ This document includes important plans for increased access for bicyclists and pedestrians at the metropolitan scale and marks the insertion of civil society demands into public policy.

Also in 2010, residents, organizations, and urban planning activists came together to halt another huge project, this one for an expressway (see Figure 5). At the time, the governor of Jalisco, Emilio González Márquez (Guadalajara’s former mayor who supported the VR), announced a project to construct a Via Express (VE), or an elevated expressway designed for high-speed motor traffic.⁴⁶ The governor’s decision to politically and economically invest in increased motorized transportation reflected his failure to commit to the vision behind the VR. The expressway, or *viaducto*, was planned to be 23 km long, allowing cars to move across the city from east to west and avoid street traffic.⁴⁷ Civil society organizations had been demanding an integrated mobility policy that would not privilege the car, and they collectively pushed back on this project (see Figure 6). As one respondent explained, “The Via Express ‘project’ was a meeting point between activists and residents. And businesspeople also came on board. For many of us, the Via Express meant getting to know each other, different activist groups, and from there we created political capital.”⁴⁸

Figure 5 | **Neighborhood planning map**



Note: The drawing's title is translated as "Join (the movement) NO to the Via Express."
Source: Carlsson, 2010.

Figure 6 | **Protest banner against the Via Express**



Note: The text of the banner is translated as "Definitely NO to the Via Express!"
Source: Carlsson, 2010.

The Via Express generated heated debates between political and social actors, including the state of Jalisco and City for All. It was the most important public issue in Jalisco for three months.

Grassroots tactics ranged from civil disobedience to education and research. Community-based planning included maps that showed different tactical interventions by local residents. NGOs provided technical support and research at both national and international levels, and played essential roles in protesting the VE in an effort to support more positive change.⁴⁹

Respondents described an important moment in which individuals from City for All produced a counter video⁵⁰ in response to a promotional video that the state of Jalisco made for the expressway.⁵¹ The City for All video offered an alternate narrative that countered mainstream news outlets' coverage of the topic. Researchers who analyzed mainstream media coverage of the battle over the Via Express found that 80 percent of mentions referred to governmental actors, and only 2 percent referred to civil society actors.⁵² The counter video was a new way to use media that helped shape public opinion; it also served to include progressive planning voices from all around the world in the discussion under way in Guadalajara.

In addition to a counter narrative, this coalition developed counter proposals. In 2011 organizations advanced a counter policy proposal with support from a range of actors and sectors, including the Council of Industrial Chambers (Consejo de Cámaras Industriales Jalisco), the Confederation of Employers of the Republic of Mexico (Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana), and the Construction Industry Chamber (Cámara Mexicana de la Industria de la Construcción). This group included representatives from the business and development sector who also opposed the Via Express due to its lack of financial and environmental feasibility.⁵³ The College of Architects (Colegio de Arquitectos) and the College of Engineers (Colegio de Ingenieros) also opposed the Via Express and provided technical support.⁵⁴

In the end, the Via Express did not come to fruition and the counter proposal turned out to be unnecessary. Moreover, it led to a critique of the way in which the government prioritized motorized transportation over nonmotorized mobility, and underwent planning, financing, and development without consulting the public.⁵⁵

Financial Investments in Public Space

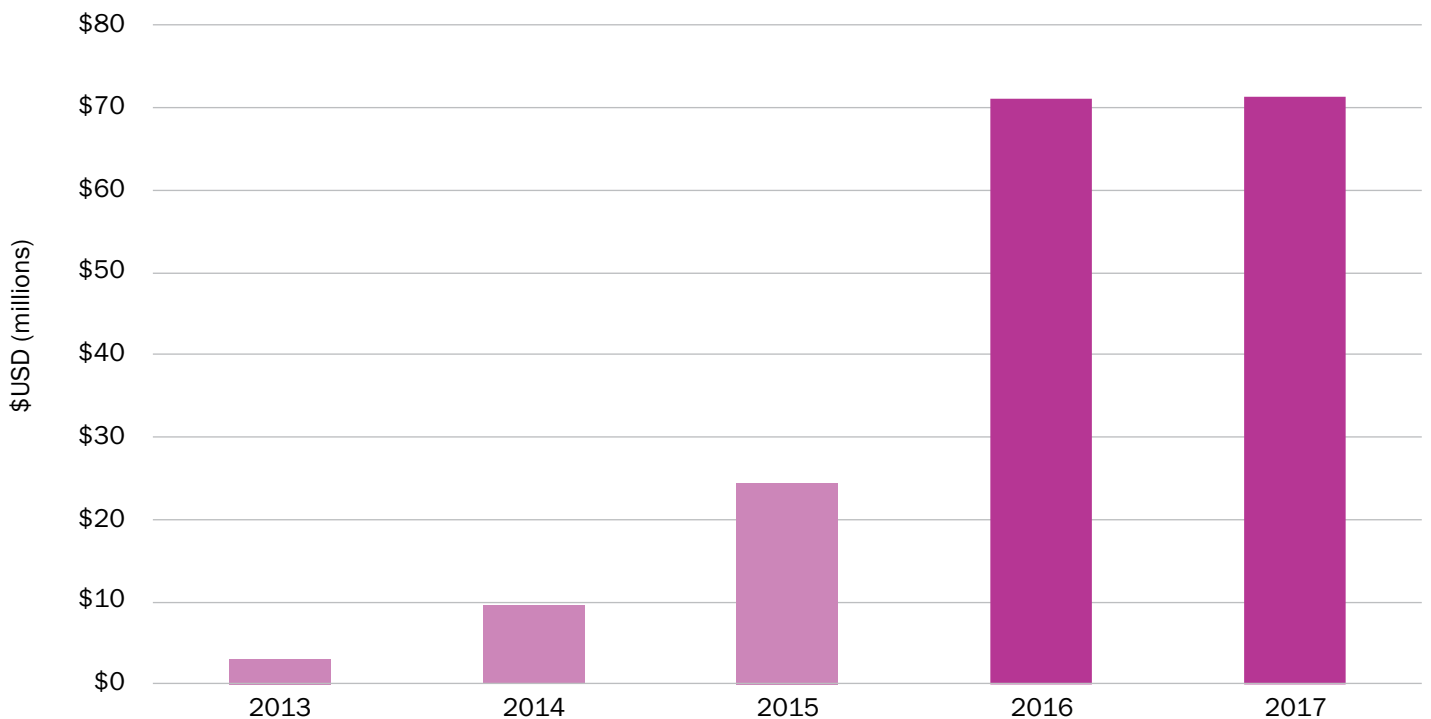
Investment changes cannot be attributed to the VR alone, but rather to a combination of three main ingredients: actions led by civil society; a new collective image of public space; and actions by elected officials. Civil society and state actors promoted a new narrative around “living spaces” that permitted a political and economic revisiting of public spaces that could potentially include the entire city.⁵⁶ The financial backing for public space, including for sustainable mobility, comes from multiple sources and has a range of political and social implications.⁵⁷

To invest in public space proposals like the VR, municipalities redirected existing funds and tapped new ones. For example, of the 6.8 million pesos (\$359,000) that the municipality of Guadalajara budgeted for 2017, the majority (61.7 percent) came from federal funds while the city’s own revenues made up the

remaining 38.3 percent.⁵⁸ Revenue sources include taxes of 1,598 million pesos (\$84.4 million); fees for permits, 750.9 million pesos (\$39.7 million); and income from urban land uses, 126.2 million pesos (\$6.7 million).⁵⁹

Figure 7 demonstrates the dramatic increase in funds allocated for parks in Guadalajara in 2016.⁶⁰ It is important to note that these funds reflect the decision to make public sports facilities free. Investments in more street furniture (such as park benches) and better education about road safety helped amplify this new vision of public space at a relatively low cost. Other public space interventions, such as bicycle lanes, have a very low cost per user compared to other physical activities. Since *ciclovías* use main arterial streets, the existing built environment and infrastructure for motorized transport can be utilized at negligible additional costs.

Figure 7 | Investments in parks in the municipality of Guadalajara



Source: Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 2017.

When investing in public space projects, it is important to ensure that all share in the benefits. For example, the pedestrianization of Fray Antonio Alcalde Avenue, the construction of line three of the light rail, and the Creative Digital City (Ciudad Creativa Digital) are current projects in proximity to the city's historic center that have not been adequately studied in terms of how they might exacerbate inequality and displacement.⁶¹

The Creative Digital City, a federal project with millions of pesos invested from private corporations, seeks to create a hub for Mexico's digital media industry. It hopes to have a direct impact on neighborhoods through both commercial and residential development. Its first development phase centers around the Parque Morelos. Mexico's Presidential Office produced and shared a promotional video in 2012 that referred to Parque Morelos as the "principal stage for the Creative Digital City, a place for social interaction, creative labor, culture and talent."⁶² Residents from the various neighborhoods, including the Barrio del Retiro, have begun organizing to demand accountability. However, growing political and economic support comes from coalitions that include collaborators like major universities and powerful corporations.

The Reach and Limits of New Participatory Governance Tools

The VR, along with much of the civil society activism, emphasized the importance of public participation in governance and increased state accountability. In May 2016 the state legislature approved the Electoral Code for Participation at the local legislative session as a means to further open that political window and allow increased public access and transparency.⁶³ As part of the New Transparency Policy for

Participation, the legislature approved 13 governance tools that included new reforms, like popular consultations and participatory budgeting, and modified existing tools.

Popular consultation

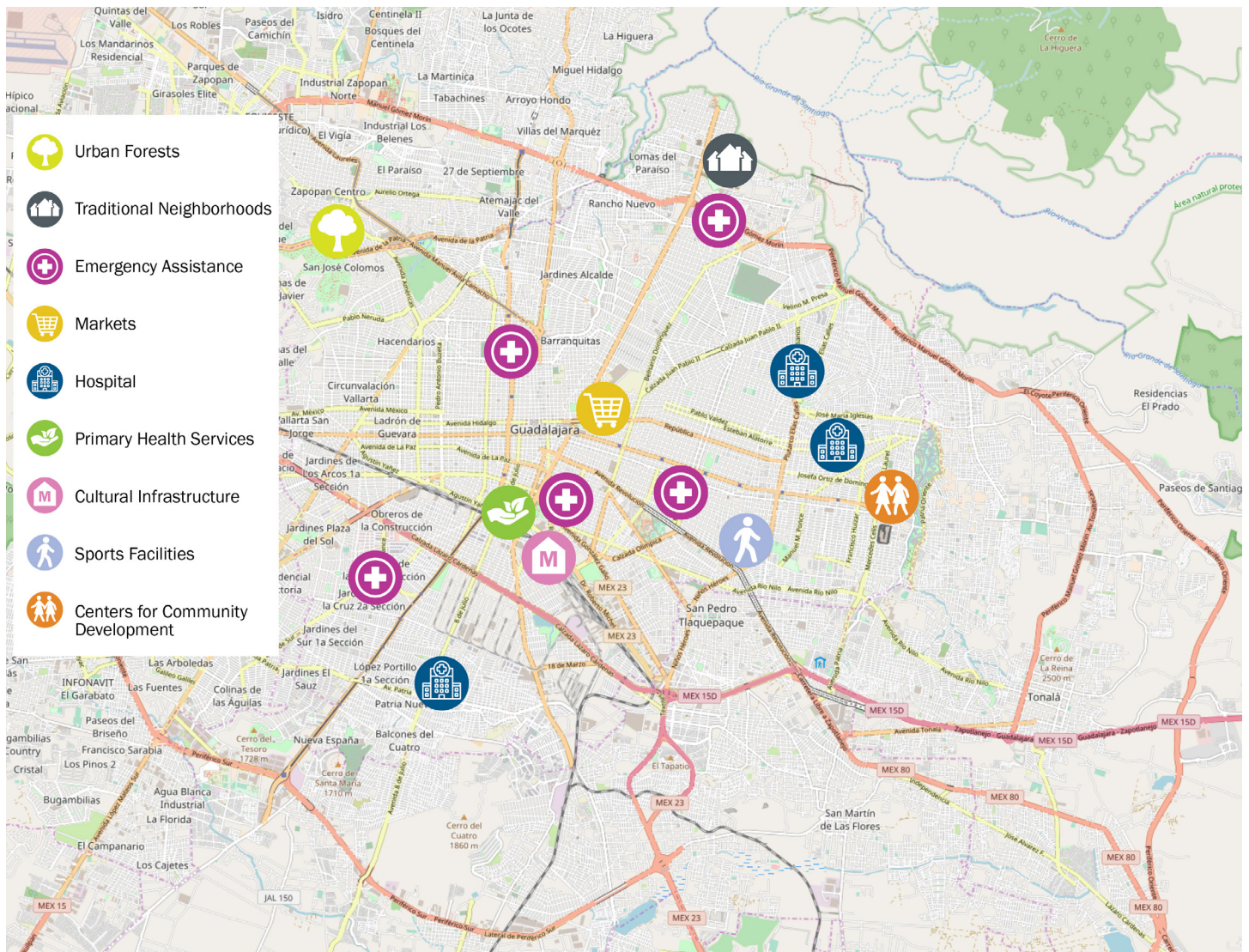
Popular consultations are a process through which residents can provide feedback not limited to the initial policy decision-making process. In 2017 neighbors gathered the necessary signatures to realize a popular consultation that asked whether the bicycle path of Marcelino García Barragán should remain;⁶⁴ 22,142 people participated, with 17,274 voting in favor of the bicycle path and only 4,868 voting against it.⁶⁵ According to interviews, there is a need for continuous community organizing that connects the residents who called for the popular consultation to the movement for increased access to space and mobility.

Participatory budgeting

Participatory budgeting is intended to more equitably distribute public resources through a public, transparent, and auditable mechanism guided by citizens' needs.⁶⁶ In theory, Guadalajara's participatory budgeting policy prioritizes public security, culture, and sustainable development through the recovery and rehabilitation of public space. Citizens who pay their property taxes receive a ballot to vote on a limited number of options concerning where and how to designate a percentage of their taxes.

In the metropolitan area, public participation in budgeting processes originated in the municipality of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga in 2011. In 2016 participating municipalities included Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, and Tlajomulco de Zúñiga. They invested 1 percent of their total overall budgets, about 224 million pesos (\$12 million),⁶⁷ in the public works projects

Figure 8 | Map of projects funded in 2016



Source: Presupuesto Participativo, n.d.a.

selected through the participatory budgeting process (mapped in Figure 8), which included parks, urban forests, markets, community centers, reforestation projects, museums, and health equipment.⁶⁸ This information is available online as part of transparency and accountability measures.⁶⁹

There are three important shortfalls of participatory budgeting in Guadalajara. First is the failure to include in the voting process individuals without property or who cannot pay their

taxes. Second, limited options and predetermined development projects leave little space for community-driven projects.⁷⁰ Finally, similar to the VR, participatory budgeting largely focuses on the center of the metropolitan area and does not include the other five municipalities in the most marginalized areas.

Complicated Scales of Governance

There are important projects that advance the public space

agenda at various scales. At the municipal scale, for example, is Guadalajara's Free Sidewalks (Banquetas Libres) program, which was launched in 2015 to eliminate obstacles on sidewalks.⁷¹

The city began by issuing warnings to all those who obstructed sidewalks, including vehicles and vendors using spaces for the disabled or operating without permits. Although ticketing agents do not have the capacity to move vendors or cars, the measure collected revenue in the form of fines and promoted a city-wide concept of universal accessibility and mobility. In June 2017 the Guadalajara government shared that it had issued 35,916 fines since November 2015 and had more than doubled the number of agents from 30 to 64.⁷²

Some municipalities institutionalized the public space agenda and strategic land use through new municipal bodies. The newly renamed Directorate of Community Development (Dirección de Desarrollo Comunitario), which was established in 2015 as the Directorate of Public Spaces (Dirección de Espacios Públicos), provides technical expertise, content, and community-based planning processes for the municipality of Guadalajara. In Zapopan, the Office of Strategic Projects (Oficina de Proyectos Estratégicos), established in 2013, works on identifying, coordinating, and implementing strategic land use in the city.

Civil society organizations, especially cyclist groups, continue to be an important and growing force in emphasizing issues concerning nonmotorized transportation. Though daily cyclists make up 2 percent of the total travel, biking organizations and coalitions such as Guadalajara on Bikes represent a growing political force in civil society that is shaping planning and policy.⁷³ Today, over 60 bicycle organizations exist. Although not all of them are involved in political activism, they represent a strong interest group that can shape planning decisions at both the municipal and state levels. Bicycle organizations assert themselves politically through massive bike rides and advocacy. They also produce research and policy proposals, as is the case with Bici Blanca, an organization that documents the number of bicyclists who have died while riding. In 2014 the bicyclist movement and the Institute for Mobility and Transport of the State of Jalisco established a public bicycle system in Guadalajara called MiBici. Today, the system has 236 stations and more than 2,000 bicycles in the municipalities of Guadalajara, Zapopan, and Tlaquepaque.⁷⁴ The cost depends on the type of subscription one chooses. According to the organization's most recent data, participation increased 164 percent between 2016 and 2018 (from 943,036 trips in 2016 to 2,486,238 trips in 2018).⁷⁵

In 2014, 10 years after the VR's development, the Metropolitan Institute of Planning of the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara (Instituto Metropolitano de Planeación del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara; IMEPLAN) was formed to consolidate some of Guadalajara's intermunicipal planning processes, bringing together the nine municipalities. Two laws support the creation of the IMEPLAN. The Urban Code for the State of Jalisco (Código Urbano) defines the area and the instruments for metropolitan planning and the Metropolitan Coordination Law of the State of Jalisco (Ley de Coordinación Metropolitana) prescribes the specific conditions and tools for coordination between municipalities. The goal is to improve metropolitan coordination, build capacity, and provide technical assistance for long-term planning and strategic projects in Guadalajara.⁷⁶

IMEPLAN faces big challenges in rescaling its processes and connecting with its municipalities. Among the first documents published by IMEPLAN was the Metropolitan Master Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial Metropolitano; POTMet) and the Urban Development Program (Programa de Desarrollo Urbano).⁷⁷ POTMet's purpose was to help consolidate a land management strategy for all nine municipalities. The municipalities approved POTMet in 2017 without a legal obligation to comply until the end of 2017. Although the land-use plan was passed, each municipality still reserves the right to plan within its own boundaries. IMEPLAN has a robust technical capacity to define urban and territorial strategies; however, implementing them remains a significant challenge. Multiple levels of politics and coalitions in each municipality often come into conflict with either the governor or the IMEPLAN leadership. Agencies, and their projects in general, are vulnerable to electoral changes in government and vary in their capacity for community engagement. While most agencies solely employ technical and planning experts, for example, the Directorate of Community Development is equipped with geographers, community psychologists, anthropologists, and urban planners to engage in a deep participatory process with community members.

Civil Society in the Bureaucracy

In 2015, 11 years after the VR and 8 years after the battle over the Via Express, a new political party called the Citizens' Movement (Movimiento Ciudadano; MC) won the municipality of Guadalajara. The city had been a stronghold for the pro-business PAN, which had ruled for more than a decade, until the PRI took hold of the city from 2012 through 13. Since then, there has been

a clear back and forth between these two major political parties, as seen in the timeline (Figure 4). A candidate, Enrique Alfaro from the MC, had gained some recognition while governing in the municipality of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga from 2010 through 11, where he institutionalized participatory policies like participatory budgeting. During this time, he was the first mayor in Mexico to subject himself and his administration to a popular election, in which he won 80 percent of the vote. His success, combined with the growing distrust of the existing political parties and the departure of key political leaders in these parties, allowed the MC to win the municipality of Guadalajara in 2015. This political shift also included independent candidates such as Pedro Kumamoto, who won a seat as a state congressman and is part of a national network that supports independent “citizen-candidates.”⁷⁸

It is important to not overestimate the citizen agency and activist component in the MC and to recognize former politicians who joined the party. For example, the MC did not come to power in the areas where the VR operated until 2015. However, there is an important convergence when the MC integrated some civil society leaders who were at the forefront of the public space battles. Central activist leaders now hold positions in state governance and certain municipalities, including Guadalajara and Zapopan. Some civil society leaders argue that these individuals can now push for an “integrated” vision of the city that institutionalizes these changes.⁷⁹ The state has used these new governance tools to get a general vote on approval of the new party. Although participation was low when calling a general vote, it gave the public a sense of accountability.⁸⁰

This political leadership faces the challenge of managing urban change from within the government while sustaining a relationship with civil society over the long term. Some respondents mentioned a weakening of civil society and that new political parties had sort of reutilized or coopted policies as mere campaign slogans.⁸¹ Activists argued that these political and administrative changes did not delve into the root causes of why other struggles over public space on the outskirts of the metropolitan area were left out of the political agenda.⁸² While some leaders have become relevant political stakeholders, some interviewees argue that their direct participation in government has left little space for others to oppose their actions.⁸³

One representative from the Guadalajara municipality stated two important challenges. The first is to overcome the continued

distrust in government, even from former colleagues. The second is to confront the lack of capacity to enact participatory processes and resolve conflict with community-based organizations. Conflicts between the community and the state and between organizations often halt projects when there are no tools to facilitate conflict resolution or negotiation.

Most recently, in July 2018, the MC won eight out of the nine municipalities in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara. Three of these victories were as part of a coalition called For Jalisco to the Front (Por Jalisco al Frente), which was made up of PAN, the MC, and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (Partido de la Revolución Democrática).⁸⁴ These wins by the same party could potentially mean fewer barriers in intermunicipal governance. However, none of the citizen-candidates won this election, which raises the question of whether the activist movements that pushed Kumamoto have lost momentum.

Does the Via RecreActiva Contribute to a More Equal City?

The VR itself represents both the potential and limits of public space discourse. As one respondent mentioned, “I think the great historical reference of this city is the Via RecreActiva. Today, looking back 13 years, the Via has stalled. Although it has increased a few kilometers it has not evolved in its concept.”⁸⁵ There are important inhibitors that limit the reach of the actual and conceptual development of public space as a means to a more human-oriented and equal city.

The first inhibitor is the geography and scale of investment. As can be seen with the participatory budgets and the VR itself, most of the financial and political investment remains concentrated in the central municipalities of Guadalajara and does not reach the limits of the metropolitan area.⁸⁶ Isolated places and movements at the outskirts of the city, such as Mesas Colorados, represent movements to take back the land that continue to grow with little government response or support.

In addition, the processes of urban expansion and disintegration are not addressed. One of the issues with the current IMEPLAN is the excessive promotion of urban reserves as potential sites for urbanization. Although some of these reserves are restricted (and have low territorial potential for urban development), they are still considered options for development whenever feasible and restricted reserves are exhausted.⁸⁷ This development exacerbates the dispersion problem, pushing housing supply

for low-income families further from the city center without the necessary services and making the city even less manageable.

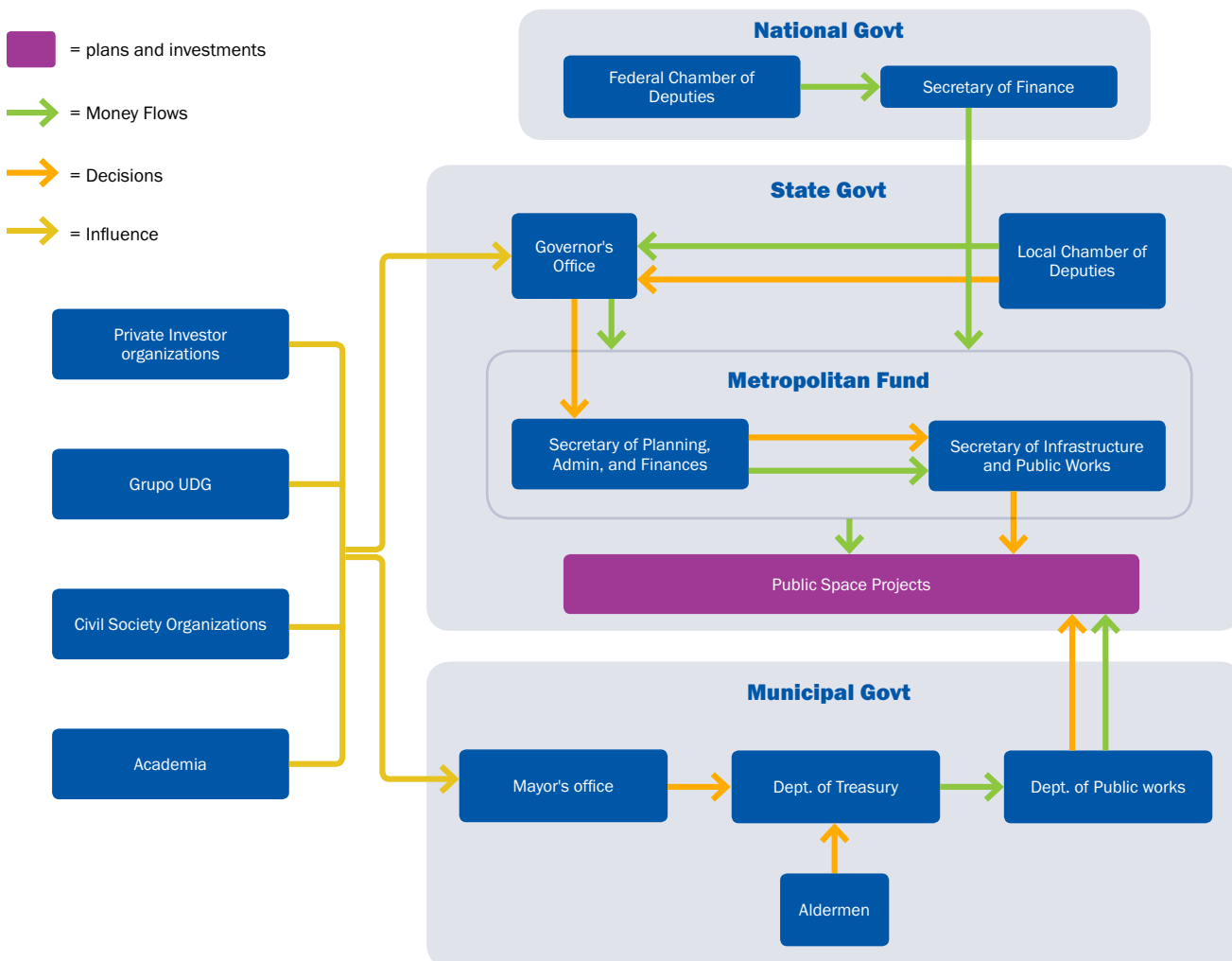
The city's reliance on private developers and high-end housing developments also inhibits sustainable transformative politics. Dependence on private investment in projects such as the Creative Digital City ultimately fails to address the needs of Guadalajara's most vulnerable communities. Meanwhile, city officials state that there is no monetary objective to programs like Free Sidewalks, which leads some members of civil society to question the financial feasibility of some such alternative policies.

Among the most significant challenges are the gap between civil society and the state and the gap between organized civil society and less politically active residents. Figure 9 illustrates

the landscape of urban change agents and some of the links between actors. Although some previous civil society leaders find themselves in important administrative positions, there is often distrust in their intentions and demand for increased transparency. Despite their preexisting relationships and successes, communication and collaboration between some civil society actors and the current government is not always smooth.

The popular consultations regarding the bicycle path of Marcelino García Barragán reflected several issues. The focus on greater transparency did not necessarily represent the original interests of increased access to space and mobility, nor did it mean a more united civil society, yet it did create a stronger civil society. Civil society organizations were successful in their effort to organize to get out the vote. However, the consultation underrepresented residents against the bicycle

Figure 9 | **Landscape of urban change agents in Guadalajara**



Source: WRI authors.

lane, and points to the gap between organized civil society and less organized residents. The state also lacks the capacity to do deep community engagement and conflict resolution around planning processes with civil society organizations. The Directorate of Community Development is one of the few state institutions that has invested in developing this capacity.

The VR served as a much-needed catalyst to increase investment and dialogue around public space and mobility. The push for public space was successful due to the grounding concepts and key standards for equitable development and distribution backed by both public and private actors. However, including neighborhood planning efforts in new development priorities remains a significant challenge.

4. CONNECTING AND EVOLVING: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The VR illustrates a case in which civil society activism not only facilitated an improvement in public space but was also part of a political change through both grassroots and electoral politics. In Guadalajara, new institutions have increased financial allocations for public space, and civil society actors have been included in administrative positions. Policies and values that originated in civil society are still in force and reflected in some government action. The VR discussion gained space in society, yet was focused on central areas. The discussion for inclusion has not yet been addressed in a significant way and it should be central to the development of a healthy city. Our recommendations for building on the movement towards equitable change in Guadalajara through public space interventions like the VR are detailed below.

Evolve the Concept with Improved Connectivity

Municipalities have the opportunity to build a social base that supports the evolving concept of the VR as a cultural and economic initiative that connects all nine municipalities. This requires supporting alternative transportation activities, urban justice organizations, government, and private stakeholders in their efforts. Such projects should help restore and reimagine public space while also addressing uneven investment.

Antidisplacement Measures

Investing in urban development projects that include transportation, public space, historic preservation, and even community engagement processes but that don't address needs such as affordable housing will likely lead to greater urban inequality.⁸⁸ Together, the state and local municipalities can develop transparency policies similar to the sunshine ordinances in the United States.⁸⁹ These processes can also include rating systems for new public space investments in terms of equitable development standards. The planning authority can measure potential levels of displacement, as well as include antidisplacement measures for vendors, renters, and other vulnerable populations.

Prioritize Deep Community Engagement in the Periphery

Transformative processes rooted in civil society need to maintain a constant pressure when shaping the political agenda, even when the state includes their discourse or advocates from positions of power. Allocating resources for socialization and participatory design processes that prioritize marginalized neighborhoods and residents are key for activation. A more equal distribution of investment requires prioritizing strategic sites at the edges of the city. For example, the Bosque del Centinela is a forest in Zapopan that connects to some of the municipality's extremely marginalized communities, such as Colonia Mesa de los Ocotes. Investing in places like Bosque del Centinela could help improvements reach communities at the city's periphery and link public space to environmental conservation efforts.

The challenge for Guadalajara lies in expanding the progressive change that occurred since the inception of the VR while pushing for higher equity standards for public space interventions. Guadalajara is still missing a collective grassroots political agenda that prioritizes more equitable access to public space and lays out a plan for civil society and state representatives to coordinate with each other.⁹⁰ This coordination gap and lack of alignment of sometimes competing interests is also evident between civil society in the center of the city and those movements growing in the periphery. Public space interventions such as the VR can be both intermunicipal, connecting people and communities living at the extremes of the city, and also serve as conveners that expand democratic participation and bring together different actors in the decision-making process.

APPENDIX A. DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEES

INTERVIEW NUMBER	DATE	POSITION/SECTOR
1	July 18, 2017	Community organizer
2	July 18, 2017	Academic
3	July 18, 2017	Urban planning consultant
4	July 19, 2017	State official on economic development
5	July 19, 2017	State official on environment and urban development
6	July 20, 2017	Municipal official, Guadalajara
7	July 21, 2017	Urban planning activist
8	July 21, 2017	Runs a cultural community space
9	July 21, 2017	Urban planning activist
10	July 21, 2017	Regional business association leader
11	July 22, 2017	Leader of an alternative transportation NGO
12	July 24, 2017	Municipal official, Zapopan
13	July 24, 2017	Municipal planning official
14	July 25, 2017	Municipal official, Guadalajara

ENDNOTES

1. INEGI, 2015, 2016.
2. IMEPLAN, 2016: 182.
3. Congreso del Estado de Jalisco, 2016.
4. Irazábal, 2008.
5. Gehl and Gemzoe, 2002; Talen, 2008.
6. INEGI, 2015, 2016.
7. SEDESOL, 2010.
8. SEDESOL, 2012; INEGI, 2015.
9. IMEPLAN, 2016: 182.
10. IMEPLAN, 2016.
11. Núñez Miranda, 2007.
12. Núñez Miranda, 2007; King et al., 2017.
13. Flores Hernandez, 2016. The Pan American Games that took place in 2011 were also an important urban intervention that impacted the city's economic and social fabric; see Rivera Borrayo and Gonzales Romero, 2013, and Rivera Borrayo and Orozco Alavarado, 2009.
14. IMEPLAN, 2016: 202–203.
15. IMEPLAN, 2016; INEGI, 2015; ITTEJ, 2012.
16. INEGI, 2015.
17. Centro de Transporte Sustentable México and EMBARQ, 2009.
18. Centro de Transporte Sustentable México and EMBARQ, 2009.
19. Cabrales, 2002; Caldeira, 2000; Davis, 1990; Pfannenstein et al., 2016.
20. According to Moncada (2013), drug cartels can be important actors who shape the politics of urban development and urban violence. Guadalajara is a historic home to important drug cartels (U.S. Department of Treasury, 2017). Jalisco is one of six Mexican states (along with Mexico City, Baja California, Tamaulipas, Sonora, and Sinaloa) where the majority of investigations surrounding money laundering are taking place; much of the laundering takes place through seemingly legal establishments, including urban developers and other businesses (Aguilar, 2017; U.S. Department of Treasury, 2014). In June 2013, the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control designated narcotics traffickers responsible for developing residential communities in Zapopan, Mexico, on behalf of Caro Quintero and for investing in the previously designated Esparragoza Moreno property, Provenza Residencial (U.S. Department of Treasury, 2014).
21. INEGI, 2015; CONAVIM, 2007.
22. See the SIGmetro website, <http://sigmetro.imeplan.mx>.
23. Beard et al., 2016.
24. Portal, 2016.
25. Irazábal, 2008; Low and Smith, 2006; Low, 2010.
26. Mitchell, 1995.
27. Interview 13.
28. The first *ciclovía* initiative has spread to at least 16 countries in the Americas and the Caribbean, and more than 1,500 cities around the world reported programs similar to the *ciclovía*. Research shows that *ciclovías* contribute to social capital development, improvements in quality of life, and chronic disease prevention through recreation (Sarmiento et al., 2010).
29. IMEPLAN, 2019a.
30. IMEPLAN, 2019a.
31. As measured by the multidimensional Index of Marginalization of the National Population Council, or Consejo Nacional de Población, which seeks to capture a wide range of factors that contributed to marginalization (CONAPO, 2010).
32. Interview 31.
33. WRI México, 2018: 8.
34. Interview 10.
35. Sarmiento et al., 2010; IMEPLAN, 2019a.
36. IMEPLAN, 2019a.
37. Interview 4; Montero, 2017.
38. Montero, 2017.
39. Interview 4.
40. Interview 4.
41. Montes et al., 2012.
42. Beard et al., 2016.
43. According to Peralta-Valera (2014), human-made disasters, environmental degradation, public insecurity, and electoral processes were some of the factors that contributed to civil society taking action. A significant example of a human-made disaster occurred in Guadalajara in 1992, when a series of gas explosions caused hundreds of deaths and thousands of residents lost their homes. These explosions lead to a significant political fallout where both the mayor of Guadalajara and key municipal and state officials resigned (Peralta-Valera, 2014).

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44. Ciudad para Todos, 2009.
 45. Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, 2010.
 46. Acosta García et al., 2014: 134.
 47. Acosta García et al., 2014: 134.
 48. Interview 12.
 49. Interviews 11, 12, 13, and 14.
 50. Cárabes, 2010.
 51. Jaliscoweb, 2010.
 52. Acosta García et al., 2014.
 53. Romo, 2011.
 54. Pre, 2011.
 55. Informador, 2010.
 56. ONU-Hábitat and SEDESOL, 2007.
 57. Montes et al., 2012.
 58. Gobierno de Guadalajara, 2017b.
 59. Gobierno de Guadalajara, 2017b.
 60. Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara, 2017.
 61. Fuentes Sotelo and Luna Ríos, 2017.
 62. Presidencia Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, 2012.
 63. Congreso del Estado de Jalisco, 2016.
 64. IMEPLAN, 2019b.
 65. An eligible participant had to be an inhabitant of the metro area, with a voting credential. If this had been open only to neighbors, it is possible that neighborhood opposition would have impacted the vote.
 66. Presupuesto Participativo, n.d.b.
 67. For US\$ values, local currency figures were converted using OECD's 2016 market exchange rate of 18.66.
 68. Presupuesto Participativo, n.d.a.
 69. Presupuesto Participativo, n.d.a.
 70. Interviews 9 and 11.
 71. Gobierno de Guadalajara, n.d., 2017a.
 72. Gobierno de Guadalajara, n.d.
 73. Interviews 9 and 11.
 74. MiBici, 2018.
 75. MiBici, 2018.
 76. IMEPLAN, 2015.
 77. IMEPLAN, 2016.
 78. *Guardian*, 2015.
 79. Interview 14.
 80. *Guadalajara Reporter*, 2017.
 81. Interviews 7 and 13.
 82. Interviews 1, 3, and 7.
 83. Interviews 7, 9, and 12.
 84. Hernández Fuentes, 2018.
 85. Interview 10.
 86. Presupuesto Participativo, n.d.a.
 87. IMEPLAN, 2016.
 88. Guadalajara is a member of the Open Government Partnership, which provides an international platform for domestic reformers committed to making their governments more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens. See Open Government Partnership, n.d.
 89. A sunshine ordinance is typically an ordinance to ensure easier access to public records and open meeting laws and can also be triggered by development projects of a certain size.
 90. Alatorre-Rodríguez, 2013.

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