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FRAMEWORKS FOR URBAN CONSERVATION: SOCIAL EQUALITY THROUGH HOUSING TENURE IN MEXICAN HISTORIC CITIES. CASES OF MEXICO CITY AND GUADALAJARA

BY

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Declaration

I, Monica Esperanza Lopez Franco confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature

Date: 01/07/2021

Abstract

Since the mid-2000's Mexico City's local authorities sought to develop and implement an urban conservation-based Management Plan (2011) for the historic centre, a similar process was pursued for Guadalajara's historic centre through the Partial Plan (2017). These instruments have aimed to shift from a national monument-centred agenda to follow recent UNESCO instruments that seek to integrate heritage and urban planning with the aim to ensure social and urban equality across existing and prospective residents. But with local authorities' limited capacity, this shift has resulted in local planning instruments that promote urban renewal and market-based housing development agendas. The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments for historic centres have achieved social equality by ensuring housing tenure security.

This research took a cross-sectional two-case study with a predominantly qualitative lens for a mixed-method approach to develop in-depth knowledge of similarities and differences across the cases, which function under national legislation but are driven by local agendas. Based on a Discursive Analysis framework, 46 semi-structured interviews were conducted as primary data sources, focusing on key officers, academics, and residents across both cities. National legislation for heritage conservation, planning and housing as well as local planning instruments were analysed to pin-down key strategies. From this, the practices of dominant discourses to address each historic centre were located within spatial transformation and housing development processes in contexts that have complex social urban dynamics.

Following a conscientious qualitative analysis of the collected data, the main findings of this thesis suggest historic centres are repositioned as commodified urban contexts with cultural value where a market-dominant housing agenda is articulated and promoted. This thesis argues that the combination of stagnant heritage conservation policies and deficient institutional capacity has increased a disproportionate private sector reliance. Thus, producing diminished housing tenure opportunities for low-income groups. The effects of this have been

experienced at urban and housing levels by existing communities. This leaves room for non-exclusionary urban conservation approaches within planning instruments to ensure more inclusive housing agendas and outcomes.

Impact Statement

This research used empirical and primary data from the historic centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara to assess the extent to which urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments promoted social equality through housing security. By looking at the planning system of each historic centre it was possible to evaluate urban conservation approaches and housing security outcomes. The findings are expected to influence and promote more holistic planning for historic centres. Specifically, heritage conservation, planning, and housing institutions in each historic centre are expected to benefit from the evaluation and concepts in this thesis to move towards the delivery of integrated holistic agendas and strategies:

- Heritage conservation institutions such as INAH, Secretary of Culture, etc.;
- Urban development local bodies that produce the planning agendas;
- Housing institutions such as INVI (Mexico City) and INMUVI (Guadalajara)

Moreover, the findings in this thesis provide research examples located in the global south to expand existing knowledge in planning studies and provide a wider range of experiences and practices to encourage new discussions. This will further inform evolving international (UNESCO), national, regional, and local conceptual and empirical planning literature, methodologies, and practices for historic places in Mexico, Latin America and elsewhere.

Publications based on the findings, methodology and concepts developed in this research will be disseminated in academic and non-academic journals in the English-speaking world. However, dissemination in Spanish-speaking academic and non-academic journals will be sought to directly contribute to Mexican knowledge and practices. The aim of this research is to provide a new set of conceptual, methodological, and practice-oriented evaluative tools to positively impact policy-making processes as well as discourse and practices for historic centres. Future research based on this thesis and collaborations with local authorities and universities to promote these tools will also be fostered to help to produce more holistic urban environments that impact local communities in a positive manner.

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For my mom and my grandma.
My light and my strength.

Abbreviations in Thesis

AHCMC	- Authority for the Historic Centre (Mexico City)	Instrument
CCJ	- Civil Code of Jalisco	Instrument
CCN	- Creative Cities Network (UNESCO)	Title
CCMC	- Civil Code of Mexico City	Instrument
CDC	- Creative Digital City	Project
	(in Spanish 'Ciudad Creativa Digital', CCD)	
CONAVI	- Housing National Commission	Institution
COPARMEX	- Employers' Confederation of Mexico	Institution
COPLAUR	- Urban Planning Commission	Institution
DC	- Deterioration Challenges (abandonment, dereliction, decay, underuse and unsafety)	Abbreviation
DO	- Developer Owner	Abbreviation
FCC	- Federal Civil Code	Instrument
	(in Spanish 'Código Civil Federal')	
FOVISSTE	- Fund for Housing of the Institute for Social Security and Services of State Workers	Institution
GDL	- Guadalajara	Abbreviation
GG	- Government of Guadalajara	Institution
GM	- Government of Mexico	Institution
GMA	- Guadalajara Metropolitan Area	Abbreviation
GMC	- Government of Mexico City	Institution
HUL	- Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation (UNESCO)	Instrument
INAH	- National Institute for Anthropology and History (in Spanish 'Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia)	Institution
INBA	- National Institute for the Beautiful Arts (in Spanish 'Instituto Nacional de las Bellas Artes')	Institution
INFONAVIT	- Institute for the National Housing Fund for Workers	Institution

INMUVI	- Municipal Institute for Housing	Institution
INVI	- Housing Institute	Institution
IO	- Individual Owner	Abbreviation
IPROVIPE	- Housing Promotion Institute	Institution
LCR	- Law for Cultural Rights (in Spanish 'Ley de Derechos Culturales')	Instrument
LHC	- Law for Heritage Conservation (in Spanish 'Ley Federal de Monumentos y Sitios Arqueologicos, Artisticos e Historicos', in English 'Federal Law for Monuments and Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Zones')	Instrument
LUD	- Law for Urban Development (in Spanish 'Ley General de Asentamientos Humanos, Ordenamiento Territorial y Desarrollo Urbano', in English 'General Law of Human Settlements, Territorial Order and Urban Development')	Instrument
LH	- Law for Housing (in Spanish 'Ley de Vivienda')	Instrument
MC	- Mexico City	Abbreviation
MP-11	- Management Plan for the Historic Centre of Mexico City 2011-2016; Management Plan 2011	Instrument
MP-17	- Management Plan for the Historic Centre of MC 2016-2022; Management Plan 2017	Instrument
MZ	- Monuments Zones	Title
NHP	- National Housing Programme (in Spanish 'Programa Nacional de Vivienda 2014')	Instrument
NUD	- National Urban Programme (in Spanish 'Programa Urbano Nacional')	Instrument
THC	- Trust for the Historic Centre (of Mexico City)	Institution
PIUEs	- Polygon of Special Urban Intervention	Abbreviation
PP-00	- Partial Programme of the Historic Centre of Mexico City 2000; Partial Programme, 2000	Instrument

PP-10	- Partial Programme of the Historic Centre of Mexico City 2010; Partial Programme, 2010	Instrument
PP-17	- Partial Plan for Urban Development 2017, with 2042 vision; Partial Plan 2017	Instrument
SEDUVI	- Secretary of Urban Development and Housing	Institution
SHP	- Secretary of Public Finance	Institution
OUV's	- Outstanding Universal Values	Abbreviation
VMMA	- Valley of Mexico Metropolitan Area	Abbreviation
WH	- World Heritage	Abbreviation
WHC	- World Heritage Convention (UNESCO)	Instrument
WHS	- World Heritage Site	Title
WHM	- World Heritage Monument	Title

1   Chapter 1 - Introduction

Historic centres within Latin American cities are under strain to address social and urban challenges as well as cultural value. Historic cities in developing countries such as Mexico face challenges due to rapid urbanisation and social spatial inequalities (UNESCO, 2016: 121). This follows a global tendency towards concentrated urban growth, thus historic cities are under high pressure to function at every level while conserving their historic legacy (UN, 2014: 01; Cidre, 2004: 284). Although urban conservation has been used as a holistic approach to address planning of historic places (Bandarin, 2019), housing market investment-oriented strategies to ensure urban conservation has resulted in exclusionary housing access and security structures. Market-oriented governance agendas for historic places are increasingly assessed in relation to housing access and displacement implications (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010), yet more studies are needed.

Urban conservation is central to this research as it focuses on community, urban and national identity that participates directly with social, political, and economic changes (Logan, 2012: 256). This approach has been promoted to produce planning agendas for historic places that integrate social and economic development goals, especially since the Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (HUL) (UNESCO, 2011). Many local governments where historic places with World Heritage Site (WHS) designation have been encouraged by UNESCO to shift from tourism-centred planning to urban conservation-oriented planning agendas and instruments. Furthermore, this approach is permeating to the planning of non-WHS historic places, as an alternative to tourism-centred approaches that attracted investment and resulted in processes of displacement (Opillard, 2017: 138).

Notably, urban conservation has been undertaken within urban renewal agendas and strategies for historic places. This research focuses on urban renewal through small-scale placemaking interventions in places where varying levels of deterioration and diminished investment has taken place, as also previously

studied by Fincher et al. (2016). Strategic urban interventions are here positioned as integral to urban renewal agendas for historic places. Yet to achieve this, a shift in local governance approaches to plan and manage historic centres increasingly relies on the private sector and has produced negative outcomes for low-income residents. For instance, in Latin America and elsewhere urban conservation through strategic urban renewal planning has not sufficiently fulfilled social needs such as equal provision of housing (UNESCO, 2016: 122).

To understand urban conservation through urban renewal planning at the local level and its effects on residential dynamics, it is important to acknowledge the partial understandings of 'universal' values that do not sufficiently address all local contexts (Logan, 2001: 51-2; Ashworth and Larkham, 1994: 01). Urban conservation and renewal planning have developed under European and North American theories and experiences that have become global approach models (Robinson, 2011: 04; Roy, 2009: 820). In Latin America, international heritage conservation and planning approaches have been mobilised to develop strategies, frameworks, and revised governance structures to ensure urban conservation through urban renewal (UNESCO, 2016: 118). For this, public-private governance structures are increasingly sought to achieve an inner-city urban agenda.

However, institutional capacity limitations have resulted in increased reliance on the private sector, which has enabled the mobilization of housing market agendas that do not necessarily produce benefits for local communities (Labadi, 2013: 111). Therefore, processes of social spatial displacement ensued from these planning approaches contrast with international social urban objectives (UNESCO, 2016: 169). Hence, this research calls for planning concepts and practices to be considered as lessons to not be mimicked but studied, especially when considering a gap in knowledge transference processes among places with difficult governance contexts and structures (Roy, 2009: 828). Consequently, this research adds to a wider set of global understandings, which must be considered within international conceptual frameworks (Logan, 2001: 53-4).

This research studies to what extent UNESCO titles have influenced urban conservation planning of historic centres in Mexico and their impact on residential dynamics. Local planning of historic centres has been influenced at the national level through UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (WHC), which has situated historic centres as separate entities from their wider urban landscape (Garcia Espinoza, 2008: 81). Continuing this, although the historic centres of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) have different UNESCO titles and urban conservation agendas, they share common aims for urban renewal and a reactivated housing market within historic centres. This thesis examines the residential outcomes of urban conservation-based strategic urban renewal of historic centres and the asymmetries in housing tenure and access structures for different types of residential groups. This points to urban commodification processes that exclude local populations (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010). Furthermore, this has been especially highlighted for poorer nations that depend on income generated through different types of investment in cultural landscapes (Labadi and Long, 2010: 06).

According to recent urban and housing Mexican legislation, inner-city housing is an increasingly strong agenda for local planning instruments, yet they do not ensure the possibility of housing access to all groups (Gonzalez Alcantara, 2016: 03), as established in the Right to Housing (CESR, 1991). This research asserts that strategic urban renewal of historic centres has encouraged housing market changes based on increased place value expectations and on prospective investment assumptions rather than a consideration of existing housing needs, as seen elsewhere (Raco, 2009: 153). Moreover, the cultural value of historic centres is based on the historic value of properties and seems to benefit property investors over traditional homeowners. Mexican historic cities benefit from Labadi's emphasis that urban conservation entails more than cultural objectives and should be ''regarded as an essential tool for making concrete the global objective of sustainable development at the economic, social and environmental level'' (2016: 153). Urban conservation planning is thus far more complex than initially assumed (Bantacur, 2008: 06).

This research will examine and assess how urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments have achieved social equality through housing tenure security in the Mexican historic centres of MC and GDL. This research aims to develop in-depth knowledge of the ways in which urban conservation frameworks have shaped housing provision processes and promoted or hindered social equality in cities.

Research Question:

To what extent are urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico promoting social equality in relation to housing security?

The main question is supported by three sub-questions:

1. To what extent are UNESCO heritage conservation values informing urban conservation and housing policies within urban renewal agendas for historic centres in Mexican cities?

2. To what extent have urban renewal approaches and strategies implementation processes integrated social equality objectives for historic centres?

3. How have different spatial and normative urban conservation within urban renewal approaches impacted housing tenure security in historic centres?

The main question intends to investigate urban conservation frameworks within urban renewal agendas for the historic centres of MC and GDL and their influence on housing tenure access and security for existing and incoming residents. This research aims to assess values and frameworks that inform practices for urban conservation. Social equality values are considered as parameters to provide new forms of understandings and sets of tools to integrate housing tenure considerations into conservation planning. The hypothesis is that urban conservation frameworks within instruments for historic centres do not sufficiently provide housing options and residential security to ensure more socially equal historic centres. To do this, a social phenomenon is analysed through a qualitative case study research (Yin, 2009: 09). An exploratory research question structure is used to address social urban events as they occurred over time between 2008-2019 to provide insights into relevant events (Pp. 10).

Each sub-question is then designed to address a different aspect that is considered as significant to provide different insights helpful to answer the main research question. As such, the cognitive analysis of policy-making and their implementation from diverse lines of knowledge at the local level can provide new paradigms for traditional urban conservation social spatial assumptions and practices (Brenner and Schmid, 2015: 160). This research aims to encourage the development of alternative urban conservation planning agendas ''and ways of thinking to take centre stage'' (Raco, 2009: 163). This considers how the global cultural cross-fertilisation of practices and values recraft and inform the development of local frameworks to provide a new scope of global experiences (Delanty, 2011: 646).

This thesis is divided in 9 chapters, within a structure that follows introduction, theoretical discussions, methodological approach, context analysis, empirical chapters, research discussion and conclusion. After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides a theoretical background through a review of relevant literature. Theoretical debates on urban conservation and urban renewal, place meaning and discursive representations, governance and policy mobilisation, and spatial and housing tenure discussions are explored. This chapter examines the shift from heritage conservation to urban conservation and how this is being implemented at the urban level through small-scale placemaking interventions within urban renewal agendas. Importantly, UNESCO values and frameworks have been key to shape local historic place meaning, value, and significance assessments, yet until recently focus has been placed on non-residential dynamics such as tourism. Therefore, governance models and policy objectives for historic place are assessed to understand how housing is addressed and undertaken within them. Discourse is shown as key to shape certain knowledge formation and implementation processes in historic place assessments, frameworks, and practice.

Following this, Chapter 3 presents the methodological framework and research design, research methods, and different stages of research development to answer the main research question. Discourse Analysis informed by Foucault

and Hajer's views is established as the main methodological framework. The historic centres of MC and GDL are established as sites of argumentation that contain and produce social dynamics, which continually shape and are shaped by discursive configurations in policy and dominant discourse. Within this qualitative structural framework, a separate framework to answer each sub-question is presented and explained. The data collection strategy and analytical process is laid out. Following this, research validity and reliability, researcher positionality, ethical considerations and research limitations are set out.

Chapter 4 lays out the context for national heritage conservation, urban development, and housing legislations as well as the local urban, institutional and policy contexts of the historic centres of MC and GDL. The national context is the foundation under which both historic centres have been addressed and developed. To understand the 2008-2019 period this research is focused on, the context of each historic centre as well as heritage and planning instruments formation and housing agendas are explored. Moreover, the international-national and international-local relationships are established. Although other bodies are mentioned UNESCO is the main focus, as its conventions and recommendations have directly influenced national and local concepts and approaches to historic centres.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the empirical chapters and contain the analysis of the empirical data collected for this research to answer each sub-question. Chapter 5 aims to answer the first research sub-question by bringing together official definitions and cognitive descriptions to understand the role of selective narratives to mobilise place visions and lay the foundation for social urban change. Discourse within the planning instruments for each case study are analysed to understand the conceptual and spatial definitions of historic centres in relation to heritage conservation, urban development and housing aims. Perception is also addressed as a significant shaping tool for place significance and prospective place visions. Chapter 6 responds the second sub-research question by analysing the public space as a commodified landscape to enable new social urban dynamics. This chapter focuses on the selection of social spatial units to address social urban challenges in relation to social equality objectives

and housing market reactivation agendas. The Regina and Mezquitan Cultural Corridors in each historic centre are studied as sites that assert and produce discourse and the implications of this for local communities is analysed. Chapter 7 aims to respond the third sub-research question by considering the impact changing housing structures in relation to the market agenda have had on tenure processes for historic centres residents. The changes in housing tenure access and security are assessed in dominant and residents' discourses to assess changes in the housing market and its impacts. Market rent is increasingly promoted and adopted, breaking from traditional homeownership structures to establish formal and costly housing options for reconfigured residential structures.

Chapter 8 brings together theoretical, methodological, and contextual strands of knowledge to discuss the research findings within the empirical chapters. This chapter focuses on the implications of urban conservation planning through urban renewal agendas on housing tenure security and residential displacement from historic centres. Through the different themes found in this research, three main discussions are developed to build on a central argument. Each sub-question is reconsidered and answered to present findings that can expand theoretical discussions and provide new possibilities for further research. Finally, Chapter 9 sets out the research conclusions, recommendations and future research aims. A consideration of the implications of this research and future research for historic centres in Mexico and Latin America but also historic places in other contexts such as Europe are made.

The data attained for this research was predominantly in Mexican Spanish. Policy documents, interviews, and other data were thus translated into UK English. This was done in a careful way by the author to approximate the original meaning of words and statements. Because terms and expressions are context-determined and not easily translatable into a different context and language, some terms were explained to convey initial meaning and purpose. In some cases, terms or names of institutions or legislations were simplified after the full name was given.

2 Chapter 2 – Theoretical Background

2.1 <u>Introduction</u>

"Preservation of urban heritage should not be seen as an "alternative" to urban growth, but, on the contrary, as an integral part of a city development strategy that requires – to be successful – a full understanding of the cultural values of each place."
(Bandarin, 2019: 04)

This chapter explores theoretical debates on urban conservation, place meaning and discourse, governance and policy structures, and housing inequality. This provides the basis to assess the research question and sub-questions. Moreover, this presents a better understanding of how urban conservation concepts and urban renewal agendas have shaped housing tenure equality in historic places. Figure 2-1 conveys the structure of this chapter and the main discussions within each section and the connections between them to drive the main argument.

In the first section, urban conservation is positioned by different heritage conservation sources as an integrative planning approach that moves away from approaches focused solely on heritage monuments. An encompassing review of meaning, value and assessments and approaches through urban conservation is key. Urban renewal is positioned as an urban conservation strategy to mobilise political agendas and private investment expectations. The second section explores place meaning and discursive representations. This is useful to understand how historic places are defined and approached. Moreover, the role of knowledge as a power tool to shape social urban meaning and realities is established. The third section looks at urban governance structures for bounded historic places. It also considers the policy dimension to mobilise internationally formed 'good' place visions. This section highlights the role of the local context to integrate concepts and address social urban challenges. Finally, the last section examines social justice approaches in planning to assess housing tenure security and social displacement processes in historic places. Normative social justice and right to housing notions are explored to position the implications of place

branding and housing market approaches to ensure social equality in commodified places with historic and cultural value.

Figure 2-1. Theoretical Background Chapter Matrix
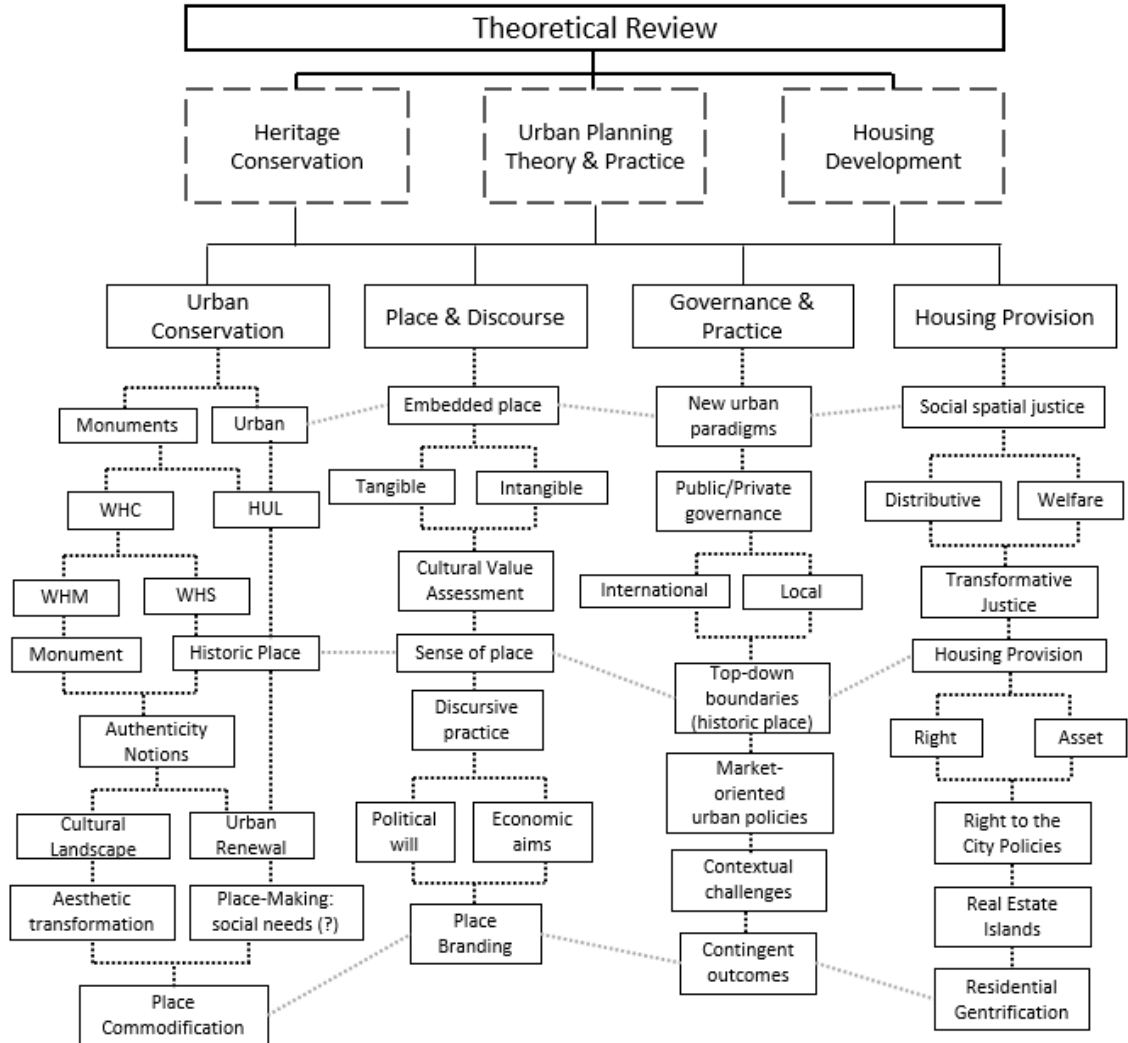
Source: Author

2.2 The Role of Heritage. The Historic Centre as an Urban Cultural Object

2.2.1 Urban Conservation: Concept, Significance and Value

Urban conservation is described by Bandarin and Van Oers (2012) as a concept that is informed by the many past approaches to preserve the urban heritage yet moves towards a wider social, urban, and environmental purpose (Pp. 15). From this description, urban conservation is positioned as part of its broader urban

landscape. In recent decades, academic discussions establish that 'urban conservation' is ''more than just monuments and restoration work'' (Cidre, 2004: 295). Importantly, urban conservation has been evolving as an umbrella concept to refer to a wide variety of urban heritage conservation activities that entail different social spatial processes (Rodwell, 2007: 7; Araoz, 2011: 54).

Urban conservation has its origins in the practice of restoration and conservation of singular symbolic buildings in Europe after the French Revolution and World Wars I and II in the 20th century (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 01). Moreover, ''the emergence of the notion of 'heritage' is linked to the establishment of modern nation states and the need to define their own traditions and identities'' (Pp. 01). This was institutionalised globally in the second half of the 20th century with the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1946) and the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 1965). These institutions have provided significant and influential frameworks to mobilise the ''conservation of historic urban centres'' (ICOMOS, 1966: 33). They have produced tools to evaluate cultural, social, and economic growth at a local and national levels, as well as alternatives to modernisation's extensive and unplanned urban expansionist destruction of historic places (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012: 37; UNESCO, 1972: 1).

Importantly, UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (WHC, 1976), with its Operational Guidelines, and the World Heritage List (WHL, 1972), remain key global heritage conservation frameworks. They aim to promote and preserve historic monuments and sites within a conscribed socio-cultural universal value framework (Frey, 2010: 18). The WHC set forward the notion of Outstanding Universal Values (OUV) so cultural and natural heritage would ''be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole'' (UNESCO, 1976: 02). OUV further established places or monuments of 'exceptional cultural significance' as universally relevant (UNESCO, 1976: 11). Labadi (2005) considered the development of the Convention and List responded to a moment in time when a suitable international system to protect sites of universal value needed to be developed and applied (Pp. 30).

Labadi produced a four-value typology assessment to examine UNESCO's OUV through an in-depth cross-cultural and multi-level analysis of UNESCO documents and frameworks. The OUV are important operational tools that have informed heritage significance notions and approaches for historic places (Pp. 85, 88). Labadi identified social, architectural-aesthetic, economic, and informational values as the main categories within the OUV framework (Pp. 88). These four categories assert cultural significance and represent the main lines of development for World Heritage Sites (WHS) nomination and designation (Pp. 89). This assessment reflects a monument-based framework, which has shaped heritage conservation globally for many decades. National and local approaches in different places with different social, cultural, urban, and economic characteristics have thus been connected to an international value system.

Labadi's four-value OUV assessment provides a helpful structure to identify key values in different UNESCO and ICOMOS frameworks that are frequently used for heritage and urban conservation in the Mexican context. Architectural-aesthetic, Economic and Social values are relevant to this research (the 'Informational' value is relevant but not of central interest here). After the present researcher revised an array of UNESCO, ICOMOS as well as academic literature, some values across different instruments became more evidently dominant than others. This was helpful to understand how heritage conservation notions have evolved toward urban conservation notions, and thus a different understanding of historic places. Figure 2-1 provides an overview of 18 selected UNESCO and ICOMOS instruments[1] according to architectural-aesthetic, economic and/or social values predominant in each document.

Figure 2-1 shows the dominance of aesthetic (blue), economic (green) and/or social (orange) values within UNESCO and ICOMOS instruments between 1960 and 2010, as well as recent academic literature to evidence the gradual shift toward social values. The aesthetic value, mainly concerned with aesthetic-monumental aspects, has held considerable acknowledgement especially until the 1990s (UNESCO, 1962, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1982, 1982, 2003, 2011; ICOMOS 1964, 1966, 1975, 1987, 1994, 1999, 2008, 2011). The economic value has been

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[1] See Appendix 1 for full list of UNESCO and ICOMOS instruments and values assessment

closely linked to the aesthetic value and is considered an intrinsic and essential driver for urban conservation of historic places (UNESCO, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1982, 2001, 2003, 2011; ICOMOS 1966, 1975, 1987, 1999, 2009, 2011). Finally, there is a gradual incorporation of the social value overtime towards more integrated approaches (UNESCO, 1976, 1982, 2001, 2003, 2011; ICOMOS, 1981, 2008, 2011). The 'Nara Document' (1994) is consistently referred to as a significant to mobilise a shift in urban conservation frameworks towards more holistic approaches (Labadi, 2010: 71). Yet further steps are needed to fully integrate social considerations that sufficiently balance aesthetic and economic values, which are mostly reliant on tourism economies (Schneider, 2001; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012; Labadi, 2005; Watson, 2009; Labadi & Long, 2010; Colomb & Novi, 2017).

Figure 2-2. Value Type Assessments
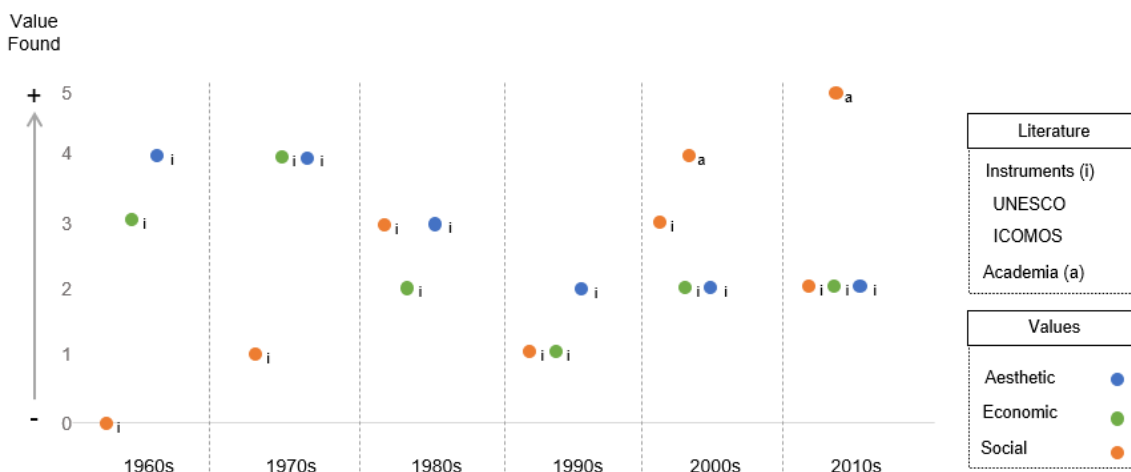
Source: Author

Schneider (2001) considers the Revitalisationist approach, as focused on socially-centred urban visions for historic places, is gaining field over Aesthetic and Monumentalist[2] approaches for singular or grouped structures (Pp. 260). This is important as traditional heritage conservation values within outdated social structures unavoidably exclude low-income people within historic places (Pp. 265-6). There is need for new operational approaches that integrate social aims within urban conservation away from hegemonic objectives (Pp. 264, 266).

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[2] He considers these as the three main urban conservation approaches.

The Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation (HUL) is an appropriate tool that departs from monument or building site-based notions in favour of the historic urban area/city (2011: 05):

''Urban conservation is not limited to the preservation of single buildings. It views architecture as but one element of the overall urban setting, making it a complex and multifaceted discipline. By definition, then, urban conservation lies at the very heart of urban planning.''

This shift suggests a significant distance from initial heritage conservation's monumental value conceptions for monuments, groups of buildings and sites (1972: art.1). Logan asserts UNESCO's WHC framework was derived from a modernist intention to establish an 'universalist' system of ''ideas and practices that could be applied around the world regardless of differences in local cultures'' (2001: 52). However, historic places as approached through a universalist WHC framework can no longer address current and evolving social, cultural, economic, and urban challenges (UNESCO, 2011). Logan highlights a postmodern relativist position has called for the equal inclusion of more experiences and voices (2001: 54). Watson (2009) further encourages distance from unifying aesthetics, efficiency, and economic development institutional heritage conservation approaches (Pp. 2261). This shift is yet to be acknowledged for Latin American historic centres, where international modernist values have translated into local economic development agendas (Colomb & Novi, 2017: 11).

Approaches to historic places must reflect ''processes that drive physical, social, environmental, and economic transition and they themselves [as] prime generators of many such changes'' (Roberts and Sykes, 2000:9). Thus, no historic city can be expected to remain fully intact, as places change with society itself and will continue to do so naturally (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: XIX). The HUL Recommendation recognises urban conservation as an essential part of urban planning to integrate cultural heritage with social and economic development goals (UNESCO, 2011: art.22). This positions urban conservation as an intellectual process in practice to address the past and future of the social urban formation (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: xii).

The HUL Recommendation has produced a toolkit[3] to approach urban conservation that is in line with Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2017) (Pereira Roders, 2019: 43-4). This toolkit has been translated into different languages and gradually integrated into different national and local frameworks. The UNESCO Report of the Second Consultation on its Implementation (2019) shows that Western European and North American States (group 1) are the most engaged in this process (Pp. 06). Latin America and the Caribbean States countries[4] (group 3) are the third most engaged region (Pp. 06). Within this region, the highest level of engagement and integration was shown in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador while the lowest in Panama and Dominican Republic. Mexico is shown to have strong heritage preservation policies but low urban conservation and planning integration. This shows procedural differences between countries to implement a shift from heritage to urban conservation.

The HUL Recommendation has set forward a new urban heritage conservation approach. Yet, overall, it is evident that there have been stronger operational tools for aesthetic and economic values as established by the WHC's OUVs. These values have encouraged the visitation and touristic value of the historic place as separate urban entities with distinct value systems from cities. Urban conservation as a holistic approach has the potential to reintegrate historic areas into their urban context. However, this is a gradual process within national and local agendas in different parts of the world.

2.2.2 Place-making, Renewal and Commodification Processes for Urban Conservation

It is generally acknowledged that urban conservation can be initiated as renewal and regeneration processes (Bentacur, 2014: 5). These processes have been initiated through strategic small-scale interventions to gradually renovate the wider urban landscape (Fincher et al., 2016: 519). Place-based approaches have emerged to address urban conservation of the historic place, rather than the

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[3] Four main tools: 1. Civic engagement, 2. Knowledge and planning, 3. Regulatory systems, 4. Financial tools (Pereira Roders, 2019: 43-4)
[4] Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Peru and Venezuela

monument and its surrounding context. Moreover, historic place-oriented agendas have been promoted as economically viable ''long-term social practices in place-making'' alternative to urban expansions (Bandarin, 2019: 04-5).

Place-making is as a container approach to address urban challenges by bringing equal focus to ''inhabitants, buildings, streets and activities'' to empower communities within regeneration processes (Burgess, 1979: 318; Andres, 2013: 772). However, Fincher et al. consider place-making is an ''ambiguous and intangible concept that is ill-defined'' and has been broadly used to create ''new visions for urban space[s]'' (2016: 519). This view has been held more widely in urban studies literature (Shaw & Montana, 2016; Tasan-Kok & Ozogul, 2018). Moreover, place-making strategies have been accompanied by Right to the City discourses to focus on initiatives for the public space (Pp. 518, 520; further discussed in section 2.4.2). This suggests a dominant focus on public spaces within imbalanced agendas that do not sufficiently satisfy different community needs which are sought to be addressed.

Significantly, the community tool presented by the HUL approach is linked to key place-making aims such as ''belonging, meaning, attachment, inclusiveness and community'' (Fincher et al., 2016: 518). Thus, it is possible to integrate place-making and urban conservation aims to produce a holistic approach for historic places. Hence, place-making as a broad concept and approach has also widely functioned as an urban renewal strategy. Place-making is continually linked to urban renewal models as examples to be replicated across local contexts or cities (Pp. 518-9).

In this research, urban regeneration practices are approached under the umbrella term of 'urban renewal'. These processes range ''from the demolition of the inner-city walls to the opening of new squares and avenues'' (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 5). Roberts and Sykes (2000) position urban regeneration to address contextual capabilities that respond to ''the opportunities and challenges […] presented by urban degeneration'' (Pp. 9). Therefore, the regeneration of an area implies a strategic long-term social purpose (Pp. 18). Yet, often, urban renewal initiatives tend to focus on physical rehabilitation of buildings or the built

landscape (Pp. 86). This is described as common processes within market-oriented frameworks that reflect urban economic strains and institutional conflict of interests (Martinez Yanez, 2012: 178).

In principle, urban renewal of historic centres is set to tackle degradation by addressing social urban challenges within a ''particular place at a specific moment in time'' (Roberts and Sykes, 2000: 9). Urban renewal approaches are positioned as ''an essential tool for making concrete the global objective of sustainable development at the economic, social and environmental level'' (Pickard, 2016: 153). These approaches have been implemented to ensure maximum beneficial use of land in many European historic areas to counteract urban sprawl and inner-city degradation (Roberts and Sykes, 2000: 13). In Latin America inner-city renewal is increasing as an alternative to urban sprawl, yet it focuses on aesthetic and market values over place-making aims (Betancur, 2014: 05). Jaimes Lopez points to the case of the historic centre of Bogota to highlight the existing negative social bias within urban renovation projects to focus on aesthetic rather than holistic approaches (2015: 75). Hence, in different contexts urban renewal strategies can be inductive approaches to selectively shape the urban environment physically and change the social landscape.

These processes have been associated with urban landscapes of ''sanitised places for the gaze of tourists that counterpart communities' needs'' (Labadi, 2016: 141). This can lead to urban beautification processes with specific focus on aesthetic-architectural values (Deben, Salet & Van Thoor, 2004: 7). This follows a traditional conservation focus to preserve monumental beauty as ''the chief object of tourists and for this reason constitutes an important contribution to the economy of a country'' (ICOMOS, 1966: 5). Yet this approach risks turning historic areas into market fields for tourists and select locals who can afford heritage commodification (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2004: 49). This has been addressed by Colomb and Novy (2017), who note tourism-centred approaches are used as economic ''passport[s] for development'' agendas (Pp. 11). This is seen to happen in all types of cities from Europe to Latin America, which creates critical challenges for sustainable urban development (UNESCO, 2016: 169).

Urban renewal approaches have been valuable to promote the reintegration of historic areas into social urban dynamics but they have also been controversial, especially when they are aimed for non-holistic market-based economic development (UNESCO, 2016: 170). Market approaches focused on tourism-centred development models have resulted in the increased commodification of historic places (Colomb & Novy, 2017: 11). Bandarin (2019) stresses historic places are often the focus of tourism-related cultural and economic activities and become ''pivots of urban development and urban marketing strategies'' (Pp. 04). Furthermore, Labadi and Long (2010) link marketisation processes to WHS titles ''as a form of tourism advertising strategy'' (Pp. 07). This has been echoed by academics who position the WHS title as a global project that promotes heritage sites as marketed iconic markers but where further community integrative mechanisms are needed (Askew, 2010: 33; Salazar, 2010: 130; Ost, 2018: 64).

Historic places may be approached as cultural assets or 'heritage products' for tourism consumption within a market-oriented governance framework (Labadi, 2016: 141). Furthermore, the WHS title may provide the foundation for a place branding strategy and select discursive constructs to 'produce' or (re)produce cultural places (Porter, 2016: 12). This suggests raised profile of cities due to international titles may derive in place branding agendas (Labadi, 2016: 139). Porter asserts that increasing tourism revenue is a sought outcome of place branding strategies but the key driver of branding programmes is to attract developers as investors (Pp. 41).

In this context, gentrification is an obvious consequence of conservationist renewal schemes (Labadi, 2016: 145). Rojas suggests gentrification entails the expulsion of vulnerable groups by newcomers may be difficult to prevent but it can be mitigated (2016: 246-7). The commodification of historic places as market assets in themselves is thus based on the inherent cultural value of heritage as a commercial resource (Opillard, 2017: 134, 143). The intrinsic top-down nature of the WHS designation thus sets the basis for pre-conscribed institutional approaches that result in an extractive model of the site as a monument-object rather than urban place with local communities. By focusing on the historic place as a cultural object, residents may be seen as problematic actors that have a

negative impact on place value (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010; Labadi and Long, 2010; Labadi, 2013).

While urban conservation-based renewal approaches conventionally focus on historic places inscribed on the WHS, urban renewal is also aimed at non-WHS places to promote urban, social, and economic restructuration processes. From WHS to non-WHS places, a model of heritage as a resource for tourism development is identified as an important source of income generation for poorer nations (Labadi and Long, 2010: 06). It can be argued that this model is embedded in national-local economic agendas where the historic place functions as a valuable financial asset. Place branding may be thus used as a discursive tool to renew impoverished historic places (Askew, 2010: 33). Thus, historic places, irrespective of their international recognition, are addressed through complex urban renewal and place marketisation agendas that strain holistic social urban needs and aims.

2.3   Place and Discourse. Place Meaning and Spatial Discursive Practice

2.3.1   The Historic 'Place': Integrating Spatial Layers and Place Visions

Theoretical notions of 'place' can be helpful to understand the extent of different spatial levels and approaches for historic places. Lombard (2014) points to 'place' as the material setting where ''people conduct their lives'' and an emotional attachment is developed (Pp. 11, quoting Cresswell, 2004). Cresswell (2004) further asserts 'place' is a complicated concept that can be simplified by its 'common-sense' appearance (Pp. 50). Cresswell's identification of three types of approaches to assess places (1. Descriptive, 2. Social constructionist, and 3. Phenomenological) is useful to position the approach in this research (Pp. 51). The constructionist approach is the most relevant as it is ''interested in the particularity of places but only as instances of more general underlying social processes''. Yet the phenomenology intention to ''define the essence of human existence as one that is necessarily and more importantly 'in-place''' is also relevant (Pp. 51). Therefore, in this research the context-based characteristics of

places as embedded in encompassing social processes yet determined by 'in-place' processes are considered.

Constructionist and phenomenological approaches are useful to position historic places as both socially produced and as holders of 'sense of place' value, which is important for place character discussions. However, this research integrates Hall's (2001) Foucauldian argument that objects don't just take meaning through discourse (constructionist), but that discourse is consistently producing knowledge and ''things-in-themselves'' (post-structuralism) (Pp. 73). In this understanding, 'place' is a representation of knowledge, and 'truth' a historicised discourse that is both *producing* and re*produced by* reality (Pp. 74). Thus, historic places and the spatial layers within them *produce* tangible and intangible processes (ie. place and sense of place) but are also being constantly *re-produced* by evolving knowledge and discourse. However, as Cresswell also points out, the different approaches ''should not be seen as discrete sets as there is clearly some overlap between them […] and [are] necessary to understand the full complexity of the role of place in human life'' (Pp. 51).

For the phenomenological approach, 'place' refers to place attachment or sense of place as ''constituting a vital source of individual cultural identity and security'' (Pp. 12). Therefore, place is a container of social urban dynamics and not a mere form and object that has been produced over time. Yet 'authentic' notions of a unique 'sense of place' can also be used as a strategic tool ''to attract and lure new people and finances'', which brand and commodify places (Fincher et al, 2016: 519). Cresswell (2004) warns ''it would be wrong to romanticize this sense of place as always rosy and 'homelike' […]. Some places are evil, oppressive and exploitative. But they are still the way we experience the world – through and in place.'' (Pp. 50). Thus, discursive notions of sense of place authenticity may, in fact, respond to pre-conceived place visions rather than place realities as they present themselves, for better or for worse.

In urban conservation literature, authenticity is linked to pre-constructed notions of the historic place (or monument) to assert sense of place (Alsalloum, 2019: 65). Sense of place is associated to differentiated notions of cultural identity, and

these notions are continuously linked to physical and non-physical characteristics. This enables selective narratives of what constitutes 'cultural' and 'traditional' places and communities. This has been questioned to include a wider array of understandings and approaches according to different contexts (Pereira Roders, 2019: 22). Yet Jaimes Lopez points to the importance of historic and ongoing local notions and visions to address places (2015: 75). Short points out that the understanding of the historic landscape is culture-based and its value is a construct that is ''perpetuated through the regulatory system of conservation planning'' (2020: 223)

For Fincher et al. sense of place is inherently linked in practice and theory to 'place' as an ideal but also as an 'event' beyond authenticity notions (2016: 522, citing Friedman, 2010; Cresswell, 2004; Massey, 2005). Therefore, places are ''constantly renewed and reconstituted'' according to context-based dynamics. Yet Fincher et al. also point to non-holistic physical strategies ''to improve the image of a place'' and assert place authenticity (Pp. 521, 520). However, as Carmona et al. point out, it is what constitutes a place over its meticulous theorisation or design that is more important to assess social urban challenges (2018: 03-4).

In conservation planning, the cultural value of historic places has been fostered as an urban differentiation device from the city to position the areas as unique cultural objects. In economic terms, the World Bank (2012) recognises heritage places as cultural assets with cultural capital value. Moreover, it acknowledges ''the ways in which heritage [place] investment contribute […] to the production of further cultural goods and services, job creation, and well-being of local communities'' (Rama, 2012: 21). Historic places thus largely continue to be regarded as cultural assets despite increasing calls for more integrated approaches (HUL, 2011; UN-Habitat, 2016).

While this research does not question the cultural value of historic places, it aims to understand the impact of the cultural asset value approach at the local social urban level. This assessment contemplates traditional planning of historic places as cultural assets has perpetuated strains to integrate separate heritage

conservation and urban development aims (Ikiz Kaya, 2019: 369). Yet historic places are also 'layered' dynamic places with diverse and ongoing urban, cultural, social, and economic activities and meanings (UNESCO, 2011: 01). To further understand this, the analysis of separate layers and urban scales that compose historic places is useful to evidence social and urban tensions created by a dominant cultural-object approach.

Madanipour's (2003) analysis of Altman's (1975) three 'forms of territory' is useful to identify and examine different 'layers' of space that compose the historic area (Pp. 50-2). Through a 'primary territory', 'secondary territory' and 'third territory' separation, Madanipour explores different levels of permeability through accessible or divisory spatial spheres (Pp. 70). 'Primary territory' is the highest division (ie. home, office), followed by 'secondary territory' (ie. school, museum, shops), and lastly by 'third territory' (ie. streets, parks) (Pp 50). The first territory is controlled by the occupant, the second is moderately controlled by the occupant and the third is where control ''is difficult to assert'' (Pp. 50). The three levels are applicable to any urban setting and provide meaningful insights into context-based social spatial dynamics.

The three layers of space will be used to identify the spatial levels within historic centres to understand different spatial dynamics and provide a deeper understanding of cultural and social values attached to each spatial level. For this research, the urban level or third territory is referred to as the 'public level', the selectively permeable second territory as 'semi-public/private level', and the enclosed primary territory as the 'private level'. Notably, Madanipour points to the interdependency of each 'sphere' and notes that, although separate, social urban dynamics continuously pass from one level to another and shape one another (Pp. 70). Each level will be briefly examined to provide an overview of their cultural meaning, value, and significance.

Porter (2016) argues cultural landscapes are constructed as brands through a diverse array of ''concepts, images, physical spaces and experiences of place'' (Pp. 06). The public level is made of place-specific elements reflected in streets, public spaces, and transit or leisure infrastructure that, in accumulation, form a

place's identity (Pp. 132). Through these elements, the public space as embedded in unique place identity is the basic 'entry point' into the historic landscape. A first-degree contact is experienced through aesthetic and physical characteristics, which are indicative of place value. However, the physical cultural landscape may convey place reinterpretations rather than contingent historically accumulated elements (Labadi, 2010: 72). Therefore, places can be constructed by the physical accumulation of patterns over time or by the re-creation of a place as envisioned and then re-produced (Porter, 2016: 132).

A second-degree 'entry' level lies in collective buildings or spaces of assessed significance that can provide organic or curated experiences of 'place'. Monuments in historic areas have traditionally been the principal focus, as cultural resources that encase historic, aesthetic and/or social significance (Rojas, 2016: 235; Starr, 2013: 07). Monuments are assessed as different types of single or grouped structures within a value assessment framework that can be linked to UNESCO's OUV framework (Labadi, 2010: 74). However, it has been argued that focus on 'significant monuments' has enabled urban beautification processes distanced from social urban integrative approaches (Rojas, 2016: 235; Labadi, 2016: 141). Primary focus on high-value buildings has resulted in aesthetic historic place approaches that focus on the 'imageability' or quality in the physical object to evoke intended images in the observer (Lynch, 1960: 09). Generally, monuments are under the jurisdiction of national or local institutions that dictate social urban codes of conduct in favour of the monument.

Finally, the private level is linked to private properties, many of which ''would not qualify for protection on their own merits […] but taken collectively have enough character to be a recognizable feature of the intervention area" (Rama, 2012: 47). Pereira Roders considers a monuments-based approach is ''insufficient and exclusive'' and it opens space for selective neglect that is not integrative of a wider set of values (2019: 22). While private property in historic places can refer a to range of residential, cultural, religious, or institutional assets (as seen in Vileikis et al., 2019: 183), in this research it is here used to refer to user-controlled residential properties. Housing conveys one of the most private levels of spatial ownership in historic places. Moreover, residential dynamics may be linked to

sense of place, as housing contains and permeates local populations' spatial, cultural, and economic dynamics (Rama, 2012: 68).

Each spatial level conveys different tangible and intangible features of public, semi-public/private and private levels that give character and cultural value to historic places. The culture-object or monumental approach intrinsically focuses on the public and semi-public/private levels. However, the private level is increasingly integrated as part of a fluid integrative approach for urban conservation frameworks. This acknowledges social urban dynamics derived from housing and local communities. Therefore, monumental approaches need revision, as their focus may be inherently limited to tourism and transient flows of people (Colomb & Novy, 2017: 11).

Elsewhere, place nostalgia and pre-constructed ideals of place are considered strong components in multi-layered place-based approaches (Burgess, 1979: 319; Fincher et al., 2016: 519). Bentacur (2014) asserts it is through nostalgic hegemonic conservation notions that historic centres in Mexican cities have been planned for urban conservation and renewal (Pp. 05). This supports Porter's notion that a nostalgic idea of authenticity and 'place' may be more closely linked to place re-creation than conservation of public and semi-public/private spaces (2016: 156). However, this suggests a disproportional focus on physical fabric aesthetic features to assert cultural place significance that do not sufficiently acknowledge social encounters and 'person-environment relationships' across spatial levels (Madanipour, 2003: 25, 32). This produces processes of social displacement of people attached to a cultural sense of place, which may be irreversibly completely altered or lost (Rama, 2012: 45).

2.3.2 Discourse as Shaping Force: Knowledge, Power and Assimilation Processes

The analysis of the different spatial layers allows for the understanding of places as constantly produced realities that begin with the spatialisation of the self (Madanipour, 2003: 22). In conservation planning, a 'place' is often based on pre-conceived ideas rooted in past nostalgia or future visions that shape and are

shaped through discursive practices. This is supported by the transference, assimilation, and implementation of different forms of knowledge within local narratives. Therefore, place is an '' 'event' rather than a secure ontological thing rooted in notions of the authentic'' that is marked by ''openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence'' (Cresswell: 2004: 40). Thus, space becomes a place from the 'meaning' attached to it, or as Cresswell put it: ''as a space that is given meaning by being 'made' into something'' (Pp. 05).

Place meaning-making processes can be directly linked to discursive practices as meaning-making processes inextricable from language (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001: 03). Wu and Hou (2015) take on Gee's (2005) conception of two layers of discourse ('discourse' and 'Discourse') to refer to 'language-in-action' and 'ways of viewing the world' (Pp. 37-8). Wu and Hou associate the first with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and the second to a Foucauldian approach. (Pp. 38). This separates text-based and practice-based aspects of discourse analysis. Alba-Juez (2009) asserts Foucauldian Discourse Analysis embarks on a more holistic analysis beyond purely linguistic constraints (Pp. 08).

Foucauldian discourse analysis is acknowledged to be inherently based on meaning-making processes and knowledge-power relations (Pp. 38). Hall (2001) poses that although ''physical things and actions exist, […] they only take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse'' (Pp. 73). Thus, ''knowledge linked to power not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to *make itself true*'' (Pp. 76). Hence, discourse is not limited to text and language, but is extended to spatial discursive practices. Discourse ceases from being a merely linguistic concept and becomes a social spatial practice, which as ''all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do'' (Pp. 72).

Wu and Hou (2015) point to heritage as an inherently discursive construct and practice ''through which the nation-state establishes collective identity, gains political legitimacy and educates the citizenry'' (Pp. 40). Through this, ''different group interests and modern ideologies deploy narratives, [types of] knowledge, imaginations, technologies and so forth to make and remake heritage in ways

that forge, maintain and perpetuate the relations of power'' (Pp. 40). Therefore, places with heritage value are inherently linked to notions associated and assigned to them, as discursive practices that strengthen some strands of knowledge over others. 'Historic centre' discourses are linked to dominant narratives that respond to deeply set views informed by selective notions.

Hall (2001) asserts that for Foucault knowledge/power relationships ''operated within what he calls institutional apparatus and its technologies (techniques)'' (Pp. 75). For the 'apparatus' different linguistic and non-linguistic techniques or elements such as architectural arrangements, policies, laws, statements, philosophic propositions, etc. are used to represent knowledge (Pp. 75). Moreover, 'truth' is not as important as ''whether and in what circumstances knowledge is to be applied or not'' to assess effectiveness of power/knowledge relationships (Pp. 76). Cresswell (2004) notes it ''is not so much a quality of things in the world but an aspect of the way we choose to think about it – *what we decide to emphasize and what we decide to designate as unimportant*'' (Pp. 11, italics by researcher).

Deleuze (1986) builds on Foucault's power-knowledge relation as overlapping forces that shape reality processes under a specific context and moment in time (Pp. 11). Knowledge is composed of ''formed matters and formalised functions'' according to the conditions ''of speaking and seeing'' (Pp. 61). Separately, power ''passes not so much through forms as through particular points which on each occasion mark the application of a force, the action or reaction to a force in relation to others'' (Pp. 61-2). Therefore, the implementation of knowledge is dependent upon diffuse yet dominant power-relations that respond to a selected set of objectives (Pp. 62). It is between the process of knowledge transference and the power which applies it that new realities develop:

''… a gap or disjunction opens up, but this disjunction of form is the place – or 'non-place' as Foucault puts it – where the informal diagram is swallowed up and becomes embodied instead in two different directions that are necessarily divergent and irreducible. The concrete assemblages are therefore opened up by a crack that determines how the abstract machine performs.'' (Deleuze, 1986: 32)

Thus, the process to produce new social spatial paradigms and realities stems from the concrete and abstract ideas that circulate through local knowledge and power-relations. Arguably, all forms of knowledge are ''relationally constituted in politics and policymaking'' where the dual presence and/or absence of knowledge through policy remain connected amidst contrasting relations to each other (McCann & Ward, 2015: 828-9). In Mexican cities, an interesting reflection of this is seen as international concepts inform national policies that suffer a structural shift at the local level to assert local agendas (Garcia Espinoza, 2008: 80). Here, the integration or not of international and national policy concepts into local planning agendas depends on local political aims.

Opillard (2017) highlights how cities with historic value, with and without UNESCO designation, have reflected divergent yet complimentary market economy agendas that result in social urban displacement (Pp. 138). International values have influenced local rhetorical production of agendas to create specific social spatial realities through selective knowledge mobilisations. In the context of Latin America, Conesa Labastida (2010) acknowledges conceptual 'tropicalisations', as a context-based interpretation of international knowledge,from the field of law (the term is recognised by Delanty in the social sciences). Although the term is seen as derogative, it provides a way to identify and explain assimilation and application processes of imported doctrines as they are adjusted to local agendas without negating their original precedence (Pp. 353). This process of adaptation combines native forms of local knowledge with externally generated concepts to transversally regulate and shape local assessments (Pp. 353). In planning, this is useful to locate the ways local frameworks tend to be shaped by 'external' international conceptual notions and values.

This circulation of knowledge, as we know it today, is possible in great part owing to donor agencies as vessels for both transference and implementation processes to address local challenges (Shamsul, 2014: 268). Multi-level interactions produce processes through which new practices and typologies are constructed (Delanty, 2011: 644). Through international programmes and initiatives (ie. UNESCO's WHS List), historic centres have interconnected

experiences that can derive in diverse context-based outcomes (Robinson, 2013: 666). Healey (2011) questions the notion of true locality within a global context where movement and intermixing of social relations are inherent to globally travelling ideas and global knowledge production and implementation (Pp. 146-7).

Until recently, approaches have been embedded within an American-Eurocentric vision of cities as bounded and universally replicable settlement types (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 152). Robinson (2013) considers globalisation helped to create an urbanism where both similar and different cities around the world are intimately connected (Robinson, 2013: 666). Moreover, Robinson (2013) points to an inherent duality between local and global processes (Pp. 666). Global knowledge/power structures are thus evidenced to discursively encourage 'some' forms of urban knowledge over others. This can lead to irreflexive local conceptual appropriations and distorted planning models drawing from a wide spectrum of approaches and recommendations within different ontological understandings (Parnell and Robinson, 2012: 595). Healey (2011) has described how planning concepts and practices have been borrowed and applied from one place to another without further analysis (2011: 191).

In the urban conservation field, Labadi (2005) has argued for a more contextually integrative set of 'universal' values that promote and embed social urban values (Pp. 77). She considers global values are continually ''distorted and misused to justify unsustainable economic, social and environmental practices or to further economic globalisation and political nationalism'' (2016: 10). Ultimately, universal values may be subject to unpredictable local appropriation processes (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 165). This can lead to a 'normalizing template' for cities under partial or irreflexive integration processes (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 160). Delanty (2011) considers that, through international treaties and norms that respond to universal parameters, ''cultures become increasingly inter-linked and a process of societal interpenetration occurs blurring the boundaries between the cultures in whole or in part'' (Pp. 646).

As such, guidance from donor agencies may not entail binding agreements yet aid the formation of selective forms of knowledge. Therefore, the sharing of knowledge in a context of global cities, must be done without striving to mimic or copy (Roy, 2009: 828). Moreover, contextual processes are important to expand the set of global lessons and experiences (Robinson, 2011: 19). This research agrees within Logan's consideration to integrate ''the complexity'' of a variety of contextual practices under a unifying global system that still challenges local processes where biased government, professional and developer's interests may lead to poor practice (2001: 56). This is especially important in contexts like Mexico where problem solving urban practices drive policy making more that research (Parnell and Robinson, 2012: 597).

Delanty (2011) proposes a process of interlinked diffusion at the formal institutional and normative but also at the informal level. Where encounters become blurred and produce new understandings and conceptualisations through a relational phenomenon of sharing and informing knowledge and practices (Pp. 647). This is important as multi-level knowledge diffusion and sharing from global to local levels is reflected in discursive instruments (such as policy) (Colomb, 2011: 84). Hence, the historic area should be approached as integrated and relational multi-level discursive processes, where policy formation and implementation aid local agendas (Massey, 1994: 155; Rydin, 1998: 15).

2.4 Governance and Policy in Historic Places. Urban Paradigms and Marketisation

2.4.1 Urban Conservation Governance. Approaches, Constraints and New Paradigms

Fincher et al. (2013) position planning within a governance and management outlook to focus on ''policies that change conditions in places'' to enhance/limit social spatial processes (Pp. 03). Thus, urban policy to shape social urban realities ''should be understood as not a preformed, well-bounded and immutable thing that moves through space and time'' (Jacobs, 2012: 414). Hendriks (2014) situates 'governance' as a container concept with mostly institutionalised

processes that shape productive and corrective capacities involving governmental and non-governmental actors to deal with urban issues (Pp. 555). Peters and Pierre (2012) understand urban governance as ''the formulation and pursuit of collective goals at the local level of the political system'' (Pp. 01). These goals are designed by political institutions involving a web of institutional, economic, and political stakeholders for implementation (Pp. 02).

With an increasing need for policies and management plans (Roberts, 2000: 44), ''urban conservation has been developing a specific identity as a branch of planning in which social and spatial policy-making and implementation intermingle'' (Cidre, 2004: 284). Urban conservation planning is ''a specialised field of practice'' to address urban challenges of historic places (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: xiii). This follows a need to develop new approaches within a world of widely diverse historic places (Pp. xix). Aaroz (2011) calls for new paradigms to recognise and address social urban challenges within urban conservation planning and governance (Pp. 59). For this, governments play a central role to develop measures within planning and policy instruments that ensure social, as well as economic, well-being in the process of urban conservation (Rojas, 2016: 246-7).

Many discussions have arisen from UNESCO's HUL Recommendation, as a soft governance tool, to ''achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life'' through a set of engagement, management, regulatory and financial tools (2011: 03). This highlights the critical role of local institutions and governance structures to achieve socially inclusive approaches for urban conservation (Jessiman, 2016: 96, 107). Hence, the governance structure for urban conservation must be envisioned as a process that responds to social needs and values (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 85). UNESCO's Global Report on Culture for Sustainable Urban Development (2016) points to historic areas that ''must perform to its fullest potential [to] advance the quality of human habitation'' (Pp. 169, 172).

Housing is the policy field through which to assess conservation planning frameworks and social equality objectives and values within historic centres in this research. For this, the regulation and implementation of public policy is key

to determine quality of governance in the promotion for social equality values (Mudacumura, 2014: 5; discussed in section 1.4.1). However, the role of government in governance has changed as society's complexity has increased and globalisation has redirected the role of institutional capacity within the urban plane to include a wide variety of actors (Peters and Pierre, 2012: 5). This has resulted in container governance processes where ideas more than social objectives are arranged and tested (Pp. 4). Moreover, urban conservation policy can be institutionally conflict ridden, with clear manifestations at the social and urban level (Davies, 2005: 320-1).

Starr (2010) expands on how growing management and conservation costs for historic areas have resulted in increased reliance on the private sector and public-private partnerships (Pp. 147). This highlights tensions between real estate investment cycles, notions of place character conservation as well as social implications of these processes (Short and Livingstone, 2020: 184). Arguably, this is primarily a consequence of reduced government budgets. Therefore, cultural sites are increasingly used as valuable assets to attract tourism and private sector investment (Starr, 2010: 153). This has been reflected globally as policy and financial mechanisms support and promote a national, regional, and local market-oriented urban conservation (Schneider, 2001: 262).

For this, Harvey (2008) asserts that urban renewal schemes tend to function under a global urban process of transnational economic investments that place inner-city areas as financially desirable (Pp. 29). This increases the economic value of historic places, around which new financial institutions and arrangements are created to sustain urban development (Pp. 30-1). A market-oriented governance model for urban conservation depends directly upon ''consumer input and critical feedback related to delivered output'' (Hendriks, 2014: 560). This has been addressed in Latin America, where historic cities are promoted in a commercial manner, which has resulted in peripheral segregation (UNESCO, 2016: 170). While this is usually discussed in relation to tourism-based governance of historic places, housing-based market-oriented governance processes and implications are also increasingly noted (Short and Livingstone, 2020; Betancur, 2014).

Davies (2005) asserts the market aspect of governance is a key source of social conflict (Pp. 322). This conflict increases as historic places become marketised places where social values depend solely on economic performance (Kearns and Paddison, 2000: 846). The term 'governance' instead of 'management' is highlighted to position the shift to market-oriented organisational models as city governments are no longer able to direct urban management due to limited economic resources and capacity (Pp. 845). In Latin America, Delgadillo-Polanco asserts public investment has been employed to encourage and benefit private sector investment (2008: 826). As governments become less involved, policies and initiatives that shape social urban processes must be revised to establish urban conservation frameworks where social values are crucial.

It is widely accepted that the WHS title is sought at local and national levels to legitimise political agendas (Starr, 2010: 33-4). The WHS is positioned as a tool to shape policies and attract funds and investment. Importantly, the title designation is confined within a historic perimeter or boundary where specific governance models and policies are implemented. In Latin America boundaries have been determined by regulations focused on monuments as ''important determinants'' of the historic landscape (Rojas; 2016: 246). Deng and Larkham highlighted facadism and calls for monuments-based conservation area shaped boundaries in the Cardiff (UK) context (2020: 549-50). Moreover, conservation area boundaries are established to encourage development or mitigate development pressure in a historic landscape (Pp. 550).

Governance of historic places thus follows a top-down structure focused on the physical identity and character of the public and semi-public/private (buildings) levels (Fincher et al, 2016: 517). Lafrenz Samuels (2010) asserts policies for 'good governance' may not necessarily address local social urban challenges such as housing and poverty to instead focus on neoliberal market mechanisms that enable economic liberisation and privatisation of cultural assets (Pp. 205). Porter positioned the WHS titled place as a branded landscape that functions as a cultural object and mediatic brand (2016: 06). A spatial analysis of meaning construction, governance and implementation processes positioned a WHS site

as a representation of discourse (Pp. 06). A discursive approach thus opens the possibility to address the social spatial phenomena produced by cultural top-down agendas.

Le Gales correspondingly recognised the symbolic value of culture as a platform to make urban and political actors successfully visible (2001: 178). Moreover, urban conservation governance has been embedded in market-oriented projects to counterbalance institutional capacity limitations and conflicts of interest (Martinez Yanez, 2012: 178). However, urban conservation is considered as an instrument to address and achieve social urban development within urban agendas in diverse global backgrounds (Buckley, Cooke & Fayad, 2016: 94; Deben, Salet, & Van Thoor, 2014; Bentacur, 2014; Logan, 2016; UNESCO, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2016). Ultimately, urban conservation planning governance is embedded in a complex web multi-level stakeholders with, often, conflicting agendas and aims that may hinder social objectives.

2.4.2   Policy Mobilisation. Aims and Expectations of Urban Renewal Processes

Massey (1994) addresses the commodification aspect and impacts within the mobility and distribution of concepts and practices, as relative to the different capacities to apply them by informants and recipients (Pp. 146-7). This highlights a long history of North-South transfer and implementation processes of urban models, policies, and regulatory measures (Watson, 2009: 2261). The diffusion of 'good-practice' models has been intensified by international agencies, as knowledge from more studied cities is transferred to 'developing' places (Shamsul, 2014: 265). Yet local integration of urban models is not just superimposed but uncovered and reshaped at local levels (Nasr & Volait, 2003). For instance, the 'good city' notion has been reassessed to respond more accordingly to contextual needs (Pp. 2261). Healey (2011) argues knowledge mobility processes are linked to notions of 'modernisation', where 'built-in' assumptions and agendas are inserted to existing planning methodologies and practices (Pp. 192).

It can be argued that the process to develop policies through the transaction of knowledge is grounded on economic and demographic growth predictions and expectations that create a landscape ''based on assumptions and policy imaginations'' (Raco, 2009: 153). Thus, for instance, residential expectations may have a stronger role in policy formation than existing residential dynamics. Furthermore, Watson (2010) argues there is a significant gap to address global South social urban challenges and questions ''taken-for-granted assumptions'' at global but also at local levels (Pp. 2260-1). This can be framed as ''processes through which 'realities' are unreflectingly constructed'' based on assumptions that ''can be de-constructed and re-made'' (Raco, 2009: 164).

The local adoption of planning concepts and approaches can be seen as part of the interconnectedness of global urban experiences, which are, and should be recognised as, a phenomenon in their own right (Robinson, 2011: 15). However, the interconnection of diverse cases from Latin America and Europe could help to recraft the relationship between current social urban conceptualisations and outcomes to integrate a wider set of examples (Robinson, 2013: 666). More examples of urban processes would provide new paradigms for traditional social spatial assumptions and bring ''new opportunities for the development of alternative agendas and ways of thinking to take centre stage'' (Raco, 2009: 163). Different urban contexts are thus related yet under different sets of processes through which general imported planning assumptions should be reassessed (Roy, 2009: 821). This is especially important in planning, a normative field where dominant assumed ideas become regulations and practices (Healey, 2011: 199). This is clear in urban conservation and housing policy fields which often reflect select international notions to shape local governance structures and policies (Schneider, 2001: 262).

A parallel assessment of 'universal concepts' and values for implementation 'elsewhere' at the local level can produce new approaches rather than unchallenged conceptual, regulatory and practical adoptions (Healey, 2011: 196). This would depart from policy imaginations and allow for a comparative approach that produces an expanded understanding of social, political, and economic forces to produce different models and experiences for urban governance and

policy (Pierre, 2005: 453). Hence, 'travelling ideas' should be accompanied by narratives of their original conceptions and multi-level relations to produce comparative approaches (Healey, 2011: 195-6). Importantly in this direction, recent UNESCO and UN-Habitat documents place guidance for urban conservation and urban development as a more locally embedded processes (UNESCO, 2011; UN, 2016). Logan highlighted the changing approaches in international agencies to address contextual processes yet still provide global standards (2001: 56).

However, Opillard (2017) shows that the complex structure to attain UNESCO WHS title designation for Valparaiso remains embedded in stringent parameters and political interests for future culture-oriented investment agendas (Pp. 134). Thus, the objective to safeguard and promote a historic place is not necessarily in terms of cognitive approaches to 'universal values' but in terms of transplanted concepts to achieve recognition and economic gains. This asserts the application of international values through a context-based interpretation and aims to promote a local political agenda (Healey, 2011: 199). Thus, UNESCO titles are generally sought to mobilise a narrow local tourism-based agendas that do not traditionally integrate historic place dynamics (ie. residential dynamics).

As governments become less involved in governance processes, 'universal' concepts are seen to be applied and reinterpreted to position urban visions. In this sense, Lopez-Morales et al (2016) position governance of Latin American cities as embedded in ''processes of municipalisation, middle-class formation, higher dependency of local markets on state-led transportation facilities and so on'' (Pp. 1092). This underlines the role of urban conservation to raise property values in degraded historic places through urban renewal processes, as it has been seen in East Asia, Arab Africa, and the Middle East (Pp. 1092). Therefore, terms such as urban conservation or, indeed, displacement and gentrification must be re-understood to avoid erroneous assessments and implementations.

Massey (1994) questions a true local agenda within a global context where movement and intermixing of social relations are inherent to globally travelling ideas and global knowledge production (Pp. 146-7). As such, a new paradigm for

local assessments to understand cities and their frameworks not as introverted processes but as constructed by ''a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving at a particular locus'' at different scales is needed (Healey, 2011: 154). Lefebvre (1996) asserted that policy may not be enough for the realisation of an urban programme that positively affects society without the involvement of the 'social force' as a political stakeholder to fully realise a holistic local urban project (Lefebvre, 1996: 63). In this sense, context-based features, challenges, and social groups as stakeholders need to be involved to fully achieve social equality objectives through complimentary housing and conservation policies.

2.5   Housing for Social Equality. 'Right' and 'Market' Agendas for Social Urban Implications

2.5.1   Social Equality in Planning. Approaches to Social Justice in Planning Frameworks

Under the principle that urban conservation can lead to sustainable social and economic development, it is important to assess urban conservation as closely linked to social values and needs within a specific context and moment in time (Labadi, 2012: 13; Harvey, 2009: 36). Especially, as socially embedded urban approaches gain relevance due to increasing urbanization that highlight growing social spatial inequality gaps (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2004: 51). Urban conservation is required to meet social urban challenges while still having the capacity to retain cultural and historic values (Aaroz, 2011: 59). Logan asserts that urban conservation is embedded with a community's urban and national identity that participates directly within social, political, and economic changes (2012: 256). Historic places are under high pressure to function at every urban level while also ''conserving their historic legacy'' (Cidre, 2004: 284).

Equality and social justice approaches for historic centres require an integral understanding of conceptual and practical frameworks across policy fields (ie. conservation, urban development, housing). For this, equality and social justice concepts and tools to advance social needs in the context of historic places

through urban conservation are proposed. Harvey (2009) considers that social justice is ''a normative concept'' formed by a set of principles to resolve a variety of conflicting claims (Pp. 96-7). Hay (1995) considers justice as the fulfilment of legitimate social expectations or outcomes (Pp. 501). Alternately but in line with Harvey, Deutsch (1975) describes social justice as a concept ''concerned with the distribution of the conditions and goods which affect the well-being of the individual members of a group or a community'' through equality, equity and needs values (Pp. 142-3). Social justice is identified as a normative concept that addresses social wellbeing through values concerned with distribution processes and/or outcomes.

Importantly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) stated the significance of equality of rights to achieve ''social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom'' (Pp. 1). Equality of access to public services and adequate standards of living within a society are thus inherent and indispensable to fulfil human rights (Pp. art. 21, 25). Labadi and Logan (2016) note a genuine connection between urban conservation and human rights by way of fostering political and social agendas within the urban context (Pp. xiii). This strengthens the understanding of spatial forms as not ''inanimate objects within which the social process unfolds, but as things which 'contain' social processes in the same manner that social processes are spatial'' (Harvey, 2009: 11).

Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos (2010) suggests that 'spatial justice' ''is the most promising platform on which to redefine, not only the connection between law and geography, but more importantly, the conceptual foundations of both law and space'' (Pp. 201). Yet, although human rights constitute internationally agreed concrete needs and values, they are not often used as basic arguments for spatial claims. Arguably, this is ''because they can be shown to be socially determined'' and can alter place meaning (Hay on Clark, 1995: 502). Harvey positioned the 'Right to the City' to achieve and promote social justice and human rights, as one of the most precious yet neglected communally shared claims (Harvey, 2008: 23; further discussed in next section).

Yet using equality to assess social justice within urban space comes with a set of challenges as definitions and arguments for social justice values are varied. For Harvey (2009), the distribution of equality relies in accordance to claims and needs that inherently provide a set of complications (Pp. 99-100). Equality claims of distribution according to process or outcome may create a conflict in the achievement of either one. Hay (1995) argues that equality describes a procedural horizontally distributive process yet asserts transversal forms of analysis are more suited for spatial social justice studies (Pp. 502-3). A revision of equality, fairness and justice values from a geographical analysis should ''look behind spatial distributions to the choice sets, constraints and information fields from which they arise'' (Pp. 502). Alternately, Deutsch (1975) describes different connotations for the social justice values of equity, equality and need as complimentary processes derived from different circumstances (Pp. 143).

Figure 2-2 shows Deutsch's association of goods distribution to equity and Hay's intersecting transversal values suggestion, to advance social justice equity, equality and needs fulfilment within the urban form. Arguably, social advancement (equality) is interconnected with goods distribution (equity) and their main aim is to improve social welfare (needs). For Hay, further assessment of equality means that along with needs, rights, equality of choice, and procedural fairness, the best placed concept to address a geographical context lays within 'substantive equality'. As ''differences between locations in the net aggregates of burdens and benefits are substantive inequalities'' (Hay, 1995: 502). Thus, policies and procedures should be judged from any chosen spatial scale on the extent to which they explicitly/implicitly compromise a situation in a certain direction or outcome (Pp. 504). The unit of action for urban conservation is the historic place as embedded within its urban context, processes, and outcomes to ensure social equality respond to interconnecting levels of social and urban values.

Figure 2-3. Social Justice Values
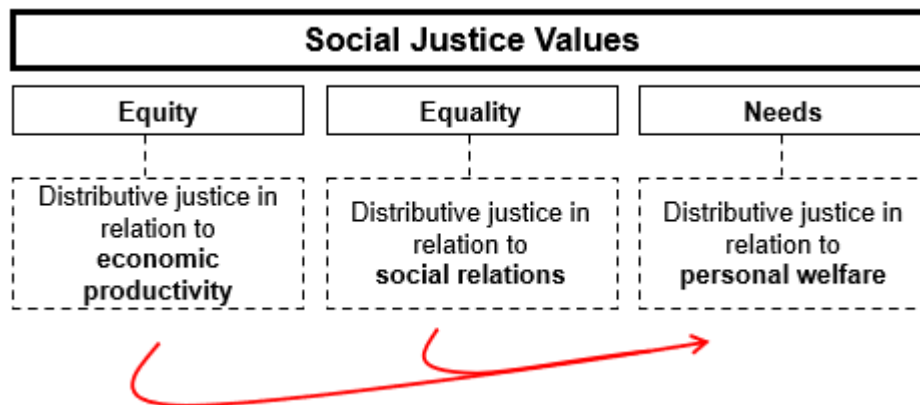
Source: Author based on Deutsch (1975), Hay (1995), Hepple (2014)

From the field of law, Hepple (2014) argues that ''substantive equality affords opportunities to people who have in the past been disproportionately excluded'' (Pp. 28). However, he considers transformative equality is a better concept than substantive equality because it aims to dismantle ''systemic inequalities'' and eradicate ''poverty and disadvantage'' (Pp. 28). Transformative equality is a concept open to revisions to adapt to evolving needs within society that will, in turn, impact social equality objectives, processes and outcomes. This is achieved through a process that entails linking substantive equality with intersectional social rights values to create equality of opportunities and increase capabilities at every level (Pp. 28-9). Therefore, historic centre policies and procedures must be assessed through the transformative nature of social needs, to truly promote equality of opportunities and achieve social justice. UNESCO (2016) has recently emphasised the transformative nature of urban areas to address social needs and equality objectives as contingent on cultural, economic, spatial, and political local capacities and processes (Pp. 133).

However, a more exact specification of equality, equity and needs as well as the form of their provision is needed to resolve uncertainties in a spatial analysis or to challenge equality rights from the urban realm (Hay, 1995: 505). Table 2-1 shows the main aim of distributive requirements and human necessities to address and fulfil spatial social justice. As such, equality and equity factors relate to distributive access and opportunities that directly address and produce a set of effects for the fulfilment of well-being. Therefore, urban conservation

frameworks that address social and spatial processes are determinant to assess a distributive structure to fulfil social needs and well-being.

Table 2-1. Social Spatial Justice

Social Justice in Space			
Concepts	Distributive Requirements		Human Necessities
Concepts	Equality (social)	Equity (economic)	Well-being (needs)
Rationale	- Deutsch (1975): equality and equity - Hay (1995): formal equality, substantive equality, equal choice - Hepple (2014): substantive equality, transformative equality, equality opportunities		- Deutsch (1975): needs - Hay (1995): expectations, desert, rights, needs - Hepple (2014):proportionate objectives, process and outcomes, needs
Attributes	Concepts for Equality and Equity are spatial and non-spatial in nature they have been developed and applied in a variety of fields and are used to respond to many challenges and contexts.		Determination of human needs are basic to attend to any other requirements. Intrinsically, they are developed in the spatial realm but are determined by a wider variety of actors and circumstances.
Spatial Extension	Their consideration and application at a spatial level will derive from conceptual understandings embedded within proportional contextual cognitive processes.		The consideration at a spatial level will determine different well-being factors to assess needs fulfilment through social spatial objectives, processes and outcomes.

Source: Author based on literature discussed

The HUL Recommendation (2011) has supported the revision of urban conservation governance and policies to assess social equality and ensure social urban well-being. This promotes more integrative urban conservation strategies within larger goals for urban sustainable development that consider the interrelationships between physical, spatial, social, cultural, and economic values (Pp. art. 5). This can be achieved through a transformative and transversal relational analysis of social justice and urban conservation discourses and values. Hence, different global to local experiences can be ''understood and struggled against simultaneously'' to produce better processes and outcomes (Rosenthal, 2016: 475).

Social justice within the urban field has been approached from the understanding that just distribution must be provided according to determinate population's needs within determinate areas' opportunities to facilitate them (Davies, 1968, 16). However, this distributive approach overlooks a more comprehensive and

transformative spatial justice consideration within the urban form (Hay, 1995: 506). For this Harvey suggests a scaled approach, although the further separation of urban units and scales may promote urban segmentation and alienation which produce increasingly disconnected places (Harvey, 2009: 99). The differentiated urban assessment of historic areas from the rest of the urban fabric is thus embedded in separate market-based frameworks that encourage spatial exclusion and social urban inequalities (Harvey, 2009: 97). Through a transformative equality consideration to historic centres, social urban needs within and beyond the historic centre unit may be assessed to address wider social urban challenges.

Following Hepple's (2014) considerations, principles for equality of opportunities and non-discrimination may challenge proportional procedural and outcomes positive actions to assess broad and specific urban objectives (Pp. 28, 31). Fittingly, the New Agenda for the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development Habitat III (UN, 2016) calls for processes and outcomes based on ''equality, non-discrimination, accountability, respect for human rights and solidarity'' (a.126). Hence, urban equality and equity are positioned to address different sets of social urban challenges linked to urban occupation and housing habitation. This accentuates social cohesion, equality of opportunities, urban exclusion, and displacement challenges in relation to housing, education, health, sustainability, and densification as well as economic generation and distribution (a.13). Moreover, it proposes to leverage cultural heritage to achieve sustainable urban development through respectful, innovative and sustainable conservation and adaptation of the built environment (a.125).

These considerations follow calls to 'infill' the urban landscape through integrated initiatives to mitigate exclusion and urban sprawl (a.97). This suggests a strengthened focus on inner-city residential mix. Bandarin considers urban conservation has a part in urban development strategies that aim to control urban sprawl (2019: 04, 06). However, Labadi has noted places with WHS title don't necessarily reflect local community benefits or provide ways to avoid gentrification from place commodification (2013: 111). Lafrenz Samuels (2010) asserts poverty in places with historic value is consistently treated as a 'technical

problem' that ''is easily transferred into a concern with the revitalisation of the material heritage, rather than the communities living in'' them (Pp. 202, 211).

Betancur (2014) positions Latin American historic centres as 'non-traditional contexts' that ''have become hybrid formations serving the lower classes'' with a dense ''informal, formal, extra-legal, or even prohibited'' activities environment (Pp. 03-4). Lombard (2014) points out that a big part of the population in Mexico still lives in places with informal dynamics (Pp. 05). Mexican historic centres share characteristics with low-income neighbourhoods where informal tenure and occupation are prevalent (Lombard, 2014: 05-6). However, Lafrenz Samuels considers negative place narratives further re-produce socio-economic inequalities through neoliberal 'good governance' approaches (2010: 206). Housing has been inherently overlooked as a medium to reassert procedural and outcomes-based transformative social equality within historic centres through urban conservation approaches.

2.5.2 Housing as Right and Asset. Commodification and Displacement

Housing in historic centres emerges as a contested spatial occupation, where residents with ''greater disposable income'' who can ensure place maintenance are sought over existing low-income communities (Labadi, 2013: 89). Housing as a right and as an asset to challenge or reaffirm these processes emerge as two separate epistemological understandings of housing that inherently produce very different social equality outcomes. Hohmann positions housing as a right to be claimed from the state, as a physical structure that ''provides and protects some of the most fundamental human needs'' (2014: 04-5). Separately, Sassen asserts that ''beyond its social and political role, housing has long been a critical economic sector in all developed societies'' and therefore an asset (2009: 411).

Hohmann (2014) approaches housing through human rights to address issues of housing and the living conditions of individuals and communities (Pp. 06-7). However, the 'right to housing' is separated from 'housing rights', with the first as internationally codified laws common to citizens everywhere and the latter as specific legal entitlements (Pp. 05-6). Ultimately, the recognition of the right is as

important as ''the provision of the good'' itself (Pp. 06). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) has established seven elements for the right to housing in 'General Comments No. 4: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art. 11 (1) of the Covenant)' (UN-CESCR, 1999), also explored in 'Fact Sheet no. 21 for The Human Right to Adequate Housing' (UN-OHCHR, 2009). The seven elements are: 1. Security of tenure, 2. Housing infrastructure, 3. Affordability, 4. Habitability, 5. Accessibility, 6. Location, and 7. Cultural adequacy (UN-CESCR, 1999).

Hohmann (2014) considers security of tenure (1) as the ''cornerstone to the right to housing'', as it focuses on ''the devastating effects of forced or arbitrary evictions'' (Pp. 21). However, aspects of tenure such as economic access structures and inequality to access them which may reflect as causes and sources of displacement are also key (Pp. 22-3). Linked to this, affordability (3) is concerned with the financial implications to retain and access housing as ''the financial risk and benefits that attend the home as asset or expense are, accordingly, of great significance'' (Pp. 24). Housing subsidies and legal protection for tenants and owners are important, yet the extent to which complex affordability policies may be successful in one place and not in another is questioned (Pp. 25). Physical and locational aspects such as services, materials, facilities, and infrastructure (2), habitability (4), location (6), and accessibility (5) are usually managed through set minimum standards approaches (Pp. 23-5). Yet location is linked to spatial relationships and community place-based dynamics, as regulations are often designed for a private sector that impacts on displacement (Pp. 27, 25). Finally, cultural adequacy (7) considers cultural dimensions of housing through context and the importance of proportional 'modernisation' measures (Pp. 28).

Yet Homhann (2014) recognises interpretational failings in the right to housing across regimes and jurisdictions that have produced a level of abstraction to address ''questions of homelessness, forced displacement and inadequate living conditions'' (Pp. 120-1). This is mostly found within definitions, legal interpretations, and contextual applications (Pp. 121). The right to housing offers a rich foundation to fulfil adequate housing needs yet is reliant upon contextual

interpretations and legislative measures that can also be linked to political will. Pattillo (2013) asserts that while ''the proclamation that housing is a right may seem straightforward, it is not'' (Pp. 518).

Housing as a right is embedded in housing legislation to provide guarantees and provisions to enable its fulfilment (Pattillo, 2013: 522). The right to housing challenges the free-market commodity aspect of housing by ''establishing instead a mixed political economy in the realm of housing'' where the right is at risk if threats are felt by tenants (Pp. 521). However, housing as an asset is increasingly positioned as a 'complex financial technology' in sophisticated real estate and banking economic systems (Pattillo, 2013: 512; Sassen, 2009: 411). Sassen further places housing as an instrument for financial innovation by lengthening the distance between the financial instrument and the underlying asset, an activity usually associated with high-risk finance (Pp. 411). The advanced commodification of housing as a financial asset is playing a decisive role in urban inequality for Latin American cities and elsewhere (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016: 1096; Sassen, 2014: 14).

Franco & MacDonald focus on the European experience to assert the housing agenda within the inherent differentiation between areas in the 'protected historic landscape' as reflected through zoning, the different types of heritage value and neighbourhood context (2018: 36). This reflects affordability and tenure changes according to types of renewal and conservation projects applied to different inner-area locations as based on assessed differentiated cultural heritage value. This points to separate inner areas with differentiated built heritage and amenities as well as housing tenure structures and revenue implications within historic places (Pp. 36-7). In this instance, housing price increases were linked to locational proximity to high-value cultural amenities and aesthetically pleasing environments.

Betancur highlights the differences between European and Latin American processes and notes the importance of governance and policies to direct conservation through renewal in previously ''centrally located areas of disinvestment'' (2014: 01). He considers gentrification due to restructured and/or

created new housing tenure markets to attract economic investment as enabled by constrained governments (Pp. 02-3). Lopez-Morales et al (2016) affirm the expansion of the housing market in Latin America has culminated ''in the intensive urban restructuring of inner-city areas aimed at middle-income groups'' (Pp. 1096). Because housing in Latin America is mostly privately accessed, the ''commodification of housing as a financial asset'' is further positioned (Pp. 1096-7). However, Latin American historic centres have not generated ''the same rent potential and attractiveness as those in the North'' (Betancur, 2014: 04).

Despite differences in European and Latin American experiences, academics point to higher housing value in ''real estate islands'' within historic places, with consequential changes in social dynamics by attracting wealthy or 'creative' groups of people (Franco & MacDonald, 2018: 49; Lopez-Morales, 2016: 1101-2; Betancur, 2014: 03-4, 09). Lopez-Morales et al. further note the link between transport, services, and housing public-private investment to attract new markets and social groups (2016: 1097). Yet while new infrastructure can benefit deprived groups, the fast advance of the private sector has led to social conflicts in Latin American cities. This has produced a marked mismatch ''between housing and labour markets'' (Pp. 1098-9).

Betancur offers an analytical approach to assess housing inequality based on governance (''regime shift and corresponding enabling conditions''), space (''interventions turning possibility into'' reality) and discourse (symbolic systems for legitimation) (Pp. 03). This analytical approach departs from traditional economic analyses such as spatial global hedonic models, spatial error models and mixed geographical weighted regression models for heritage valuation and analysis (Franco & MacDonald, 2018: 36). Doing this can provide richer insights into key incidents and market practices to assess poverty in historic places, adding qualitative insights to income and expenditure, resources, and capability-based analyses (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010: 204). Through focus on policy, space and discourse it is possible to assess contextual implications based on ''circumstances, political economic formations and local contingencies'' and the intrinsic disparities between places (Betancur, 2014: 09-10). This positions discourse as an active element of contention to analyse housing in Latin

American historic cities, where ''gentrification is fought as much on the ground as it is on discourse'' (Pp. 05). Discourse emphasises the role of the government, with terms like ''rescue'', ''rehabilitation'' or ''renovation'' of ''dilapidated'' places, to mobilise a state-led gentrification agenda (Pp. 04-10).

The right to housing offers a set of international normative elements for state-bodies and local governments to mitigate evictions and displacement issued from housing market agendas (Leckie, 1992:07-8). However, the right to housing has been approached through the physical standards notion of 'vida digna' ('dignified life') in many countries of Latin America, including Mexico (Hohmann, 2014: 85). This covers only an aspect of a right widely concerned with many personal and community needs (Leckie, 1992: 06). Although the right is concerned with the material aspects of the dwelling, considerations for place, affordability and cultural aspects necessitates a wider array of policies beyond minimum quality standards.

In principle, state ratification of international human rights instruments should entail the normative protection of all right to housing elements (Pp. 07-8). However, more is needed to mitigate and limit negative implications such as displacement for low-income groups. Arguably, displacement begins from the public space as conservation protections generally concerned with ''the historic city fabric, and not the [people] who live, work and/or consume there and who have their own wishes for the built environment'' (Kuipers, 2004: 85). A correlation is drawn between the heritage value of buildings and place changes which impact housing tenure and social dynamics.

Selective 'islands for development' within historic places, as considered in this research, often offer housing for specific social groups that exclude low-income groups. This exemplifies how existing social spatial dynamics may be positioned as problems to be revised (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010: 202). This entails moving out ''undersirable inhabitants'' to attract new socioeconomic groups through ''revitalisation of material heritage rather than communities'' (Pp. 2011). However, renewal schemes may not necessarily meet investment and market attraction expectations (Bentacur, 2014: 09-10). Yet evictions for place clearance, usually

seen in urban peripheries, are increasingly observed in historic places to mobilise a gentrification agenda (Lombard, 2014: 04).

Gentrification can be approached and understood in different ways, yet gentrification is inherently linked to housing displacement. As ''a process involving a change in the population [and] the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users'' as consequential of spatial changes (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016: 1093 quoting Clarke, 2005: 263). Gentrification studies look at urban realities as created by "(i) the creation, assemblage, and transformation of real estate markets; (ii) the focus on the symbolic dimensions of gentrification and (iii) the key role that displacement plays for the politics and geographies of gentrification" (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016: 1176). Yet it is established gentrification processes as applied to Latin American studies require a differentiation for expected and contextualised processes (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016; Bentacur, 2014; 08-9).

This research looks beyond the re-calculation of given realities by gentrification to challenge housing rights-led discourses and practices as invoked by both government and residents to assess produced housing inequalities. For this, displacement processes are assessed as indicative of tenure insecurity and affordability gaps engendered by market-led urban re-configurations (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016: 1094). Janoschka & Sequera consider four forms of displacement as urban reproduction of gentrification landscapes: displacement by heritage accumulation, cultural dispossession, militarisation and "states of exception", and ground rent dispossession (2016: 1176-7). Displacement by heritage accumulation as linked to historic centres' renewal and increased rent gaps in "previously downgraded inner-city neighbourhoods" are highlighted as overlapping phenomena in this research (Pp. 1176-77).

To challenge housing gentrification and displacement, Latin American social movements use the ''right to the city'' to make urban claims that promote citizen empowerment over state and capital produced spaces (Lopez-Morales et al, 2016: 1102). This builds on Lefebvre's (1968) proclamation that the right to the city claims the right to urban life, beyond visitation or traditional expectations. This

concept challenges the market exchange value in the mobilisation and production of urban spaces for transitory or residential use for the fulfilment of social urban needs (1996: 64). While Lefebvre's right has gained popularity and been integrated in international planning recommendations and instruments, in practice it ''remains subject to various questions and interpretations'' (Lopez-Morales, 2016: 1102). Huchzermeyer (2017) notes the right to the city has emerged as an umbrella concept in the New Urban Agenda (UN, 2016) but also within national governments. Governments have enshrined their own visions and institutionalised the right into legislation and policies (Pp. 632). This, however, seems distant from a movement in which the working class should ''become the agent, the social carrier or support for [its] realization'' (Lefebvre: 1996: 64).

It is also considered ''the right to the city in a Lefebvrian sense should be understood as an 'oppositional demand' rather than or less as a 'judicial right' '' (Mayer (2012) in Huchzermeyer, 2017: 632). The right to the city from conceptual to legal tool faces challenges that question the inherent meaning of an urban right, the legal elements it is composed by and their applicability. The institutionalisation of the right to the city is thus a complex occurrence that revises its original intention to contest legal systems and structures to address inequality and housing provision among other urban concerns. However, grassroot mobilisations to contest place change and housing displacement also invoke the right to the city to articulate the right to housing (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016: 1180).

Legal instruments seem to increase the gap between housing as a right to be claimed or as an asset for accumulation for wealth creation, as contextual interpretations intermingle with local development agendas. There is a departure between housing rights and property rights, the latter is linked to the commercialisation of common goods, accumulation by dispossession and increasing inequalities in deprived places (Pp. 1180-1). Pattillo (2013) connects the offerings of a neighbourhood to the ''exchange value of a dwelling unit [as] captured in its price or rent'' beyond building materials and structure (Pp. 512). Housing is positioned as an asset to create wealth or financial hardship

depending on raised property value implications for the owner/consumer, which can be highlighted by tenant-landlord structures (Pp. 515-6).

Housing as both a right and a market asset has been contested at the social urban level through urban ownership claims as linked to right to the city notions and by residential claims. Housing as a right or market asset can be related to Lefebvre's comparison between ''the real and the possible'' of the urban (Huchzermeyer, 2017: 637). Hence, the possibilities to provide housing as right or asset imply different legal and market realities and structures for implementation. This can be easily referred to social spatial differentiation processes that reflect institutional and policy agendas (Peters and Pierre, 2012: 321). Therefore, the lack of appropriate tools and/or knowledge to assert the right to housing within a market-oriented governance context may have far-reaching exclusionary social urban effects (Kearns and Paddison, 2000: 846). This increases social urban vulnerability for low-income groups and risks the production of places that lack urban identity, citizenship and belonging (Harvey, 2008: 34-6).

2.5.3 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to address literature related to the research questions and the sub-questions of this thesis. This allowed to gain insights into urban conservation frameworks and urban renewal agendas for historic centres in relation to equal housing tenure opportunities. This section brings together the main aspects from the literature which inform the research questions and the gaps in literature this research aims to address.

Section 2.2 reviewed the shift from heritage conservation to urban conservation to discuss how historic places in different contexts are being approached to promote holistic inner-city agendas. Since the 1990's social values have been increasingly integrated into urban conservation instruments to address social urban challenges within historic places that tourism-oriented agendas did not sufficiently address. Yet the World Heritage Site (WHS) title has reinforced historic place commodification processes, as it is often sought at the local level

to attract international-level investment. Although discussions are mostly concerned with WHS's, all historic places are influenced by urban conservation notions. Moreover, a gap to address residential needs in historic places is identified in the social values for urban conservation.

Section 2.3 focused on place meaning to approach historic places and the role of discourse to shape social spatial realities according to dominant forms of knowledge. Discussions of 'place' and 'sense of place' were important to position aesthetic authenticity approaches, often formed separately from social dynamics within historic places. Three layers of space (public, semi-public/private and private) were highlighted to position inherently urban commodification agendas informed by irreflexive international 'good place' notions. Although the need for international standards to integrate global experiences was expressed, international planning theories need to be further informed by systems and structures from 'elsewhere'. Dominant approaches to address urban challenges have resulted in selective discourses which further widen inequalities in 'less developed' places.

Section 2.4 built on the previous section to focus on governance and policy structures that have supported the marketisation of historic landscapes. Governance was positioned as a container concept supported by multiple stakeholders to invest in places as government financial capacities have diminished. A differentiated market-oriented governance structure for historic places was identified. Historic landscapes are positioned as bounded homogenous social spatial units, but this fails to acknowledge the heterogenous nature of neighbourhoods or districts within historic places. Previous studies focus on the differences between historic places but do not sufficiently acknowledge differences within them to address them as multi-layered complex places with many social urban dynamics. Moreover, policy assumptions are challenged for mobilising assumed urban and residential expectations that disregard existing social urban needs.

Finally, section 2.5 focused on spatial justice to assess social equality for the provision of housing as a right or asset within market-oriented governance

structures. The transformative equality approach is important to address evolving social urban needs and ensure procedural equality of opportunities against discriminatory housing outcomes. Yet literature showed housing markets and the creation of inner-areas 'real estate islands' where 'some' residents are preferred are prevalent in historic places. The right to housing was presented as an alternative lens to approach housing, yet it is re-interpreted at local discursive levels to reflect dominant views and expectations. Housing claims are determined by institutional integrations of 'universal' criteria that may not sufficiently protect vulnerable residents from conspicuous urban renewal displacement. This is a substantial failure, especially in previously disinvested Latin American historic places where significant social exclusion and displacement outcomes may be found. It is important to position housing dynamics as a discursive tool to reshape negative place perception and, therefore, to ensure investment flows.

3   Chapter 3 - Methods

3.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework and research design, research methods, and different stages of research development to answer the main research question and supporting research questions presented in Chapter 1. This is qualitative research, with a two-case studies approach through the historic centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara within the context of Mexico. A discursive analysis framework to approach an overarching Discourse Analysis-based framework is established. However, 'Policy Discourse Analysis', 'Place-Transformation Assessment' and 'Right to Housing Evaluation' frameworks are laid out to answer each sub-question. Through a qualitative approach, materials such as maps, census data and median rents are integrated to triangulate and provide research validity and reliability.

This chapter aims to show an overview of the methodological frameworks and methods used throughout the research to answer the main research question and the supporting questions which further inform it. This is developed to produce a methodological approach to assess the extent of social equality in historic centres of Mexico through housing tenure within an urban conservation landscape. This chapter intends to address the research question, case study approach, methodological framework, data collection and analysis processes, validity, reliability and replication, researcher positionality, ethical considerations, and research limitations. This considers all the different stages and factors to best approach and respond to the research questions through data collection, findings, analysis, and final conclusions.

3.2   Research Questions

This research will examine and assess how urban conservation frameworks integrate and promote social equality objectives through housing provision and

security. This will be examined in the context of the historic centres of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) in Mexico. This study focuses on an explanatory structure that intends to address a social phenomenon through a qualitative case study research (Yin, 2009: 09). This research uses an exploratory research question structure to address social urban events as they have occurred over time and in the present (Pp. 10). The aim of this research is to develop in-depth knowledge of the ways in which urban conservation frameworks have shaped residential dynamics and promoted or hindered social equality in cities.

Research Question:

- To what extent are urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico promoting social equality in relation to housing security?

The main question intends to investigate and uncover how urban conservation frameworks within urban renewal agendas for historic centres have influenced housing processes and dynamics for residents. The main research question is developed under the hypothesis that urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments for historic centres do not sufficiently provide housing options and residential security to ensure more socially equal historic centres. For this, an overarching Discursive Analytical framework is followed to gain access to direct and hidden discourses that shape social spatial processes and outcomes. To further support and respond to this question, three sub-questions are set out to address different aspects that will provide key insights.

Sub-questions:

4. To what extent are UNESCO heritage conservation values informing urban conservation and housing policies within urban renewal agendas for historic centres in Mexican cities?
5. To what extent have urban renewal approaches and strategies implementation processes integrated social equality objectives for historic centres?
6. How have different spatial and normative urban conservation within urban renewal approaches impacted housing tenure security in historic centres?

The first question intends to assess the influence of UNESCO upon local urban conservation and planning policies. The hypothesis for this sub-question is that UNESCO heritage conservation values have more influence on national than local heritage conservation frameworks, yet UNESCO titles have influenced the development of historic centre planning instruments. This is informed by literature relating to urban conservation, planning for historic places, as well as the applicability of international concepts and practices. For this, the Policy Discourse Analysis framework will be the best-suited method approach.

Question two is concerned with the implementation of policies in the urban space to achieve urban renewal. The hypothesis for this sub-question is that planning instruments for historic centres have implemented inductive urban renewal approaches and strategies that loosely address social equality objectives. This is informed by literature relating to placemaking, urban regeneration and renewal, urban commodification discussions and 'Right to the City' conceptualisations. For this, the Place-Transformation Assessment framework is useful to evaluate and analyse the social equality implication of social spatial transformation.

The third question is concerned with the impact different spatial and normative urban conservation policies within urban renewal approaches have had on housing tenure security in historic centres. The hypothesis here is that although the right to housing has been integrated to national and local planning agendas, housing access and security are not fulfilled for all social groups in historic centres. This is informed by social justice, spatial equality, right to housing and housing commodification and gentrification literature. For this, the Right to Housing Evaluation framework is helpful to evaluate and provide insights into housing tenure security processes and outcomes.

3.3   Case Study Research

For this research, a case study approach was chosen as the best method to analyse contemporary phenomena within an existing social urban context. This follows Yin's assertion that case study research is ''an empirical enquiry'' to examine ''current phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context'', where

boundaries between "phenomenon and context" appear diffuse (2009: 18). The case study method provides an appropriate approach to perform an "intensive examination" of a setting (Bryman, 2004: 48). Yin considers three conditions for research design: form of research question, control over behavioural events, and focus on contemporary events (Yin, 2009: 08). In this research, the case study is positioned as an inquisitive analysis to examine contemporary events without intending to effect direct control over behavioural processes to produce specific results. This research design acknowledges the importance of context-based analysis on site-embedded phenomena from which patterns, relations and different processes can be traced and analysed.

Mexico is the country and context where two case studies to address the research question are located. Therefore, both case studies share a common set of laws, norms and cultural characteristics that are important to assess within a context-based analysis. Schramm (1971) considers "the essence of a case study […] is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result" (quoted by Yin, 2009: 17). Each case study thus responds to different organisational structures within the historic centre framework that will be analysed through a cross-sectional holistic case-study design (Bryman, 2004: 45; Yin, 2009: 46). This approach is used to examine the general nature of an organisation or programme, however it must avoid focus on abstract and superficial data that could lead to vague research positionings (Yin, 2009: 52). Moreover, the cross-sectional design is considered to yield "large corpus of qualitative data" helpful to analyse different case studies, where each case is a "focus of interest in its own right" (Bryman, 2004 45, 50). However, Bryman warns the researcher that a cross-sectional research is highly influenced by its qualitative or quantitative design that may lead to "a generation of statements that apply regardless of time and place" (Pp. 50). To avoid this, this research considers a critical assessment to each case study and the relation process of similarities and differences. These are continually assessed by the researcher to test generalisations and non-reflexive assumptions.

In Mexico, the cities of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) are key urban centres with intensified social, urban, and economic dynamics that have

influenced other cities nationally but also in Latin America level and elsewhere. The historic centres within both cities are considered to hold similar social, urban and economic phenomena. Yet they hold divergent place value structures at local, national, and international levels, which have shaped approaches to address them. However, both historic centres have recently been approached through comparable urban renewal agendas. Both historic centres are here used as the units through which to study social urban phenomena as embedded in prominent and challenging cities. In planning research, the use of case studies provides the context through which to analyse social urban phenomena and provide meaningful insights to expand theory and practice.

The cross-sectional case study approach provides the opportunity for in-depth analysis of each case study, but it also gives room for an assessment of similarities and differences across the cases (Yin, 2017: 03). Both case studies function within a common national legislative framework, yet each case study functions as a locally embedded unit of analysis. This provides ''contextual conditions in relation to the 'case' '' to further highlight similarities and differences in relation to one another (Yin, 2009: 46). Yin considers this type of research design as a variant of single case-study designs that can be more compelling and robust (Pp. 46). To address replicability concerns, Yin asserts ''the framework needs to state the conditions under which a phenomenon is likely to be found'' or must be followed (Pp. 54). Social equality through a housing lens within a specific 2008-2019 period is positioned in this research as the key phenomenon to analyse urban conservation frameworks and processes in the historic centres of MC and GDL.

The selection of each historic centre was based on the criteria in table 3-1 to select each case study based on specific similarities and differences. Similar aspects included the selection of historic centres within cities with complex urban dynamics, complex inner-city residential dynamics and urban renewal agendas that promote housing market re-activation. Differences in local and international historic and cultural value to position different urban conservation approaches were preferred. These characteristics also provide the best examples to analyse social equality implications of housing provisions within urban conservation

frameworks in urban renewal strategies. The case studies selected were the historic centre of MC and the historic centre of GDL (analysed in Chapter 4).

Table 3-1. Cases Selection Criteria

	Case Studies Criteria	Type
1	Historic centre within city that has complex social urban dynamics	Similarity
2	High historic & cultural value: local and international titles	Difference
3	Housing market re-activation in urban renewal agendas	Similarity Preferred
4	Complex tenure and residential dynamics	Similarity

Source: Author

The case study of the historic centre of MC holds a World Heritage Site (WHS) title, which has been crucial for recent urban renewal processes, yet it is also a place with significant social urban challenges. The historic centre of GDL does not hold a WHS title, yet it has recently been added to UNESCO's Creative Cities programme and similarly holds pauperised social and urban challenges. These challenges have had a significant role in the urban renewal and redevelopment processes for each place, as further explored in Chapter 4 and empirical Chapters 5-7. Importantly, the researcher has in-depth context-based knowledge of both places due to being a native to GDL and familiarised with MC. This facilitated the understanding of cultural meanings and processes to avoid researcher misinterpretation issues. Although it is focused on two Mexican cities, this research provides insights relevant elsewhere as part of a widespread historic places' phenomena.

The research design to approach the two case studies as an intensive social study within a cross-sectional examination is done through qualitative methods. Interviews and documents relating to a particular context and time are essential, as well as additional observational structures (such as mapping, census data and rents) (Bryman, 2004: 56). This is based on Bryman's cross-sectional 'Research Strategy and Design' table (Pp. 56). The qualitative Case Study strategy is described as: ''intensive study by ethnography or qualitative interviewing of a

single case, which may be an organisation, life, family or community". This is supported by qualitative "interviews […] at a single point in time and […] content analysis of documents relating to a single period" and additional quantitative data to support this study (Pp. 56).

The two case studies are positioned as independent units within a cross-sectional analytical design, where each exemplifies particular dynamics and processes. This approach integrates Bryman's cross-sectional approach to enable a deep understanding of comparable context-based factors. While surveys are not considered for this research, structured observational analysis of existing data sources is integrated to further substantiate qualitative interviews and document analysis regarding a particular moment in time. The 'moment in time' is established as from the implementation of urban conservation through renewal frameworks in the historic centre of Mexico City (from 2008), until the implementation of matching frameworks and processes in the historic centre of Guadalajara (until 2019). This period coincides with the development and promotion of an urban conservation approach by UNESCO (2011) as well as intra-urban development agendas (UN-Habitat, 2016). Relevant previous and posterior documents and data are considered to support the analysis, but the 2008-2019 period encompasses the 'moment' that comprehends this research.

Bryman considers qualitative research can be more concerned with words than with numbers, with three main features: inductive views, interpretivist epistemological positionings and as constructionist ontologically (Bryman, 2004: 266). Walliman confirms this and adds this type of analysis entails that the researcher will collect data, review it, collect more data, and analyse it (2006: 129). Thus, qualitative research is embedded in primary data production and analysis by the researcher. In this research qualitative methods are used, additional quantitative data are included to triangulate and provide insights into primary data sources. This facilitates an analysis that responds to the main research question and each sub-question. An assessment is thus made of implementation processes of urban conservation frameworks within each historic centre and their effects from a housing lens to identify structural social equality effects.

3.4   Methodological Framework

Figure 3-1 shows the research design structure, methodological frameworks, data sources and collection periods to answer the main question and three sub-research questions:

Figure 3-1. Methodological Framework
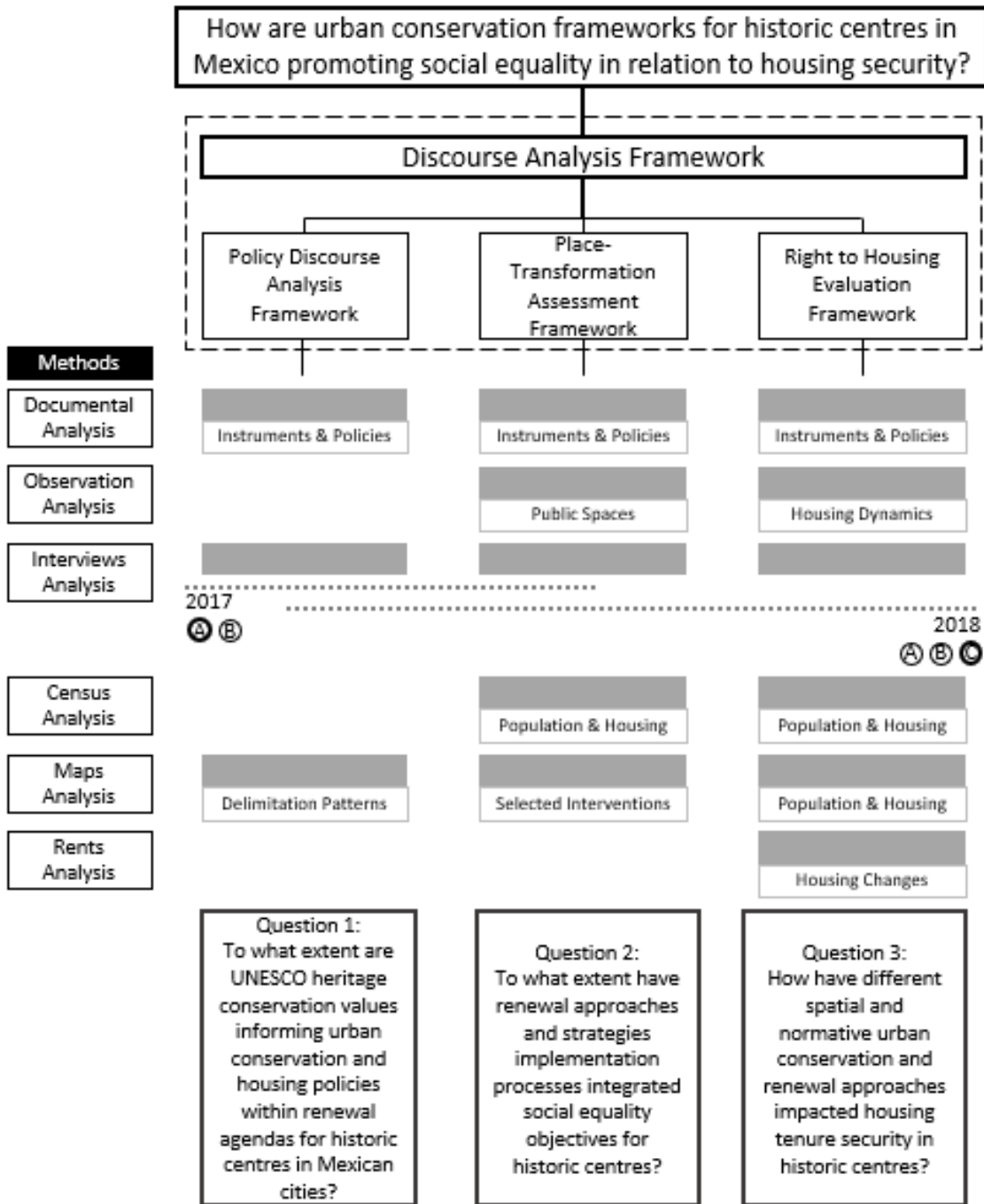
Source: Author

Discourse Analysis is used as the overarching research methodological framework approach to assess how urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico have promoted social equality through housing security. Social (in)equality phenomena in historic centres of Mexico are addressed through the analysis of construction and implementation of conservation frameworks in urban renewal agendas. Discourse analysis is used from the standpoint of discourse analysis in urban studies, which considers its limitations and potential in planning and housing studies. The analysis of discursive representations is located in existing urban spaces that contain and produce social dynamics, which continually shape and are shaped by discursive configurations.

Discourse analysis is described as the study of language in use and the study of meaning-making through discourse as a much broader definition of it (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001: 03). This supports the basic view of discourse analysis as the study of language, as shaping reality rather than mirroring it (Hajer, 2006: 66). As discussed in Chapter 2, in Foucauldian tradition discourse analysis is not the study of language itself but the study of discourse ''as a system of representation'' (Hall, 2001: 72). Therefore, discourse is ''a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historic moment'' (Foucault in Hall, 2001: 74-5). Discourse is also understood as the ''diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned'' by social actors who observe ''and represent social life in different ways'' (Fairclough, 2001: 235). For this research, discourse analysis is taken as the representation or a practice of knowledge to assess a particular phenomenon within a particular time and place.

Social phenomena are assumed as inherently embedded in a location with specific spatial characteristics. However, van Dijk (2008) challenges this by focusing on the implications of 'context' to locate discourse. This suggests that context can be located on different dimensions such as a particular understanding of political context, set of circumstances, etc. (Pp. 03-4). A context can involve ''roles, place, time, institution, political action and political knowledge, among other components'' (Pp. 03). For this research, context is the place where discursive political action and knowledge happen during a particular period of

time. Thus, discourse analysis in this research is undertaken from the planning level to understand the role and implications of discursive formations and representations in the creation and management of urban realities.

This research is situated in a Constructivism paradigm of knowledge to ''gain understanding by interpreting subject[ive] perceptions'' (Lincoln et al, 2018: 113). This paradigm positions knowledge as Relativist because it is created through context-specific processes and thus it is reflective of specific realities (Pp. 114). Knowledge is thus sought through the collection and interpretation of experience-developed understandings and perceptions to formulate a reflection upon reality (Pp. 114). Lincoln et al consider qualitative methods of analysis are best suited for this, as meaning-making processes will be collected, interpreted, and shared to encourage further knowledge and actions (Pp.114).

3.4.1 Methodological Framework 1: Policy Discursive Analysis Framework

The 'Policy Discourse Analysis' Framework is used to address the first sub-research question and is based on discourse analysis as applicable to policy and practices related to planning in historic centres, considered as texts for analysis (Hajer, 2006). For this, UNESCO, national and local policy documents and interviews with local government officers, academics and residents will be analysed. The extent to which UNESCO frameworks and values have informed local historic centre approaches is here located in the rationale behind dominant discourse and policy instruments. By analysing the thinking behind them within discourse it is possible to assess how UNESCO values have informed local historic centre agendas.

The analysis of discourse behind multi-level policy instruments and interviews with a variety of actors will be key to underpin the construction process of the dominant agenda and policies for both historic centres. Through this framework, the narratives, patterns, and rhetoric similarities or differences that shape the approach to each historic centre and create new social urban realities will be assessed. For urban planning studies, Lees identifies two main strands of discourse analysis research as based in Marxist or Foucauldian tradition but considers in practice they have been continuously mixed (2004: 102-3). Also in

planning, Hajer defines discourse as ''an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, […] produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices'' (2006: 67). Lees argues the use of discourse analysis for planning research is a question of method (2004: 103).

Fairclough proposed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as inherently interdisciplinary, to open dialogues between disciplines concerned with linguistic and semiotic analysis with research concerning social processes and change (2001: 230). However, CDA maintains its position as a linguistic and semiotic analytical framework that uses a 'text' as a claim for action (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 48). This research follows Hajer's (2006) position that sets the speaker and discourse within a context to understand argumentative meaning beyond an actor's words or mental images (Hajer on Billing, 1997: 09). Hence, discourse is understood within a context and as a practice (therefore more than just text). This will assist to move beyond an insightful Foucauldian (or CDA) theory of discourse through a combination of assisting concepts to operationalise it (Pp. 08). In this way, the concept of 'argumentative discourse analysis' highlights the importance of discursive story-lines (Pp. 09).

The Policy Discourse Analysis Framework is used to approach discursive analysis of planning policies as not just linguistic information but as cultural constructs under geopolitical contexts within institutional systems that determine their formation and relation to one another. This follows Rydin's assertion of language as both an active and passive textual tool to structure arguments and shape policy processes and outcomes (1998: 178). Close reading of arguments as '' 'texts' of policy'' positions written or spoken forms of communication as practical arguments (Pp. 179). The contextual understanding of policy formation processes as embedded in a cultural system is necessary to understand passive uses of arguments to mobilise and spatially represent the 'emergence of new languages' and policies (Pp. 177).

For the Policy Discourse Analysis Framework Hajer's 10 steps shown in table 3-2 are used to analyse policies and dominant planning agendas as discursive

formations and representations determined by political interests (Hajer, 1997: 07). In this sense, policy discourses are ''different from the concept of policy theory'' insofar as policy coherence is reliant on institutional arrangements and can't be assumed (Pp. 03). Desk research (1), documents analysis (3), interviews (4), analysis of data (5, 7, 8) and interpretation of data (9) are relevant to this research. Steps 2 and 10 imply an initial sampling of interviews and a final discussion of findings with interviewees that are not possible due to differences in research location (GDL and MC) and the researcher's location (London). Finally, step 6 points to an in-depth analysis of inter- and intra-institutional dynamics that is not the focal point of analysis for this research. Although institutional structures and dynamics are relevant to this research, they are approached as a 'cultural system' to structure languages, arguments, and practices in space. While a second visit was made, it was not possible to speak to the same officials due to government staff changes, thus the focus of the second visit was to speak to non-government stakeholders.

Table 3-2. Summary of Hajer's (2006) 10 steps analysis

Steps	Name	Description
1	Desk research	Documents gathering
2	Helicopter interviews	Testing 'overview' interviews
3	Document analysis	Documental analysis
4	Interviews	'Key' players interviewed
5	Sites of argumentation	Arguments within their context
6	Positioning effects	Interpretations of interplay
7	Identify 'key' incidents	Political effects of discourse
8	Analysis of practices	Relation of practice & discourse
9	Interpretation	Discursive structures findings
10	Second visit to key actors	Confrontation with findings

Source: Author based on Hajer (2006: 73-4) (see Appendix 2)

Through a Policy Discourse Analysis Framework, key instruments and interviews with officers and academics as data sources will be identified and gathered to then be analysed and interpreted. Rydin's rhetoric analysis approach is useful to examine written policies and interviews as textual arguments that shape policy processes and spatial outcomes within the chosen steps from Hajer's framework.

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Active and passive arguments, incidents and practices that shape linguistic and spatial discursive structures are thus to be analysed. International, national, and local policy texts were chosen in relation to their relevance to mobilise urban renewal of the historic centres of MC and GDL.

Figure 3-2 shows the international, national, and local policy instruments selected after a 'desk research' process. At the international level, UNESCO's 'World Heritage Convention' (1972) and 'Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation' (2011) are relevant due to their influence to shape national and local approaches for historic centres. However, other instruments such as the 'New Agenda on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III)' (2016) and 'The Right to Adequate Housing, Fact Sheet No. 21' (2014) are also relevant to shape national legislations relevant to this research. National, state, and municipal heritage conservation, urban development and housing instruments were thus also selected. Finally, instruments for the urban renewal of each historic centre, as influenced by all the instruments previously mentioned were selected. A close reading of instruments provided a deep understanding of the 'hidden discourses' within written and discursive structures and allowed to locate 'key incidents' that mobilise and articulate the dominant agenda.

Figure 3-2. Multi-level Conservation, Urban Development, and Housing Instruments

Level	Heritage Conservation	Urban Development	Housing Development
	UNESCO	UN-HABITAT	UN-ECSR
International	World Heritage Convention Historic Urban Landscapes	New Urban Agenda (Habitat III)	The Right to Housing Fact Sheet 21
National	Law for Heritage Conservation (LHC)	Law for Urban Development (LUD)	Law for Housing (LH) Civil Code (CC)
State/Municipal		Mexico City Constitution	Civil Code Jalisco (CCJ) Civil Code Mexico City (CCMC)
Local	Partial Programmes for the Historic Centre of Mexico City , 2000 and 2010 (PP-00 & PP-10) Management Plans for the Historic Centre of Mexico City , 2011 and 2017 (MP-11 & MP-17) Partial Plan for the Historic Centre of Guadalajara, 2017 (PP-17)		

Source: Author

Semi-structured interviews with local urban conservation, urban development, and housing officers and academics in MC and GDL were undertaken as context-based texts for policy discourse analysis. 'Key players' were identified in relation to the institutional role or professional/academic expertise regarding urban renewal, heritage conservation and housing development in each historic centre. A qualitative semi-structured interview approach was chosen to access interviewee's insights within a flexible structure to answer specific questions (Bryman, 2004: 319). Interviews at the local level were useful to understand the historic centre as a 'site of argumentation' where 'key incidents' and practices could be identified, analysed and interpretated by the researcher (Hajer, 2006: 73-4). The answers to the questions within the semi-structure interview format allowed to attain straightforward information regarding place definitions, urban renewal processes and historic centre approaches. However, it also allowed the researcher to gain insights into 'hidden discourses' within language and mental images. The researcher had the opportunity to 'pick up on things said by the interviewee' and explore the significance of discursive structures to shape social

spatial processes and outcomes (Pp. 321). The questions that informed the interviews format and list of questions were the following:

- What are the current regulatory frameworks for urban conservation?
- How has the separation of institutional regulations for conservation and urban development reflected in urban conservation processes?
- Where do UNESCO's structural influence fit within national and local institutional and regulatory structures?
- How are global constructions of values and knowledge across disciplines reflecting and reshaping institutions and regulations for urban conservation at the local level?
- What is the approximation to tourism and housing agendas within frameworks and actions for historic centres?
- To what level do local understandings of social equality determine their overall assessment at the urban level?
- Have there been shifts in approaches and discourses of urban conservation that promote inclusion and infill within historic areas (promoting social equality)?

These questions were formulated considering the main research question and a context-based understanding of both government and academic actors within each field in both cities (Bryman, 2004: 324-5). The structure of the interviews was then designed for government officers (A1 in GDL and A2 in MC), and professional/academic experts (B1 in GDL and B2 in MC) (see Appendix 7). The question sheets' structure was divided in three parts to address the interviewer, their knowledge, and their opinions/assessment. The first part addressed the interviewee's role and position. The second addressed his/her knowledge of historic centres and relevant legal instruments/legislation. The third conveyed exploratory questions relating to key issues relevant to this research to obtain relaxed and meaningful responses. The first two sections are factual while the third aimed to highlight the participant's descriptions and underlying discursive structures that inform them. In this way, the structure of the interview aimed to gradually invite discursive insights that would then provide key discursive inputs.

Appendixes 3 and 4 provide examples of the interview sheets used for the interviews.

Interviews to specifically address housing officers within local government and/or renewal projects during the second data collection visit were designed following a similar structure. These interviews aimed to provide further insights into a particular topic within a semi-structured configuration. But they were also designed to allow for a cultivating discussion where the researcher could pursue key contributions (Bryman, 2004: 324-25). The questions that informed these interviews were the following:

- What are the mechanisms to access housing in historic centres?
- Have regeneration frameworks integrated a housing agenda and is it accessible to all citizens?
- Have there been limitations to ensure social housing in historic centres?
- Have heritage conservation policies contributed or limited the housing agenda for the historic centre?
- Would there be there any considerations to change the heritage conservation framework?

The interviews were specifically designed for government officers (A1 and A2) and are much shorter to foster conversation and cognitive descriptions. The researcher's understanding and familiarity with the setting and cultural behaviours and meanings further facilitated this (Bryman, 2004: 324). The interview is divided in two parts to first address housing-based questions and then gain insights of the relation between housing development and heritage conservation practices. This structure was designed to provide insights into both processes as iterative in the historic centre dynamics. An example of this interview sheet may be found in Appendix 5.

This methodological framework is used in Chapter 5 to answer the first sub-question. It allowed for a close examination of discourse within policy and interviews as mutually reinforcing mechanisms that produce new languages, practices, and social urban outcomes. The use of discourse analysis in this way

is helpful to understand and assess planning studies and practices as context-based processes. This method provides insightful factual but also 'hidden' information within discursive structures. In this way, discourse is not merely a passive text, but a productive argumentative agent within cultural systems that mobilises and facilitates the production of social urban realities. Therefore, Policy Discourse Analysis is taken beyond the reading of policy instruments or spoken statements and is positioned as dependant on institutional, cultural, and other intersecting aspects (such as economic, political, social).

3.4.2 Methodological Framework 2: Place-Transformation Analysis framework

The 'Place-Transformation Analysis' Framework is used to address the second research sub-question and is based on the call to integrate ''local place identity through [combined] community involvement and place-specific design'' (Porter, 2016: 17). Interviews and policies analysed with the Policy Discourse Analysis framework are useful to identify key urban renewal-based incidents within both historic centres as sites of argumentation (Hajer, 2006: 73). This framework continues an assessment of local policy and government officer's discourse but focuses on urban renewal policies and implementation processes to understand recent social spatial changes in historic centres. Demographic characteristics from census data, zoning maps, building characteristics and photographs of the areas of study are also relevant to assess place transformation processes and implications.

This framework will provide an understanding of the extent in which social equality objectives have been integrated within the practice or representation of urban renewal discursive structures in a specific context and time (Hajer, 2006: 74). To do this, this framework borrows from place-making and urban design frameworks that aim to integrate a ''people-centred way of envisioning public spaces'' to assess the transformation processes of already existing places within the 'need for change' narrative (Porter, 2016: 17). However, it is important to not lose sight of nostalgia as a planning component and the planners' perceived ability to influence urban life (Burgess, 1979: 319-20). This is relevant to assess the argumentative statements that influence the urban landscape intervention strategies in dominant discourse. Moreover, social urban dynamics and

community involvement (beyond initial consultation processes) are also important to position placemaking as a holistic approach in its application.

Place-making provides an appropriate lens to examine and assess place transformation at historic centre-wide and micro-scale inner-areas levels. The Place-Transformation Analysis permits an understanding of these urban and social processes, to not only put attention on urban design changes but also on community-related impacts from place alterations. The selection of two corridors within each historic centre under urban renewal agendas where housing market re-activation is found allows for a direct analysis of practice of place-transformation policy and discourse. Corridors are taken as streets along several blocks selected by local authorities to mobilise an urban renewal agenda. In this way streets are positioned as places where people ''meet and socialise, where businesses are located, where [people] walk and cycle, and where the public life of the city carries on'' (Carmona et al, 2018: 01).

Through the analysis of historic centre-wide policies and discourse and their micro-scale application on selected corridors, social and urban notions and implications will be uncovered. The type of social spatial unit chosen by the dominant planning agenda to implement urban renewal within the historic centre is of central relevance. Importantly, corridor projects must be assessed according to an evaluation of characteristics relevant to this research, following these criteria:
- Social spatial unit (barrio, corridor)
- Type of corridor (touristic, cultural-housing, office, religious, commercial)
- Discourse of transformation (potential areas: repopulation/redensification, tourism)
- Similar socioeconomic characteristics (deprived/less deprived)
- Governance partnership model (public-private investment arrangements)

These criteria will be useful to identify transformed social, spatial and governance dynamics and processes within historic centres. Moreover, the Place-Transformation Analysis focuses on housing oriented urban renewal interventions to address the main research question. Urban renewal interventions

are thus assessed here as discursively constructed under nostalgic and context-based notions to mobilise specific social urban development processes. A combination of normative, spatial and social factors are examined to set the basis for criteria that indicate spatial elements for analysis to provide an assessment.

Indicators in table 3-3 for the Place Transformation Evaluation Matrix were developed based on place branding and place-making literature and policy documents criteria that identify varying levels and representative elements of social urban change. Carmona et al's (2018) 'Four-part holistic framework for analysis'[5] was also useful to assess the 'Urban Densification', 'Heritage Conservation' and 'Street Level' objectives. Additionally, Fincher et al's (2016) use of MIT's social justice assessment of sense of place for renewal processes was integrated to assess the 'Social Place' objective. Overall, the Representation and Production stages within Porter's (2016) (based on Du Gay's Circuit of Culture) were here used to organise Normative and Spatial articulation levels.

Table 3-3. Place Transformation Evaluation Matrix

Articulating Level	Objective	Description	Representative Elements	Normative Structure
SPATIAL	Street Design	Street elements that convey physical fabric and function	Facades, furniture, lighting, heights, art	Development scale, real estate, aesthetic image
	Urban Infrastructure	Street type, vocation and urban accessibility	Street conversion, obstacles, connectivity	Zoning, mix uses, development incentives
	Heritage Conservation	Authenticity notions in levels of conservation and intervention	Building changes, condition levels	Appropriate uses, intervention restrictions
SOCIAL	Social Involvement	Community engagement and Management involvement	Public & civic discourse, community support	Design & implementation engagement
	Social Place	Local routines and place democratisation	Versatility, safety, mixed neighbourhood	Community agency & claims to place

Source: Adapted from Carmona et al, 2018; Fincher et al, 2016; Porter, 2016.

Visual information gathered from data collection visits and from external sources, as well as policy discourse analysis, census data and maps, and researcher observations are used to evaluate and assess Place Transformation in each

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[5] physical, social, movement and real estate

historic centre. A close reading of policy documents and practice from interviews with government officers are useful to understand implementation processes and urban interventions. Visits and photographic evidence are important to identify spatial and social elements in relation to the urban context and its normative considerations. Finally, the use of population data analysis and maps provided useful information to assess social involvement and urban patterns.

This methodological framework is used to answer the second sub-question in Chapter 6. It allowed for a close examination of the urban space transformation and its social urban implication. A set of criteria and elements are established to analyse the repositioning and transformation of historic centres and inner areas as 'places' or 'islands of development' (see Chapter 2). The use of discourse analysis for policy documents and interviews provided a rich body of data to understand urban transformation objectives and implementation processes. Moreover, in-depth knowledge is gained beyond the visual aspects of the urban space and room is made for the assessment of narratives of change. Therefore, the urban space is not just a container of institutional discourse subject to material re-constitutions of meaning and value, but it is an evolving space shaped by different groups and dynamics (Madanipour, 2003). Thus, this framework is used to assess material and social urban dynamics within historic centres, as places subject to contrasting interpretations and dynamics that evidence their multi-layered social urban complexities.

3.4.3 Methodological Framework 3: Right to Housing Evaluation Framework

The 'Right to Housing Evaluation' Framework is used to answer the third research sub-question and it is based on the right to housing evaluative criteria to analyse housing security processes as well as affordability and quality, as discussed in Chapter 2. For this, interviews with residents as 'key players' were attained to challenge dominant discourses of housing in historic centres. Additionally, demographic characteristics from census data, housing market rental prices data and maps are useful. Moreover, the Policy Discourse Analysis framework is useful to analyse policy documents and interviews to access insights into housing processes in historic centres and selected urban renewal areas within them. Importantly, interviews with residents were key to contest or confirm key incidents

identified in dominant discourse and provide an integral analysis of housing market interpretations and practices (Hajer, 2006: 73-4).

There are increasing housing studies being undertaken through the methodological framework provided by discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis (Marston, 2010; White & Nandedkar, 2021). However, concerns that discursive analysis approaches of policy documents may reinforce existing relations by setting linguistic limits to the possibilities of change must be considered (Hastings, 2000: 133). It is important to assert the relation of both text and practice to assess ''actual activities and social relations'' may offer insight into social phenomena and asymmetries through a meaning production study (Pp. 133-5). Therefore, it is important to keep a critical approach to challenge all data considered (Pp. 138). This will help to avoid the possibility of researcher's subjective pre-conceived notions or opinions to influence research on the housing phenomena under analysis. This is important to this research, especially in relation to the researcher's personal opinions regarding dominant discourses of housing within historic centres.

As previously examined in Chapter 2 (section 1.5.1), social justice and equality may be evaluated through substantive or transformative procedural or outcomes-based assessments (Hay, 1995; Hepple, 2014). This research focuses on transformative equality for opportunity of access to inform the evaluation of a plurality of housing discourses (Deleuze, 1986). Yet a consideration of outcomes is also relevant for this assessment. In so far as equality of procedural opportunities may reflect increased claims for a right such as housing. In this way, more opportunities of access may reflect increased housing security outcomes for different socioeconomic and demographic groups.

The seven elements that comprise the Right to Housing provide a straight-forward set of criteria to ensure the fulfilment of the right within a legal framework (see Chapter 2). Figure 3-3 conveys the structure used in this research to achieve social equality through the assessment of the right to housing processes and outcomes. However, Hohmann has discussed the complexity in applying them across trans-national states within context-based understandings and

applications (2013: 18). Despite this, *Security of Tenure* (1) is positioned as the main aspect to ensure the right to housing, which is undertaken as the main point of analysis to assess housing in this research. Moreover, this element is supported by and analysed in relation with *Affordability* (3) and *Habitability* (4) criteria in this research. The remaining four criteria elements will be touched upon in this research but focus will be on elements one, three and four, especially in Chapter 7 to answer sub-question three.

Figure 3-3. Right to Housing - Social Equality Assessment Structure
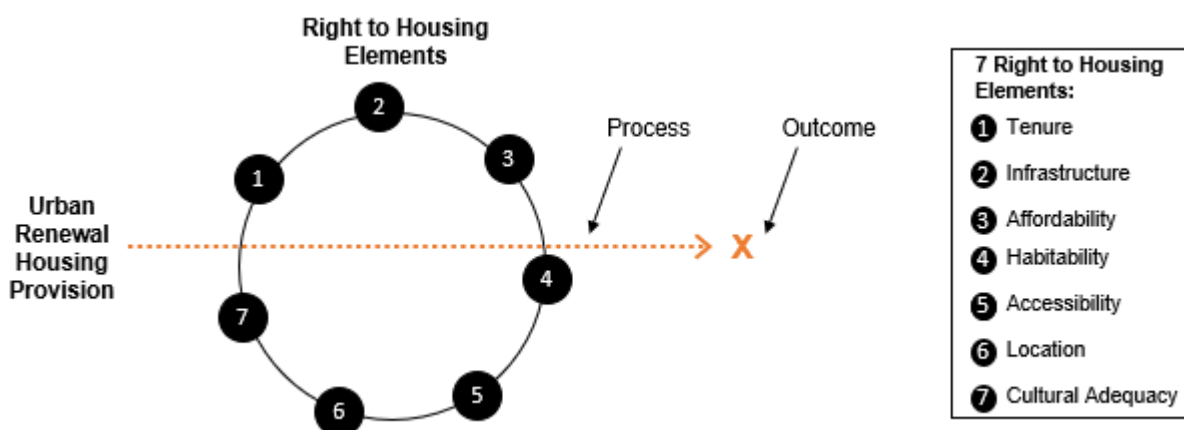
Source: Author based on Hohmann (2013)

The Right to Housing Framework approach was informed by concepts in right to housing literature, and social justice and equality literature (see Chapter 2) to analyse and assess national and local policy documents as well as interviews. Focus is placed on strategies, policies and implementations that affect directly or indirectly housing provision and security processes. This will provide insights into the constraints and potential imposed by linguistic structures in discourse to reconfigure the housing landscape within transformed urban places (Rydin, 1998: 178). Housing is thus positioned as a tool for social development beyond a housing market strategy that may result in current residents' displacement. Housing discourses are located within the historic centre area and urban renewal areas within them to provide in-depth knowledge of social urban implications of housing changes.

Table 3-4 shows the structure used to evaluate housing security in historic centres. Tenure, Affordability and Habitability are established as the three main elements to be analysed. Different elements and indicators were identified to assess each element. Ownership or possession types that consider private and public ownership structures, including tenancy as temporary ownership as well as legal protections to retain housing were linked to Tenure. Affordability is assessed through different property investment and rent contract types. Finally, Habitability or Quality is evaluated through an assessment of housing unit type structures changes and property maintenance expectations. This follows Hohmann's assertion that physical regulations specificity may exclude some groups that may not have the capacity to fulfil them and for whom financial and legal access and provision types may be an expense (2014: 24-5). An analysis of national and local policy documents and interviews with residents were combined with census data and a random sampling of online local real estate sites to address this evaluative matrix.

Table 3-4. Housing Security Evaluation Matrix

Concept	Variables	Indicator
Tenure Security	Asset Possession Type	Small Owner, Developer, State Owner, Public/Private Tenancy
	Displacement Protection Type	Retention, Compensation, Relocation, Notice
Affordability	Tenancy Contract Type	Market (formal contract), Affordable Rent, Frozen (expired contract), Informal
	Access Structure Type	Market, Public-Private Subsidy, Bank Loan, Investment Incentive
Habitability (Quality)	Housing Unit Type	Single, Shared, Family
	Maintenance Type	Property Maintenance & Conservation: Low, Moderate, High

Source: Based on Hohmann, 2014

To assess key similarities and differences within both historic centres, a set of interviews aimed at residents was designed following a semi-structured design to

analyse 'key incidents and practices for a researcher 'interpretation' analysis (Hajer, 2006: 73-4). A select group of residents within each historic centre, as representative 'key players', were interviewed to gain insights into housing access, quality and security processes and outcomes. Residents were selected through a careful consideration of contact recommendations on-site. The criteria to select residents was based on the intention to gain knowledge from longstanding and new residents in historic centres, especially if they lived or had lived near the urban renewal areas under study. This was discussed with a prominent community leader in each historic centre, who then facilitated contact with other residents who fulfilled these characteristics. Specific questions in relation to housing processes to interview residents were used as a guide to establish communication and assess housing practices within historic centres:

- What are and have been the processes to access and retain housing in historic centres?
- What have been the implications of urban renewal processes for housing attainment and retention?
- How have heritage conservation policies limited or facilitated housing tenure, affordability and quality?
- Which are the key challenges of housing within a conservation agenda for historic centres?

These questions aimed to address the residents' personal housing experiences but were also designed to gain insight into shared housing experiences across the historic centre as a community. The questions and structure of the interviews were formulated considering the main research question, with an intention to obtain further knowledge on local housing processes and challenges. In this way, the experience of a key individual may shed light on the experiences of a variety of people, thus a limited number of interviews may convey a larger scope of experiences than initially deemed (Starks, 2007). Semi-structured interviews to allow for 'alternative avenues of inquiry' that may provide further insight into a more specific topic with residents were obtained through a snow-balling process to access key local individuals (Bryman, 2004: 324). Thus, the structure of the interview (Appendix 6) gives room to address personal position and experiences

that may be relevant to inform and provide meaningful analysis. The interviews with residents were organised as C1 for GDL and C2 for MC.

Housing tenure, affordability and quality descriptions by existing and new residents will be analysed and compared to government officials and policy discourse. This will provide differences or similarities in the indications of key incidents and housing policy changes implications for residents. A mix of qualitative and quantitative data (census data, rent market prices) are useful to do this. Moreover, discursive indications by residents will provide further understanding into housing complexities in historic centres.

Additionally, a property lawyer based in GDL was reached to confirm or correct legal housing terms and processes described by residents at the national level but also for each city. Contact was made in August and October 2020 through Zoom, although it was not recorded notes were allowed by the interviewee. Additional to this, as well as policy and discourse analysis, frequency tables of census data and assessment of housing rent price changes are produced. Tendency measures of selling and rental prices in 2019 are compared to those expressed by residents in 2018 about before urban renewal processes took place (2008).

The historic centre level is the entry point of analysis to understand area-wide legal provisions and social urban processes. Closer analysis on urban renewal areas within them are assessed to provide insights into shifts from existing housing demand to potential housing demand areas in historic centres. Housing tenure structures, affordability and habitability changes are analysed in relation to conservation policies and practices. This is done to evaluate a link between housing provision and heritage conservation with residential displacement processes. By doing this, social equality is evaluated through housing agendas within heritage conservation and urban renewal approaches to historic centres.

This methodological framework was used in Chapter 7 to answer the third sub-question. It permitted an in-depth evaluation model to understand and assess housing tenure, affordability, and quality in historic centres within an urban

conservation framework in local planning instruments. The use of this framework helped to understand complex housing dynamics and patterns that challenge dominant discourse assumptions and practices. The analysis of discourse allowed in-depth insights into housing narratives and hidden meanings of housing processes in historic centres. Moreover, the use of quantitative sources allowed for an encompassing analysis that was useful for the cases of this research but that can also be relevant to assess other historic places. The right to housing framework is useful to understand the complex social, urban, and economic factors and outcomes of housing provision.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis Processes

3.5.1 Data Collection Process

Yin identifies three overriding principles to undertake data collection for case studies: a. multiple sources of evidence, b. a case study database, and c. a chain of evidence (2009:98). For this research, a careful examination of these principles was undertaken to set them as a layout to approach the data collection process. The multiple sources of evidence are a combination of 'primary' and 'secondary' sources of data within a case study design to identify chains of evidence. Primary sources of data are those that have been ''observed, experienced or recorded'', while secondary sources of data have been previously produced and written or interpreted data (Walliman, 2006: 51). Both types are useful in this research to produce a more complete body of knowledge and a richer study.

3.5.1.1 Case Study Data

Yin's (2014) 'six sources of evidence' structure for case-studies research is here used to identify the multiple sources of evidence relevant to this research, including their strengths and weaknesses (see table 3-5). Sources of evidence include documents, archival record, interviews, observation, participation, and physical artefacts (Yin, 2009: 98). Yin's 'Six Sources of Evidence: strengths and weaknesses' table is used in this research to assess limitations or strengths of different sources, which need to be considered for the collection of data (2009:

102). This research includes documents, archival records, interviews, observations, and additional sources such as visual images, census and sample rental data as useful sources of evidence. The use of a variety of sources is motivated by Yin's assertion that various sources are ''highly complementary'' of one another (2009: 101).

Table 3-5. Sources of Evidence: Strengths and Weaknesses

Sources of Evidence	Types	Stage	Notes
Documentation	- Existing Literature - Policy Documents • National • Local + International Instruments	- Literature Review - Data Collection & Analysis	Selective but can be viewed and reviewed throughout research (ibid: 103).
Archival Records	- Census data & GIS maps	- Data Collection & Analysis	Accessibility may vary but, if accessed, can be reviewed throughout research (ibid: 105).
Interview Sources	- Government Officials (Group A) - Experts (Group B) - Residents (Group C)	- Data Collection & Analysis	Targeted and insightful; importance of questions (ibid: 106-7).
Observational Sources	- Photographic Evidence - Visit Notes	- Data Collection & Analysis	Of 'natural setting, insightful to unspoken motives and features (ibid: 109-10).
Additional Sources	- Social Media - Rental/Buying Platforms	- Data Collection & Analysis	Related to Archival Records but as found in non-institutional online platforms.

Source: Author based on Yin (2009)

3.5.1.1.1 Documents Sources

Documents are considered stable sources as they can be viewed repeatedly and span many events and periods of time, yet they may reflect author/institutional bias that put reliability into question. A systematic search and gathering of relevant documents such as policy instruments at international, national, and local levels within different institutions and fields were of central importance to this thesis (Pp. 103). Relevant national legislation documents go as far as 1972 but for local instruments focus was placed on the 2008-2019 period (except when necessary to investigate further). This period covers the implementation processes of urban renewal agendas in MC (2008) and in GDL (until 2019), for

which specific planning instruments were designed and produced (see figure 3-4).

Policy documents were obtained through online search of the different heritage conservation, urban development, and housing legislations. Familiarisation with the documents was necessary before interviewing government officials, thus the collection of policy documents started in early 2017. In the case of local planning instruments, it was through interviews with local government officials that knowledge of key instruments was gained and they were obtained online afterwards. Thus, most of the local planning instruments were procured after the 2017 data collection visit. No constraints were found to gather the documents online, although recent online searches have evidenced some documents are no longer available to the public after national and state government changed in late 2018. This has not affected this research because the relevant documents were previously downloaded and stored. However, this implies future difficulties for researchers seeking these documents.

3.5.1.1.2 Archival Records Sources

The Archival records source adds quantified data such as census data or maps (Pp. 105). Archival records are useful to add precise data to the study yet they were challenging to attain due to 'privacy reasons' or information availability. Therefore, the selection of data and its accuracy and bias must be assessed and evaluated (Pp. 106). A challenge may result from the census data criteria and release dates. In Mexico they are produced every five and ten years, with varying levels of detail and changing criteria. This research used census data and maps provided by INEGI for each historic centre to address demographic and occupational data (https://www.inegi.org.mx/). Because of difficulties in locating the data, the researcher accepted help from an expert in Guadalajara to attain and organise fragmented data from both case studies into two central files.

However, because the periods in which census data and maps were produced and the difference in methodologies, it was assessed that not all census data and maps were comparable to one another. This was due to differences in scale and

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detail of information, criteria, and relevant up to date data. For this reason, the census and maps data used for this research are of 2010 (https://www.inegi.org.mx/programas/ccpv/2010/). The decision was made to not compare it to an insufficient 2015 dataset. Similarly, data from 2000 and 2005 were not sufficiently developed to provide meaningful insights. Because of this, data produced before or after 2010 was taken from local policy instruments. In some cases, they provided a greater amount of detail than the data available to the public.

3.5.1.1.3 Interviews Sources

Interviews were assessed as strong sources of evidence that provide in-depth targeted case and phenomena-relevant data. Semi-structured interviews were key to ensure interviewer and interviewee maintained a dialogue in line within the interest and purpose of the research as well as arising topics related to it, as ''structured conversations rather than structured queries'' (Pp. 106). The design, formulation and processes were carefully undertaken by keeping in mind that researcher bias may affect data depth and richness as well as its reflexivity. For this research, interviews with government officers within conservation, urban and housing institutions at the local and national level were pursued, as well as interviews with academics and key residents in both cities (see Appendix 7). Interviews were gathered in two different periods in May-July 2017, and then in May-July 2018:

- 2017 Interviews Collection

For the first data collection visit, easier contact was made with representative officers and academics or professional experts in both cities (groups A and B). This was due to personal contacts, who facilitated communication and meetings with further representatives. Moreover, because of personal safety concerns focus was given to the attainment of interviews with these groups at that time. Communication was generally initiated via personal email, phone call or recommendation (snow-balling process) that led to text message or phone call communication. This was then followed by an explanation of motives for the

interview. Responses were predominantly positive, and a time and place were agreed for a meeting. Significantly, when representatives were contacted formally (ie. letter or institutional email) the response was generally negative or not answered.

Interviews took place mainly in work office places or, in some cases, in public coffee shops. In total, 27 interviews were attained with Groups A and B in both cities in 2017. There were 18 interviews with Group A (9 in MC and 8 in GDL) and 9 interviews with Group B (3 in MC and 6 in GDL). No interviews with residents (Group C) were attained during this visit. Comparatively, more interviews with Group A were attained and there was a slightly higher response rate in GDL. This was due to a snow-balling process facilitated by GDL-based contacts of the researcher. However, relevant data from both cities was acquired. Interviews took between 14 minutes and 2 hours, with an average of 30-45 minutes for both cities. Group B interviews were generally lengthier.

- 2018 Interviews Collection

A second visit was undertaken from May-July 2018 to approach more government officers and academics not previously reached, but mostly to approach residents in the areas of study. Previous contact with residents was made by the researcher through a snow-balling process through third person facilitation. This was enabled by shared contacts between key residents and the researcher in both cities. For interviews with officers, a similar process to 2017's data collection interview attainment process was followed.

All the necessary steps were taken to ensure the researcher's safety by closely following UCL guidelines (ie. meeting in public spaces, informing contacts of work locations). Interviews with Group A participants took place in offices, while interviews with Group B and Group C participants took place in public places such as coffee shops, restaurants, or parks. In some cases, Group C participants preferred to be interviewed in groups or with a close friend present. This highlighted the importance for the researcher to create a friendly environment yet

remain within the purpose of the interview and its structure (Bryman, 2204:118-9).

A total of 19 interviews were attained: 3 with Group A participants in GDL, 2 with Group B participants in MC and 14 with Group C participants in both cities (7 in GDL and 7 in MC). Time average for duration of groups A and B interviews were similar to those from the previous visit. Meanwhile interviews with group C participants tended to approximate an hour, with few exceptions. Interviews with this group were structured as more conversational and descriptive within the semi-structured interview design. Overall, 46 interviews were secured from both visits, with key representative participants of Groups A, B and C (21 for Group A, 11 for Group B, and 14 for Group C). More Groups A and C participants were secured in relation to Group B participants. Figure 3-6 conveys the responses from heritage conservation, urban development and housing officers for Groups A and B interviews in total as well as key local representatives within each city.

Figure 3-4. Interviewed Groups
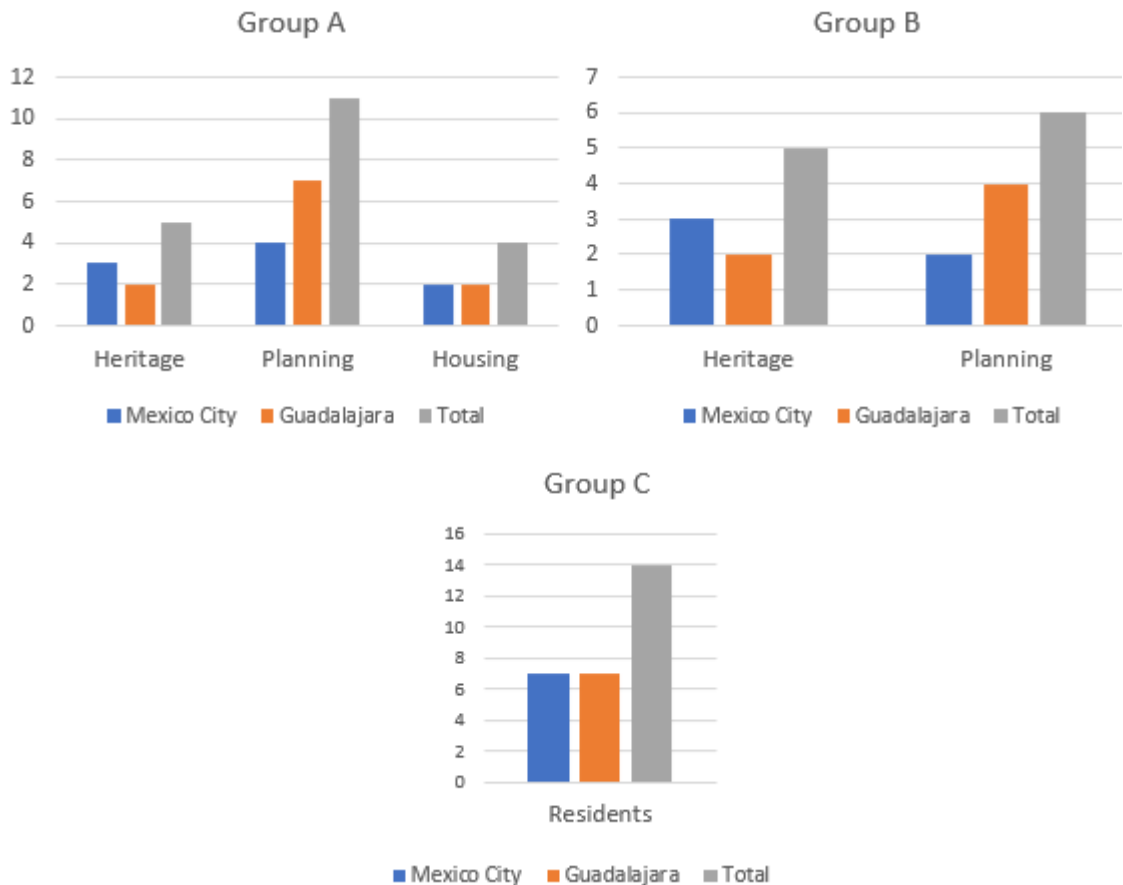
3.5.1.1.4 Observational Sources

Within Yin's considerations, Observational evidence sources were undertaken as direct and indirect data to assess contextual or interpersonal characteristics. For this research, direct observations as notes and photos were used to address context-based occurrences in their natural setting (Pp. 109). Although this form of data collection may be time-consuming, it was carried out during data collection visits by focusing on specific aspects to observe and record (Pp. 109). Planned visits to observe conservation, urban and housing characteristics were undertaken. During the data collection visits, aspects such as social spatial dynamics, urban infrastructure and design, and context deterioration were recorded with photographs and notes. Close attention was paid to aspects highlighted by participant's observations. It was during the second visit that a more meaningful observations were made, with stronger focus on the selected corridors. This helped to shed light on the differences among historic centres.

3.5.1.1.5 Additional Sources

Additional sources of data that do not necessarily convey primary data yet provide useful, ongoing evidence important for 'data triangulation' purposes were integrated (Yin, 2009: 116). Data attained through online platforms (ie. news outlets, renting sites) conveyed context-relevant information. Home rental and buying data as available through online platforms was used as descriptive of home access processes that do not require direct contact. These sources provided insightful knowledge of social urban patterns of interest to this research to support or confirm research assumptions (Pp. 102).

Flat and/or room rental platforms were mentioned by residents as a tool to access the housing market in the areas. These platforms provided data that can be monitored as an observer to gain knowledge of the rental market in the areas. The selection and monitoring of these platforms was aimed to only represent a sample of rental prices examples in both case studies. The platforms consulted were:

- Propiedades.com[6]
- Trovit Casas[7]
- GoPlaceIt[8]
- Inmuebles24[9]
- Segunda Mano[10]
- Viva Anuncios[11]
- Mitula[12]

3.5.1.2 Case Study Database and Reliability

From different sources of evidence, a body of multiple data sets provided a ''corroboratory mode'' that allowed for 'data triangulation' in the data analysis stage (Yin, 2009: 116). The data was organised within a case study *Database* (Yin's second principle), which provided an organisational structure that facilitated analysis and enabled the possibility of external validation (Pp. 118, 122). Data organisation was done through physical, computer files, and other electronic documentation containers (Pp. 118-9). For this research computer files were useful to organise sources of data and groupings within them. For interviews, NVivo as an organisational and analysis facilitating programme was used. Additionally, back-ups were saved in the UCL 'N' system, which is protected and only accessible to the researcher. Additional back-ups in secure locations such as the researcher's work laptop and a research-only USB key were necessary to ensure any electronic malfunctions would not negatively affect the research process.

Additional to a database, Yin considers it essential to produce and build an ''annotated bibliography'' that is easy to access such as pdf copies and storing electronically. For this, it is good to establish hierarchies between documents to create easier access (Pp. 120). Tabular materials or any quantitative data was ''stored and organised as part of the database'' (121). The database and organisational structures guaranteed reliability in the data location and easy

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[6] Found at: https://propiedades.com/ (accessed 25 June 2020).
[7] Found at: https://casas.trovit.com.mx/ (accessed 25 June 2020).
[8] Found at: https://www.goplaceit.com/ (accessed 25 June 2020).
[9] Found at: https://www.inmuebles24.com/ (accessed 25 June 2020).
[10] Found at: https://www.segundamano.mx/ (accessed 25 June 2020).
[11] Found at: https://www.vivanuncios.com.mx/s-departamentos-en-renta/guadalajara-centro/v1c1300l15146p1 (accessed 25 June 2020).
[12] Found at: https://casas.mitula.mx/ (accessed 25 June 2020).

access to the researcher or any interested external person/body to ensure a *Chain of Evidence*, showing the derivation of evidence and trace steps taken (Pp. 122). Clarity of data sources, as well as organisation and database structures were key to achieve this.

3.5.2 Data Analysis: Process and Boundaries

The data analysis process for a qualitative research was carried out under a set strategy or framework to guide the analysis of the data to minimise the tendency in qualitative studies where quantity and reliance of data may be questioned (Bryman, 2004: 399). There are different ways of organising the steps for data analysis, but they are generally grouped in similar ways. For this research, Yin's four steps were used: theoretical propositions reliance, case description development, qualitative data, and rival explanations examination (2009: 130-5). The qualitative strategy positions qualitative data as critical to explain and/or test research propositions, while quantitative data is useful to substantiate the final evaluation (Pp. 132-3). This follows Walliman's suggestion of a design of matrices and networks to organise and explore data (2006: 136). This provided the researcher with an analytical guide and the reader with a synthesised understanding of the analytical process. Figure 3-7 follows Yin's steps and techniques, the study proposition (research question) was key to organise and analyse predominantly qualitative data. This was followed by cross-case interpretation to attain the final research evaluation.

Figure 3-5. Research Strategy
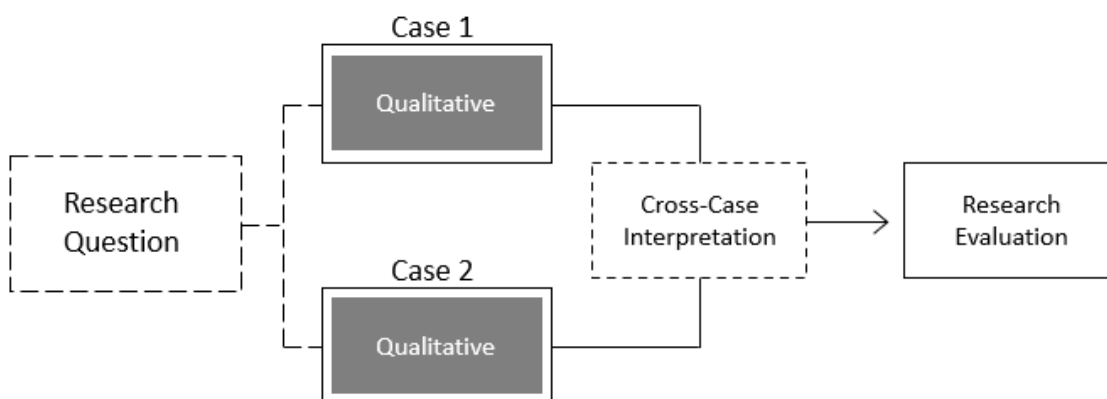
Familiarisation with data provided in-depth knowledge, as proposed by Thematic Analysis, allowed for the groupings and organisation of different variables (Yin, 2009: 137). Coding and theme definitions and organisation were used to categorise and identify patterns and causal links between data (Pp. 137). Cognitive positionings were identified to trace events in discourse from participants (Walliman, 2006: 138) and to assess neighbourhood changes (Yin, 2009: 147). Additionally, quantitative data in the form of census data, maps and rental prices trends were analysed through simplified frequency tables and central tendency measures (Bryman, 2004: 227, 229). The data for each case was cross-examined to identify similarities and differences to provide aggregate pattern chains to indicate strong argumentative interpretations and final research evaluation (Yin, 2009: 160).

3.5.2.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

3.5.2.1.1 Familiarisation

This step was borrowed from Thematic Analysis, as ''a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data'' (Braun & Clarke, 2008: 79). Familiarisation of data preceded the coding of primary and secondary sources. Bryman suggests that repeatedly reading through transcripts, visit notes, documents, and other sources is useful (2004: 409). This step was undertaken for policy documents and interviews.

NVivo (through the transcription processes) and Word programmes were useful to become familiarised with interviews and documents. NVivo is referred to as ''a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software'' that digitalises information and analysis (Bryman, 2004: 417). At this stage, this software enabled a simple process of transcription and organisation. Each interview file was organised within its own folder, named after each interviewed group (government A, academic B, and resident C), the city of collection number (GDL: 1 and MC: 2), and sequence of occurrence (.1,.2,.3, etc.) (see Appendix 7). Interviews were

transcribed from audio to textual form, giving the researcher deep understanding of tone, intention and use of language for discursive statements and social urban phenomena.

The process for policy documents included the organisation and categorisation of the documents depending on institutional field (heritage conservation, urban development, and housing), and level (international, national and local). An initial close reading of the documents was performed (Rydin, 1998: 178). This was followed by repeated readings that allowed the researcher to gain deeper content knowledge (Braun & Clarke, 2008: 87). Each reading provided information to identify rhetoric, narrative, and argumentative characteristics.

3.5.2.1.2 Coding

Coding is the starting point for most qualitative data analysis types (ie. grounded theory, thematic) (Bryman, 2004: 408). As the selection of ''interesting features of the data in a systemic fashion across the entire data set'' (Pp. 87-8). For this research, 'interesting features' as key incidents and relevant practices within policy documents and interviews as texts were identified. For policy documents and interviews, a matrix to record and define each code was created using an Excel Sheet file. As ''two-dimentional arrangements of rows and columns to summarise a substantial amount of information'' data set lists or matrixes (Walliman, 2006: 136).

Codes and their definitions respond to relevant aspects within a substantial amount of data as summarised and systematicity organised. Notably, coded data may differ from the units of analysis and relates to the systematic organisation of data into meaningful groups that may be 'data-driven' (deductive) or 'theory-driven' (inductive) (Braun and Clarke, 2008: 88). For this research, initial codes were influenced by the research questions as an inductive theoretical proposition, yet emergent deductive data was integrated. The process of coding was iterative, coding and re-coding accordingly as was relevant to the study (Braun & Clarke, 2008: 89).

For policy documents aspects such as document structure, focus and use of language were assessed to assert passive or active narratives (Rydin, 1998: 178). After several document readings, a process of highlighting and assigning preliminary codes was carried out on paper documents and using Word (full list in Appendix 8). Preliminary codes from policy documents were central to approach interviews following the data collection visit of 2017. It was the researcher's preference to do this manually as a mobile analytical structure.

For interviews, coding was done using NVivo's 'node' option to group textual passages within a document to hold information about it (Bryman, 2004: 423). NVivo was useful to record, organise and ''label different aspects of the subjects of study'' and revise them continually (Walliman, 2006: 133). A first descriptive process of coding was undertaken for interviews using NVivo, this produced a total of 120 codes after the 2017 data collection visit through an iterative data analysis process (see full matrix in Appendix 8). This stage was useful to identify and organise data but also to design and conduct further interviews in a posterior data collection visit in 2018.

After the data collection visit of 2018, a second process of coding was undertaken. Many initially separate repetitive 'events' or 'concerns' as codes were grouped into leading or encasing codes. Figure 3-8 shows shapes A, B and C as the most mentioned codes. While a, b and c were also mentioned many times, they are inherently shaped by and embedded in A, B and C. Finally, codes with varying levels of mentions were organised in relation to how they related to A, B, C, and a, b, c concerns or events (see Appendix 9). This re-coding process was undertaken to produce a shorter yet more concise list of codes to facilitate analysis of events and incidents conveyed in discourse.

Figure 3-6. Early Codes Grouping

A	Heritage Conservation Legislation	1 Renewal & Transformation
B	Place Monumental Value	2 Status & Strategies
C	Conservation & Development Strains	3 Priority Areas & Betterment
a	Urban Landscape & Identity	4 Density and Attractiveness
b	Housing Decay & Market	5 Investment Projects & Speculation
c	Governance Challenges & Partnerships	6 Zoning, Uses & Jurisdiction
		7 Stigma & Safety
		8 Housing Quality & Value
		9 International Reach
		10 Agendas & Obstacles

Source: Author

A total of 31 codes were produced through a re-coding process (full list in Appendix 10). While Groups A and B generally conveyed similar outlooks to separate social urban events within and to approach historic centres, Group C generally conveyed often contrary outlooks in relation to the same events and topics. Figure 3-9 shows the final codes list. From this, similarities and differences within discursive narratives were assessed (see Appendix 11). Generally, the main concerns of Groups A and B tended to differ from Group C in relation to renewal governance and social dynamics (ie. densification, sense of place).

Figure 3-7. Codes List

Name	Descrption
Delimitation	Legally determined and protected 'Heritage Conservation Area' as geographic delimitation and location
Dynamic	The historic centre as dynamic place and container of ongoing social urban events and activities
Expansion	Increasing inclusion of historic centre area into city-wide planning instruments and strategies, blurring conservation-based strategic delimitations
Identity	Social urban identity associated to the historic place and its social cultural heritage and traditions
Location	Locational embeddedness or separation of historic centre from the wider urban fabric of the city
Abandonment	Indication of absence of residents in historic centre buildings and also abstentee institutions and owners, with increased physical degradation
Dereliction	Indication of physical decay of the urban landscape, loss of features in buildings and cheap rent
Decay	Indication of informal, often illegal, social urban dynamics and occupation of physically decayed buildings and environments, linked to low-brow places
Floating Population	Transitory daily population groups for activities and/or uses such as tourism, retail or offices and their impact on historic centres
Underuse	The partial use or occupation of buildings and/or public spaces that could service or hold more users, linked to dereliction and degradation processes
Unsafety	Indication of unsafe activities and personal safety challenges, linked to dereliction, illegal activities and/or informal groups
Advantage	Assessed opportunity for and from renewal transformation for new residents and private development investment projects
Betterment	Renewal actions of the public and semi-public/private space within selected opportunity areas and to be replicated elsewhere
Densification	Mobilisation to increase amount of 'formal' residents within existing buildings along urban renewal project areas and through out the historic centre
Promotion	Urban renewal actions as strategy to mobilise development expectations and envisioned benefits to live and invest in historic centres
Transformation	Urban renewal strategies and actions to produce change on private space level within a selected area or corridor
Commitments	Importance and adherence to legal and ethical commitments with international institutions such as UNESCO or UN-Habitat
Costs	Heritage conservation costs of singular buildings and urban landscape that may exceed instutional and/or local government capacities

Displacement	Projected and real processes of residential and retail displacement consequential of renewal-densification projects, linked to new demographic groups
Drawback	Challenges to fulfil regeneration and densification expectations such as new socioeconomic dynamics and new residential groups attraction
Pressure	Created pressure on residents of historic centres by urban interventions and changes in the social urban landscape
Continuation	Struggle to maintain residential permanence and community, as linked to traditional social groups and place characteristics
Funds	Amall owners or tenants financial constraints to access ownership or tenancy as well as to make home impreovements, linked to loan and subsidies challenges
Sense Displacement	Economic pressure implications on existing residents and sense of imminent displacement (by cost rise or forced evictions)
Social Dynamics	Sense of temporality of new residents and struggling social dynamics with 'traditional' residents
Sense Place	Intangible social cultural characteristics associated to a place, considering both its historic 'memory' and its current and ongoing dynamics
Well Being	Top-down assessed well-being for existing and new residents as produced by renewal interventions and projects in historic centres

Source: Author

3.5.2.1.3 Themes

The identification of themes relates to codes analysis from a broader level, as a conceptualisation process to group and sort ''out the different codes into potential themes'' (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 89). Genres and discourses can be identified at this stage to assess distinctive patterns (Fairclough, 2001: 241). Braun & Clarke point to 'Ussher and Mooney-Somers' (2000) approach to identify ''patterns (themes, stories) within data, and theorises language as constitutive of meaning and meaning as social'' (2006: 82). Themes can thus highlight events, incidents, and social practices.

A pattern or theme can be predicted and/or deduced by following an iterative inductive and deductive process (Yin, 2009: 137). Research questions and literature thus inform sensitive incidents and practices identified within the data. Because of the richness of a qualitative study, rival and similar themes may be produced to challenge initial researcher or theoretical positions (Pp. 140). This stage also provided the opportunity to assess ''if the meaning of what [was] being said can be related to the practices in which it was said'' (Hajer, 2006: 74).

Figure 3-10 shows the list of themes-codes in this research, which convey discursive social and material incidents. Hajer's seventh step was used to highlight key incidents to group codes within themes. A pattern mapping and

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matching process to review and assess codes was undertaken. In total, six different themes were identified to group codes containing different yet interconnected incidents and practices. Each theme was listed and defined in a spreadsheet to facilitate its external reading and for the researcher to use (see Appendix 12). Each theme was assigned a prefix for NVivo and Excel data sheets use (M- Meanings Definitions, C-Cognitive Descriptions, E-Expectations Opportunity, S-Structural Limitations, P-Product Implications, and A-Applications Effects).

Figure 3-8. Themes Groups with Codes

Source: Author

Figure 3-11 conveys a clear difference in the codes and themes referenced by each interviewed source. Groups A and B in both cities more strongly addressed 'Meanings Definitions' and 'Structural Limitations' themes. Meanwhile 'Product Implications' and 'Application Effects' were preferred by Group C. While 'Expectations Opportunity' and 'Cognitive Restrictions' were consistent across groups and participants.
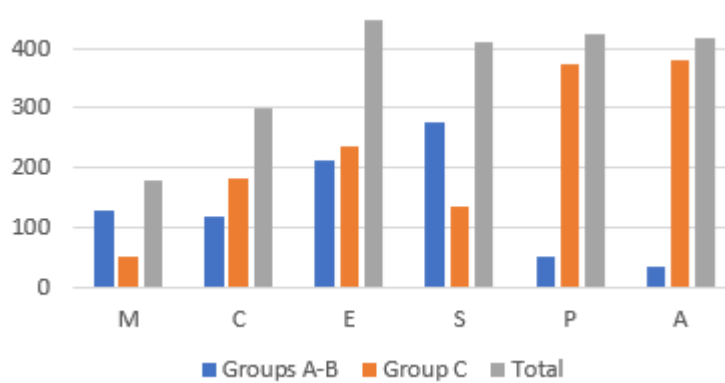
Source: Author

From themes, social urban patterns were identified and assessed as cognitive maps in discourse to evidence key moments or incidents (Yin, 2009: 148). This provided an additional level of detail of existing codes and themes. In this way, relevant discourse and practice-based phenomena were identified. This process compared key incidents and events to policy documents and interviews across groups, as shown in Chapter 7.

3.5.2.1.4 Rhetoric and Argument

In this research, the identification of themes was not the final step before the production of a final 'report' to explain a thematic phenomenon practices (see figure 3-12) (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 93). Hajer's 'Interpretation' step was thus followed to account for practices and discursive structures within sites of argumentation to explain events (2006: 74). The analysis of codes and themes was helpful to uncover 'hidden meanings' within the linguistic structure or argument to describe practices or events (Walliman, 2006: 142). This allowed the identification of new or emerging languages or arguments, as passive or active vehicles (Rydin, 1998: 178). A 'set of causal links' mobilising and affecting a phenomenon were considered, as ''the final explanation may not have been fully stipulated at the beginning of [the] study'' (Yin, 2009: 143).

Figure 3-10. Discursive Interpretative Structure

Languages	Narrative	Argument
Concepts used for 'narrative'	Role and meaning in 'argument'	Discursive 'events' and 'sites' of production

Source: Author

This process entailed a close reading of documents and interviews with a continual assessment of codes and themes to identify hidden meanings and causal links. This was useful to identify languages and narratives repetition across texts to trace discourses and clear or hidden arguments within them. This cross-examination process was done using Excel sheets, systemically identifying and defining both straight-forward and hidden meanings of discourse. Languages, narratives, and arguments were identified in national and local policy documents and within interviews (full process in Appendix 13).

3.5.2.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

3.5.2.2.1 Frequency Tables

Frequency tables were useful to relate different types of variables and data (Bryman, 2004: 227). Here they were used to analyse census data and interviews data, with straight-forward numbers and percentages. This allowed an interval/ration variable format that helped the researcher to categorise, group and show data in a clear and structured format. Careful groupings within categories (ie. age groups, socioeconomic variables, occupancy levels, etc) did not overlap (Pp. 227-8).

Census population and housing data from INEGI 2010 datasets were organised within datasheets that provided numeric information for different categories and variables within them (ie. demographic information and different age groupings as variables). The relevant categories and variables to this research were separated and regrouped (if data were disaggregated and could be grouped more efficiently). This was done with pre-existing (secondary) data to undertake a triangulation process with qualitative sources of data. The researcher did not

design a measurement model but proceeded to select some sets of data of interest over others.

In the case of interview data, frequency tables were used to the extent of a numerical assessment of participants within groups relating to different codes and themes. A more complex organisational structure was not needed. This provided a straight-forward set of quantifiable measurements of qualitative primary data. Overall, the use of diagrams was also useful to showcase and display this information where deemed as necessary. Maps produced via ArcGis and Adobe Illustrator were used to illustrate data.

3.5.2.2.2 Central Tendency Measure

Central tendency measures are referred to as encapsulating ''a value that is typical for a distribution of values'' (Bryman, 2004: 228-9). Three different forms are recognised: arithmetic mean (average), median, and mode (Pp. 229). For this research, mean and median were useful to assess differences in rents across both historic centres and the corridors or surrounding areas (see Chapter 7). Mean or Average is the sum of all the variables and dividing them by the total of variables (Pp. 229). This was useful to provide a general assessment considering all variables of the data. Median is the ''mid-point in a distribution of values'' identified by enlisting all values and selecting the two middle numbers of the distribution (Pp. 229). This was useful to evidence the separation between highest and lowest value and assess the middle value. The use of this was helpful to provide a triangulation with qualitative primary data within a simple model that follows the steps described above.

A total of 16 rent examples for each MC and GDL, of which 4 were corridor-centred in MC and 5 corridor-adjacent in GDL. The rest cover historic centre-wide data, helpful to assess a historic centre-wide phenomenon. Examples were randomly selected and the samplings were limited to 16 housing rent options. While a similar approach was undertaken for housing sale examples, available data did not cover a wide range of market options and housing real estate

transactions. This would require a process of secondary data investigation and economic analysis that is outside the scope of this research.

3.6   Validity and Reliability

Validity, Reliability and Replication are considered by Bryman as the three most prominent criteria to evaluate social research (2004: 28). Yin considers Validity and Reliability as 'tests' that occur at different phases during the research. These are research design, data collection and data analysis phases (2009: 41). Validity (internal and external), Reliability and Replication as assessed by both authors were considered.

Internal validity is concerned with explanatory case studies to identify causal relationships to explain an event (Yin, 2009: 42). Validity may be threatened if the author does not consider the wide array of factors that may influence events in the assessment (Pp. 42). Furthermore, when the author makes assumptions that shape and direct the study, which threatens validity and credibility of final results (Pp. 43). Yin considers this is often found at the data analysis stage. For this thesis, this was reviewed across research design, data collection, data analysis and writing stages.

The researcher was careful of personal bias, as the topic of research, the case studies, and challenges being studied are of close interest. Because of this, the researcher was careful to design and undertake the research with an objective structure to separate her own bias or thoughts to not intervene with the research objective. The geographical distance between the place of residence (London) and the case studies (Mexico) helped to further establish a separation. While the researcher may have her own opinions about the different aspects at interplay within her own research, this was consistently kept in check by focusing on an impartial research structure and the responsibility to produce a reliable study.

External validity is considered as ''the problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generisable beyond the immediate case study'' (Pp. 43). External Validity is linked to Reliability, which refers to making sure a third person can

obtain same findings and conclusions by following and retracing the researcher's methods and analysis (Yin, 2009: 45). Moreover, for a study to be relevant in different contexts and scales, it must be tested by replicating its findings in different settings (Pp. 44). Notwithstanding the single or multiple case study design, this is inherently related to the study so that it can be reapplied in different places and scales. Validity and Reliability are inherently linked to Replication of research design and subsequent stages to validate the research findings and conclusions.

For this research, official policy documents, interviews, census data, observations and accessible online platforms provide credible data sets that may be accessed and attained by a third person retracing the steps of this research. Yet socio political characteristics of a different moment in time from the period of this research may produce different governance, residential and urban assessments (ie. many policy documents previously accessed by the researcher in 2017-2019 are no longer available). It is important to consider both contextual and time-based factors as having a significant role in research data collection and analytical process for findings and conclusions. Because of this, Bryman recognises the importance of internal credibility, external transferability, dependability and confirmability of research and researcher theoretical inclinations, values, and findings (2004: 273, 276).

These case studies are used as representative of places with cultural value undergoing renewal and redevelopment processes within urban conservation frameworks. Assessed through an overarching discursive analytical design supported by methodological discourse analysis policy, placemaking and right to housing frameworks. The research design and analysis allowed for a social equality assessment of two separate case studies. This may be applied as an assessment tool for historic centres or places with cultural value elsewhere.

3.7   Researcher Positionality

A personal and professional interest in historic areas conservation and their social dynamics was shaped by personal experiences, educational background, and

professional experience. Interest in the topic was informed by growing up in GDL, a medium-scale city, with a historic centre that is often described as pauperised yet culturally relevant for city-wide identity. Later, degrees in BA in Architecture and MSc in Heritage Conservation ensured close contact with historic areas. This provided the opportunity to witness and form personal notions of past and current social urban conditions, enriched by visits to other historic centres in the country of study. Furthermore, professional practice as a planner for private firms and government provided me with knowledge about governance dynamics relevant for city-wide and historic centre focused projects. The interest in historic centres was nourished by observing a consistent dual discourse that position historic centres as significant but pauperised places, yet meaningful community dynamics are overlooked.

The researcher positions herself as an 'Enriched Insider as a Critical Friend' within Fletcher's (2019) five stages of 'Typology of Critical Friend Research' (based on Banks' four-step 'Typology of Crosscultural Researchers', 1998). Fletcher's stages include: 'Embedded Practitioner Researcher (or Indigenous-Insider)', 'Expatriate Researcher (or Indigenous-Outsider), 'Enriched Insider as a Critical Friend', 'Outsider Invited as a Critical Friend (or External-Insider), and 'Detached Observer (or External-Outsider)' (2019: 83). This researcher was socialised within the community but has aimed to provide objective and informed research upon a topic within a familiar context. Thus, 'Enriched Insider as a Critical Friend' positions her as someone with high context understanding and community support to access qualitative information yet within critical analytical position.

This was supported by having developed knowledge to objectively analyse a situation and provide meaningful theoretical insights. Because of the researcher's background, access to government officers and academics was facilitated. While being a student positioned her as lower (within a power structure) than a government officer or academic, being a research student at UCL was perceived as a strong legitimising tool and thus positive responses were attained. Separately, because of personal interests and acceptance of key residents in the areas, the researcher was trusted and treated as an equal.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Walliman describes ethics as ''the rules of conduct in research'', linking ethics to honesty in the work and in relation to other people (Pp.148, 152). This section is concerned with the individual and interpersonal implications of this research for the subjects, the researcher, and the institution(s) of and for study. Bryman considers this is a crucial aspect of social research as ''the role of values in the research process becomes a topic of concern'' (2004: 506). Four ethical principles must be avoided: 1. Harm to participants, 2. Lack of informed consent, 3. Invasion of privacy, and 4. Deception (Pp. 509).

This research applied Bryman's four ethical principles at the stages of research design, data collection visits, and findings writing. Concerns that guided the research design included trust-building between researcher-interviewees, selective care of interviewees, and limiting safety risks related to possible negative attention due to the research topic. Because the research explores housing displacement in places with important economic and political interests, it was necessary to not bring unnecessary attention on the researcher. Government officers, academics and residents approached for this research were selected based on mutual contacts and the UCL letterhead as the institution through which the study was undertaken helped to legitimise the researcher and be taken seriously. Moreover, street or house-to-house public surveys were avoided because violence has increased in Mexico, especially for women in the last decade.

The research design was directed under UCL Ethical Codes guidelines, also followed to conduct data collection visits, interviews, data storage and writing. Ethical approval was attained for both visits, submitting a Low-Risk form to the UCL Research Ethics Committee and a Risk Assessment form, both approved in 2017 and 2018. Information Sheets and Ethics Content Forms were produced from these guidelines and used to undertake interviews with participants during each visit. A Study Away Leave from UCL request was made and approved by the department, and Travel Insurance was obtained through UCL Services.

Before each interview, participants were presented with an Ethics Consent Form and an Information Sheet (in Spanish) to clarify intentions and implications of the research (see Appendixes 14 and 15). Permission to record the interviews was requested both in person and via the Information Sheet for research analysis purposes. The option to withdraw from the interview, stop recording at any moment or not take part was explicit from the beginning and was well-received. In all cases, participants agreed to take part and signed the Ethics Consent Form, stored for record purposes. Interview recordings were stored in a usb drive especially used for this research and on the researcher's UCL Network N:Drive folder. Interviews were anonymised and assigned a code and number. Once the thesis is completed the transcriptions will be kept by the researcher and recordings will be deleted.

The researcher clarified the academic nature of the work being produced yet misgivings of its implications were hinted at. UCL-backed sheets were crucial to ensure interviews were followed appropriately. They helped to position the researcher as an authority figure beyond an imbalanced interviewee-student structure, as would normally be the case in the context of Mexico. To further protect the researcher of the implications of this thesis, no official names of interviewed individuals as well as people and economic or political groups are mentioned in this thesis by name.

3.9   Research Limitations

Research limitations relate to decisions to avoid potential harm to research participants and the researcher that may result in research design and conduction difficulties or changes (Walliman, 2006: 155). Personal safety issues for the researcher were associated to increased violence against women in Mexico over the last decade, as well as increased gang activity in cities. These events motivated the researcher to conduct a representative number of interviews with government, academic and residents over surveys or higher number of interviews. Contact with representatives of group A were made after careful consideration of sensitive topics, while contact with group C proved delicate

because of high levels of insecurity in the areas and initial low trust by residents to participate. Another concern arose from a limited availability of policy documents and census data from the national and local governments and institutions, as national and local governments have changed since 2018. This made it difficult to locate all relevant sources and disaggregate data in some cases.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined and described in detail the analytical framework used to design and guide the steps taken to analyse the chosen historic centres as case studies and units of analysis. Within the Mexican context, the historic centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara were chosen as the units of analysis in a cross-sectional holistic case-study design. Discourse Analysis is the overarching methodological framework to assess the main question of the extent to which urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico have promoted social equality through housing. Under this structure, 'Policy Discourse Analysis', 'Place-Transformation Assessment' and 'Right to Housing Evaluation' frameworks were established to answer each sub-question. Hajer's (2006) steps to gather, attain, analyse, and interpret data provided a research analysis structure that is qualitative research supported by quantitative data to provide a robust research.

The research methods provided a structure for a multi-level analysis across two different planning and conservation organisational structures (Bryman, 2004: 45). The process to assess, gather or collect and analyse different sources of data was established. Data was gathered after two data collection visits to the cities of Mexico City and Guadalajara in 2017 and 2018. This was followed by data analysis to respond to the research questions laid out at the beginning of this research and as a guide throughout its writing. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the findings of this process of investigation after Chapter 4 outlines the national and local contexts for each historic centre.

This chapter contemplates the research implications to consider such as validity, researcher positionality, ethical considerations and existing strengths and limitations of research design, methods, data collection and data analysis (Yin, 2009: 102). The use of a qualitative approach integrates secondary quantitative data to support or challenge primary qualitative data and to substantiate a critical and enriched final analysis and assessment (Pp. 132-3, see figure 3-9). Following this, Chapter 8 presents the final conclusions of how urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico promote social equality through housing tenure security. Through a structured framework this chapter set out the procedures or steps to approach the research question and subsequent data collection, data analysis and writing.

4 Chapter 4 – Context: Mexico City and Guadalajara in Mexico

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter offers the international, national, and local heritage conservation, urban development and housing institutional and policy structures and agendas under which the historic centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara operate. This is explored to understand urban agendas shift and focus on inner-city development to counter peripheral urban sprawl trends in relation to historic centres. Moreover, the role of UNESCO for national and local policy-making processes is set out, to be more closely examined in chapter 5. Equally, the gap between heritage conservation with urban development and housing agendas is addressed to assert the complexities to 'renovate' and redevelop historic centres.

The contexts of the historic centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara between 2008-2019 provide an overview of each historic centre's institutional and policy development processes. The type of UNESCO designations found in each historic centre is determinant of different cultural and urban commitments to address each area. While the historic centre of Mexico City must fulfil its World Heritage Site obligations, the historic centre of Guadalajara has been integrated into the Creative Cities Network and has one World Heritage Monument. These designations ensure differentiated approaches, yet each historic centre has undergone similar planning processes to reassess their social, urban, and economic context (Coulomb and Vega Rangel., 2019: 397-98). Ultimately, historic centres are places with cultural value but with need to fulfil social, cultural, economic, and urban needs under social and economic pressure (Garcia Espinoza, 2008: 85).

4.2 Situating Historic Centres and Heritage Conservation in Mexico

In Mexico, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) framework, based on Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) criteria discussed in Chapter 2, has shaped

the national heritage conservation approach (Cortes Rocha, 2014: 22-3). The OUV criteria has been mobilised as a discursively systematised vehicle to 'improve' historic places with increasing poor physical and social conditions (Patiño Tovar, 2010: 50). Although not all Mexican historic centres hold UNESCO or national 'Monument Zone' (MZ) recognition, they are all largely approached as separate entities from the wider urban context they are embedded in (Garcia Espinoza, 2008: 81). This positions historic centres under separate national and local heritage conservation and urban development agendas.

INAH (National Institute of Anthropology and History, 1939) is Mexico's main heritage conservation institution (see appendix 16). This institution predates the formation of UNESCO, which was formed alongside Mexico's second heritage conservation body INBA (National Institute of Beautiful Arts, 1946). In their early stages, both national heritage conservation institutions followed nationalistic rather than international ideals, as part of a sociocultural movement at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century (Sanchez Gaona, 2012: 58). From this, heritage conservation was legally developed through a variety of federal laws. Importantly, their focus changed over time, from 1897 (archaeological monuments), 1930 and 1934 (environmental, archaeological, historic, and artistic monuments), and 1968-1970 (Pp. 60, 62, 63). Mexican heritage conservation law is thus acknowledged as complex and derived from cultural meaning-making and legal denomination processes, first under national and then international principles (Pp. 58).

Sanchez Gaona positions 1972's 'Federal Law for Monuments and Archaeological, Artistic and Historic Zones' (LFMAAHZ, hereafter cited as Law for Heritage Conservation (LHC)), created under the Constitution's article 73, fraction 25, as the operational heritage conservation law (Pp. 57, 66). Mexican legislation for conservation of built heritage is significantly influenced by international charters and bodies to assess 'cultural relevance' (Cortes, 2014: 20). International documents like the Athens Resolutions (1931), the Venice Charter (1964) and the Quito Charter (1967) still hold significant operational influence on the LHC (Pp. 20). This highlights UNESCO's influence on Mexican

policy development, as guided by international criteria and values (Pp. 22-3). The legal ratification of the WHC in 1984 further established this.

To reinforce the promotion of heritage conservation, the LHC advocates the national interest of active ''research, protection, conservation, restoration and recuperation of archaeological, artistic and historic monuments and monument sites'' (1972: art 1-2). Meanwhile, the WHC's article 4 calls for State Parties to ensure ''identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission'' of heritage. All this is to be done with ''international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical'' methods (1972: art. 4). National law for heritage conservation is therefore aligned to international law. Separately, Cortes points to the importance of following the WHC criteria for sites to be eligible for WHS titles and be part of an international heritage conservation project (Pp. 22). More recently, the 'Law for Cultural Rights' (LCR, 2017) addressed cultural human rights in articles 4 and 73 (2017, art. 1).

4.2.1 National Heritage Conservation Agenda and the Historic Centre

The WHC positions historic centres as man-made landscapes associated with ''monumental buildings or ensembles'' (UNESCO, 1972: art. 10(i)). This upfront monument-based focus is followed by the LHC, which defined historic centres as ''monuments zones'' (MZ) (GM, 1972: art. 37-41). However, two different definitions of 'monuments zones' are provided. First, as areas integrated by ''various artistic monuments associated with each other'' (art. 40). Second, as ''areas that encompass various historic monuments related to a national event or […] of national relevance'' (art. 41). The differentiation between artistic and historic MZ derived in Perimeter A (historic) and Perimeter B (artistic) delimitations for historic places.

The LHC separates between high to low value archaeological, historic, and artistic monuments; low value buildings are also referred to as 'environmental' buildings. Historic monuments (from the 16th to 19th centuries) have the highest legal 'protection' from INAH against alterations or interventions (art. 36). Artistic monuments (20th century onwards) are legally protected by INBA in relation to

their national/local relevance. This is measured according to historic, technological, or stylistic parameters, under a higher level of selection scrutiny than historic institutional or religious buildings (art. 33). The LHC Regulation instrument contemplates environmental buildings as part of 'where' the monument is located (1975: art. 19). Cortes Rocha and Salomon (2014) also point to a four-level value system to assess heritage building value: monumental, relevant, traditional or contextual, popular, and 20th/21st century (Pp. 103). While environmental/contextual building definitions are more developed in state and municipal instruments, from the national level they are positioned as providers of contextual value to the 'monuments landscape' (see Chapter 5).

The national legal MZ status for historic centres is determined by the amassing of monuments. It is consistently the amassing type of monuments and not the overall historic urban landscape that determines the MZ delimitation area. Buildings with historic value are thus clustered in 'Perimeter A' or MZ (hereafter called historic centres). Thus, environmental buildings and their use is assessed aesthetically and functionally in the service of the nearby monument. A variety of legal levels of 'protections' against physical change or interventions inside or outside buildings is assessed from this lens.

The legal protection of historic centres relies on national, state, and local level governments and INAH, INBA and Secretary of Culture dependencies. These institutions uphold LHC definitions to regulate and protect buildings from actions that affect a monument's context, architectural composition, and authenticity. Strong legal protection is given to buildings with national 'monument declaration'. This is attained after a thorough application process by the State or individual to INAH (in case of historic buildings) or INBA (in case of artistic buildings) and awarded by the President (art. 05). Any conservation, restoration, intervention, or maintenance works must be approved by INAH, INBA or the Secretary of Culture (art. 06, 07). Doing this without approval is punishable with a penalty fee (art. 47-55). Restrictions are also set for environmental buildings regarding elements that hinder or affect the image of the nearby monument (signs, lamp posts, etc) (art. 42). Importantly, each state and municipality have further normative instruments

with additional descriptions and criteria to assess monuments and MZ within their jurisdiction (art. 4).

Separately, UNESCO conventions have moved away from monument-centred approaches, as seen in Chapter 2. These international shifts highlight how, with only minor revisions and additions since its publication in 1972, the LHC has remained a monument-centred operational tool for heritage conservation. Two reforms, in 1984 and 1988, focus on artistic value criteria and palaeontological heritage protection (Sanchez Gaona, 2017: 71). Most recent reforms and additions, from 2018, relate to institutional changes and capabilities, as the previous national cultural institution CONACULTA was replaced by the Secretary of Culture. Elsewhere, the LCR does not provide additional definitory or structural shifts from monumental notions. Only a brief reference to duties by the Secretary of Culture to protect and restore national monuments and MZ is made (2017: art. 23.5). This positions historic centres as primarily monumental sites at legislative and operational levels, in clear tension with international shifts towards urban conservation approaches. This strengthens Labadi's call to shift from a monumental heritage conservation approach to one that makes ''concrete the global objective of sustainable development at the economic, social and environmental level'' (Labadi, 2016: 153).

4.3   Situating Renewal and Redevelopment of Historic Centres in Mexico

As cities grow and become polycentric entities, each 'centre' within responds to different social and economic needs and capabilities (Carrion, 2014: 44). Historic centres in Mexico are deemed as a cultural centralities with historic and cultural dynamics (Pp. 14). Hiernaux (2010) considers that to understand current social and physical constructions of Mexican historic centres, their transformation and implications overtime must be comprehended. He suggests the physical dimension of the 'historic centre' derives not only from the inherited built landscape but its ongoing social urban dynamics (Pp. 36). By the mid-19th century, historic centres in Mexico underwent significant shifts due to political changes and burgeoning urban expansions that led to abandonment and physical degradation processes (Pp. 31-2). These processes arose due to major political

and spatial shifts: the religious disentailment of property and peripheral residential development. This led to a gradual shift in relocation of housing, economic and political activities outside of city centres (Morales Schechinger, 2010: 88). A gradual social urban transformation ensued in historic centres, from affluent households to blacklisted and low-income housing and neighbourhoods (Pp. 88).

Gutierrez Chaparro (2009) considers it was after the 1910 Revolution that, with the nationalist reconstruction project of the 1920's, urban planning was developed at theoretical and normative levels in Mexico (Pp. 58). Additionally, modernist planning notions highly influenced a national expansionist planning agenda. This has presented pressing urban challenges after the mid-20th century, as urban population increased dramatically and resulted in urban exclusion and segregation (Cortes Rocha, 2014: 24). Notably, while national heritage conservation legislation and instruments have not included UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (HUL, 2011), urban planning instruments have most recently included it to assess in historic areas. This is found in 2016's 'General Law of Human Settlements, Territorial Order and Urban Development' (hereafter referred to as LUD). The LUD situates historic centres as ''sites, places or buildings with archaeological, historic, artistic, environmental or any other value'' within the 'Natural and Cultural Heritage' definition (2016: art. 3.27). Yet historic centres are also classifiable as ''areas constituted as urbanised zones'' in the 'Population Centre' definition, where conservation, betterment and other urban practices may take place (2016: art. 3.6, 3.13).

4.3.1 National Urban Development Agenda and the Historic Centre

With the publication of the General Law for Human Settlements in 1976, urban planning was institutionalised in Mexico (Gutierrez Chaparro, 2009: 61). It established urban development projects and strategies centred on transit infrastructure and peripheral urban development. Gilbert & de Jong note that the Constitutional amendment of Article 27 in 1992 to control irregular settlements and the growth of mortgage for the housing industry further shaped the expansion and sprawl of Mexican cities (Pp. 523). Another significant move towards massive

urban decentralisation would come with the 2000-06 administration's support for the peripheral housing financial market as a driver of the economy (Pp. 524).

The focus on housing and the need to address living conditions and supply for poorer populations in cities with rapid growth in UN-Habitat II's agenda influenced the Mexican planning agenda (UN, 1996: art. 2). The need to reaffirm the commitment to adequate shelter for all was especially highlighted by a new housing agenda (art. 4). The construction of massive housing complexes in peripheries of Mexican cities during the 2000-06 period was centred around the provision of housing for low-income population groups. This expansionist housing and urban developing system continued in the 2007-12 administration (Lobaton Corona, 2018: 104). However, these complexes did not provide good housing or urban environments, therefore original residents have vacated them and these have become unsafe residential sites (El Financiero, 2020). Recent focus on urban centralisation has encouraged non-expansionist urban agendas (United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development, 2016). Because of this, discussions on urban rights through the 'right to the city' have been raised in Latin American cities to mobilise sustainable and just urban agendas (see Chapter 2).

After important human rights-oriented reforms to the Mexican Constitution in 2011, Mexican urban legislation has arguably seen a discursive shift. Although Latin American Constitutions have always incorporated and functioned within Human Rights frameworks (even in 19th century political structures), this represented an important step for an urban planning shift in Mexico (Gargarella, 2015: 7-8). National instruments revised human rights assessments to include new urban, housing, and cultural notions, as called upon by the New Urban Agenda (UN, 2016). In 2016 the LUD committed to promoting adequate housing, conservation of historic areas and introduced repopulation and mix uses strategies for historic areas. Thus, urban development provisions are applicable to historic centres as part of city-wide agendas, where:

''All people have a <u>right to live and enjoy</u> cities and human settlements in <u>sustainable, resilient, healthy, productive, equitable, just, inclusive, democratic and safe conditions</u>.'' (2016: art. 2) [emphasis by author to highlight discourse]

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This statement conveys access and enjoyment of urban spaces for all people within a normative, economic, and spatial conception of cities. The concept of the 'Right to the City' as 'the right to live and enjoy cities' is here institutionalised. Justice-based normative (just, inclusive, democratic), economic (productive, equitable, sustainable) and spatial (resilient, healthy, safe) aspects are referenced to describe an ideal social urban landscape. Meanwhile, the Law for Housing (2014; LH hereafter) does not make a direct reference to the urban agenda but states housing is ''a priority area for national development'' (art.1). It is in the National Housing Programme 2014-2018 (NHP, 2014) that a link between housing and urban agendas is reflected upon to focus on the re-centralisation and diversification of urban activities:

*''…orderly growth of human settlements, population centres and metropolitan areas; to consolidate compact, productive, competitive, inclusive and sustainable cities that facilitate commuting and raise the quality of life of its inhabitants; and promote access to **housing through** well-located, decent housing solutions and in accordance with international quality standards.''* (Pp. 05)

This statement links the housing agenda to a shifting inner-city agenda by setting key urban and housing strategies. First, 'ordered urban growth' via new compact, productive, competitive, inclusive, and sustainable cities through street-level urban projects is set out. Housing is then established as key to achieve this, and the main housing aspects are location, housing types and quality standards. Like the LUD, the NHP considers normative (inclusive), economic (productive, competitive, sustainable) and spatial (compact) aspects. Clearly, housing redevelopment in historic centres plays a central role to mobilise a new urban agenda.

Table 4-1 shows the normative, economic, and spatial aspects within urban and housing agendas in the LUD and NHP instruments. This highlights the normative and economic aspects of space, through which social urban aims will be expanded and fulfilled. Spatial aspects in both are positioned to address and provide a dense inner-city urban agenda. The NHP also considers a 'competitive' and 'compact' landscape, which points to specific economic objectives that echo LUD property provisions.

Table 4-1. New Urban and Housing Agendas

	Normative	Economic	Spatial
LUD	just, inclusive, democratic	productive, equitable, sustainable	resilient, healthy, safe
NHP	inclusive	productive, competitive, sustainable	compact

Source: Author based on LUD, 2016 and NHP, 2014

Table 4-2 shows the five principles presented in the LUD to plan, regulate and manage Mexican cities (art.4). These principles provide the framework under which urban renewal strategies are to be designed, planned, and produced by local governments. Each principle takes on different aspects. However, the 'Right to the City' and 'Right to Property' principles stand out as the most concrete principles to address inner-city urban and housing agendas, which the remaining three principles intersect with.

Table 4-2. Urban Development Principles

Principle	Description
Right to the City	Access to housing and basic infrastructure and services
Equity and Inclusion	Conditions of equality and non-discrimination
Right to Property Ownership	Property rights and protections as well as owner responsibility to keep within the public interest of state and society
Productivity and Efficiency	To strengthen and consolidate urban economic growth through investment attraction via transit infrastructure, public spaces and services with minimal costs
Protection and Use of Public Space	Conditions of the public space as integral for social cohesion, recreation and security

Source: Author based on LUD, 2016

Two main strategies to fulfil the urban agenda vision can be identified. First, the provision and maintenance of the public space. Second, the encouragement of private sector investment to provide housing. Importantly, only the 'Right to Property' principle addresses housing while the others mainly focus on planning, regulation and management of public spaces. This establishes the scope of actions for local authorities as limited to public spaces.

4.3.2 National Housing Agenda and the Historic Centre

To address and provide social housing, in 1972 INFONAVIT (Institute of National Funds for Housing for Workers) was created. It became central to the development of social housing for workers and the housing industry in Mexico (Gilbert & de Jong, 2015: 523). After changes to the planning and housing agendas, in 2001 the Organic Law for the Federal Mortgage Society was created to regulate mortgage credits for the housing market. Later in 2006, the Law for Housing (LH) was decreed (renewed in 2014) within international 'Right to Housing' definitions, to establish housing as a priority to address social and economic development.

The right to housing is referred to as the ''constitutional right to [decent and dignified] housing'' (art. 3). The LH defines decent and dignified housing as that which provides safety, urban habitability, health, basic services, and legal certainty protection to its residents (art. 2) under the principles of equity and inclusion (art. 3). Social housing is positioned as self-produced or state-provided, although private sector housing is also self-produced or purchased from the housing market. The Constitution formally integrates international human rights law that includes the right to housing since 2011, article 4 establishes:

''Every family has the right to enjoy <u>dignified and decent housing</u>. The Law will establish the necessary instruments and provisions in order to achieve this objective.'' (art. 4)

Here, the main aim is to produce decent and dignified housing through regulatory instruments and legal provisions. Gonzalez Alcantara (2016) considers this is a ''programmatic norm'' that requires the expedition of laws and instruments to allow citizens ''conditions of possibility'' to access housing yet does not guarantee it will be fulfilled (Pp. 03). Tenancy legislation and instrumentation challenges are highlighted, especially in relation to economic issues to access housing (Pp. 03). Yet the National Housing Programme 2014-2018 (2014, NHP) conveys a housing market agenda by focusing on six objectives regarding densification, housing landscape quality, expansion of housing options, credit and subsidies schemes, interinstitutional coordination and public information aims (Pp. 05).

These six objectives can be easily developed within 'population centres' (LUD), where urban vacant and sub-utilised land (ie. empty or decayed lots and buildings) must be used (2016: art.78). For this, public spaces and transport are positioned as key strategies to promote mix uses and varied housing market tenure options (art.71). These provisions establish the new urban agenda and the importance of housing strategies within the inner-city area to fulfil urban rights and promote a compact and sustainable urban agenda (art.51). Therefore, historic centres play an important role as places that can provide the housing that is needed in cities.

To position a varied inner-city housing market agenda, the NHP identifies Nuclear, Extended, Unipersonal, Composed and Co-residential household types (section I, subsection II). Nuclear (traditional family of four or more members) represents 64% of the national household types, while Extended (family members plus extended family member) represents 23.6% and Unipersonal has risen to 10.6%. As the document points out Unipersonal households have risen beyond national housing projections in recent years and represent a new housing market type. Importantly, household composition changes are not only a national trend but one that is observed at a global level. This is evidenced by nuclear, extended, one-person and composite household types in the UN Housing Census Recommendations from 2010 in table 4-3.

Table 4-3. Household Structures

UN Housing Census Recommendations (2012)	National Housing Programme (2014)	Total Population (2012)
Nuclear	Nuclear	64%
Extended	Extended	23%
One-person	Unipersonal	10.6%
Composite	Composed	0.9%
	Co-residential	0.5%

Source: Author with data from UN, 2012; NHP, 2014

From this, the National Urban Programme (NUP) set out six main objectives towards a new urban development model that promotes productive and inclusive cities within a development agenda (2014: 02). Separately, the NHP sets

objectives for urban and housing quality, housing options and economic access schemes, and their administrative provision (2014: 05). Both Programmes convey a three-part structure: aims, actions and opportunity potential. The aims seek promote orderly growth and a sustainable urban model to ensure well-being (NUP: obj. 1, 2; NHP: obj. 1). Actions are focused on activities to achieve this within normative capacity for land management (NUP: obj. 3) and revised housing types composition and financing structures (NHP: obj. 3, 4). Urban quality or 'habitability' is positioned within government competence and capabilities to ensure urban and economic sustainability (NUP: obj. 4; NHP: obj. 2). Finally, the consolidation of property development potential is established to ensure private investment by setting potential economic 'vocation' areas (NUP: obj. 6) and platforms to facilitate housing-related data (NHP: obj. 6).

Both NUP and NHP strategies in figure 4-1 are primarily focused on an inner-city growth agenda through normative, economic, and spatial aims within a public-private partnership. 'Aim' and 'Potential' policies are relevant for this research in the discursive sense, as both point to the urban vision and governance structure to ensure them. The local level is positioned as crucial to ensure and promote urban development through regulatory, financial, and spatial actions. 'Actions' are encased between normative, economic and spatial types of direct or indirect government-led interventions to effect changes to fulfil the urban agenda. These actions are established at the normative level to assert government or private stakeholders' capacity to effect potential urban and housing transformations.

Figure 4-1. Urban and Housing Frameworks
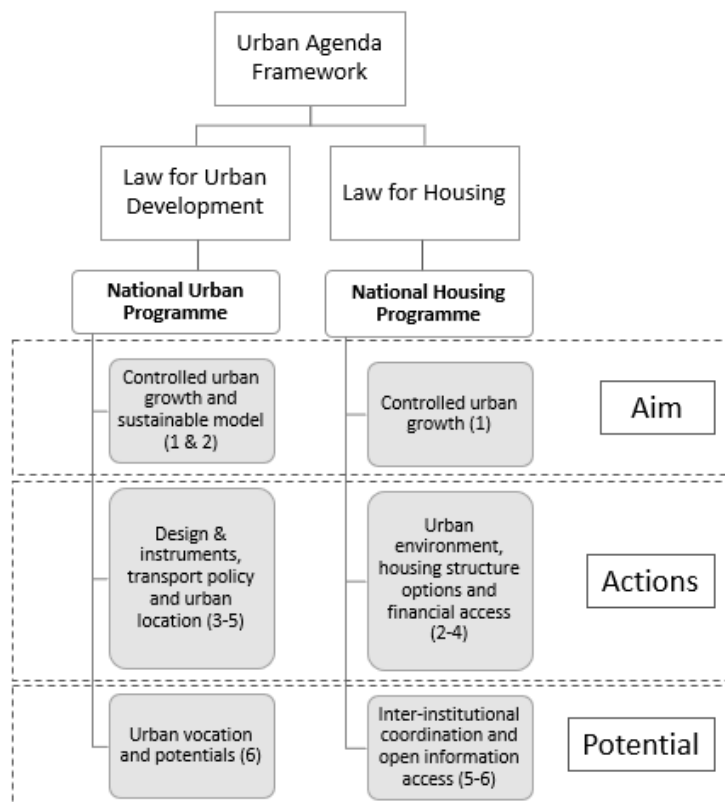
Author based on NUP, 2014; NHP, 2014

Both instruments establish policy, intervention, and incentives operational structures for local governments. Urban interventions and a housing development agenda are arranged in normative and financial models. Thus, urban design, transit infrastructure and land management regulations set out the government reach of actions at the urban level (NHP: obj. 1, 2). Change in housing composition structures and financial modalities delimitate the intervention capacity of the government and positions the role of the private sector to deliver housing (NHP: obj. 3, 4). This is the public-private spatial, economic, and normative structure set out to ensure an inner-city housing market agenda.

Outside of these instruments, the 'Federal Civil Code' (FCC, 2010) addresses tenancy by separating 'renter' from 'tenant', where the first concedes the rights of a temporary rented 'object' and the second becomes temporary owner of a good (art. 791). For this research the tenant, as a temporary owner of a good is preferred. A tenancy contract exists when a contract to temporarily concede a good from 'one' to 'other' for an arranged price is established and which cannot

exceed 10 years in cases of housing (Pp. 2398; Gonzalez Alcantara, 2016: 05). In the cases of evictions, it states the owner may request a restitution of the good from the tenant at any time (art. 792). In case of owner change, it establishes tenancy contracts will be restructured or, if the good has been expropriated, both owners and tenants of a recently transferred property must be compensated (art. 2409, 2410). This is relevant in relation to historic centres where many buildings may be transferred from/to developer or local government, thus implying displacement risks for previous owners and tenants, as it will be seen in Chapter 7. Gonzalez Alcantara (2016) points to the importance of contracts to ascertain the legal standing of 'parts' (owner/tenant) and determine obligations and rights as well as legal implications (Pp. 03-4).

4.4 Cross-Sectional Case Studies: Historic Centres of Mexico City and Guadalajara

The historic centres of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) are the case studies to address the research question and sub-questions in Chapter 3. MC's historic centre is embedded in a global mega-city and holds cultural and political importance and significance due to its pre-Hispanic and Colonial history, as recognised by the WHS title (Ikiz Kaya, 2019: 345). GDL's historic centre has been physically altered over time but holds important cultural traditions that have shaped national cultural identity and is central to economic development of the country's western region (Vazquez-Piombo, 2014: 11). While each case study has been approached under different organisational structures, they are nevertheless linked to common national values and frameworks. Moreover, both cities have significantly built upon the narrative of an international-looking city with relevant local dynamics.

Figure 4-2 shows that MC is located at the centre of Mexico, while GDL is located to the centre-west. The historic centre of MC holds international recognition due to the WHS title (1987) along national 'Historic Monuments Zone' status (1980). The WHS title and its ensuing commitments have been instrumental to shape historic centre planning frameworks. The historic centre of GDL is not eligible for WHS title due to periodic urban and architectural alterations. However, World

Heritage Monument title (WHM, 1997) was attained for the Cabañas Hospice, which has impacted the historic centre's policies. Both cities are a part of UNESCO's CCN since 2017, in GDL it is located within the historic centre through the Creative Digital City (CDC) project (2012).

Figure 4-2. Mexican Context

Source: Author with Google Earth maps

Figure 4-3 shows the context under which historic centres in Mexico developed and have been approached since the 20th century (see appendix 16 for larger version). The historic centres of MC and GDL have seen gradual structural changes that have been shaped by international, national, state/regional, and local institutional and normative developments. The focus of this research is the period between 2008-2019, under the consideration that MC and GDL share a common national heritage conservation, urban development, and housing legislative context. Yet while international and national agendas correlate, a stronger link between international and local planning development is evidenced.

However, both cities have similar urban renewal and housing development agendas despite significant international-local title differences.

Figure 4-3. Frameworks Development Structure
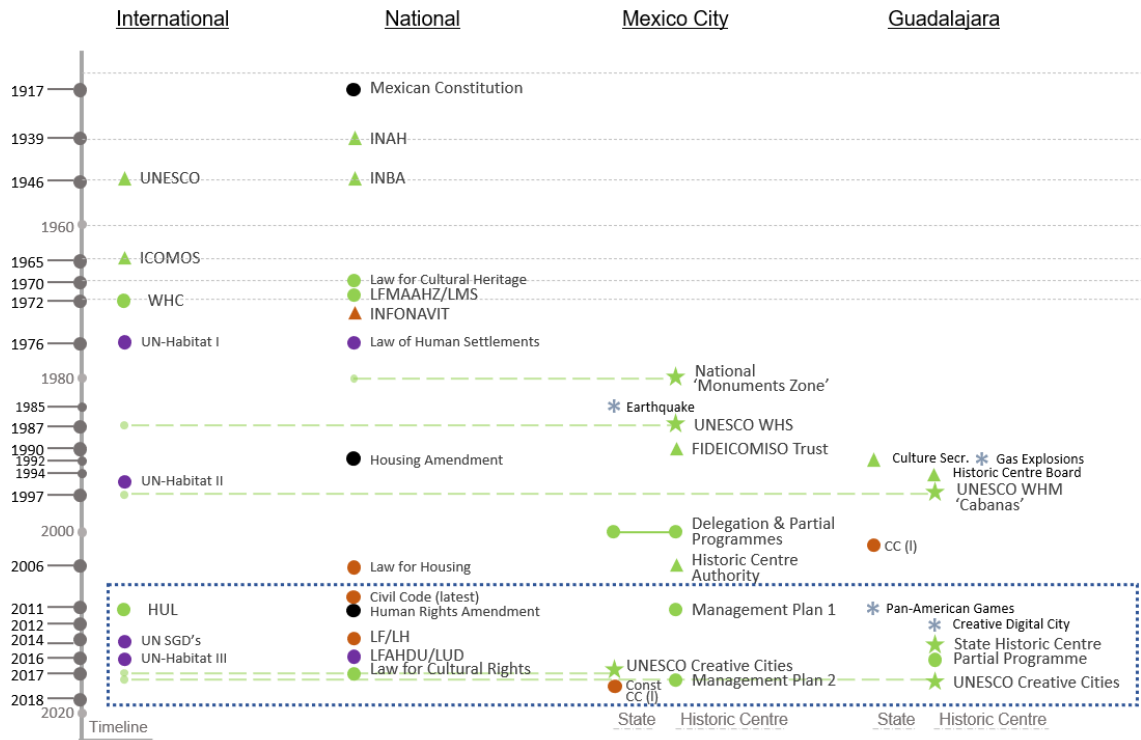
Source: Author

Although urban renewal interventions started in MC's historic centre in 2008, the Management Plan for the historic centre of MC was not published until 2011. In GDL's historic centre different initiatives and strategies were implemented, yet a comprehensive urban renewal agenda was not fully established until the Partial Plan of 2017. Both instruments struggle to find balance within agglomerated urban settings to fulfil social, cultural, economic, and urban needs and interests is evidenced (Garcia Espinoza, 2008: 85). This has been highlighted by increasingly complex urban conservation landscapes, where social inequality challenges need to be addressed (Betancur, 2014: 6).

4.4.1 Historic Centre of Mexico City: Urban Renewal Background

The historic centre of Mexico City (MC) is located inside the Cuauhtemoc Delegation (equivalent to municipalities) (see figure 4-4). This Delegation is

inscribed within the Valley of Mexico Metropolitan Area (VMMA) in the central region of Mexico. The Cuauhtemoc Delegation holds 531,831 people in an extension of 3,244 has of the 8.9 million inhabitants in MC, while VMMA holds a total of 20.9 million people in the VMMA with 7,866 km^2 (GMC[13], 2013: 176; 181; INEGI, 2015; SEDATU et al, 2015: 57). The historic centre holds 33, 890 inhabitants in an extension of over 1,000 ha (10 km^2). This represents 6.37% of the population of the Cuauhtémoc Delegation, which holds 30.82% population of VMMA (GMC, 2011: 65; 5).

Figure 4-4. Historic Centre of Mexico City

Source: Author with Google Earth maps

The historic centre of MC is known to attract a daily transient population of over 2 million people (GMC, 2017: 18). Activities are mainly linked to institutional and legal offices, formal and informal retail, tourism, and religious, political, and cultural events (GMC, 2017: 61). Compared to the amount of transient population, the remaining occupational population is undeniably low (GMC, 2013: 179). Moreover, although ''global positioning strategies'' for the historic centre are

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[13] Government of Mexico City, GMC hereafter

continuously implemented to improve the urban level, a number of natural, social, economic and politic complexities ''overwhelm the management system'' (Ikiz Kaya, 2019: 345). The Regina Cultural Corridor within the historic centre will be presented in this sub-section.

<u>Overview of development of strategies for the historic centre</u>

In the 16th century, MC was built over the 14th century Aztec city of Tenochtitlan and its surrounding lake (Morales Schechinger, 2010: 87). The Aztec city was demolished and redesigned under an orthogonal grid that included religious and government buildings often built above pre-Hispanic buildings (Pp. 87). The city was already an important regional trade centre, but with the Spanish conquest the city became the colonial capital. Its central location was established for trade as well as for the religious and political institutions in the country and immediate central-American region (Suarez Pareyon, 2004: 76).

Political and social changes of the 19th century had an important influence on urban expansion and decentralisation of the city, these patterns are still ongoing and relevant for social urban dynamics in the historic centre. The disentailment or expropriation of religious buildings by the state gave way to new building uses such as 'vecindades' (low-income housing), workshops and retail (Morales Schechinger, 2010: 87). *Vecindades* are described as old tenements associated with low-income groups or 'popular' communities (Yee, 2020: 92; Suarez Pareyon, 2004: 81). Due to rapid urbanisation in the 20th century and emergence of both rich and poor peripheral neighbourhoods, the historic centre was 'transformed' into a 'poor' neighbourhood with government offices and both formal and informal retail activities (Morales Schechinger, 2010: 87).

This became more pronounced after the 1950's, when decentralisation of residential, economic and political activities triggered progressive patterns of social and physical decay in the historic centre (GMC, 2011: 06). Yee (2020) notes that 1950's anti-development policies promoted urban sprawl and magnified long-fostered tensions between heritage conservation and urban development agendas (Pp. 90). However, Monterrubio (2011) showed many

programmes to address urban and residential challenges were tried within the historic centre. But despite many attempts to manage the area and attend to low-income residents, new urban areas for investment and the 1985 earthquake cemented the steady pauperisation of the historic centre (Suarez Pareyon, 2004: 81).

It was after the discovery of pre-Hispanic archaeological remains beneath the historic centre in 1978 that in 1980 a presidential decree designated the historic centre as a 'Historic Monuments Zone' (GMC, 2017: 11). This document established a total of 1,623 historic buildings protected by INAH within a 'perimeter A' of 1,000 ha (10 km^2) and a buffer 'perimeter B' of 10 km^2 surrounding it (Pp. 11). After the devastating earthquake of 1985, the historic centre was further 'pauperised' but also urgently positioned within local and national agendas (GMC, 2011: 05). After the national WHC ratification of 1984, in 1987 the Historic Centre of MC was declared WHS (alongside the natural area of Xochimilco) and retained the national Monuments Zone (MZ) delimitation, as seen in Figure 4-5.

Figure 4-5. Heritage Conservation Perimeters

The WHS title was awarded by UNESCO under criterion C sections ii, iii, iv and v (ICOMOS, 1986: 02). These sections respond to key interchange of human values (ii), exceptional testimony to cultural tradition (iii), outstanding landscape (iv) and outstanding example of a human settlement (v). The perimeter A delimitation was maintained, as the urban morphology and buildings of three consecutive civilisations that constitute ''the tangible cultural assets of the city'' (Ikiz Kaya, 2019: 345). Importantly, the document acknowledges the poor condition of the historic centre and notes the impact urban growth has had in its decay (ICOMOS, 1986: 01). It also voices strong concerns over its mega-city dynamics:

''It is difficult to formulate a nomination concerning the monuments, groups of buildings or sites that are located at the heart of a major contemporary city whose origins and growth they most fully and clearly illustrate. In the case of the capital of Mexico, it is truly a case of attempting the impossible.'' (ICOMOS, 1986: 1)

This statement confirms the place's outstanding universal value (OUV) but declares it is a challenging place, although it later notes that the Government's submitted proposal is realistic (Pp. 01). The concern for the urban complexity of the historic centre is latent, as it is embedded in complex social urban conflicts. Thus, a conditionality exists and entails that the local government must embrace heritage conservation aims and practices to retain the WHS title. Concurrently, local government separately has concerns of obsolescence and heritage destruction along with a desire to stop these processes (GMC, 2011: 05).

Table 4-6 shows the three levels of protection for heritage buildings in the historic centre. These were developed with INAH, INBA and SEDUVI data (GMC, 2010: 15), but the catalogue does not adhere to national cataloguing categories. Intervention types for each level considers demolitions (partial-total), substitutions (structural-aesthetic), modifications (changes-distribution), additions (levels-aesthetic) and use adaptation (land uses) (GMC, 2010: 16). These considerations are mostly exempted for religious, cultural, or civil-owned monuments that hold level one protection.

Figure 4-6. Heritage Protection Levels

Levels of heritage protection	Norm	Protection
Protection Level 1	Norm 4.3-4	
Protection Level 2	Norm 4.3-4	
Protection Level 3	Norm 4.3-4	

Source: Author with data from GMC, 2010: 15-6

However, additions and adaptations may also be considered for level one in buildings that are eligible to accommodate housing. Because of this, the three levels of protection consider land use changes (Pp. 16). This indicates flexibility for buildings to be repurposed, modified, and intensified (for density). This positions a malleable normative structure to effect use changes where local authorities consider appropriate. However, direct physical intervention is more restricted. For level one, demolitions are prohibited while substitutions and additions must be authorised. Level two considers similar restrictions and level three only prohibits demolition, while other restrictions are under probable or permitted status consideration.

Importantly, the WHS title mobilised the development of an operational mechanism 'above' local heritage conservation and urban development institutions. Eight State of Conservation Report documents by UNESCO's Advisory Body ICOMOS from 2003 to 2013 pointed out the need for a Management Plan for the historic centre of MC (ICOMOS, 2006-2013, excepting 2007). The documents called for an integrated Management Plan based on place value and stronger institutional participation and integration (2008: 339; 2009: 339; 2011: 259). Reports also addressed deliberate destruction of heritage and mentioned demolitions of derelict buildings in 2007 as well as constant abandonment and decay issues (2008: 339; 2009: 339; 2011: 259). The reports encouraged work on the Management Plan (2011: decision 4) and assert UNESCO's continued participation on-site in this way (2013: 202). Each Report's review and recommendation further cemented the ongoing relationship between the international body and local authorities to produce strategies. In particular, the calls for a Management Plan (before the Historic Urban Landscape

recommendation was published), point to UNESCO's shifting urban concerns within heritage sites.

Because of the WHS title, new local instruments and both public and private institutions were created to operationalize and 'revitalise' the historic centre. Yet the title also supported the local expectation to attract attention and investment after decades of gradual population decline and degradation alongside failed efforts to manage the area (Ikiz Kaya, 2019: 347). By 1990, the Trust for the Historic Centre of Mexico City (THC) was created as a private body to regulate and manage the area, which is now a decentralised public body that retains its original attributions (GMC, 2011: 07). From 1998-2000, renewed attention on MC planning legislation (not updated since 1976) included the development of 31 partial planning programmes for 16 delegations to provide investment certainty for private developers (Suarez Pareyon, 2004: 82). The Partial Programme for the Cuauhtemoc Delegation (2000), where the historic centre is embedded in, was developed and a specific programme for the historic centre (2000) was also produced. The latter was developed by the THC and SEDUVI (Secretary of Urban Development and Housing) under the guidance of the Cuauhtemoc and Venustiano Carranza delegations to cover three key areas: Historic Centre, Alameda and La Merced (Pp. 83). This was a first step towards a historic centre-wide urban renewal agenda, which was further supported by the creation of the Authority for the Historic Centre of Mexico City (AHCMC) in 2007 (GMC, 2011-2016: 07).

The Management Plan for the Historic Centre of MC 2011-2016 (MP-11 hereafter) was developed and published in collaboration of the THC and GMC in 2011. It cites the Constitution's article 4 to safeguard cultural rights and the commitments acquired through the WHS title (GMC, 2011: 03). The MP-11 holds normative significance and power beyond a reviewing and/or assessment tool (Pp. 08). As an operational instrument, it 'transcends planning what is desirable and [...] concentrates on the design of concrete possible actions, considering competencies, mechanisms, costs and application reach'' (Pp. 08). The MP-11 is operational for six years that don't coincide with government periods, it therefore operates outside of political agendas.

The MP-11 focuses on six strategic lines: 1) Urban and economic revitalisation, 2) Habitability, 3) Heritage, 4) Infrastructure, 5) Risk prevention, and 6) Citizenship. The recovery of housing, promotion of local urban landscapes, and conservation of heritage within these strategic lines are relevant to this research (Pp. 12). Moreover, the instrument identifies 10 Zones of Action, of which 8 are found within the Perimeter A (historic centre). Each zone is acknowledged to hold differential economic 'vocation' characteristics and thus convey separate development expectations. Each zone is acknowledged to have distinctive character and the approach to each zone varies from retail, leisure and/or housing strategies.

Figure 4-7 shows the inner zones and development corridors as identified in the MP-11 as well as existing housing areas. In the Regina barrio (southwest) a strong housing tradition is identified, and it is one of three main areas where a 'cultural corridor' project was developed since 2008 (Pp. 17). La Merced (east), and San Ildefonso and Santo Domingo (north) are also considered important housing barrios expected to replicate Regina's redevelopment (Pp. 18-21). San Jeronimo street (south and parallel to Regina) was partially pedestrianized in 2010 by the THC (Pp. 45). Generally, strategies have been developed as linear corridors within different barrios in the historic centre. Notably, many urban renewal strategies set out by the MP-11 were initiated due to private investment interest to invest on properties (Pp. 23).

Source: Author based on Management Plan 2011 (GMC, 2011: 22, 27).

The local government previously implemented 'Historic Centre Rescue Programme 200-2006 (*Programa de Rescate del Centro Historico 2000-2006*) as the billionaire Carlos Slim invested in the area (Delgadillo, 2016: 1167). Delgadillo explains ''Slim purchased 63 buildings in the southwest part of the historic centre'', he later adds ''there were no social displacements because those buildings were uninhabited'' (Pp. 1167). Following this, the MP-11 highlights a complex process of how deteriorated buildings were 'rehabilitated' and most were repurposed for housing (Pp. 7). The latest Management Plan for the Historic Centre of MC 2016-2022 (MP-17[14]) argued that because of the historic centre's degradation, informality and persistent abandonment, the regeneration of the area and social fabric was essential (AHCMC, 2016: 14). To encourage urban conservation through urban renewal, incentives such as fiscal exoneration were developed for private investment stakeholders. For this research, the significance of incentives relies on their impact on the type of strategies and projects being

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[14] It became operational in 2017

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developed because of them. These strategies have attracted property private investment, and local housing provision has been delegated to developers (AHCMC, 2016: 50).

The second MP-17 was put together by the AHCMC in collaboration with the UNESCO-Mexico and the National Autonomous University of Mexico's University Programme on City Studies (PUEC-UNAM) (Pp. 11). The main institutions in charge of the historic centre continue to be the AHCMC and the THC. Meanwhile the Public Spaces office within SEDUVI oversee urban development projects. Separately, INAH, INBA and SEDUVI continue as the main heritage conservation bodies. Finally, SEDUVI also works on land use and housing along with INVI (Housing Institutue).

The MP-17 considered the main achievements of the MP-11 were the consolidation of a comprehensive public policy that produced permanent management instruments and successful urban renewal corridors (Pp. 15). The MP-11 and its strategies are considered to have mobilised the recovery of public spaces from informal retail uses, the addition of pedestrian corridors and housing redevelopment (Pp. 17). The MP-11 included 6 strategies: Urban and Economic Revitalisation, Habitability, Heritage, Mobility, Risk Prevention and Citizenship (GMC, 2011: 12). Meanwhile, the MP-17 set out 4 strategies: Habitability, Economy and Tourism, Functions and Urban Safety, and Citizenship (AHCMC, 2016: 25). Because this research analyses the 2008-2019 period it is the MP-11 that will be analysed going forward. However, the MP-17 provides insight into local government assessment of challenges and successes derived from the MP-11.

While 'Habitability' is an important strategy analysed in this research, the 'Urban and Economic Revitalisation' and 'Heritage' strategies are also of interest. The Habitability strategy encapsulates Public Space and Housing rehabilitation or recuperation (GMC, 2011: 42, 55). 'Habitability' is referred to as the generation of conditions that impact heritage conservation, through use of buildings, maintenance, place dynamics and economic activities (Pp. 42). The public space sub-strategy refers to public safety, public squares and gardens rehabilitation,

streets rehabilitation, public space art, public space conservation, public space par excellence, urban signage, and urban landscape ordering (Pp. 43, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54). Separately, the housing sub-strategy refers to property legal standing, project development proceedings, project financing, and housing offer-demand (Pp. 58, 59, 61, 64). This strategy positions the historic centre an urban space, as has been asserted by Latin American academics (Carrion, 2014: 14). Housing is more directly linked to concerns of property legal standing, as well as administrative and financing processes. This positions the public space under local government responsibility and housing under private sector capacity. The MP-17 includes tax debts pardon, permits and licenses relaxation, fiscal extensions, partiality for housing or mix uses, public data of disused or in-debt properties, and disuse tax to facilitate administrative processes and incentivise 'real-estate operations' (AHCMC, 2016: 44).

The 'Urban and Economic Revitalisation' strategy is divided in three parts. The Action Zones section explores the inner zones (see figure 4-7) and describes their current conditions and the strategies for each (such as streets pedestrianisation to consolidate urban corridors). Urban Revitalisation includes planning framework restructuration, cadastral data update, cadastral value redistribution, and fiscal incentives coordination (Pp. 23, 25, 26, 27). Lastly, Economic Revitalisation includes 'opportunity' projects for education, culture, tourism and private investment, traditional retail, informal retail reordering, and new retail spaces (Pp. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 33, 34). Additional support and guidance are aimed to encourage retail formality to achieve urban spatial 'clearance' (Pp. 39-42). The 'Heritage' strategy is significantly shorter and considers built heritage information, buildings protection, regeneration of underused buildings, and façades rehabilitation (Pp. 66, 70, 73, 78). Tourism and retail aspects can be identified to hold significantly more importance over heritage considerations. Urban image byway of addressing 'challenging' socioeconomic dynamics is significantly highlighted.

Policies to address housing in the latest Partial Programme (PP-10) (2010) relate to the Partial Programme of 2000 (PP-00). The MP-11 makes use of the provisions in these instruments, especially in relation to densification and private

investment policies. The PP-00 gives normative provisions on informal settlements within properties and private sector fiscal incentives, while the PP-10 establishes the land transference rights system (GMC, 2000: 110, 168; GMC, 2010: 14). Separately, the Civil Code of Mexico City (CCMC) (latest reforms in 2017) sets out responsibilities and obligations for owners and tenants. It establishes minimum standards for hygienic conditions for a place to be liveable and subject to rent as well as contract-year rent increase limits by no more than 10% upon the monthly rent (CCMC, 2017: art. 2448-B, 2448-D). This is the clearest legal consideration for tenants within Mexico City legislation, including the mentioned instruments and the Constitution of Mexico City.

As it will be further explained in chapters 6 and 7, in the Regina zone a 'Cultural Corridor' has been pursued and implemented since 2008, in line with the Habitability policy (see figure 4-8). Regina street was rebranded as the 'Cultural Corridor Regina' by the local government to convey urban renewal, heritage conservation and repopulation agendas for the historic centre. The corridor is in the southwest of the historic centre, between Lazaro Cardenas Avenue and 20 de Noviembre Avenue (east-west), and Mesones and San Jeronimo streets at the north-south block limits. The urban renewal project included the pedestrianisation of the Regina Street where cultural activities were promoted (GMC, 2011: 17).

Figure 4-8. Cultural Corridor Regina
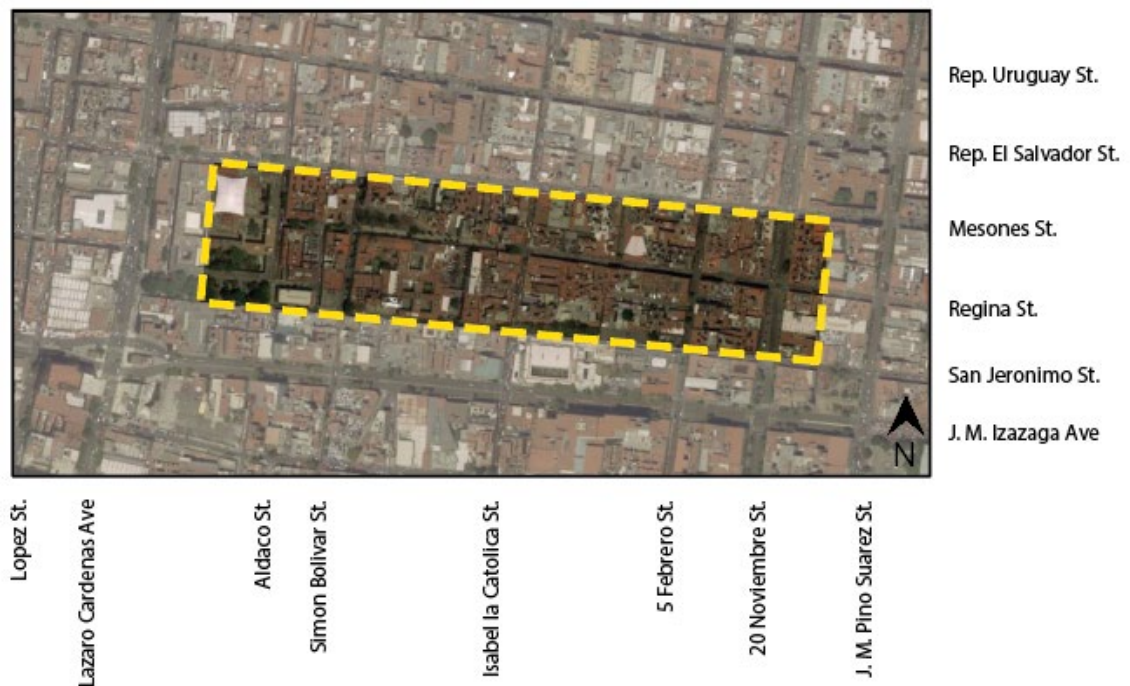
Source: Author

The Regina Corridor was transformed between 2007-2008 by the Secretariat of Works and Services led by the THC. (Pp. 45). Although urban renewal works began before the MP-11 was published, the corridor was included as one of ten key 'Zones of Action' to boost social and economic development (Pp. 34). The MP-11 describes the Regina Corridor as ''characterised by residential occupation tradition[,] strong neighbourhood roots'' and important cultural activity (GMC, 2011: 17). Improvements for the corridor included public space interventions and proposal of cultural activities (Pp. 17). The MP-17 considers that by 2018 the Regina Corridor would be considered as completed (AHCMC, 2016: 17). Delgadillo (2016) considers this corridor has become an urban and social laboratory where the THC has articulated its 'Live in the Centre' real estate agenda (*Vivir en el Centro)*. Furthermore, the investment on several properties along Regina by the Mexican multi-millionaire Slim is considered to have driven the public investment agenda on the corridor (Pp. 1168-9).

4.4.2 Historic Centre of Guadalajara: Urban Renewal Background

The historic centre of Guadalajara (GDL) is within the GDL municipality and the GDL Metropolitan Area (GMA) in west-central Mexico (figure 4-9). The GDL municipality has 1,495,189 million people and is one of ten municipalities within the GMA, which holds 4.9 million people in an urban extension of 3,600 km^2 (SEDATU et al, 2015: 54, 58; Government of GDL (GG), 2016: 93). The historic centre is sub-district 05 in the Urban District 1 ''Metropolitan Centre'' (*Distrito Urbano 1 ''Centro Metropolitano''*) (GG, 2016: 86). By 2010, the district held 176,673 residents while the historic centre held 20,890 people (Pp. 94). This represents 11.82% population of the District, 1.39% of the GDL municipality and 0.43% of the GMA. It confirms low levels of population in the historic centre. The historic centre has a daily transient population influx of around one million people from neighbouring municipalities and states (Informador, 2015).

Figure 4-9. Historic Centre of Guadalajara
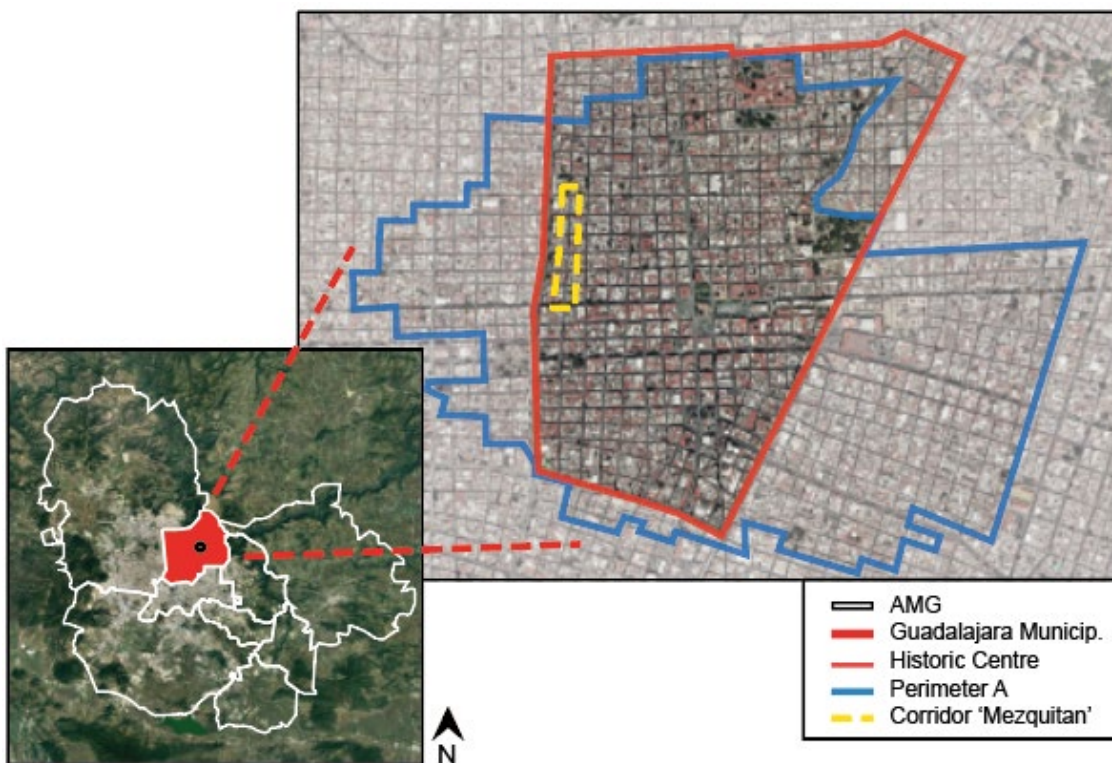
Source: Author with Google Earth maps

The historic centre mainly holds institutional and legal offices, religious institutions, formal and informal retail, and leisure activities. Housing use in the historic centre stands at 43.2% with the rest belonging to retail and services (30.4%), cultural and other activities (GG, 2016: 117). Housing occupation in the

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historic centre is within the municipality's district median for housing occupation (44.95%) yet it is also far from the highest occupancy level of 68.7% in other districts in the municipality (Pp. 117). This information showcases the predominance of retail and services compared to housing. GDL is described as a traditionally low-density horizontally sprawled city that has recently seen an urban agenda shift to approach a previously stigmatised historic centre (Flores Hernandez, 2016: 01). Furthermore, spatial transformations have been undertaken from the local government level (Pp. 02-3). Recently, pedestrianisation or cycling interventions have been used to catalyse urban renewal projects with a densification vision. From 2016, the 'Mezquitan Corridor' has been identified as an important renewal project in the historic centre.

<u>Overview of development of strategies for the historic centre</u>

GDL was founded in 1542 in the unoccupied Atemajac Valley, after three previous attempts to establish a city in nearby regions, under European urban notions and social needs (Lopez Moreno, 1992: 29). The area's land was fertile and flat, thus the city became important for national north-south economic flows (Sanchez Martinez, 2009: 34-35). The urban layout of the city follows an orthogonal grid, this was a layout for cities in Felipe II's Urban Ordinances of 1573 (Pp. 21). In its centre, a cathedral and institutional buildings is where the city grew from. Surrounding areas developed around '*barrios*' (neighbourhoods), and as the city grew they became part of the urban layout.

By the end of the 18th and into the 19th century, population of GDL grew due to its geographical position as a key place for regional trade (Lopez Franco, 2014: 74). Trade from ports such as San Blas or Acapulco and cities like MC were distributed from GDL to northern and southern regions (Sanchez Martinez, 2009: 38). With religious disentailment from the Reform Laws, tenancy of land changed into public parcellations and thus 3-5 stories buildings were built, which produced a denser urban area (Lopez Moreno, 1992: 101). Additionally, according to Bravo (2013) between 1898 and 1906 new peripheral suburbs were developed to satisfy the needs of an elitist housing market (Pp. 22). In this period, the first

beautification projects for sidewalks and streets began a tradition of urban alterations to the historic centre (Lopez Moreno, 1992: 98).

Between 1940 to 1980's the development and expansion of the city accelerated. In the 1950's, a state-led aim to promote an urban modernisation and progress agenda led a series of urban interventions and alterations to the historic centre (Vazquez Piombo, 2014: 05). Among these were the expansion of transit roads and the construction of the 'Cruz de Plazas' public squares for which built blocks were cleared out (Pp. 06). These urban modifications cemented the role of the city as regional provider of services and facilitator of trade with unmitigated urban sprawl tendencies (Pp. 06).

In 1982, the Ordering Plan for the Greater Zone of GDL became the first instrument that aimed to regulate land use in the city, yet it would be after this Plan that monuments adjacent to the historic Cabañas Hospice were demolished (Vazquez Piombo, 2015: 09). Attention would be further brought to the historic centre after the 1992 gas explosions that originated from saturated underground gas pipelines, this caused human and material loses in the south and east of the historic centre (Pp. 10). It is because of the many different urban transformations cited so far that the historic centre of GDL is not eligible for UNESCO WHS title.

From 1992, the Secretary of Culture of Jalisco took state level INBA functions and all culture-related attributions (Luna Chavez, 2018: 67). In 1994, the 'Historic Centre, Barrios and Traditional Zones' Board was established as a decentralised body to manage historic centre activities, yet has now lost many of its functions[15] (A1.9). Although INAH remains active in GDL, its jurisdictional reach is limited to international and national level monuments. It was through the Secretary of Culture that perimeters A and B of the historic centre of GDL were established institutionally in the 1990's (by law until 2015).

Figure 4-10 shows Perimeter A and B delimitations as established by the Secretary of Culture and the location of the WHM. The selection of these perimeters was based on the amassing of historic and artistic monuments. In

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[15] Institution website: https://pchistorico.gob.mx/

1997 the Cabañas Hospice attained UNESCO WHM title for 'unique architectural' qualities (UNESCO, 1997: 46). This was under criteria i, ii, iii and iv (ICOMOS, 2013: 203-204). The OUV assessment was based on national artistic expressions (architecture and mural paintings) (Pp. 204). There are four Decisions reports (1997, 1997, 2013 and 2014) since the title was awarded, but no State of Conservation reports were found. However, in 2013 UNESCO called upon the local government to produce a Management Plan for the WHM site and its immediate area to protect against urban developments (ICOMOS, 2013: 204).

Figure 4-10. Heritage Conservation Perimeters (GDL)

Source: Author based on Secretary of Culture of Jalisco, 2015

For GDL, protection levels in table 4-11 were kept within national INAH, INBA and Secretary of Culture's six categories of heritage value (GM, 1975: art.9). The highest levels of protection are given to monumental, and relevant historic or artistic buildings. Historic/artistic environmental buildings receive medium protection, while lowest protection is given to contemporary harmonious or non-harmonious buildings. Articles 73-76 in Norm 11 indicate a series of considerations for each protection level based on materials (walls, doors, and windows), surfaces (texture, colours, and external additions), architectural layout,

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installation types and intervention/additions (Pp. 224-32). The latter considers conservation (maintenance, protection, and reparation), restoration (consolidation, integration, liberation, rehabilitation, reutilisation, and revitalisation), and prohibited uses for each building type.

Figure 4-11. Heritage Protection Levels (GDL)

Levels of heritage protection	Norm	Protection
Contemporary Non-Harmonious	N11, Art. 76	
Contemporary Harmonious	N11, Art. 76	
Artistic Environmental	N11, Art. 75	
Historic Environmental	N11, Art. 75	
Artistic Relevant	N11, Art. 74	
Historic Relevant	N11, Art. 74	
Historic Monument	N11, Art. 73	

Source: Author with data form Partial Plan (2017: 224-32)

Architectural restrictions for environmental buildings consider a modification of internal spaces, while external alterations or additions should adapt to the building's original structure (art.75-3.a-f). For contemporary harmonious or non-harmonious buildings, norms focus on aesthetic features and heights in relation to neighbouring historic buildings (art.76-3.a-g). In both cases the urban landscape is assessed in relation to monuments and/or relevant historic/artistic buildings. This is important for the resident, owner, or investor in relation to densification potential considerations.

In 2011, the local government acquired buildings in the east of the historic centre for a villas complex to host the Pan-American Games (2011). When this project fell through it was leased to the Creative Digital City's (CDC) trust (ICOMOS, 2016: 59-60). The CDC became a new project through which to mobilise an inner-city urban regeneration agenda. In 2012, the Master Plan for the CDC was published by the Carlo Ratti firm in collaboration with local authorities and local, national, and international stakeholders[16]. The Master Plan presented a strategic urban vision for the city beyond the Creative Cities Network (CCN) project (Ratti, 2012: 12). The area was conveyed as a high-conflict place yet with opportunity

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[16] The document was not downloadable and has now been removed from their site, however the brochure can still be accessed: http://www.carloratti.it/FTP/CCD/files/CCD_brochure.pdf (07 August 2020)

for new management and development strategies aimed for international digital markets and young professionals (Pp. 20). This project was key to develop the new vision for the historic centre as an international hub for talent and innovation. However, INAH, INBA and the Secretary of Culture stated that the proposed CDC buildings' heights may affect the WHM's urban context. After this, an agreement was reached to limit building heights to 27m (against the 47m proposed) (ICOMOS, 2016: 60). This set a precedent to limit densification plans for the historic centre. More recently, in 2017 the CDC project was integrated as part of UNESCO's CCN 'Media Arts' category, based on a creative city framework of an economically productive city.

Jimenez and Garcia (2014) point out that while urban development in the state is regulated through the Urban Code, it is at the municipal level that urban planning is set out (Pp. 72). This points to the 'Urban Development Management Regulation' for the GDL Municipality to assess urban specific planning instruments and actions (Pp. 72). Yet different dependencies tend to work in isolation and authorise urban changes unilaterally (ie. land use changes, use permits, building heights) (Pp. 72). In this regard, it is clear planning and heritage conservation bodies have functioned separately yet in constant strain as agendas and interventions overlap within the historic centre. The Public Works Secretary and COPLAUR (Urban Planning Commission) are the main local planning bodies, while INMUVI (Municipal Institute for Housing) oversees housing. Notably, in 2015 the Secretary of Culture legally established the perimeter A, the historic centre, as a 'Cultural Heritage Protection Zone' for Jalisco (Government of Jalisco, 2015: 401). This legally provides state-level heritage conservation protection to the historic centre, just as planning instruments reposition the historic centre as a place for potential development.

Significantly, the ''Partial Plan for Urban Development 2030 2015-2018'' (GG, 2015) included the CDC project as one of the main projects to be developed across administrations and as a strategic project to help endorse GDL as a competitive and inclusive city (Pp. 24, 50). Moreover, the implementation of non-motorised strategies based on bike sharing and cycle lanes started a historic centre perception shift. The ''Partial Plan for Urban Development 2017, with 2042

vision'' (2016, PP-17 hereafter) followed the ''Municipal Plan for Development with Fifth Centenary Vision'' (2016) and replaced the previous Partial Plan (2015) (GG, 2017: 09). The PP-17 was developed in accordance with instruments such as the Constitution, the LUD, the LHC, the Urban Code for the State of Jalisco, Municipal Plan for Development, etc. as well as the 2030 Agenda from UN-Habitat (GG, 2017). It is the most comprehensive urban policy document for the historic centre GDL yet. Its main objective is to boost densification and repopulation of the historic centre to contribute to an orderly urban development (Pp. 09).

Figure 4-12 displays a map with the PP-17 historic centre delimitation, including barrio delimitations, the location of the CDC project, corridors under development and the main housing areas (Pp. 123). The PP-17 considers a smaller historic centre delimitation than the one established by the Secretary of Culture's Perimeter A (Pp. 87). This research will continue to use the planning delimitation, but the monument zone delimitation is important to locate discrepancies of the separate agendas. The instrument considers 21 barrios and 4 inner zones that are further discussed in Chapter 6 (Pp. 163-4). While the PP-17 doesn't point to any specific project beyond the location of strategic transit roads, there is a clear intention for transit renewal strategies. The Mezquitan and Alcalde Corridors have received attention in recent years, although it is not explicit by planning instruments and information about them is more commonly found in newspapers articles (Trujillo, 2019; Salcedo, 2019; Zona Guadalajara, 2019; Garcia, 2020).

Figure 4-12. Corridors, Action Zones and Housing Occupation Areas (GDL)

Source: Author based on GG, 2017

The PP-17 proposes six Strategic Lines of action: 1. Transit, 2. Environment, 3. Public Space, 4. Infrastructure, 5. Land use, and 6. Edification and Housing (Pp. 59, 64, 68, 71, 73, 79). These objectives aim to regulate and manage the historic centre through zoning, urban interventions, use, construction and urbanisation specifications and norms, property owner obligations and monitoring, and evaluation. For this research, Public Space (3), Land Use (5) and Edification and Housing (6) will be of main interest. However, Transit (1) directly relates to urban image and streets transformations aspects.

Heritage Conservation and Habitability are found within Land Use (5) and Edification and Housing (6). Habitability is included as one of four lines of actions for Heritage Conservation to articulate the potential of specific areas for

development (along with 'Safeguarding', 'Financing', and 'Private Investment') (Pp. 170). The Habitability line focuses on the potential of cultural corridors and public spaces recovery to boost urban development and on fiscal as well as normative and administrative incentives for housing projects investment (Pp. 170). The Private Investment line proposes the need for high-income housing and permissibility of new constructions (Pp. 172). Lastly, the Safeguard line positions the importance of the historic urban landscape and the need to safeguard it (Pp. 173).

A separate section is dedicated to heritage-normative restrictions, which concentrate on physical image of the street-level and buildings (ie. new constructions, heights, and stylistic discrepancies) (Pp. 121). The PP-17 also notes low building heights within the area, showing 68.7% of the district's buildings are 1-2 levels. However, it points out the historic centre sub-district has the highest number of 3-5 level buildings in the district (above the 24.1% median) even if 1-2 levels remain dominant at 59.8% (Pp. 125). This assessment provides an insight into the building types of the area to justify future medium-height buildings constructions. It is not judged here whether that is good or not, but it is observed that this is in line with densification intentions. The document also points to conservation normative rigidity regarding land uses and levels of interventions for historic buildings (Pp. 165).

In Urban Strategies, the street-level is prioritised over city wide urban transport links, although a city-links analysis is made to establish transit-oriented projects (Pp. 129). Additionally, focus is given to urban 'transitability' of streets and public spaces, thus focus is placed on pedestrian and cycling infrastructure (Pp. 130). A reference is made to the lack of minimum standards or methodology to provide public spaces (Pp. 157). This instrument considers three types of public spaces: open spaces (squares, parks), roads and sidewalks.

The PP-17 admits that while there is high demand for housing in the city, the real demand for housing in the historic centre is low, which is why prospective strategies to attract population are needed. Three objectives are mobilised: housing market options and future housing needs, real estate market behaviour,

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and measures to correct use incompatibilities (Pp. 117). Taxes catchments are set to be distributed between the taxing district (50%) and strategic public space projects (50%) (art. 37). Fiscal incentives for housing consider reduction of taxes and edification rights (art. 51). Finally, Development Transference Rights are applicable to buildings with (or adjacent to) relevant historic value with 'generating land' value (art. 59). No considerations are set out for social housing institutions such as INFONAVIT, FOVISSTE, INVI, or any housing-related institutions.

As was the case for the historic centre of MC, it is the Civil Code for Jalisco (2002, CCJ) that provides legal considerations for owners and tenants. Housing rent contracts cannot exceed 15 years duration (art. 2039). The renter must ensure rented place is habitable and hygienic and is responsible of fixing any hindrance for the duration of the tenancy (art. 2040). Finally, rent cannot increase over 10-12% per year, based on its market and fiscal value (art. 2041.a-b). This is important as the housing market in GDL is shifting from a home ownership tradition to a housing market rent structure, as seen in Chapter 7. The historic centre reflects tenancy challenges these changes are evidencing.

The 'Mezquitan' Corridor is a north-south corridor located in the mid-west of the historic centre, this includes a total of six squared blocks, and is key to mobilise the new urban renewal agenda (figure 4-13). The corridor is located between Joaquin Angulo Street and Miguel Hidalgo Avenue (north-south), along blocks between Federalismo Avenue and M. de la Barcena Street (east-west). Although it is not reflected in planning instruments, this project conveys urban renewal and densification agendas put into motion in by the CDC project. This project has been developing due to the restoration of the old cinema ''Roxy'' by a local private developer who also owns properties along the corridor and in the historic centre (Salcedo, 2019). According to the project's website, the site was an important cultural centre for many generations and it has been in process of restoration since early 2018[17].

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[17] See: http://www.salaroxy.com/ (08 August 2020)

Figure 4-13. Cultural Corridor Mezquitan

Source: Author

Following PP-17 aims, the local government has undertaken urban interventions to restore the urban landscape and upkeep the corridor. This follows a previous urban renovation project called ''100 Blocks'', which aimed to restore sidewalks to meet universal accessibility design standards (Informador, 2018). This project was also not officially included in planning instruments, yet it received public-private investment from 2016-17 and attention from local newspapers and activist groups (Salcedo, 2019; Cuerpos Parlantes, 2019). Flores Hernandez (2016) considers projects such as the CDC project (and Mezquitan Corridor) are embedded in a political and economic structural reorganisation that are reshaping social dynamics from the urban level (Pp. 09).

4.5 <u>Conclusion</u>

This Chapter examined national and local heritage conservation, urban development and housing institutional and policy structures and agendas in relation to international heritage conservation and urban development bodies and instruments. A relation between national and international instrumental and institutional development was identified yet a closer link between local and international agendas and policies was evidenced. The cross-case study approach selected for the historic centres of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) evidences the importance of local approaches for the development of urban renewal planning instruments based on urban conservation approaches. While both cities have similar social urban challenges, different UNESCO titles have been crucial for the development of local frameworks.

A clear separation is still marked between heritage conservation from urban development and housing policies and instruments at national and local levels. Overall, heritage conservation, urban development and housing frameworks retain a preference for a monuments-based historic centre value. However, urban development and housing national agendas have integrated urban conservation more explicitly through an inner-city urban agenda. This divergence is more pronounced at the local level, as regulatory differences permeate into local frameworks and strategies for historic centres, as further analysed in chapter 5. Heritage conservation frameworks fail to manage or acknowledge the increasing financial value of properties within historic centres following an urban transformation agenda. It is evident that urban and housing strategies remain in tension with heritage conservation regulations.

The starting point for the development of planning renewal agendas for both historic centres is differentiated by the UNESCO-local structure ascertained by the WHS title of MC and the separate WHM and CCN titles within GDL. However, similarities between approaches to both historic centres were shown. First through the intention by local authorities in both to attain international recognition from UNESCO for heritage conservation purposes and to attract private sector to invest in historic centres. Importantly, the instruments for MC and GDL's historic

centres follow national urban and housing agendas centred on public spaces and housing redevelopment through a public-private partnership, as seen in chapter 6. Similarly, a new housing market agenda is sought for both areas, where direct private sector investment is sought to deliver housing provision. Ultimately, housing in the historic centre is situated as an asset for investment, as provisions for investors surpass those for previous owners and tenants, as further examined in chapter 7. Importantly, supra-national structures have been *used* to develop urban renewal planning agendas and to reposition each historic centre as attractive for investment to address social urban challenges.

5 Chapter 5 – Construction of Place Vision Through Meanings and Descriptions

5.1 <u>Introduction</u>

This Chapter aims to answer the first research sub-question relating to the extent UNESCO values have informed national and local heritage conservation, urban development, and housing policies. To do this, the Policy Discourse Analysis framework (see Chapter 2) is used to analyse policy instruments and interviews with officers, experts/academics, and key residents as texts. This follows the discursive tradition that considers practice as the operationalisation or representation of discourse (Hall, 2001). More specifically, Hajer's (2006) notions on political dominant discourse are used to highlight the motivation behind definitory and descriptive narratives that mobilise dominant local planning agendas. Hence, the role of international value structures are relevant to assess differentiated institutional and cognitive constructs in relation to discourse for each historic centre and housing within them.

Figure 5-1 conveys the structure under which this chapter was developed. Separately, institutional definitions and cognitive descriptions relating to heritage conservation, urban development, and housing policies in the context of each historic centre are examined to assert the discursive construct each area is approached with. The first section is concerned with historic centre and housing definitions and value to locate the international, national, and local value-related assessments and agendas. The type of UNESCO titles each historic centre holds and their influence over local place value assessments and policy approaches are examined, as each historic centre functions under different international-local recognition and commitment structures.

Figure 5-1. Chapter 5 Overview
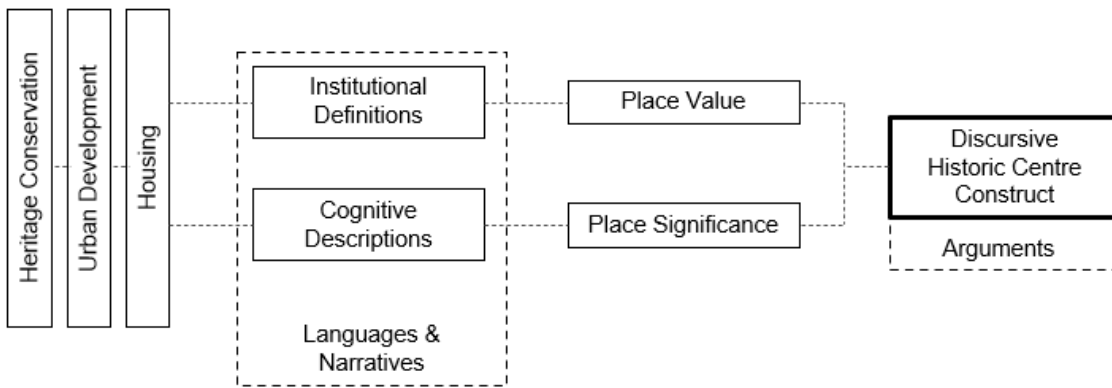
The second section analyses cognitive descriptions of historic centres and housing within them. This allows for the exploration of negative place associations as based on physical, economic, and social characteristics. These characteristics are linked to public, semi-public/private and private spatial levels. In this way, urban and housing conditions are linked in discourse and prospective planning visions. Finally, the third section integrates the first two sections by identifying key discursive problematisation processes and arguments to develop context-based approaches. Similarities and differences in discursive historic centre construct processes convey a common national framework yet different international-local approaches.

5.2   Institutional Definitions of the 'Historic Centre' and 'Housing'

This section examines the definitions of historic centres and housing within them by using the 'Policy Discourse Analysis' Framework (Chapter 3). International, national, and local place value structures are explored. Heritage conservation and urban development definitions of the historic centre are analysed in the first sub-section. Subsequently, an analysis of the way in which housing is defined in the context of each historic centre is undertaken.

5.2.1 The Mixed Definitions and Spaces of the Historic Centre

As established in Chapter 4, the monuments-based Law for Heritage Conservation (LHC, 1972) remains the main operational legislative instrument to

assess local historic centres in Mexico. In it, 'Monuments Zones' (MZ) are determined by the amassed location of buildings with cultural historic and artistic value (art.40). Significantly, allusions to the urban form, space or use beyond aesthetic restrictions to retain the historic image of the built environment were not found (art. 33). This positions historic centres within the World Heritage Convention's (WHC) category of 'groups of buildings' rather than 'sites', as monuments amassing overrides social and cultural features of the place (UNESCO, 1972: art.1). Therefore, MZ differ from the WHC's 'sites', with the latter as areas of ''historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological'' outstanding universal value (OUV) (art.1).

Although the LHC's aim to protect monuments draws from the WHC, it fails to differentiate between 'groups of buildings' and 'sites', thus using 'groups of buildings' to identify MZ. From this position, the historic centre of MC initially received national level 'protection' (1980) as ''a territory of just over 1,000 ha corresponding to the geographic limit of the 19th century city'' (GMC, 2011: 5). Separately, the historic centre of GDL received 'Perimeter A' state-level protection and consists of an area of clustered buildings from 16th-19th centuries (GG, 2017: 163). The recognition of both historic centres as MZ areas are thus based on a monument cluster delimitation basis where the main aim is to protect, preserve, restore, and recover monuments. In this way following WHC's aim to protect, conserve, and rehabilitate built heritage (LHC, 1972: art.1; UNESCO, 1972: art.5).

At the local level, the national definition of the historic centre as a MZ is further enforced through discourse. This was observed in definitions found in policies and officers' statements. Officers continually reference national monument-centred objectives to assert historic centre meaning and significance. This was evidenced in interviews with heritage conservation officers from MC and GDL:

> '' [The historic centre] is relevant insofar as most of the _monuments_ are within the _perimeters of protection_…''
> (A2.5-1 – National & MC Conservation[18]) [Emphasis by the author]

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[18] See appendix 7 for interviewees reference sheet

''The <u>historic centre</u> [...] is the <u>area of protection</u>, which is the competence of INAH[19], from the legal domain ...''
(A1.8-1 – GDL Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

Both descriptions remain close to LHC considerations and WHC aims previously mentioned. Monuments' protection is constantly positioned as the main reason to delineate each historic centre spatially and legally. Interviewed conservation officers in both cities continued this by defining historic centres as places where *''heritage buildings are assembled''* (A1.7-1) and *''historic monuments''* are located (A2.8-1). The protection assurance to preserve monuments through the 'historic centre' delimitation was thus continually emphasised and positioned as a definitory feature. These statements further evidence how the concern to 'protect' the built heritage from physical changes surpasses a concern for cultural or social urban dynamics. This suggests an inherent separation of the historic centre from its urban context, as a monuments cluster. Moreover, this shows that the historic centre delimitation within the heritage conservation field is not only procured for legal protections but also to assert a monuments-based place significance vision.

Separately, planning officers referenced the LUD (Law for Urban Development, 2016) to define historic centres as 'Population Centres' or urbanised zones 'with archaeological, historic, artistic, environmental or any other value'' (2016: art.3-13, 27). Although direct references to 2011's Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (HUL) were not found, an increasing integration of heritage conservation and urban development aims suggests a shift towards historic centres as more than monuments clusters. Additionally, article 52 establishes the promotion of mix uses and inner-city densification, departing from separate cultural, retail or housing zoning tendencies (LUD, 2016: art. 52-1, 5, 8). Thus, the LUD increasingly responds HUL's call for ''effective planning and management'', with conservation as ''a strategy to achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis'' (UNESCO, 2011: 02).

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[19] Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia (National Institute for Anthropology and History) (see Chapter 4)

Local planning officers across public spaces, transport infrastructure and urban development divisions in both cities followed the LUD to define historic centres by combining heritage conservation notions with an urban development agenda. Thus, heritage conservation and urban development are gradually bridged to mobilise evolving historic centre visions. This shift positions historic centres as dynamic and constantly evolving places, although they also remain monuments-based urban landscapes. The following quotes highlight this:

*'' [The historic centre is] where everything originated, where everything started. Now, **it's very important to be able to work** <u>so that the historic centre prevails and is better each day</u>. To not lose sight of the fact that this is a city that is on top of another city. Because <u>we have the layers</u> from the time of the Aztecs, through the Colony. And <u>**everything is there**</u>. And what is not in sight, we know that it is there [...] **Precisely that was the justification to [...] award it the category of [UNESCO World] Heritage Site and to be enlisted** as such…''*
(A2.4-1 – MC Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' [The historic centre is] fundamental [...] There are <u>two [perimeters]: A and B</u>, which together encompass almost a thousand hectares and well … **there lies the importance of its inclusion in urban planning instruments**…''*
Later adding,

*''… I mean, the historic centre is <u>the living memory of this city</u> and <u>we cannot lose it</u>, right? [And] **we have to have conservation policies but [we] also understand that cities are dynamic entities** and **we cannot keep them static**, right? [...] [We] have to understand that dynamic [through] history, architecture, [public] spaces, urban layout, everything that gives us that <u>**identity**</u>.''*
(A1.2-1 – GDL Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

While keeping with a monument-centred narrative, both officers interweave heritage protection and urban evolution notions as dual discourses constantly combined to address and approach historic centres[20]. Importantly, the delimitation of the historic centre is here conveyed as determinant to locate and protect historic urban layers and amassed built heritage (whether exposed or hidden). For MC's officer, the historic and cultural aspects within a continual urban evolution are emphasised. Yet strong focus is also placed on attaining and retaining UNESCO's World Heritage Site (WHS) title. Without a WHS title, for GDL's officer the importance of the historic centre is based on its historic and

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[20] Underlining has been used to highlight heritage conservation values while bold to highlight urban development values.

cultural value while also insisting it is a dynamic and evolving place. In both cases, the implication of future urban layers and ongoing social urban dynamics is presented. Hence, although heritage protection and urban change notions are seemingly integrated, there is a clear tension between both. This is evidenced by the need to assert the evolution of 'dynamic' rather than 'static' historic centres.

A dual discourse is thus identified: the dominant monument-centred heritage conservation agenda is positioned as static while the urban development agenda conveys a dynamic approach. Statements such as ''everything is there'' and ''everything that gives us identity'' convey the historic centre as an unchanged place. Meanwhile, the historic centre as 'the living memory of [the] city' conveys its ongoing social urban dynamics. Beyond this, the mention of the WHS title by MC's officer points to the importance of supra-national stakeholders and frameworks to shape local level place definitions. Thus, although tensions between local heritage conservation and urban development agendas are established, in the case of MC higher efforts to integrate them is connected to higher UNESCO influence.

As seen in Chapter 4, an initial difference between both historic centres is established as MC's holds WHS title and GDL's does not, instead having a World Heritage Monument (WHM) and a Creative Cities Network (CCN) inner-area. This difference is continually identified within excerpts of officers in both cities, to evidence the influence these titles have had on meaning and frameworks construction for each historic centre. The previous statement by a MC officer shows the WHS title has a historic centre-wide impact, where MC's historic centre is elevated to a 'site' (per WHC definitions). This points to a UNESCO-local synchronicity that affirms the role of the WHS title as a powerful tool to shape local definitions and coordinate agendas, strengthened by a local interest to retain the title. Meanwhile, GDL's officer suggests the inclusion of the historic centre into planning instruments as a step away from a MZ approach, although this is not directly shaped by an international title such as the WHS. However, local planning authorities in GDL increasingly define the historic centre in relation to an urban development agenda in which the CCN title is seen to have a key role.

Ultimately, each international-local structure leads to different place meaning-making processes.

The nationally established 'Perimeter A' or MZ delimitation for the historic centre of MC (1980) was maintained for the WHS title area (1987) (figure 5-2). Thus, national, and local heritage conservation ('Perimeter A'), urban development ('historic centre') and UNESCO ('heritage site') instruments all use the same area to integrate place definitions and agendas. Interestingly, the WHS inscription document retains a monument-centred overview in line with the national heritage conservation rationale (ICOMOS, 1987). It was not until 2003's UNESCO report that a shift from MZ to 'cultural landscape' was suggested. Later, 2006's report called for a 'participatory rehabilitation programme' to promote repopulation (UNESCO, 2003: 76; UNESCO, 2006: 239). After these international calls, the local monument-centred definition was expanded to add the importance of the urban fabric and its social traditions in the Management Plan 2011 (MP-11). Arguably, it was because of the WHS title that local historic centre definitions departed from a MZ to integrate social urban aspects.

Source: Author

Importantly, the process to attain this international title was sought by national and local authorities, who put together the application and submitted it directly to the international body (as explained by officials A2.3-1 and A2.4-1). In the Partial Programme for Urban Development of the Historic Centre 2000 (PP-00), the international commitment is linked to the assertion that national conservation frameworks 'inhibit investment and ha[ve] negative effects on conservation' (GMC, 2000: 66, 172). Over a decade later, for the development of the MP-11 the WHS was used to justify local government actions to boost a historic centre-wide renovation agenda (AHCMC, 2016: 12). Later, the second Management Plan (MP-17) adopted the term ''historic urban landscape'' and departed from national instruments notions (Pp. 15).

Separately, figure 5-3 shows two different delimitations for the historic centre of GDL per heritage conservation (orange) and urban development (blue) local instruments, thus evidencing two separate visions and agendas. From 2015 the

'Perimeter A' or MZ was officially recognised as a 'Cultural Heritage Protection Zone' by the Secretary of Culture in Jalisco, although it has been established since the 1990's (see Chapter 4). Most recently, the Partial Plan 2017 (PP-17) reduced the 'Perimeter A' area and determined the historic centre as within Urban District 1 ''Metropolitan Centre'' in the GDL municipality. Without an international WHS title, the historic centre of GDL functions under separate heritage conservation and urban development frameworks.

Figure 5-3. Institutional Delimitation of Historic Centre of Guadalajara (1)

Source: Author

Figure 5-4 shows a closer look at the planning delimitation established in the PP-17, which considers a smaller collection of historic monuments and buildings. As established in Chapter 4, this research uses the PP-17 delimitation as the spatial unit for analysis, as it is where definitions and strategies for the historic centre are placed. It is important to highlight that 'Perimeter A'-wide planning agendas were

not found beyond the local heritage conservation framework, which does not provide comprehensive planning strategies. Significantly, the Creative Digital City (CDC) project (CCN, 2012) is located within the PP-17 delimitation while the Cabañas Hospice (WHM, 1997) is partially inside. Both places have bounded and not historic centre-wide international titles. However, as seen in Chapter 4, both have been influential to define and assess the historic centre's dual agendas.

Figure 5-4. Institutional Delimitation of Historic Centre of Guadalajara (2)
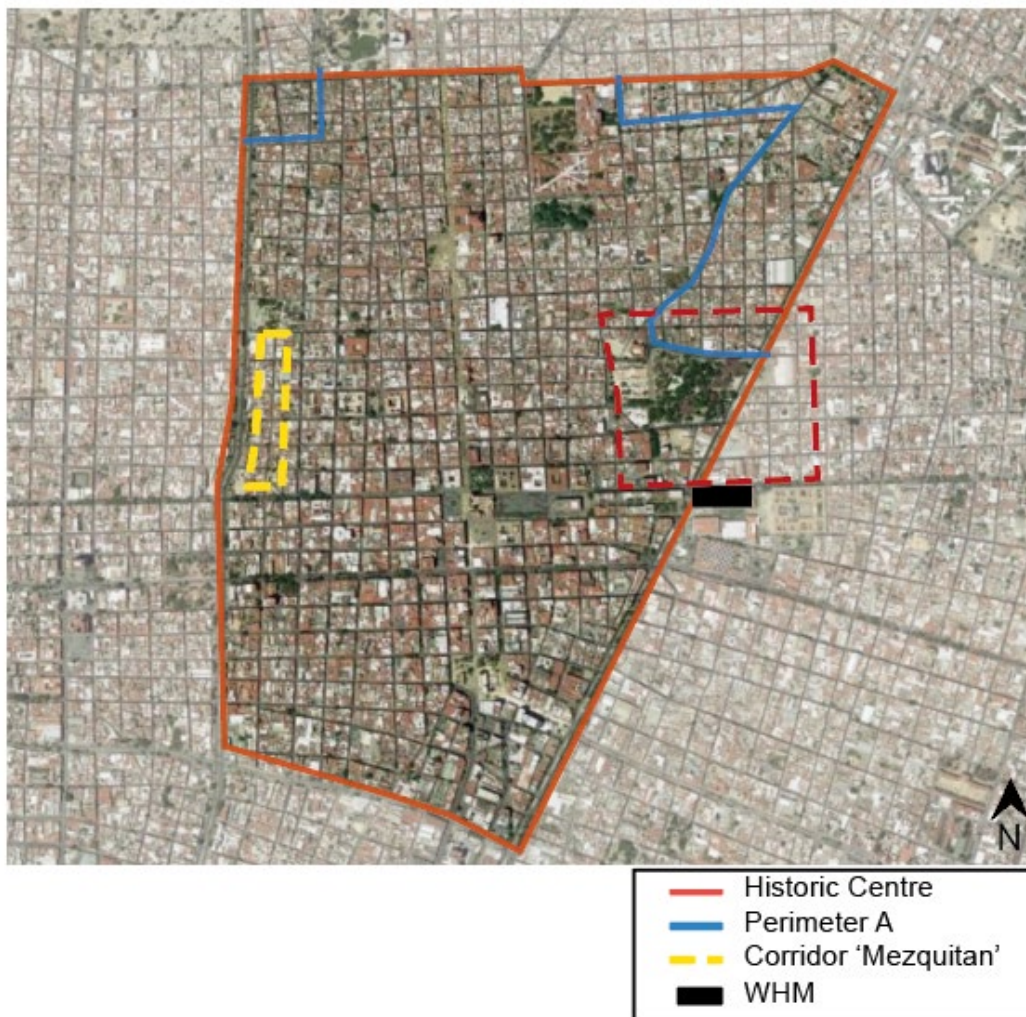
Source: Author

The processes to attain state heritage conservation delimitation protection (2015) and UNESCO WHM title for the Cabañas Hospice (1997) were pursued by local heritage conservation institutions such as INAH and the Secretary of Culture. Alternately, the UNESCO CCN title (2017) was sought by local planning authorities for the CDC project since 2012 (see Chapter 4.) Both processes point

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to separate UNESCO-local aims and agendas largely within the same area. The PP-17 seeks to combine both agendas and aims, following the CDC's aim to consider the historic centre as an ideal setting for a creative economy where young professionals can work and live (Ratti, 2012: 32; GG, 2017: 174). While this would suggest higher heritage conservation and urban development integration, this is challenged by ongoing separate delimitations and operational frameworks.

Both historic centres showcase different types of UNESCO-local government relationships, as well as different levels of heritage conservation and urban development integration. Yet both historic centres are strongly shaped by the frameworks embedded in each international title. In MC the historic centre holds one delimitation and the MP-11 sets out an integrated urban conservation planning framework. Meanwhile, in GDL two separate delimitations operate in parallel, thus establishing separate heritage conservation and urban development approaches despite an increased PP-17 integrative intention. It can therefore be stated that the WHS title holds a stronger role over the WHM and CCN titles to align separate historic centre definitions and agendas. Yet in both case studies, international title aspirations and intentions to retain them have been determinant to re-evaluate and reframe historic centre agendas. This was shown by officers and academics in both cities, all mostly concerned with keeping to UNESCO commitments to retain the titles (see appendix 11).

The consistent discursive integration or separation of heritage conservation and urban development agendas within international-local structures is also reflected in the scope of spatial elements considered in discourse to describe each historic centre. Thus, beyond the historic centre delimitation, a set of elements such as monuments, public spaces, urban form, and location were linked to heritage conservation and/or urban development agendas. These elements were then attached to WHM, CCN and WHS aims and transported into local discourse. Importantly, while conservation officers consistently preferred monumental-aesthetic elements in line with the WHM framework, planning officers often mentioned urban-related aspects linked to CCN or WHS frameworks.

The identification of different spatial elements relating to heritage conservation or urban development agendas are key to understand concerns in the dominant discourse. Through the elements identified in the next excerpts, positions from which to effect social urban change can be identified. This is important to understand evolving historic place notions, as value is gradually transferred from the monumental building to the historic place (as seen in Chapter 2). The MP-11 describes the historic centre as:

*''… a city built over another city; its **value** resides in having been and being a meeting point between cultures. The urban form evidences the **transformation** of a city with more than 700 years of history, in which remain architectural examples of great value that showcase the accumulated cultural richness of a living city that is **still a meeting point** for diverse cultures.'' (p.5)* [Emphasis by the author]

This description expresses a monument-centred definition yet it also conveys the evolving nature of the historic centre. Moreover, it positions the historic centre as a place of historic and cultural value by way of its urban form and architectural monuments. However, urban significance is articulated in its definition of a 'living city' and as an ongoing 'meeting point'. Therefore, urban dynamics comprise continually evolving practices linked to 'accumulated cultural richness' to describe the social impact on the historic environment. A divergence from monuments-centred notions is thus observed by this narrative to set a balance between spatial elements and social characteristics of the place.

In GDL, the PP-17 describes the historic centre as:

*''The heritage lens of the Historic Centre of Guadalajara has cultural manifestations since the [Colonial] time until today, [this] testimony lies in the architecture and historic urban landscape, constituting the built heritage of the city […] Due to processes of adaptation and evolution, the historic centre has gone though many **stages of renewal** […] which **modified its original urban structure**. In spite of this, the coexistence of buildings from different centuries enrich the historic urban landscape.'' (Pp.163-166)* [Emphasis by the author]

This excerpt emphasises the area as a constantly evolving historic urban landscape where buildings of value coexist. This description states that the historic centre has not retained its original urban structure because of ongoing 'processes of adaptation and evolution', referencing the reasons why this historic

centre is not eligible for WHS title (see Chapter 4). Importantly, while the 'historic urban landscape' is acknowledged, it is in the architecture and built heritage that the main 'testimony' of historic and cultural value is situated. Although processes of 'adaptation and evolution' are mentioned, emphasis is placed on the built landscape and not directly linked to the social urban dynamics within it. Overall, the MC description conveys an integration of architecture, urban form, and location-based dynamics elements while GDL's remains focused on architectural and built form elements.

The four spatial elements previously discussed were organised in table 5-1 to convey the significance of each element and the characteristics highlighted in each excerpt. While Monuments and Public Spaces are more easily linked to a heritage conservation definition, all four elements can be linked to a multi-layered urban conservation approach. Both the MP-11 and PP-17 instruments mention Monuments and Public Spaces as basic historic urban landscape elements regardless of fragmented or integrated heritage conservation and/or urban development approaches. Overall, the MP-11 document mentions Public Spaces more (132 MC to 30 GDL), while the PP-17 mentions Monuments more (38 GDL to 33 MC). Separately, urban identity and connectivity are mentioned for Urban Form and Location and the urban layers for renewal processes. These spatial elements are often mentioned to justify place delimitation and geographic significance.

Table 5-1. Spatial Elements in Discourse

Spatial Element	Description
Monuments	Historic buildings
Public Spaces	Streets, Key public spaces
Urban Form	Urban morphology
Location	Urban links and Identity

Source: Author

In this research the Monument and Public Spaces elements are considered within Madanipour's (2003) three levels of space (public, semi-public/private or private)

(see Chapter 2) and embedded within the Urban Form and Location. The three levels of space were useful to analyse the open, selective, or closed access to spaces or buildings in the historic centre and position the separate/integrated historic centre definitions and agendas. In this research, the implications of each level of access is directly linked to conservation/urban definitions, institutional competencies and public-private governance structures. Thus, for instance, stagnation in holistic heritage conservation meaning construction is reflective of limited institutional capacity.

In figure 5-5, the monument and public spaces elements from table 5-1 were broken down to assert the historic centre definitory spatial assessment structure. The public level is equivalent to the MZ or urban form configuration yet as a space open for public access that includes streets, public spaces and building exteriors (facades). The semi public/private level relates to Monuments, as both independent and clustered structures that may be partially accessible or used within timed restrictions. Lastly, the private level is matched to Context Heritage and urban dynamics, where uses such as housing, offices and retail can only be accessed through direct interaction with or invitation by place users.

Figure 5-5. Levels of Space
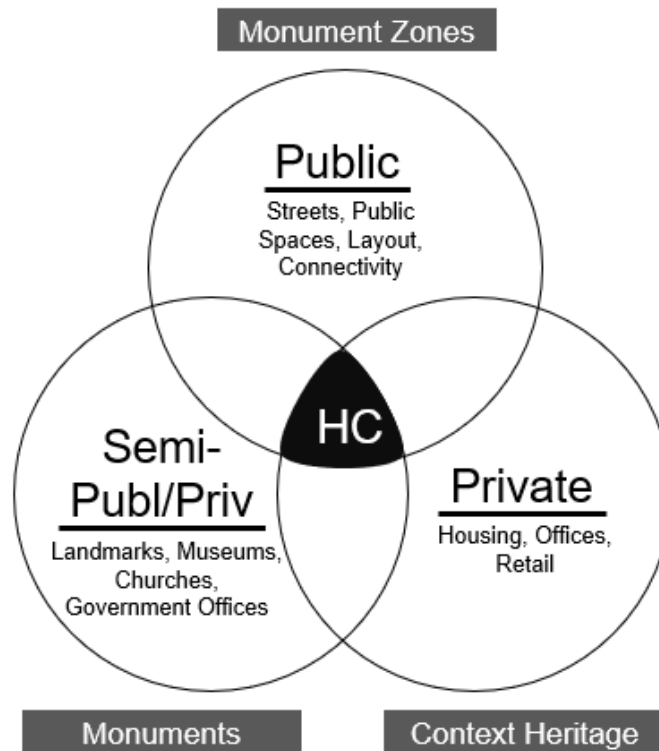
Source: Author based on Madanipour (2003) and data analysis

Arguably, the spatial levels used in discourse to define the historic centre give attention to separate agendas and institutional capacity to fulfil them. As evidenced so far, the dominant heritage conservation definitions have been centred on monuments (semi-public/private level). Meanwhile urban development definitions have considered public spaces (public level) and monuments. It is in the local MP-11 and PP-17 instruments that uses relating to the private level were integrated more. Moreover, each historic centre has also been spatially and discursively defined in relation to UNESCO titles. In MC, the WHS framework has strongly encouraged an integration of the three spatial levels in MP-11, while in GDL the WHM and CCN frameworks don't command a similar integration level for PP-17.

Overall, these meaning-construction processes showcase a dissimilarity between heritage conservation and urban development agendas from the discursive level. Such differentiated discourses evidence a failure to address historic centres as holistic places where the three spatial levels represent the social urban dynamics

that the HUL approach and recent UNESCO reports have highlighted as important. More importantly, the type of titles each place holds are determinant to overall local integrated/fragmented definitory discursive frameworks. These definitions effectively set the ground for place visions that will be mobilised through housing agendas, as the next section explores.

5.2.2 Understanding Housing Definitions in the Historic Centre

At the constitutional level there is a provision to assess decent and dignified housing based on the international right to housing (see Chapter 4). This provision can be divided in three parts: tenure type (household structure), quality (decent and dignified units) and fulfilment (legal and financial frameworks). The right was consolidated by its integration into the LH (Law for Housing, 2006 with additions in 2014) and NHP (National Housing Programme, 2014). The NHP asserts the importance of inner-city housing through the 'reuse' of buildings for housing to achieve urban sustainability and equality in accordance with international aims (see the UN's SDG's) (2014: section 1). In line with the LUD, the LH shifts from a peripheral to an inner-city housing agenda, yet there is no clear alignment with the LHC. Moreover, both the LHC and heritage conservation officers fail to convey a housing tradition in historic centres. The next excerpt conveys housing in historic centres in line with the housing agenda:

''… of housing, […] at this moment with new Federal Government policies… it is preventing both Mexico City and Guadalajara to continue an accelerated growth toward its edges. I am convinced that <u>the city has to be</u>… <u>or is becoming denser inside</u>.''
(A2.5-1 – National/MC Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

This is a statement from a conservation official, no mention is made of the role of housing within Mexican historic centres. There is no allusion to housing traditions such as *vecindades,* as traditional subdivided single-family buildings/houses that have provided communal low-income housing units for decades (Diaz Parra, 2015: 246). As seen in Chapter 7, *vecindades* have been a longstanding and important housing option within historic centres but they are only mentioned once in MP-11 and are absent in PP-17. This statement repeats, in almost identical language, the housing and urban development objectives set out in the LH and

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the LUD (see Chapter 4). Housing is merely positioned as a strategy to break from expansionist urban trends that resulted in low inner-city housing occupation (2011: 06; 2017: 120). This statement follows the aim to redevelop housing and seek inner-city densification and does not bridge the gap between heritage conservation and an urban development place visions.

Significantly, it is in the LUD and LH that inner-city housing is established and developed by linking it to sustainability and economic growth objectives. Yet, as previously highlighted, the LHC remains concerned with historic centres on a monuments basis and doesn't build on the HUL aim to enhance the liveability of urban heritage (2011: 02, art.3). It also doesn't contemplate mitigation and adaptative strategies to address the impacts of urban development on historic centres (art.18). At the local level, it has been UNESCO's WHS and WHM reports that have highlighted the importance of integrative planning instruments for the historic centre of MC and the Perimeter A area near the Cabañas Hospice in GDL (ICOMOS, 2006: 239-41: ICOMOS, 2014). From these calls, closer heritage conservation, urban development and housing measures were developed through the MP-11 and PP-17.

In MC, the MP-11 placed housing within the 'Habitability' strategic line of action to 'reactivate' the historic centre as part of a new urban development and housing agenda (the MP-17 continued this) (GMC, 2011: 14). Housing was defined as a consistent yet reduced use, as a high number of buildings are now more dominantly used for activities such as leisure, office, retail, or storage (Pp. 55). Neither the MP-11 or MP-17 provide new definitions of housing in the historic centre but an account of a 'poor' housing situation and prospective strategies are presented (Pp. 15). It was earlier in the PP-00 that housing was defined as a diminished use and in need of 'reactivation' through a historic centre housing planning policy (Pp. 82).

For GDL's historic centre, the PP-17 includes the housing strategy within the 'Habitability' line of action for heritage conservation as seen in Chapter 4. The instrument generally acknowledges the historic centre's housing tradition by also asserting low habitation levels and poor urban quality (GG, 2017: 94; 97).

However, a prospective housing agenda by highlighting densification potential of traditionally low-density buildings is the main focus (Pp. 104). The housing definition is undertaken from a housing re-development lens by articulating a need to improve the current housing context (Pp. 117, 119). This follows the CDC's Management Plan (2012) considerations of bettering the traditional residential condition of the historic centre (Pp. 32). This is important because the PP-17 has remained largely vague yet within CDC notions when defining housing traditions and conditions. Before this, Partial Plans had traditionally positioned housing in the area within a regulatory zoning and use of land position (2013, 2008, etc).

In both MP-11 and PP-17, the housing tradition in historic centres is mentioned yet focus is on low population numbers and a need to improve the existing housing context. Therefore not taking into account housing type traditions such as *vecindades* (both cities) and single-family houses (GDL) or flats (MC) to convey the housing landscape within each historic centre. Moreover, existing housing is mostly described as institutionally and socially complex in the context of the historic centre (A2.9-1 in MC, A1.10 in GDL). Likewise, instruments and officers of both cities focus on land and property ownership, which is predominantly private, to highlight housing challenges (2011: 16; 2017: 124). This shows that housing definitions in dominant discourse are tied to property ownership and tenure formality challenges and institutional complexities to address housing provision agendas.

Housing in the historic centre is therefore continually linked to 'recovery' and 'renovation' narratives that inherently overlook housing traditions (GMC, 2011: 14; GG, 2017: 66). The MP-11 deems the 'recovery' of housing as ''fundamental for the conservation of the [area] as [a] living city'' and integral to return ''conditions of [urban] habitability'' to the historic centre (Pp. 55; 14). In GDL, the PP-17 declares 'repopulation' and 'urban renovation' as key to promote housing and guarantee 'healthy' economic and urban dynamics (Pp. 97, 171). In both cases, housing is re-positioned as a renewed endeavour to ensure better social and economic dynamics to achieve a well-maintained urban landscape.

Figure 5-6 shows housing occupation is intrinsically related to urban 'habitability' (as it is often described), according to dominant discourse in instruments and officers' views. This would suggest a direct link between the public and private spatial levels which were not previously connected in the historic centre definitions of the previous sub-section. This confirms Madanipour's assertion that all spatial levels are mutually affecting and not as separate from one another as it may be pronounced in dominant discourse. Therefore, housing conditions influence and are affected by urban 'habitability' conditions, including the semi-public/private spatial level (ie. heritage buildings and spaces). This is confirmed within the MP-17 and PP-17 instruments, as institutional capacity, and public-private governance arrangements to ensure housing property investment are explored in relation to urban habitability.

Figure 5-6. Occupation and Habitability
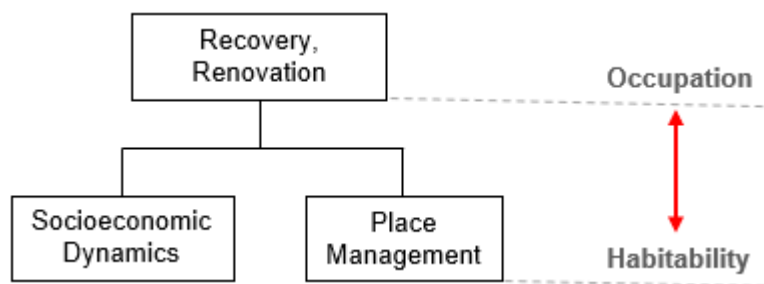
Source: Author

In the following extracts, housing is described in relation to the urban context and public-private governance and investment structures. In relation to original housing area character and neighbourhood dynamics, each instrument partially reveals the importance of housing traditions and social urban dynamics for the historic urban landscape (the *barrio* is further explored in Chapter 6). Value is assigned to traditional housing dynamics to emphasise housing redevelopment. Furthermore, public space habitability is connected from discourse to public sector capacities while housing is positioned under the private sector. Yet an institutional vision of an 'improved' housing context is established:

''The [MP2017] considers the development of a <u>management model for housing based on the promotion, dissemination, advertising and coordination of projects and actions</u> to be developed <u>by various actors</u>, both public and private as well as

*social. It also aims to <u>improve the habitability</u> of the <u>environment</u> in which people
live, improving their productive use <u>without ignoring the original housing character</u>
[of the area].''*
(GMC, 2017: 43) [Emphasis by the author]

*''… <u>encouragement of housing [based on] public-private partnerships</u> for the
<u>improvement of housing</u>, to ensure neighbourhood dynamics, mixed-uses are
promoted […] Recognising the historic nature of the public space and its need to
adapt to the present conditions of society, […] <u>actions are aimed at [public
spaces]</u>…''*
(GG, 2017: 172-172) [Emphasis by the author]

In the MP-11 and PP-17, 'improved' housing is linked to household composition
types and increased mix-uses in buildings (2011: 55; 2017: 172). This follows a
national shift to increase housing stock for unipersonal and extended households,
departing from traditional nuclear (family) household configurations (see table 4-
3 in Chapter 4). The MP-11 echoes this shift and states ''the diverse architectural
typologies will define the housing modalities, both in their individual structure and
their collective form [use]…'' (2011: 55). Later, the MP-17 emphasises the need
for mixed household composition types, as existing and new residents across
social groups have different housing needs (AHCMC, 2016: 12, 14). Separately,
the PP-17 also mentions non-family households but considerations for family and
multi-family households remain (Pp. 81, 304, 319). Focus was thus placed on
new tenure and financing models, as growing numbers of people are renting
rather than buying homes (Pp. 117). Interviews with planning and housing officers
in both cities emphasised an increase in rent tenures diversification in relation to
unipersonal and composed or shared households for young professionals (see
Chapter 7). As one officer in GDL put it:

*''In these new instruments we are <u>betting on a re-densification</u> of the historic
centre through housing programmes. <u>Housing not only for the traditional family
but new housing models</u>. For example, housing for rent, housing for students,
housing for other types of families, housing for all social groups… affordable
housing, medium-level, and in some cases high-level housing, right?''*
(A1.2-1 – GDL Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

In this statement, housing configurations are linked to a mix in tenure structures,
as also echoed by officer A2.9 in MC. Thus, unit types such as unipersonal and
nuclear/family are related to different affordable, medium, or high-cost options.

This confirms the aim for an increasingly dense historic centre, with diverse housing options that would integrate existing and new residents. Therefore, the housing agenda for both historic centres seemingly align with the HUL aim to ensure community development but also adaptation within a context of historic centres as ''centres and drivers of economic growth'' (UNESCO, 2011: art.14, 15).

Overall, housing in both historic centres is partially admitted as a traditional use within a prospective housing improvement-oriented urban recovery and renovation agenda. Yet this approach implies a negative connotation of traditional housing (ie. *vecindades* and single family). Therefore, with terms like 'repopulation' and 'redensification' new household and tenure configurations are introduced to reassess the housing market and encourage private investment within a nationally designed public-private governance model (see Chapter 4). Importantly, a shifting inner-city housing agenda is encouraged by widespread population and household changes in Mexican cities that partially align with an international urban conservation agenda.

5.3   Cognitive Descriptions of Place for Historic Centre Resignification

This section examines the role of cognitive descriptions in discourse to shape urban and housing visions and approaches for the historic centres of MC and GDL. Although the cultural significance of the historic centre is established, their social urban value is affected by negative or positive place dynamic descriptions. Deterioration Challenges (DC) are here set out as an umbrella concept to identify various negative elements. Finally, a link between public and private as well as semi-public/private spatial levels evidence the inherent connection of seemingly separate urban and housing agendas for historic centres.

5.3.1 Historic Centre Perception: Negative Place and Deterioration Challenges

Following the previous section where institutional definitions of historic centres were analysed, this section explores the role of perception to shape dominant discourse and the significance of historic centres in relation to institutional definitions. Here, the divergence between heritage conservation and urban

development place definitions and agendas are positioned as also shaped by cognitive spatial perception. The perception of the public spatial level of the historic centre is shown as central to maintain place significance. This is confirmed by MC's MP-11 unambiguous reference to the historic centre as a ''public space par excellence'' (2011: 52). Meanwhile, GDL's PP 17 highlights the historic character and quality of the public space, while also linking it to the attraction of real estate markets (2017: 97, 172).

The pronouncement of the historic centre as primarily a public space is here considered to solidify its position as cultural landscape. This position is in line with international tourism-oriented approaches to heritage sites, where historic centres enable transitory over occupational dynamics (see Chapter 2). In MC and GDL, this public space lens to approach historic centres is linked to betterment narratives to revert negative place associations (GMC, 2011: 67, 86; GG, 2017: 97). However, daily 'floating' populations derived from transitional dynamics linked to tourism, retail and offices are considered by interviewed officers to add to negative place descriptions (A2.4, A1.2). Interestingly, officers in both cities link floating population trends to UNESCO site or monument titles.

Figure 5-7 is based on floating population data from MP-17 and a GDL newspaper that show daily floating population by 2015 far surpasses residential population in both historic centres (GMC, 2017: 18; Informador, 2015). Although GDL holds more residents (2.089%) than MC (1.69%) proportionally, residential occupation is very low in relation to daily visitors. This imbalance has created a temporary overcrowding effect that was continually highlighted by officers, academics, and residents of both cities. However, it is also important to note that transitional dynamics are mainly found within the 'monumental core', where most cultural, retail, services and office activities are located (see figure 5-9). Generally, day-time transitional uses function within semi-public/private and private spaces are in proximity to or within key historic buildings or spaces (GMC, 2011: 15; GG, 2017: 146).

Figure 5-7. Floating vs Existing Population
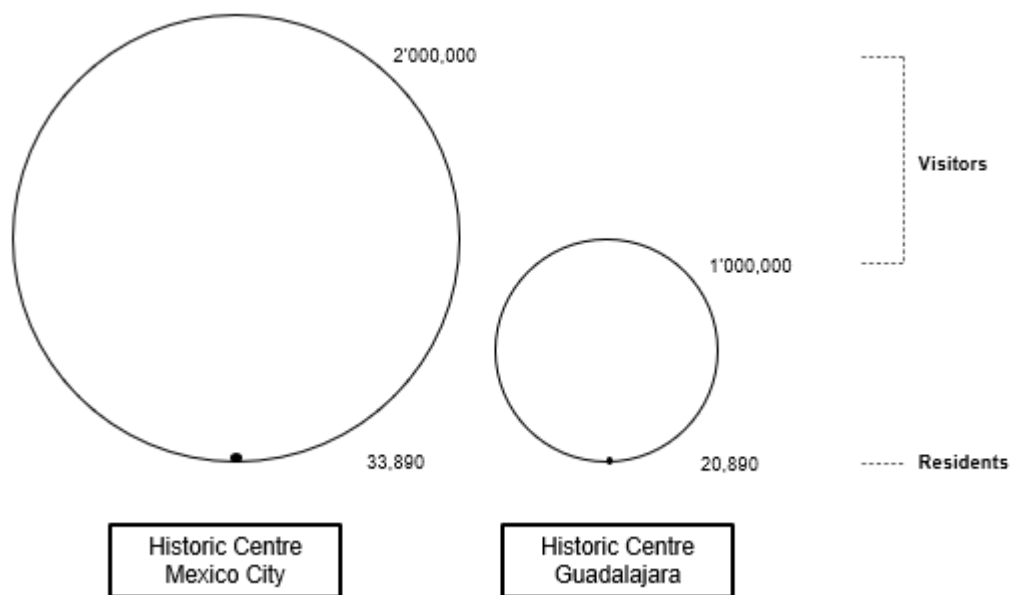
Source: Author with data from AHCMC, 2016 and Informador, 2015

Yet focus on the historic centre as a single public space unit and landscape regardless of differences between the 'monumental core' and its surroundings is continually stressed. This is supported by the natural position of the public space as the direct entry point and spatial access to the historic centre. Moreover, UNESCO and national delimitations as well as touristic dynamics derived from WHS and WHM titles have reinforced the public space outlining of the historic centre (GMC, 2011: 07; GG, 2017: 167). Following this, low 'urban habitability' conditions of the public space are continually mentioned to convey its spatial value. Hence, deteriorated streets, squares and buildings are described:

''Without a doubt […] the centre of the city had <u>abandonment</u>.''
(A2.3-1 – MC Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

''... because [important park] already had a <u>high degree of deterioration, more</u> <u>social and moral than physical, and note that the physical [space] was in a really</u> <u>bad state</u> [...] [the place] was completely invaded by street vendors and submerged in [...] <u>absolute social decay</u>...''
(A2.4-1 – MC Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

''… the historic centre of Guadalajara has many problems, one of them is <u>abandonment</u>…''
(A1.2-1 – GDL Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

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'… the [historic] centre of Guadalajara […] looks like a war zone [because of abandonment and decay] …"
(A1.6-1 – GDL Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

These excerpts were selected for their candour in describing varying deterioration indications as consistent descriptive aspects of the perceived condition of historic centres. Interviewees across groups repeatedly mentioned abandonment, dereliction, decay, underuse and unsafety to convey negative place characteristics just after describing the institutional significance of historic centres. The 'historic centre' as a unit in 'bad condition[s] and ridden with 'many problems' was stressed by interviewed officers in both cities. Negative and positive descriptions as indicative of social dynamics beyond the public space level were described by officers, academics and reisdents.

Figure 5-8 shows the number of times negative and positive indications to describe historic centres were used by officers and academics (groups A and B[21]) and residents (group C) in both cities. These indications were identified following a discursive analysis of interviews collected during the visits of 2017 and 2018 (see Chapter 3). Although the length and number of interviews varied per groups and individuals, the references here identified were consistent with the main concerns each group expressed regarding historic centres. In relation to positive indications, groups A-B mentioned Delimitation (46) and group C Sense of Place (71). Regarding negative indicators, groups A-B repeatedly pointed to Abandonment (27), Dereliction (20) and Decay (17). Separately, group C also identified Abandonment (43), Dereliction (64) and Decay (33) as problematic. Although Underuse and Unsafety are mentioned less overall, they were constantly articulated as both a cause and consequential of Abandonment, Dereliction, Decay as well as floating population dynamics.

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[21] Grouped due to close government-academic/practitioner relationships to produce instruments and interventions in each historic, they generally showcased shared knowledge and notions.

Figure 5-8. Positive vs Negative Indications
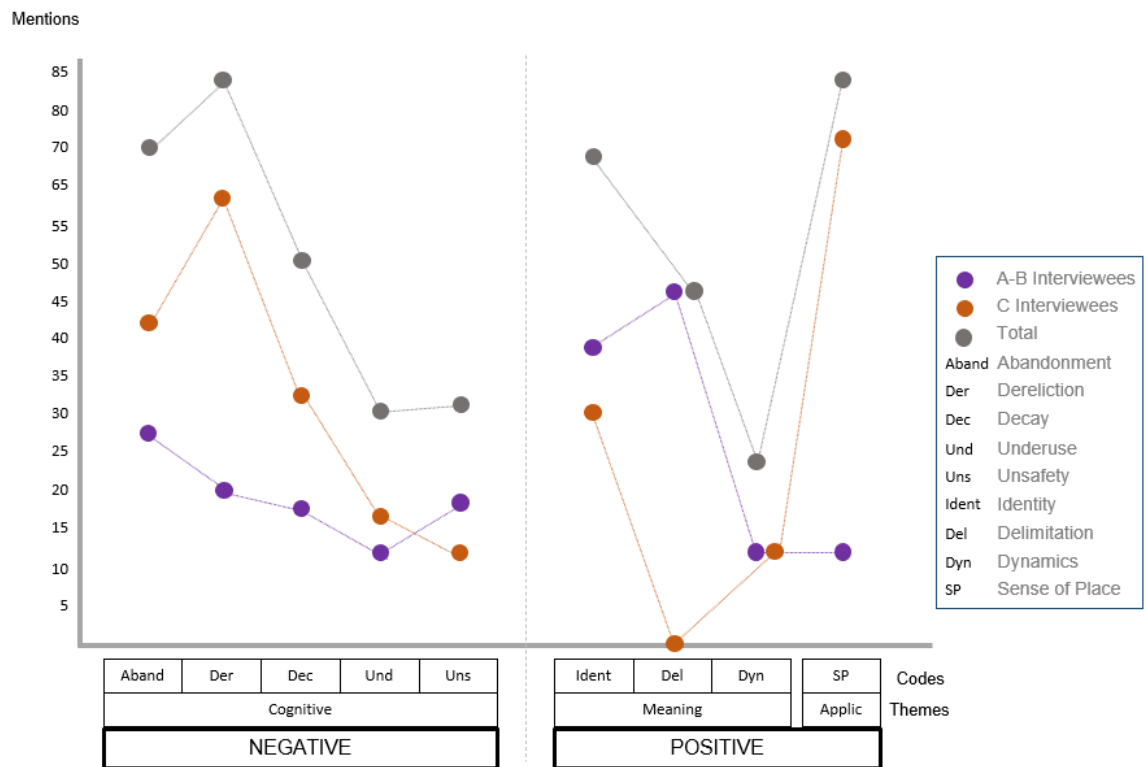
Source: Author with data from data collection visits

Interestingly, officers and academics considered Delimitation as the main positive place value descriptor while residents valued Sense of Place, as rooted in social urban dynamics. This reflects a divergence between institutional and socially developed spatial delimitations to assess the historic centre and its dynamics. Regarding negative indications, this research used 'deterioration challenges' (DC) as an umbrella term to encapsulate five main negative indications (abandonment, dereliction, decay, underuse and unsafety). Importantly, urban Abandonment was more important for groups A-B, while Dereliction in relation to physical decline was highlighted by group C.

Table 5-2 is used to connect the five DC to physical condition (dereliction, decay), uses (abandonment, underuse) and social dynamics (unsafety) concerns. Physical Conditions refer to degraded or poor conditions of buildings, which ultimately connect aesthetic and intangible social urban processes. Secondly, Type of Use refers to lack or partial use of buildings and spaces, as well as a use shift (ie. from housing to retail or storage). Lastly, Social Dynamics relates to safety levels and is often paired with physical conditions. Frequently,

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socioeconomic characteristics of visitors and residents are linked to DC discourse. Moreover, DC descriptions are used to elevate or reduce the value of historic centres, although they remain institutionally and culturally significant.

Table 5-2. Deterioration Challenges (DC) in Space

Layers of Space	Deterioration Challenges
Physical Condition	Decay, Dereliction
Type of Use	Underuse, Abandonment
Social Dynamics	Safety

Source: Author

Maps in figure 5-9 show the 'monumental core' areas as well as the areas in proximity to 'challenging' social urban places outside of both historic centres, as pointed out by interviewees. The separation of the monumental core area evidences that although the historic centre is generally approached as homogenous public space unit, different inner areas contain separate social dynamics and urban characteristics. Thus, the overencompassing WHS or MZ value approaches are extended to non-monumental inner areas where urban dynamics do not predominantly relate to floating population activities (tourism, retail, offices). Despite this homogenic value approach, it is in non-monumental core areas were DC are located. These areas are often described as ''marginalised'', ''poor'' and/or ''vulnerable'' and it is where 'bettermnent' strategies are envisioned (GMC: 2011, 56; GG, 2017: 96).

Figure 5-9. 'Monumental Cores' & Problematic areas

Green Spaces
Relevant Heritage
Key Monuments
Monumental Core
Barrios
Historic Centre
Problematic Areas
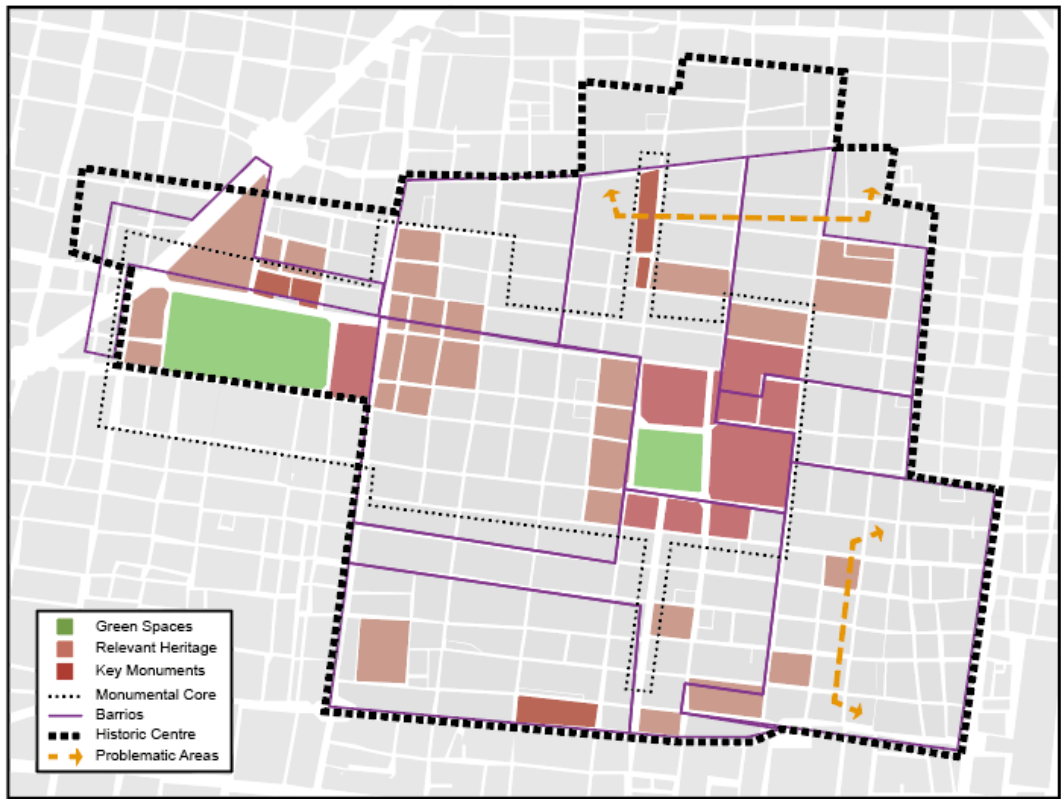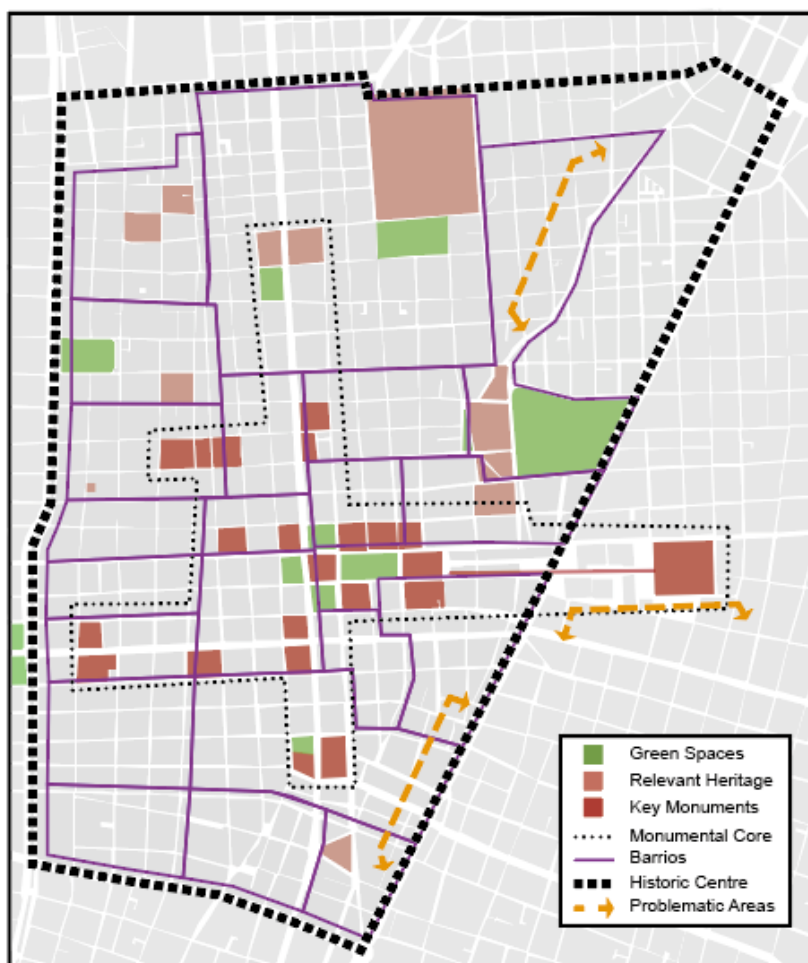
Source: Author based on data from interviews, GMC,2011: 124; GG, 2017: 290; INEGI, 2010

'Problematic' areas are described as socially difficult, with some officers even warning the researcher to 'not enter' them (A1.4 & A2.8). In MC, the Lagunilla and Tepito barrios border with the north of the historic centre, while La Merced intersects at the east. In GDL, the north-east section overlaps with El Retiro and the south-east with Analco, both border with San Juan de Dios by the WHM. All of these *barrios* are described as 'challenging' and 'spilling over' into the historic centre, pointing to a a gradual permeability into negative social dynamics from other conflicting urban areas. These accounts of non-monumental areas confirm historic centres as heterogenous places where transitional and occupational dynamics take place. DC are thus connected to transitional and/or occupational dynamics from a negative public space perception level to describe urban habitability and housing conditions.

Figure 5-10 images from MC (1-3) and GDL (4-6) from a 2008/2009 period present an example of non-monumental areas in both historic centres. Some urban renewal interventions by local authorities can be seen in images 2, 3 and 5 but previous conditions are conveyed by images 1, 4 and 6. Overall, the association of physical characteristics to DC such as decay and dereliction (ruinous buildings) may be assessed. No specific government data regarding the amount of abandoned or overcrowded houses or buildings was found, it was in local newspapers that approximate data was found. It is estimated that 75% of buildings in MC's historic centre are abandoned or derelict, while approximately 12.5% of buildings within the Perimeter A of GDL were marked as ruinous by 2015 (Excelsior, 2019; Informador, 2019). Because of this lack of institutional data, it can be asserted that underuse, abandonment, and unsafety were assessed by officers from an external physical condition lens. Yet this partial assessment approach is used to validate an encompassing public level intervention agenda to address urban challenges.

Figure 5-10. Non-Monumental Areas Street Level

República de Bolivia, 2009

Isabel la Catolica, 2008

It is in non-monumental areas of the historic centre that a negative place narrative is ultimately predominantly located and where DC are most tangibly located in the urban landscape. This has ultimately shaped the public perception of the historic centre and recent planning approaches to them. In line with this, 'urban habitability' is constantly mentioned as an important factor to assess liveability feasibility across both historic centres. Moreover, although urban habitability of the historic centre is assessed in relation to urban conditions, dynamics such as housing and retail are mentioned to indicate DC:

'' … no, it was <u>impossible to live there</u> anymore. Especially because where there was more housing […] is where it was <u>invaded by street vendors</u>. That achieved the <u>exodus of the inhabitants</u>. And then the landowners <u>could no longer pay</u> the property tax, the buildings were <u>empty</u>… at best they were <u>rented as warehouses for the street vendors and at worst they were simply invaded</u>.''
(A2.4-1 – MC Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

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''… because at some point the historic centre became exclusively commercial. And <u>nobody wanted to live there</u>, and the <u>conditions of habitability were terrible</u>. There were no options, right? And the existing options were very <u>deteriorated buildings or old apartments with some structural failure… or invaded</u>. There were and still are [no options].''
(A2.8-1 – MC Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

In MC, public space and conservation officers offer similar narratives that convey DC's as linked to physical conditions for urban habitability in relation to housing occupation challenges. Aspects such as informal retail in public spaces (street vendors), building conditions (decay and structural damage) and problematic activities and uses (informality, warehouses, squatting) are described. These social spatial dynamics aspects convey public and private spatial levels as intrinsically connected processes. Importantly, cognitive descriptions of 'conditions of [urban] habitability' cannot thus fail but to include 'habitational' dynamics.

''… For example, the historic centre today is an area that is <u>exclusively retail and services</u>. What happens? That at night it becomes <u>empty, abandoned</u>, and becomes a <u>wolf's den</u>, <u>unsafe areas</u> – where all the infrastructure that exists is not used…''
(A1.2-1 – GDL Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

''… it is seen that [the historic centre] is <u>abandoned</u> – <u>semi-abandoned</u>…''
(A1.8-1 – GDL Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

Similarly, in GDL public space and a conservation officers describe the historic centre as underused (abandoned), unsafe (empty) and with problematic uses (dominance of retail and services). In this narrative, poor building conditions are linked to low occupation patterns and types as well as safety concerns. Moreover, types of uses (retail/services or residential) are highlighted to describe a partial or total occupational abandonment and higher unsafety challenges. Therefore, urban and housing conditions are conveyed as interlinked processes although it is the public space that is being described.

In both cases, low occupation is highlighted as a symptom and consequence of physical and social challenges, which have led to an 'impossibility' to live in these areas. Furthermore, five aspects are highlighted: retail types (formal and informal), low economic capacity of owners (property tax), problematic occupancy ('invasions' or squatting), heritage buildings loss (decayed or collapsed buildings) and 'exodus' (low habitation). It is notable that to describe public place challenges, occurrences within private spaces are stressed most. Importantly, the MP-11 highlights urban space deterioration and place public space and housing habitability importance (Pp. 4, 101). Most recently, the PP-17 pointed to similar objectives to overcome the current deterioration of the historic centre (Pp. 97).

Both instruments have integrated the existing DC reality as a defining discursive characteristic to assess each historic centre. To correct this condition, betterment is set out as an alternative to change existing urban level conditions (this is further explored in Chapter 6). The MP-11 states good urban habitability reduces DC and creates good public spaces (Pp. 42). This is echoed in GDL, as the PP-17 defines urban habitability as necessary to reduce DC (2017: 118). However, it is transit areas (sidewalks, streets) that have acquired central importance to assess the 'betterment' of the historic centre (GMC, 2011: 80; GG, 2017: 129).

In discourse, the previously identified monumental and non-monumental areas difference is largely set aside to approach historic centres as homogenous deteriorated places although key DC indications are located within non-monumental areas. However, it is from the street level that public, semi-public/private and private spaces betterment are assessed. In this research, the 'betterment' intent is understood as a spatial improvement 'event' with important implications for public, semi-public/private and private spatial levels. In this way, although the historic centre narrative stems from the public space level, the semi-public/private and private levels are also inherently linked.

Both historic centres are often described as transitional public spaces with specific urban cultural purposes. It is in international, national, and state titles/protections that positive place institutional value is identified and located.

Yet negative perception through DC descriptions have become definitory components to perceive, convey, and assess historic centres. This has positioned historic centres as places of high significance but with diminished value. Therefore, the meaning and significance of both historic centres follow a longstanding history of 'negative place' narratives with challenging social urban processes (Carrion, 2008). Moreover, the historic centre as a place that is not attractive to be in has a negative effect on existing and prospective occupational dynamics, as the next sub-section further explores.

5.3.2 Perception of Housing in the Historic Centre: Occupational Dichotomy

The importance of housing was established within policy documents and officers' dominant discourse despite the narrative of the historic centre as mainly a public space. Urban habitability was increasingly linked to occupational dynamics to describe negative place features. Thus, although urban habitability descriptions were not immediately concerned with housing, the public space cannot be understood without its housing context. Moreover, housing definitions have been focused on repopulation and redensification agendas that evidence a negative perception of housing within historic centres. This points to ongoing negatively perceived housing dynamics, which include longstanding and evolving housing dynamics.

Overall, an 'occupied-unoccupied area' dichotomy was continually articulated by instruments and interviewed officers to describe housing conditions of both historic centres. Generally, traditional low-income housing units such as *vecindades* were described as characteristic yet problematic (A1.2, A1.9, A1.10; A2.5, A2.8, A2.9). Yet although traditional housing and their community dynamics were mentioned, descriptions focused on housing occupancy as a decreased use and almost non-existent in relation to increased retail and services (A1.10, A2.9). Thus, although existing residential occupancy is acknowledged, a decrease of residents is more strongly highlighted.

In discourse, historic centres are continually described as empty or uninhabited places. Although this is partially true for the monumental core areas, non-

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monumental areas still hold housing within single-family houses (GDL), single-family flats (MC) and *vecindades* (both). This is described across groups yet not sufficiently acknowledged in the local planning instruments. Moreover, housing is generally located within buildings that have environmental heritage value, which have been addressed in relation to the nearby monument or the historic landscape (GMC, 2011: 67; GG, 2017: 164). Therefore, although longstanding housing traditions within environmental value buildings are acknowledged, attention is often given to decreased population levels:

''The housing aspect […], the depopulation that is aimed to [be] solve[d] by bringing new people with different backgrounds […] there is also the aspect of the people who live here… who have [lived here] all their lives or that arrive and […] live in the same spaces where people have lived for generations or for many years.''
(A2.7-1 – MC Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

''But, in general, the barrios – because [the area] is also delimitated by barrios – … there are many barrios that […] have housing. They combine […] uses. And there are also many [barrios] that are uninhabited. I mean, [there are] both [cases].''
(A1.7-1 – GDL Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

These statements from planning and conservation officers in each city showcase an occupied-unoccupied place dichotomy. Here, housing is described from the lens of population decrease yet longstanding residents are also mentioned, especially by MC's officer. Thus, both interviewees highlight 'depopulation' and 'uninhabited' patterns while also recognise ongoing residential occupation from people who have lived there 'all their lives'. It can be asserted that it is within housing 'pockets' that groups of people have lived. However, the implication of an empty historic centre is set forward to enable new densification strategies.

Figure 5-11 shows the spatial separation between the monumental core and the housing areas in both historic centres. Moreover, this transitional/occupational spatial separation highlights the role of barrios. *Barrios* in the context of Mexico are described as spatial units shaped by long term social and community dynamics (Ante Lezama & Reyes Lagunes, 2016: 2492). Housing can be found in six *barrios* (of nine) in the historic centre of MC and in eight (of twenty-two) in

GDL (see Chapter 4) (GMC, 2011: 22; GG, 2017: 289). Officers and planning instruments acknowledge *barrios* as important yet fail to convey their traditional social spatial relevance, within which housing traditions dynamics developed in historic centres. Conversely, the acknowledgement of *barrios* is used to point to low-income housing such as *vecindades*, to convey poor social urban conditions.

Figure 5-11. Non-Monumental Housing Areas
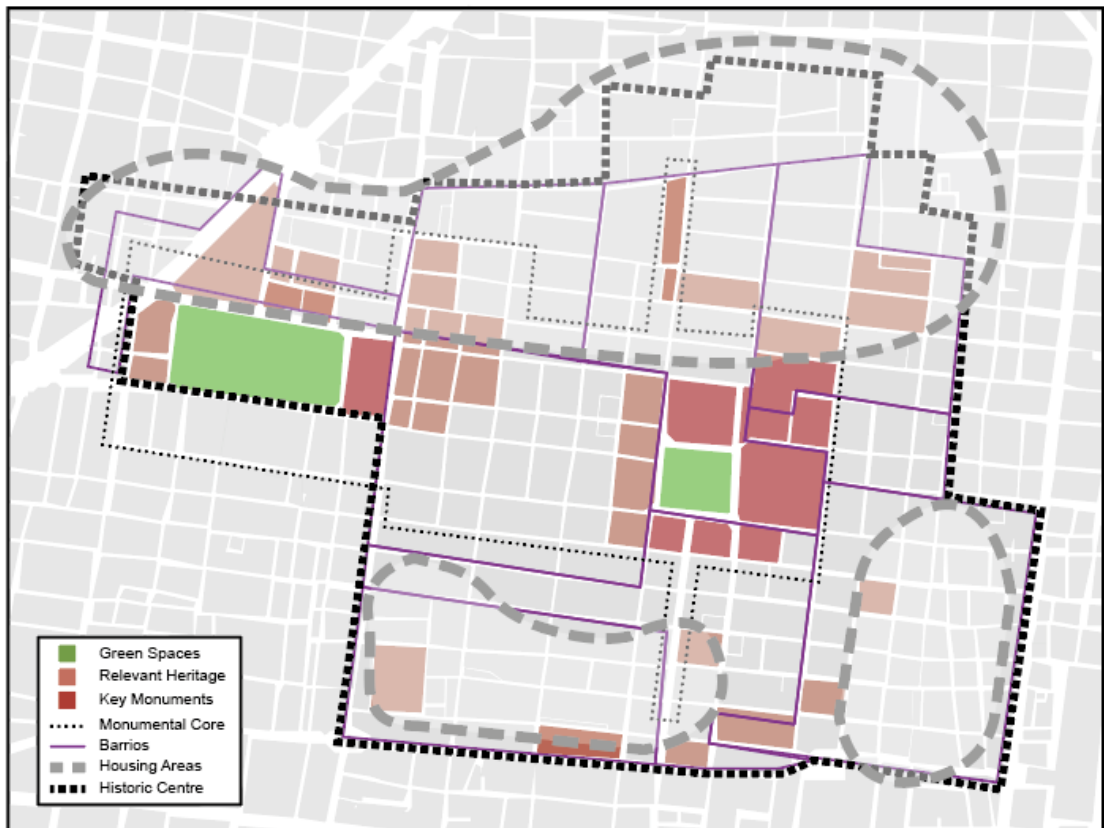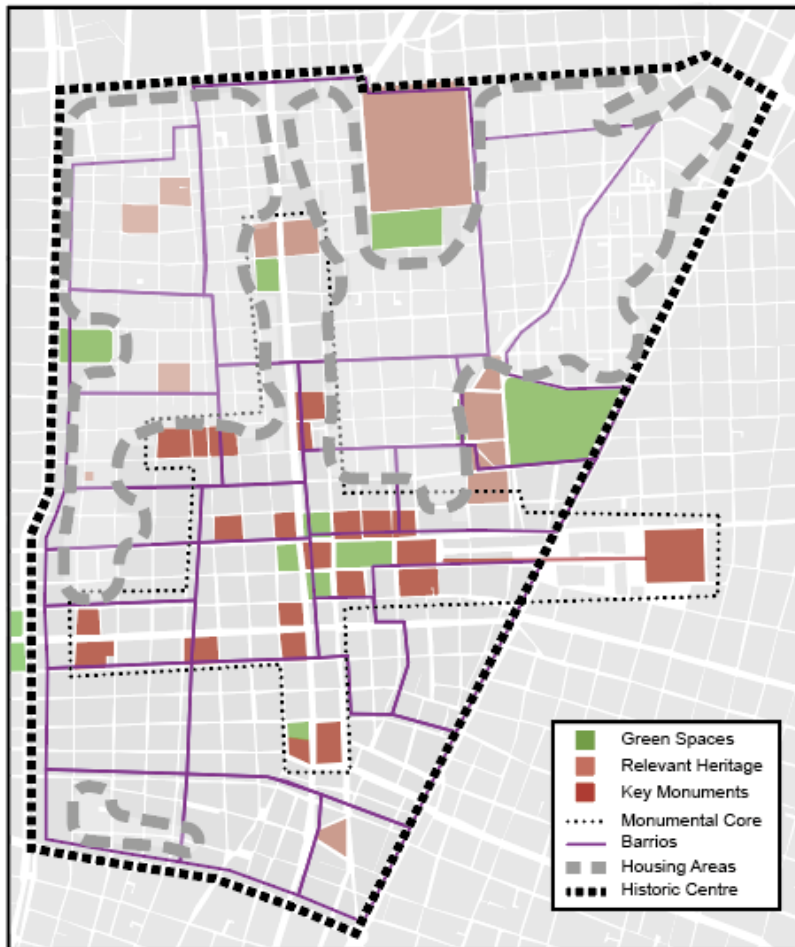
Although instruments for either historic centre don't point to a specific location, housing *barrios* are often described as having higher DC. This is paired with low and decreasing habitation levels to position a new housing agenda. In MC, a decrease in population was seen from 1970 but especially after the earthquake of 1985 (GMC, 2000: 16). Most recently, a small population increase was seen after 2005 (GMC, 2011: 124). In GDL a steady decrease was seen since 1990, but especially since 2000 (GG, 2017: 94-5). This data evidence there has certainly been a decrease trend in residential occupation within both historic centres yet does not support an empty place assessment. Technically, low housing use is representative of existing housing. The next statements confirm a negative discourse in relation to low population levels:

''… the <u>density</u> we find [in the historic centre] <u>is low</u>. I mean, you know, from block to block, from barrio to barrio <u>it changes a lot but on average it is low</u>. We have

*the lowest in the district. […] Here, in the heart [of the centre] there are <u>areas where **there are no people anymore**</u>.''*
(A1.10-2 – GDL Housing) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' We start from the identification of <u>the problem, depopulation</u>, which started from the 1950s in the 20th century due to different factors […] resulting in an <u>emptying tendency</u> of, say, 70% is empty and 30% is used but it is especially, for example, <u>ground floors</u> – what is open to the street – […] for retail. And the rest is storage […] And **to a much lesser extent** [it is used] **for housing**.''*
(A2.7-1 – MC Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

Both officers point to low population as an ongoing problem and concern in both historic centres. While MC's officer suggests an approximation of overall uses to convey the extent of low housing use, GDL's officer points to barrios where housing is low or non-existent. In both cases, an increase in housing 'emptying tendencies' is linked to DC. Low housing use highlighted in these statements as in line with housing concerns in MP-11 and PP-17. This concern is thus established to set up a housing change narrative and strategy:

*''… the historic centre [is] the foundational zone of the city but also an area that suffers from important <u>abandonment and deterioration</u>, which **we are trying to revert** and return <u>conditions of habitability</u> and <u>urban quality</u> to…''*
(A1.3-1 – GDL Urban Projects) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' [in the historic centre] there are <u>houses that have collapsed due to abandonment, because the **owners** let them fall to be able to sell the plot</u> […] This is what the historic centre of Guadalajara has come to…''*
(A1.6-1 – GDL Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

In these statements housing quality, ownership and occupancy conditions are being directly linked to poor historic centre urban quality and DC challenges. This confirms the multi-spatial level permeation examined in the previous sub-section where public and private spatial levels are inherently connected. Here, MC's officer refers to habitability betterment to revert poor liveability and residential conditions within a pauperised context. In GDL, this officer highlights poor housing conditions to convey the deteriorated context of the historic centre and places responsibility of current DC directly on property owners. In both cases, officers stress that historic centres 'suffer' and have transitioned from grandeur

to collapse due to poor housing conditions ('this is what the historic centre has come to').

Housing conditions in historic centres are thus described negatively by officers of both cities and responsibility is placed on owners and/or tenants and their capacity for building and urban management actions (encompassing restoration, preservation, and maintenance). A negative association is drawn in relation to low-income socioeconomic demographic characteristics of existing populations within pauperised houses or flats and *vecindades*. This was more consistently found in MC, where there is a more widespread tradition of *vecindades.* Yet it was also found in Guadalajara, where large family houses are more prevalent (see Chapter 7). In both instances, *vecindades* are referred to as 'propagated', 'pauperised' and 'marginalised' housing options (A1.10 off the record, A2.8 on the record). This is then linked to contested ownership and tenancy legal standing issues (A1.9, A2.9). Ultimately, it is the owner and/or inhabitant's capacity/incapacity to fulfil management responsibilities that is highlighted:

'' […] after the historic centre was very abandoned, a whole recovery policy was developed [but] The vast majority of properties – more than 80% of properties in the historic centre – are <u>privately owned</u>. So, it is very <u>difficult to intervene</u>.''
(A2.9-1 – MC Housing) [Emphasis by the author]

This statement provides an insight into the limited capacity of local authorities to 'intervene' private properties in poor conditions, which comprise most housing properties within both historic centres (2011: 16; 2017: 124). This explains the concern for socioeconomic characteristics of ownership and tenure types.
However, in the envisioned public-private renewal model, investment incentives remain directed at developers so that 'better' housing can be provided within historic centres (2011: 62; 2017: 172). In this way, although DC have been identified from the public level, housing is considered to carry inner-building and urban deterioration implications and private sector investment is expected to address this.

Current housing occupancy in historic centres is thus being linked to low-income demographic groups with limited capacity to address property and urban DC. In

this sense, the 'occupied-unoccupied area' discursive dichotomy is articulated in relation to a decrease in housing and urban investment. To address this, the MP-11 and PP-17 provide a reassessment of the housing context in terms of household types and ownership characteristics to revert property and urban DC. A reconfiguration of household and ownership types is expected to change negative housing associations, where 'new' override 'traditional' housing options.

Based on prospective household changes in the NHP (2014) and projected demographic changes within each historic centre, housing definitions and significance are adapted to refer to prospective housing needs. This suggests a concern for the extent of management capacity stakeholders linked to different types of housing can provide. Hence, market Unipersonal and Shared housing options have gained importance in prospective housing agendas for both historic centres. As a housing officer in GDL offered:

''*You repurpose, adapt* to today's demographic requirements […] Because [family] households do not want to be in the historic centre. And it's normal, families with children don't see much attraction in central areas […] So it is [new] types of households that we consider can be very competitive, and they usually need smaller spaces…''
(A1.10-2 – GDL Housing) [Emphasis by the author]

This statement establishes a structural shift in considerations for housing options within historic centres by distancing family housing from 'new' households as more economically competitive. This competitiveness seems rooted in housing size but also in the vision of a historic centre lifestyle that it is assumed family households would not find attractive. In both cities, housing for students (GDL), artists (MC) as well as medium to higher income young professionals was stressed by officers. However, this statement and the considerations in relation to liveability viability for family or young demographic households does not match a tradition of longstanding multi-generational housing in historic centres. Therefore, a housing discourse shift suggests the demarcation of a demographic separation to articulate emerging inner-city housing agendas.

In this way, a housing recovery and repopulation narrative is established in discourse. In MC, the MP-11 establishes 'recovery of housing' as an action within

a strategic vision to return habitability conditions to the historic centre yet with the aim to retain existing residents (Pp. 7, 14). To do this, it aims for ''inhabited houses continue to be inhabited'' and points to decreased housing uses compared with retail (Pp. 9, 23). In GDL, the PP-17 describes 'depopulation' trends in the historic centre and notes a decrease in existing younger population groups in relation to older groups (Pp. 96). It thus conveys an urgency to revert demographic-based occupancy decrease and increased deterioration levels but does not suggest an aim to retain existing residents.

A mix of housing configurations are linked to emerging tenure structures, as echoed by officer A2.9 in MC. Thus, unit types such as unipersonal and nuclear/family are provided via diverse affordable, medium, or high-cost options. This confirms the aim for an increasingly dense historic centre. Yet housing options are also mixed with heritage conservation parameters and restrictions, which are considered as determinant to slow or mobilise housing agendas in each area (see Chapter 6). In this sense, heritage conservation restrictions were mentioned as a significant aspect of concern for housing conditions and investment by officers in both cities. This was mentioned 145 times overall by 28 officers and positioned it as the highest concern to mobilise urban renewal and housing recovery agendas (see appendix 11).

The housing descriptions of both historic centres convey prospective housing agendas to restore negative housing and urban conditions. This, in principle, is positioned as aligned with the HUL aim to ensure community development through change to establish historic centres as ''centres and drivers of economic growth'' (UNESCO, 2011: art.14, 15). Moreover, the housing recovery and repopulation statement in MC's MP-11 suggests an alignment with international inner-city housing aims to integrate different population groups (2011: 55; UN, 2016; UNESCO, 2011). However, the housing discourse forming the housing vision for both historic centres suggest a residential separation of different population groups rather than their integration that challenges HUL or SDG alignments.

The separation of traditional family households from emerging 'smaller' and younger households suggests that housing spaces and dynamics are to change (see Chapter 7, section 3). The aim to address DC has resulted in a separation of household types, ownership structures and tenure modalities to follow shifting housing visions (GMC, 2011: 55; GG, 2017: 172). Moreover, economic competitiveness is conveyed by this, where new owners and residents are expected to ensure and provide improved property and urban maintenance. It has been evidenced that responsibility for positive/negative property and urban conditions are placed on ownership and household structures. This suggests that some tenure structures are more viable and beneficial for historic centre maintenance than others. Therefore, integrative community development is called into question from a discursive level.

Housing is thus positioned as an investment type that links public and private spatial levels and will correct existing DC issues. Yet within the historic centre housing context, the continued existence of longstanding housing traditions are important to preserve contextually-embedded social dynamics and traditions. This is not considered within the demographic separation to 'overcome' current 'negative' housing occupancy and change ownership perception to attract potential investment. Ultimately, existing residents confirm existing social urban structures that continue to shape historic centre-based dynamics beyond the assessed value and significance of historic centres.

5.4 Discursive Problematisation and Solutions: Overcoming Challenges

This section integrates descriptive assessments which inform key discursive problematisation narratives that have derived in opportunity-oriented problem-solving approaches. The DC identified at historic centre and housing levels in the previous section are here positioned as an encompassing negative phenomenon that local authorities aim to change through a reconfiguration of social and urban discursive agendas. Officers and instruments thus articulate a negative-to-positive place narrative to confirm the international, national, and local significance of each historic centre while asserting prospective social urban landscapes. It is through existing social urban challenges that public, semi-

public/private, and private spatial agendas are approached in policy through MP-11 and PP-17, respectively. This confirms Foucault and Hajer's notions of practices as representations of discourse, where DC are positioned as an 'incident' located outside of language to enable a set of productive and reproductive spatial practices.

Following the analysis of historic centre definitions and descriptions, table 5-3 shows the extent of influence UNESCO instruments have had over national and local instruments. This is important beyond the normative level, as it has already been established, as international-local title structures have also influenced cognitive descriptions and assessments. Four main concepts from the considerations and introduction sections from the WHC (1972) and HUL (2011) instruments, respectively, were considered. As the figure shows, national and GDL instruments remain largely aligned to WHC concepts while MC has integrated HUL concepts. This can be attached to a direct encouragement by WHS reports to produce a local conceptual re-evaluation (see Chapter 4). This process has been started in GDL since the CCN was sought, yet it has not been fully encouraged or integrated by UNESCO in the same way.

Table 5-3. UNESCO Frameworks Integration Assessment

UNESCO	LHC (National)	MP-11 (MC)	PP-17 (GDL)
WHC, 1972			
C5	●	●	●
C6	●	●	●
C7	●	●	●
C8	●	●	●
HUL, 2011			
A3		●	
A4		●	●
A5	●	●	●
A6		●	

WHC, 1972
C5- safeguard of unique and irreplaceable property
C6- preservation of parts of the cultural heritage that are of outstanding interest
C7- protection of the cultural heritage with outstanding universal value
C8- provisions [to establish a] system of collective protection according to modern scientific methods

HUL, 2011
A3- urban heritage conservation of tangible and intangible aspects for liveability, economic development and social cohesion
A4- shift from monuments to the social, cultural and economic processes
A5- strategies within the larger goals aimed at preserving and enhancing the quality of the human environment
A6- integration of variety of stakeholders in the urban development process

Source: Author based on UNESCO, 1972; UNESCO, 2011

Importantly, the problematisation of existing DC in both historic centres can be understood in relation to place value that depends on international, national, and local recognition structures. The fear that titles may be lost and thus jeopardise investment for tourism and/or housing was expressed by most officers in both cities. In the case of MC, several WHS reports called upon local authorities to address deterioration and development threats to the WHS (see Chapter 4). This was repeatedly mentioned by heritage conservation and planning officers involved in developing the MP-11 (A2.2, A2.4). In GDL, similar concerns have been expressed in relation to the Cabañas Hospice WHM and its immediate area. These concerns have been considered as relevant for the overall historic centre by local heritage conservation officers (A1.7, A1.8). Therefore, instruments for both historic centres express urgency to address to problems in each place:

''The <u>problems</u> of the Historic Centre of Mexico City are multi-factorial and <u>their</u> <u>solution</u> therefore requires synergy of all development agents.''
(GMC, 2011: 06)

''[…] since the end of the [19]90s the loss of population, the intensification of retail uses and increasing vehicular traffic have [all] <u>increased pressure to [retain] the</u> <u>integrity</u> of the built heritage and [have] altered its historical landscape […]''
(GG, 2017: 163)

In the first excerpt, MC's MP-11 acknowledges multi-factorial problems that require solutions, which are explored as the document progresses. GDL's PP-17 omits this assessment but offers specific problems to be addressed throughout the document. Although the MP-11 sets out a clearer problem-solving structure, both instruments establish that a set of existing problems need to be solved to retain place integrity and value. However, the identification of problems to solve also mobilise the identification of potential opportunities to further increase place value. Therefore, it is through the urgency for solutions that opportunities and potential scenarios are identified.

Figure 5-12 describes three stages to reflect discourse in space and effect place change in historic centres. First, a discursive 'incident' is identified and institutionalised. This encases a set of social urban challenges linked to urban and residential dynamics (condensed here as DC). Second, need or potential based solutions formed in relation to assessments influenced by different (international/national/local) place value and significance structures. This process culminates in changes to each historic centre as a reflection of the discursive problematisation process. Arguably, this reflects a place vision that links a need to address DC and the risk to lose place recognition with the opportunity to enhance economic viability to attract transitory and occupational types of investment beyond momentary problem-solving actions.

Figure 5-12. Discursive Place Construct Process
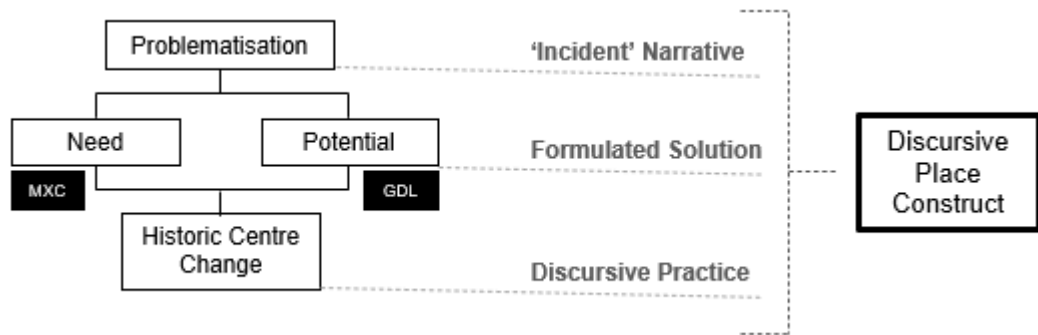
Politically dominant place-change discursive structures to address context-based challenges are thus integrated within rhetoric of 'central [political] actors' and reflected within institutional practices (Hajer, 2006: 71). For the historic centres of MC and GDL, this process enables international 'site' or national 'MZ' structures to influence the approaches to ongoing social urban challenges. This inductive process to problem-solving approaches reveals the influence of encompassing or partial international spatial recognition structures upon national and local historic place value assessments. The narrative to present and address existing challenges that social groups across both cities agree that need to be addressed are shaped by this. In this sense, the MP-11 presents the following assessments for the historic centre of MC:

''In the three last decades of the [20th] century [,] the city centre was **losing functional and economic relevance** in the metropolis […]''
(Urban and Economic Renewal Strategy- Pp. 15)

'' […] the **loss of residents and the conversion of use** [retail, office, storage] in buildings has created an effect of <u>high use during the day and emptiness during the night</u> that **deteriorates its condition of 'living city'** […]''
(Habitability Strategy- Pp. 55)

'' […] the disarticulation of the different modes of transport reinforced the **saturation of roads** and **disorganisation** of the public transport network, **creating conflic**t mainly in people's transit, but also of goods.''
(Transit Strategy- Pp. 79)

These excerpts were chosen because they portray a descriptive overview of the impact of DC on the historic centre of MC. Functional and economic relevance, the 'living city' condition and floating population issues are highlighted. Importantly, these issues have also been pointed out by UNESCO and ICOMOS in the WHS inscription document and in later site evaluation reports. The MP-11 portrays a historic centre riddled with challenges that hinder its value and social urban dynamics but also effectively sets out the main aspects to be addressed. Urban decreased economic relevance, residential loss and lack of transit organisation are followed by new economic, densification and transit strategies. Notably, these solutions were executed spatially as the MP-11 was being developed:

*''With the **removal of informal commerce** from public roads and […] the **improvement of urban space** and infrastructure, the **economy** in the area **has been boosted** again […]''*
(Urban and Economic Renewal Strategy- Pp. 15)

*''The generation of **living conditions impacts favourably on the conservation of heritage**, while **ensuring property use and maintenance** […]'',* and
*''The **recovery** of housing is fundamental for the conservation of the Historic Centre as a living city […] housing use as a **condition of development** is determinant to **consolidate mix-uses** in the area […] to assign greater economic competitiveness.''*
(Habitability Strategy- Pp. 42, 55)

*''[…] **pedestrian corridors** have been fundamental for **street reappropriation** as setting[s] for community life […] **and direct contact with the social and cultural value of the historic centre**.''*
(Habitability Strategy- Pp. 47)

Specific approaches are described in these passages within the renewal and habitability strategies, such as removal of informal commerce from public spaces, introduction of pedestrian corridors and housing development to ensure heritage conservation. Arguably, the first and last citations refer to clearance of the public space and induced social urban dynamics that align with institutionally established historic centre-based social and cultural values. The second citation more strongly addresses the 'living city' concept, which is linked to heritage conservation and maintenance expectations. Overall, these problem-solving

actions reflect an overarching planning agenda that aims to balance place dynamics, urban conservation and quality of life as called upon by the HUL recommendation. Although solutions are directed to ensure a better place to visit and live in, these solutions are mainly concerned with public place image and economic investment feasibility concerns that align with national urban development aims more easily. For the historic centre of GDL, problematisation and potential are also presented in the PP-17:

*'' […] Guadalajara experiences a **downward population trend**. This is due […] to […] **population dynamics**, **urbanisation processes** of the metropolis where young couples are relocating to the peripheries […]''*
(Socio-economic Diagnostic- Pp. 93)

*''Regarding **housing abandonment** and **population decrease**, a limitation for housing supply is the **price of land**; the increase in land prices makes it **impossible to build social housing within the city**.''*
(Housing Diagnostic – Pp. 120)

*''A particular **problem** in planning is **prioritising transit before place**, that is to say, structuring axes are proposed at the metropolitan level while **small-scale** and […] **non-motorised** transit are **omitted** […]''*
(Transit Diagnostic – Pp. 129)

*''**Ignorance** of traditional techniques and materials in some conservation and restoration actions for heritage assets has **resulted in damages** to construction systems **that accelerate deterioration**. In other cases, **owner apathy to preserve the properties** due to **maintenance cost** accelerates ruin and subsequent replacement with non-harmonic buildings.''*
(Heritage Diagnostic – Pp. 166)

These selected citations within different assessment sections in the PP-17 show a descriptive concern over low population-oriented DC within the historic centre of GDL. Occupational patterns, housing abandonment, transit saturation and owner responsibilities are highlighted to explain the current condition of the historic centre. The PP-17 connects issues directly to prospective approaches in relation to household structures, housing supply, land costs and heritage conservation costs. These issues convey a concern with 'living city' notions, place making and the condition of monuments. Here, the problematisation of the historic centre goes beyond general descriptions and identifies specific aspects

that hinder the cultural and investment value of the historic centre. To address these issues, the document sets out specific solutions:

''To avoid the abandonment of the area, [decreasing population] trend should be reversed with **implementation of policies based on urban renewal**, *improvement of habitat quality, inclusive urban transit and* **incentives to <u>the real estate market</u>**, <u>*who in turn take into account the current urban conditions of the city* </u>*and the use of the different areas that form it.''*
(Socio-economic Diagnostic – Pp. 97)

''It was identified that one of the main problems, [is] that **<u>potential demand […] is not being met</u>**. *On the other hand,* **real demand for housing is limited**. *Therefore, to guarantee the right to housing of this sector of the population,* **unconventional strategies** *should be* **considered**.*''*
(Housing Diagnostic – Pp. 117)

''Understanding the configuration of the environment as [primarily] **pedestrian transit**, *it is necessary to generate* <u>*areas with pedestrian preference*</u> *by integrating high-quality urban design […] [along]* **corridors with concentration of shops and services, neighbourhood centres** *[…]''*
(Transit Diagnostic – Pp. 141)

Within separate current conditions diagnostic sections, the PP-17 establishes strategies such as urban renewal, housing real estate market and pedestrian corridors. Although the first citation is mainly concerned with urban renewal policies, the second citation shows interest in the housing real estate market. The second citation more strongly establishes the need to supply prospective over real housing demand in the historic centre. The third citation can be linked to the first citation, as urban renewal may be achieved through pedestrianisation actions. In these excerpts, the social and cultural value of the historic centre is not conveyed here. Moreover, the planning agenda does not address HUL recommendation concerns and more strongly relies on the national urban development and inner-city housing aims. Solutions remain at a superficial level, yet the housing property market is consolidated.

Policies for both instruments show a concern with public spaces, residential patterns and development, transit dynamics and heritage conservation as well as an underlying economic unease. Table 5-4 summarises problems and opportunities-based solutions identified within the MP-11 and PP-17 instruments.
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The discursive approach to address these issues is linked to the place value structures each historic centre belongs to. Concerns and solutions for the historic centre of MC are largely in line with HUL aims, while concerns and solutions for the historic centre of GDL respond more directly the LUD and LH agendas. Ultimately, although both instruments underline public spaces and the built heritage, the MP-11 conveys the historic urban landscape while the PP-17 points to historic buildings more strongly. This linguistic difference evidences a 'site' or MZ approach, where the urban place or the monuments more strongly convey social and cultural values in each historic centre.

Table 5-4. Problems and Solutions

Historic Centre	Problems	Solutions
Mexico City	- Loss of functional and economic relevance - Residential use decrease - Heritage and urban deterioration - Roads Saturation	- Economic boost and competitiveness - Housing development reactivation - Urban space improvement - Pedestrian corridors
Guadalajara	- Peripheral urban patterns - Residential use decrease - Increased urban deterioration - Heritage buildings and investment costs	- Inner-city urban redevelopment - Housing real estate reactivation - Urban betterment - Ownership and tenure structures

Source: Author

Instruments for both historic centres give important attention to economic aspects through urban and residential conditions, which are also linked to transit structures and heritage buildings conditions. Strategies are formed in relation to DC place construction discourse in each historic centre, as determined by encompassing or partial international-local place value structures. Moreover, approaches to both historic centres show a concern to raise the area's value and thus also potentially raise property value for private sector investment. In this sense, LUD and LH sustainability and economic growth objectives are sought in both places.

However, separate place value structures are seen to determine the level of local authorities' commitment to address UNESCO urban conservation aims within planning instruments. Therefore, evolving HUL aims are stronger in MC than in GDL, as the WHS title covers the historic centre while the WHM and CCN titles only partially address it. Yet there is a persistent correlation between urban

deterioration and residential development, as mutually affecting and reinforcing discursive practices. In both cities, the identified solutions establish private sector reliance through a revised housing densification opportunity-based agenda.

5.5   Conclusion

This Chapter aimed to answer the extent to which UNESCO values have informed heritage conservation, urban development, and housing policies within urban renewal agendas for both historic centres. An examination of historic centres and housing definitions and descriptions in the context of each historic centre provided meaningful insights into separate and integrated heritage conservation, urban development and housing approaches and aims. This analysis was carried out using Policy Discourse Analysis (see Chapter 3) to analyse local instruments and interviews with key officers in heritage conservation, urban development, and housing departments. Moreover, interviews with academics and key residents were useful to locate differences in definition and cognitive statements. This allowed for a separation of institutional definitions and cognitive descriptions to assess place assessment processes. Through this, the dominant discourse within each urban renewal agenda was identified and linked to different UNESCO-local place value structures.

The first section provided a straight-forward difference in definitions within each historic centre to convey dominant place value and residential patterns preferences. The difference in UNESCO titles each historic centre holds were shown to have an important role in place definition approaches and, ultimately, policies. Both historic centres are recognised as Monument Zones (MZ) in the local and national context, with a corresponding geographic delimitation to protect different types of monuments. The historic centre of Mexico City (MC) has UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) title and this has ensured a high level of heritage conservation and urban development planning aims integration. Separately, the historic centre of Guadalajara (GDL) has a World Heritage Monument (WHM) within its MZ limits and a Creative Cities Network (CCN) inner-area but heritage conservation and urban development planning aims and geographic delimitations remain separate. Despite this, both historic centres

function within a three spatial levels structure that position public (urban spaces) and semi-public/private (monuments) spaces as within public sector capacity. Meanwhile, private spaces such as housing are delegated to the private sector. In this sense, cognitive descriptions of both historic centres convey a series of deterioration challenges (DC) within the public space realm to be institutionally addressed and transformed.

Overall, planning instruments and officers in both cities fail to comprehensively acknowledge social urban dynamics within historic centres. In this sense, social spatial configurations such as *barrios* and traditional housing units such as *vecindades* are acknowledged as existent but not key for prospective urban and housing agendas. *Barrios* and *vecindades* are conveyed as places of deterioration and marginalisation within an occupational dichotomy. Historic centres are described as places with low or no residents and a 'recovery' of population agenda is mobilised. While DC are initially articulated to describe public spaces, housing is positioned as a significant factor to enable or correct DC. From a definitory level, traditional housing is separated from emerging housing structures to promote new residential models based on tenure, quality, and household reconfigurations, as promoted by national urban and housing laws.

Ultimately, fragmented UNESCO titles have promoted different aims and visions in each historic centre. In MC, a closer approximation to the Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) Recommendation is showcased. In GDL, the MZ is still the predominant approach, although urban development potential has been established. However, planning in both historic centres follow a similar discursive place construction structure to address social urban DC as 'incidents' that will derive in a place-based change and mobilise a housing real estate market. Despite coinciding problem-solving processes and economic sustainability and growth objectives, it is the place significance attained by UNESCO titles that ultimately informs discursive approaches. Therefore, the place value attached to UNESCO titles significantly influence the discursive approach to heritage conservation, urban development, and housing policies within urban renewal agendas for both historic centres.

6 Chapter 6 – Spatial Transformation Process and Production

6.1   Introduction

This Chapter aims to respond the second sub-research question regarding the extent to which urban renewal approaches and strategies for historic centres have integrated social equality objectives, as established in Chapter 2. The Policy Discourse Analysis and Place-Transformation Assessment frameworks are used to analyse institutional discourse in policy instruments and interviews and the spatial implications of discursive practices. The *barrio* as a traditional social spatial unit is analysed and then assessed in relation to an emerging corridor social spatial unit.

The evaluation matrix to analyse the normative aspects of each historic centre and the *barrio* as a socially developed social spatial unit is summarised in figure 6-1. The corridor is the spatial unit for housing-oriented urban renewal where approaches and strategies are analysed. The research shows that the implications of the change in social spatial units to address challenges within historic centres reflect different social equality implications for local populations. This chapter is structured in three sections (see figure 6-2) to analyse the *barrio* and corridor social spatial units separately and then address the commodification of historic centres.

Figure 6-1. Place Transformation Evaluation Matrix Summary
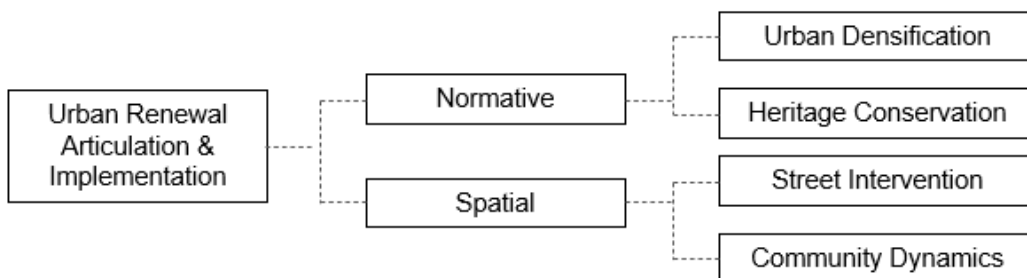
Source: Author

The first section explains the integration of the barrio social spatial unit in the urban renewal agenda in the Management Plan 2011 and Partial Plan 2017 instruments. To establish their economic 'vocation' whist building on specific densification and heritage urban renewal approaches. The second section examines the corridor as an induced social spatial unit to strengthen the urban renewal agenda and the governance structure used to put it into effect. Finally, the process of commodification of the historic centre and corridors Regina in Mexico City and Mezquitan in Guadalajara are analysed to assess the role of differentiated sense of place understandings and approaches.

Figure 6-2. Chapter 6 Overview
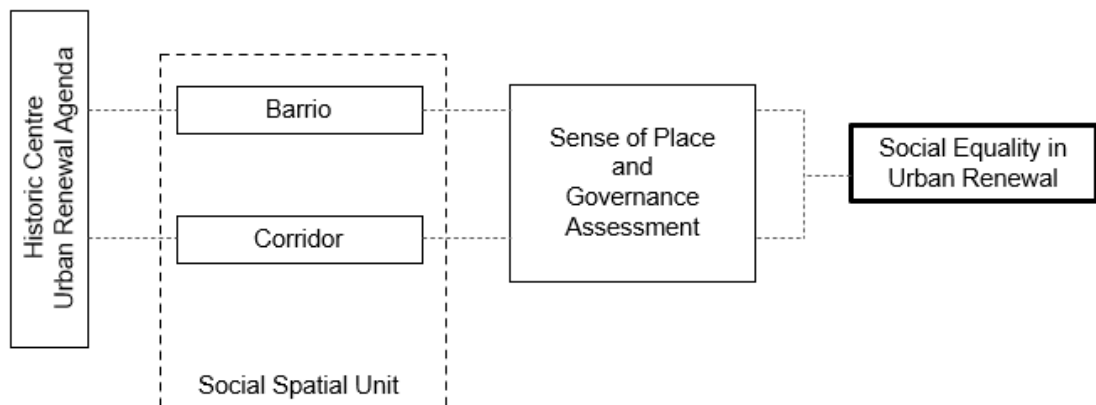
Source: Author

6.2 Structural Unit Tradition Revision Shift in Historic Centre Planning Frameworks

The *barrio* as a social spatial unit is recognised in this section as shaped by long term social and community dynamics and, therefore, the most accessible social spatial unit to address historic centres. The *barrio* is thus considered the social place where densification and heritage conservation norms are located (see Place Transformation Evaluation Matrix of Chapter 3). This section shows how the *barrio* unit is integrated into local planning instruments to position a social character and economic vocation place agenda. Therefore, conservation regulations must embrace the *barrio* unit although focus has been placed on individual properties.

6.2.1 Barrio Social Spatial Traditions Integration into Planning for Historic Centres

Historic centres in Mexico are generally formed by *barrios*, which enclosed the foundational city and expanded the urban fabric as more *barrios* were created. As noted in Chapter 5 (section 3), *barrios* are spatial units shaped by long term social and community dynamics (Ante Lezama & Reyes Lagunes, 2016: 2492). Therefore, the importance of *barrios* relies on the association of their traditional geographic and spatial configuration and its social and community dynamics. Hence, *barrios* are the most reliable social spatial unit to address urban dynamics within historic centres. *Barrios* are also linked to social and economic place 'vocation' and specific cultural, religious, or educational semi-public/private land uses, as evidenced by descriptions from interviewed officers, academics, and residents. Moreover, different inner areas within historic centres are associated to types of retail (books, party dresses, etc), hospitality or cultural activities (A1.2, A1.3, B1.1, B1.3, B1.5, C1.1, C1.2, C1.7; A2.1, A2.4, A2.8, B2.1, B2.3, C2.4, C2.6, C2.7, to label the ones within the case studies).

Continually, site 'vocation' is linked to specific land use and zoning types, although these social and economic spatial dynamics have been traditionally undertaken and recognised outside of institutional land use regulations. More recently, the Management Plan 2011 (MP-11) and Partial Plan 2017 (PP-17) instruments integrated *barrio* units and their dynamics within their planning frameworks. Hence, social urban dynamics have been recognised in regulatory instruments, as existing places with high-activity retail and services areas. Moreover, *barrio* social spatial units were institutionalised within official discourse and agendas to address deterioration challenges (DC, hereafter) and assert place attractiveness and development potential.

In Mexico City (MC), the MP-11 recognises eleven 'actuation zones' that respond to traditional *barrio* delimitations and names. Nine of these zones or *barrios* are within the historic centre perimeter. Here, the *barrio* is described as an urban scale unit related to social and citizen dynamics traditional to the historic centre. Moreover, each zone is assessed in relation to different *barrio* 'vocation'

characteristics. Therefore, social and community dynamics are positioned as inherent in defining the historic centre.

Figure 6-3 shows the *barrios* as 'action zones' within the MP-11 and the housing activities within them. Importantly, housing-predominant areas are found in six barrios (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7), with the two barrios that hold less housing (9 and 10) being considered as transitional towards the central barrios (1 and 8). While all barrios hold heritage buildings with different relevance levels, ''Cathedral'' and ''Madero'' hold the most iconic monuments and housing is found outside and *around* them. A north-south divisory axis shows housing is concentrated outside the monumental core, which has the highest number of cultural/leisure, retail, and services activities. Yet *barrio* descriptions from all interviewed groups identified traditional 'vocational' retail and services throughout the historic centre, especially at ground-floor levels.

Figure 6-4 shows the slightly different zoning organisation structures in PP-00 (Partial Programme, 2000) (colour blocks) and MP-11 (dashed lines). The main difference is the *barrio* vs land use structure, as the MP-11 zoning considers *barrio* delimitations for land use strategies. The PP-10 (Partial Programme, 2010) sets out cultural infrastructure, open spaces and five housing categories: housing, housing-retail, housing-leisure, housing-mixed and housing-office. A simplified MP-11 proposes retail, retail and services, and three housing categories: housing, housing-retail, and housing-services. Importantly, the central area of the historic centre where most transitional activities take place remains retail and services based.

Figure 6-3. Barrios, Housing Areas and Monuments (MC)

Barrios:
1 Madero
2 Cathedral
3 Regina
4 Merced
5 San Ildefonso
6 Santo Domingo
7 Garibaldi
8 Alameda
9 Ciudadela
10 Not Named

Housing
Monuments (medium)
Monuments (high)
Housing Corridors
Divisory Axis
Barrios

NORTH
SOUTH
Divisory Axis
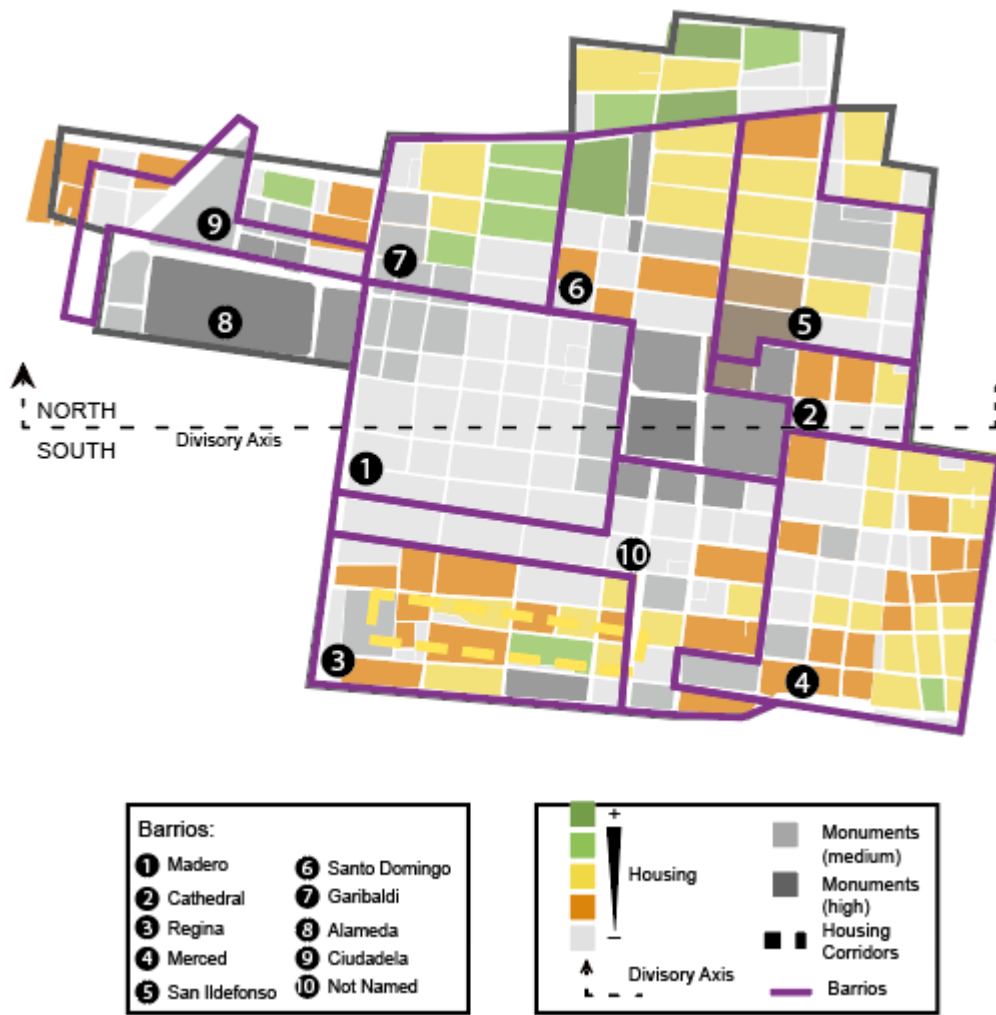
Source: Author with data from INEGI, 2010; GMC, 2011: 22

Figure 6-4. Zoning Plans (MC)

Source: Adapted by author with data from GMC, 2010; GMC, 2011: 27

Notably, it is through the predominant activities in each area that a 'vocation' is established. As officer A2.1-1 pointed out, a long tradition of retail 'vocation' is descriptive of each barrio and, at a micro-scale level, along some streets (different types of retail). As such, the barrio scale is narrowed down to focus on street level dynamics. In parallel, zoning plans point to predominant inner-area but also street level social urban dynamics.

In the case of GDL's historic centre, figure 6-5 shows how the PP-17 identifies twenty-two *barrios* within existing social spatial delineations that hold different characteristics linked to different economic 'vocations'. Of these, housing is strongly found in ten *barrios* (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 1, 15, 19 and 20) and partially in 8 *barrios* (4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 16, 21 and 22). Similarly to MC, the ''Cathedral'' *barrio* demarcates a north-south divisory axis, mostly comprised by relevant heritage monuments and public spaces. Some monumental core *barrios* (12, 13, 17 and 18) don't have any housing dynamics, while some *barrios* with high-value monuments function as transitional housing areas (11, 13, 16). Housing areas

dominate north and south-west sections *outside* the central 'monuments' area. Here, descriptions of *barrios* also convey retail and services activities in ground-floor levels across the historic centre (A1.2).

Figure 6-6 shows the overlap of the latest zoning map and a simplified set of grouped areas named 'polygons of special urban intervention' (PIUEs) in PP-17. Importantly, here neither zoning or PIUE areas resemble a barrio-oriented organisation. Housing is integrated with a retail and services structure in three levels: CS2 (Retail and Services-minimum impact), CS3 (Retail and Services-medium impact) and CS4 (Retail and Services-high impact). However, retail and housing land uses are in accordance with existing housing use in barrios. Notably, three main PIUEs are identified: 'Corridor Alcalde-Historic Centre' (thus setting the stage for a corridor-based intervention), 'Creative Digital City', and 'Health District' (GG, 2017: 198, 294). PIUEs areas are a form of revised zoning to undertake an urban renewal agenda based on economic 'vocation' assessments that depart from *barrios* vocations.

Figure 6-5. Barrios, Housing Areas and Monuments (GDL)

Barrios:

1. Dolores
2. San Diego
3. San Felipe
4. Capuchinas
5. Jesus Maria
6. El Carmen
7. El Pilar
8. La Trinidad
9. Santuario
10. La Capilla
11. La Merced
12. C. Universidad
13. San Francisco
14. 9 Esquinas
15. Santo Domingo
16. Seminario
17. Catedral
18. Maestranza
19. Retiro
20. Sta Maria de Gracia
21. San Agustin
22. Patios

Housing
Monuments (medium)
Monuments (high)
Housing Corridors
Divisory Axis
Barrios
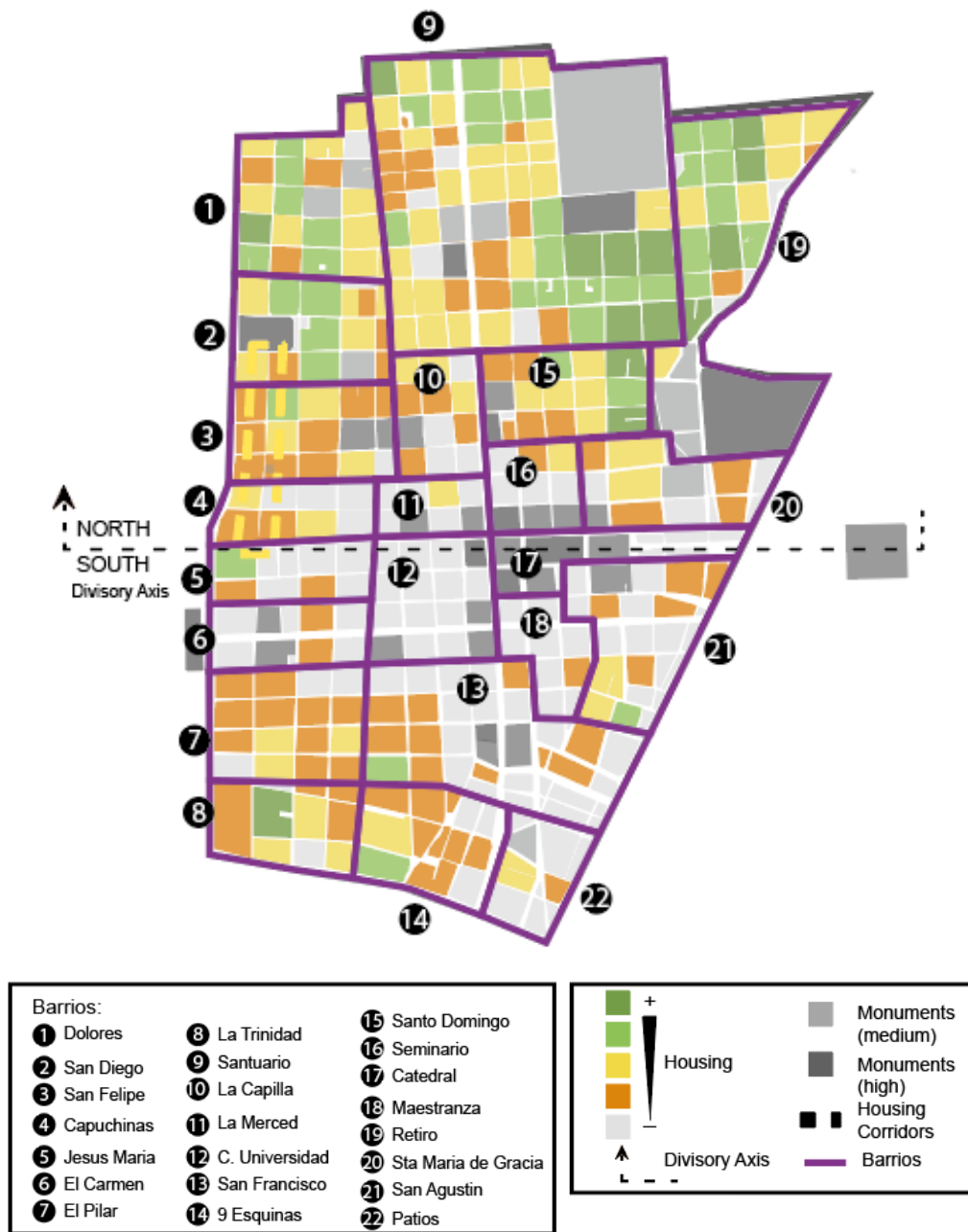
Source: Author with data from INEGI, 2010; GG, 2017: 289-90

Figure 6-6. Zoning Plans (GDL)
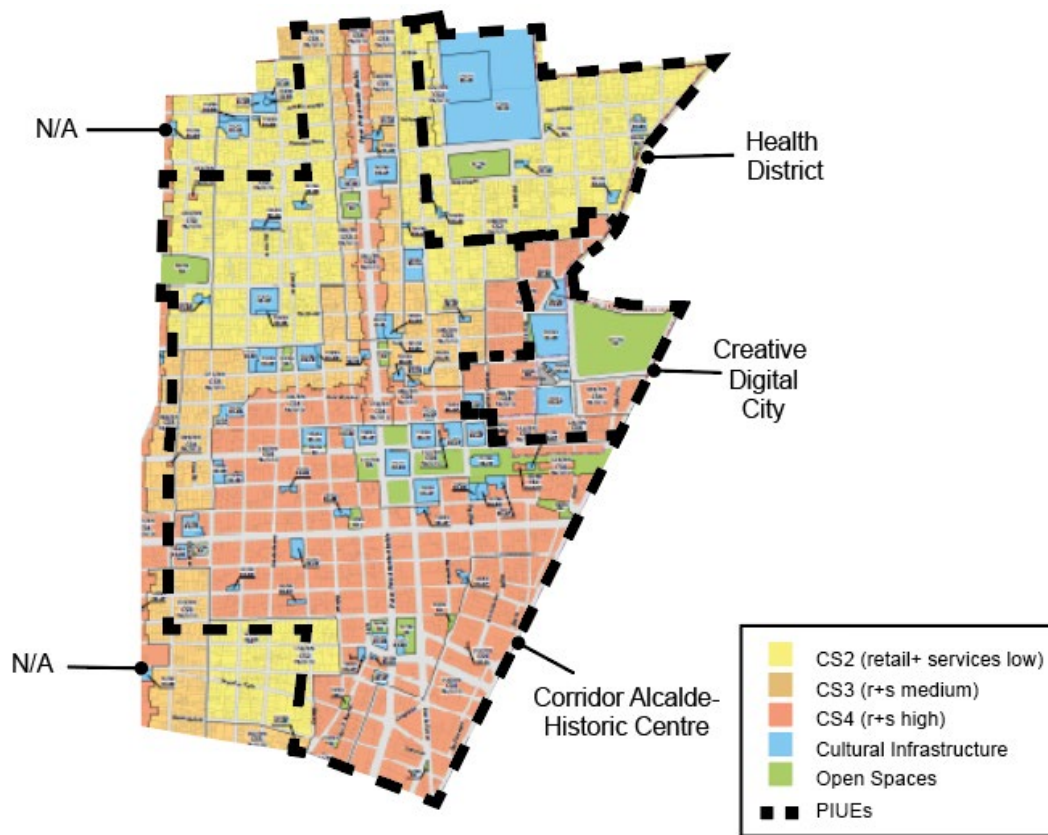
The PP-17 acknowledges the different existing *barrios* and their 'character' (2017: 141). This was previously highlighted by the Creative Digital Cities (CDC) Management Plan, which identified different strategies to each 'vocational' area (ie. housing, tourism, etc). Although retail and service types have also asserted place vocation in the historic centre, religious and cultural traditions are mentioned more often to describe vocational and *barrio* characteristics. Moreover, high levels of retail and services activity in main transit roads are conveyed to describe the historic centre's economic 'vocation'. This suggests the *barrio* urban scale is articulated to describe residential, cultural, or religious physical and social characteristics and dynamics, while the street-level generally concentrates leisure, work, and retail dynamics.

Separately, the *barrio* social spatial unit is conveyed by residents in both historic centres as traditional socially and aesthetically friendly places (C1.1, C1.2, C2.4). From this lens, *barrio* character and 'vocation' are connected by all interviewed

residents to community dynamics that foster trust, safety, and social roots. While spatial delineations are recognised to differentiate inner areas within historic centres, differences in sense of place characteristics of *barrios* are highlighted. Interviewed residents pointed to community fostered sense of place and vocation within place-based social and economic traditions but also as integrated in social networks. This suggests that the integration of *barrio* units into planning instruments are based on traditional social spatial dynamics yet are more strongly focused on prospective economic activities that may be mobilised or induced within them.

At an institutional discursive level, government officers in both cities identify historic centres as places with strong place-based character and identity. The significance and value of historic centres is positioned as inherently connected to the social urban traditions and *barrio* dynamics within them. Yet, the approach to existing DC have also established an intention to reorganise and restructure social urban dynamics within historic centres. This is evident in the following statements by different officers in GDL:

*''[…] these areas have a **level of identity that**, many times, **new areas do not have**. Or [it is] what new areas try to emulate, to repeat, artificially. But it's not the same, never the same, right?''*
(A1.3-1 – GDL Urban Projects) [Emphasis by the author]

*''[…] and the result is that the [historic] centre is abandoned when it could perfectly be a **point of attraction for young people** and of, say, new generations. Because **the infrastructure is already built**.''*
(A1.6-1 – GDL Public Space) [Emphasis by the author]

Both statements acknowledge the value of place identity and character of historic centres and, indirectly, its *barrios*. Yet the first acknowledges this in relation to social urban characteristics while the second focuses on existing infrastructure to enable new social urban dynamics. While residents in both historic centres have also acknowledged DC and their negative implications for the historic centre landscape, sense of place is attached to place traditions and the existing rather than prospective communities. In this sense, while spatial betterment of *barrios*

and key areas within them are welcome, fears of gradual social displacement processes are voiced (C1.1, C1.2, C1.3, C1.6; C2.1, C2.3, C2.4, C2.6).

6.2.2 Heritage Conservation and Property Maintenance Challenges

In both cases, poor heritage conservation levels of buildings and the historic landscape are highlighted to assert diminished and/or poor *barrio* dynamics. The MP-11 asserts a *barrio* lifestyle as associated to community spaces but points to diminished *barrio* dynamics due to residential abandonment patterns (GMC, 2011: 101). Meanwhile, PP-17 establishes the importance of *barrios* in relation to monuments within them and deteriorated urban conditions (GG, 2017: 163-4,118). Consequently, reuse of heritage buildings in poor physical conditions and housing projections have been positioned as an important strategy for historic centres renewal. However, these strategies are challenging to accomplish as they are reliant on permitted uses for heritage buildings as established by INAH, INBA and Secretariat of Culture (for GDL) or SEDUVI (for MC) catalogues (see Chapter 4). Other challenges presented by planning officers are conservation costs and issues of ownership:

*''[…] one of the most important objectives of the [urban renewal] project is […] **re-utilisation and recovery** of buildings that are <u>abandoned, under-used or deteriorated</u>.''*
Adding to this *'' […] usually **owners** of these properties –especially historical ones– … **do not have the resources to maintain them –it is very expensive**. And they have not found the **uses that may be <u>compatible</u>** with [them] […]''*
(A1.3-1– GDL Urban Projects Officer) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' The vast majority of properties – more than 80% of properties in the historic centre – are **privately owned**. So, it is very difficult to intervene. It is **very difficult to force** […] **the owner to keep them in <u>good conditions</u>**. Sometimes, the owner died a long time ago, [the **property] is [legally] contested** and has <u>legal processes</u>. So, it is very difficult to intervene each of these properties […]''*
(A2.9-1 – MC Housing Officer) [Emphasis by the author]

These extracts from interviews with MC and GDL officers convey the challenge to preserve and reuse historic buildings in accordance with urban renewal agendas due to ownership legal issues and property owners' economic viability. This firmly confirms most buildings are privately owned within historic centres

(GMC, 2011: 16; GG, 2017: 124). Yet this is conveyed as negative under current economic and legal ownership structures. Additionally, building compatibility uses are mentioned by MC's officer. This is highlighted by MP-11 and PP-17 to address housing in historic buildings under a series of normative (use-compatibility), economic (intervention costs) and legal (legal and fiscal administrative processes) challenges.

Building reuse and intervention actions are continually related to heritage protection levels normative, financial, and legal aspects. Therefore, heritage conservation considerations at the normative level go beyond *barrio* delimitations and are directly concerned with building protection levels (see figures 6-7, 6-8). This has a direct influence on urban renewal agendas, as physical, legal, and financial incentives are assembled to attract property investment in these areas. The expectation being that additional financial, legal, and spatial incentives will balance or offset these conservation restrictions and allow a renewal agenda.

Figure 6-7 shows the three heritage protection levels under which buildings in the historic centre of MC are catalogued individually. Except for the Madero *barrio*, most level 2 and level 3 buildings are found within non-monumental *barrios*. Moreover, the Regina (south) and La Merced (east) *barrios* hold an almost equally mixed number of buildings with heritage protection levels 1, 2 and 3. In terms of building adaptability to a wider variety of uses, the Regina *barrio* is best placed for flexible building adaptation for housing-retail uses, which requires a minimum housing development potential of 35% (Pp. 04).

Figure 6-7. Conservation and Housing Areas (MC)

Barrios:
1 Madero   6 Santo Domingo
2 Cathedral   7 Garibaldi
3 Regina   8 Alameda
4 Merced   9 Ciudadela
5 San Ildefonso   10 Not Named

Level 1   Public Space (w/o)
Level 2   W/o Protection
Level 3   Barrios
    Housing Areas
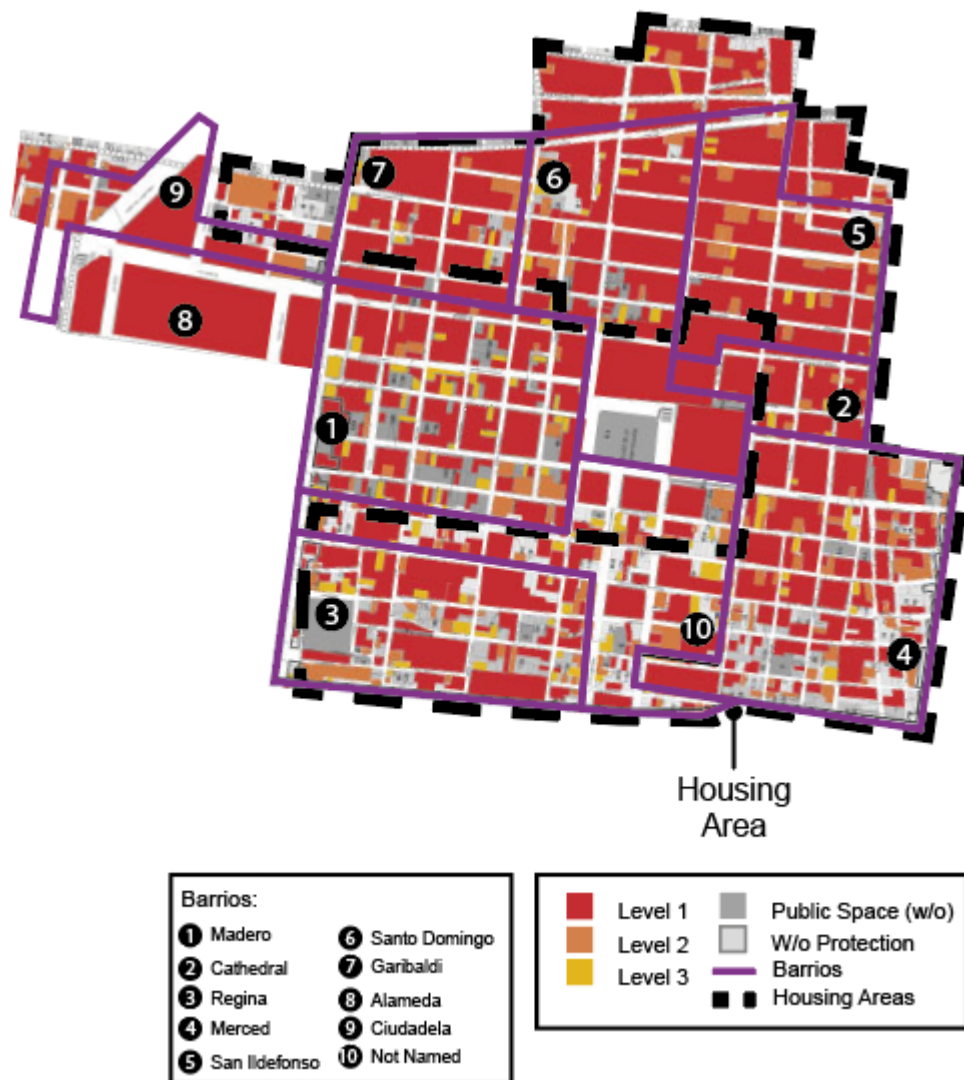
Source: Author with data from GMC, 2010

Even though there is a limitation to increase heights, buildings in the historic centre of MC average 3-5 stories, thus providing a medium-'vertical' urban context. Therefore, despite intervention restrictions, the possibility to modify buildings use to accommodate land uses provides potential for densification or intervention opportunities. This enables owners of buildings with high, medium, or low conservation protection to renovate and repurpose buildings. Additionally, development transference rights are introduced as further incentive for investors, where properties that are not eligible for height extensions will 'generate' transferrable development rights elsewhere (GMC, 2010: 14).

In contrast, with 2-3 stories, GDL's historic centre has a 'horizontal' urban structure that is considered to limit densification potential. Tension is established between protection levels for buildings and projected land uses to mix and intensify retail, services, cultural and housing within historic buildings. While use change is possible for historic/artistic environmental as well as contemporary harmonious and non-harmonious buildings, it is restricted in accordance with contextual-aesthetic considerations. As in MC, development rights transference are applicable for buildings that cannot be altered (GG, 2017: norm 9-art.60-3). Moreover, 'setbacks' in norm 12 provide the opportunity for escalated building shapes, but building height levels must not exceed the existing surrounding area's heights from the street level (norm 7-212-4) (see appendix 17).

Figure 6-8 shows the seven categories under which buildings in the historic centre of GDL have been placed to assess their historic, artistic, or contemporary value within a monuments-centred framework. *Barrios* 'Capuchinas', 'Jesus Maria' and 'La Capilla' *barrios* (centre and west) have the highest number of historic monuments and historic/artistic environmental buildings. It is in 'Santuario', 'Retiro' (north); 'El Pilar', 'Trinidad' 'San Francisco', '9 Esquinas' (south); and 'San Agustin (east) *barrios* that have a higher number of current and environmental buildings. These areas are also where CS2 and CS3 zoning considerations are placed in relation to housing development potential. Moreover, a significant number of contemporary-non harmonious buildings can be found in housing-oriented *barrios*.

Figure 6-8. Conservation and Housing Areas (GDL)

Housing
Area

Housing
Area

Housing
Area

Barrios:
1 Dolores
2 San Diego
3 San Felipe
4 Capuchinas
5 Jesus Maria
6 El Carmen
7 El Pilar
8 La Trinidad
9 Santuario
10 La Capilla
11 La Merced
12 C. Universidad
13 San Francisco
14 9 Esquinas
15 Santo Domingo
16 Seminario
17 Catedral
18 Maestranza
19 Retiro
20 Sta Maria de Gracia
21 San Agustin
22 Patios

Current Compatible
Current Non-Compatible
Artistic Environmental
Artistic Relevant
Historic Environmental
Historic Relevant
Historic Monument
Unbuilt Lot
Barrios
Housing Areas

Source: Adapted and with additional data from GG, 2017: 290

A key difference emerges in both cities, as GDL reveals less flexible and highly specific conservation norms to restrict physical and use alterations of buildings, in an intention to counteract or limit development pressure. Yet both local instruments consider incentives such as development rights transference to attract property and conservation investment, although vertical construction is

limited by heritage protection levels. Moreover, heritage conservation restrictions are positioned as a negative factor to effectively address the built heritage. A gap within conservation and private sector investment and real estate market objectives is emphasised in relation to prospective uses as well as permissiveness to effect adaptation changes:

*"It is necessary to consider that the **conservation of historic buildings does not fall solely on project restrictions**, [we] must balance the disadvantages [properties] face due to **difficulties in the re-functionalisation** and the lack of reference in the **exchange values established by the real estate market**."*
(GMC, 2011: 70) [Emphasis by the author]

*"[…] **lack of clarity in levels of permissibility and compatible land uses** in heritage properties **discourages private investment for the conservation of the assets**, and it can stimulate abandonment, bad interventions and the subsequent loss of the built heritage."*
(GG, 2017: 165) [Emphasis by the author]

Both excerpts point to heritage conservation restrictions and permissibility to intervene historic properties to assess use compatibility and, ultimately, built heritage loss. Hence, the built heritage is approached on an individual property basis that acknowledges the urban context only in relation to the loss of the historic buildings. This suggests the built context is inherently linked to sense of place on an aesthetic level. Moreover, both excerpts point to the private sector and the real estate market to approach heritage conservation through densification and overcome DC. Adding to this, owner responsibilities, legal standing, and economic capacity to undertake conservation actions have also been identified, as suggested in the following excerpts:

*"The good condition conservation of these buildings is the **responsibility of the owner** as indicated in various federal and local regulations; however, whether due to **lack of financial resources, legal difficulties of the properties or [of] interest** by the owners, hundreds of buildings in the [historic] centre do not have adequate maintenance and in many cases are in danger due to the **advanced deterioration of the structures**."*
(GMC, 2011: 73) [Emphasis by the author]

*"**Lack of knowledge** of traditional techniques [in actions] for conservation and restoration of heritage assets has resulted in structural damage that **accelerate their deterioration**. In other cases, **owner apathy to preserve the properties***

*due to **maintenance costs** accelerates their ruin and subsequent replacement by non-harmonious buildings.''*
(GG, 2017: 166) [Emphasis by the author]

These statements further establish the need for private sector investment by positioning existing ownership (and even tenancy) structures as problematic for urban and property maintenance. Legal standing is highlighted by the MP-11, while the PP-17 focuses on owner lack of heritage conservation knowledge. In both cases current owners are referred to as sources of current urban and property challenges within historic centres. Ultimately, the amount of privately owned properties in both historic centres further demarcates the limited reach and capacity by local authorities to directly intervene in the historic centre beyond urban landscaping. The number of buildings under legal processes due to long-deceased or unknown ownership (including inheritance legal battles) is continually acknowledged as a persistent difficulty to renovate and repurpose many buildings:

*''Well, I think a core aspect is the legal issue […] that the **legal standing has not been formal**. Domain transfer has not been generally formal [and] when you want to intervene a property, from the legal aspect you simply cannot[.] Even when many [properties] have been expropriated, many trials have been lost because it is not possible to complete the files properly because of this […] [So] we must look for **new mechanisms of collaboration between private and particular individuals**. There are many private properties that, if they have a clear owner, the **owners don't know what to do** with **and are waiting or intentionally speculating**, preferring to have them [on hold], falling to pieces, **with a minimum paying rent, no maintenance and they are internally destroyed** […]''*

The role of property ownership in deterioration processes in the historic centre of MC is also highlighted:

*''How are you going to **invest in a property** that is not **legally stable**?''*
(A2.9-1 – MC Housing) [Emphasis by the author]

This statement points to local government efforts and difficulties to formalise and establish the property market and as a determinant factor to attract private investment, as seen in Chapter 7 (section 2). In GDL, officer A1.10-1 also pointed to real estate investment attraction for development to overcome current legal standing challenges. In both cases, the deterioration of the historic centre is linked to property ownership challenges.

Attention to properties on an individual basis to assess deteriorated conditions of both historic centres convey an aesthetic monuments-centred approach. This suggests that although the *barrio* social spatial unit is institutionally recognised to assess the differences in separate inner-areas, heritage conservation is assessed and planned for on a private property basis. Therefore, although use compatibility for buildings in relation to barrios is mentioned, this is contemplated in relation to prospective investor or owner interests (GMC, 2011: 101; GG, 2017: 18, 163). Tension between heritage conservation restrictions and private investor interests is established, yet the private sector is also catered for to undertake conservation and maintenance actions for buildings. Therefore, the sense of place each *barrio* unit conveys is positioned as dependant on private ownership structures and owner economic capability. Ultimately, the type of property ownership structures and heritage conservation approach can be expected to influence urban renewal social spatial strategies and impact on social urban *barrio* dynamics.

6.3   Spatial Unit for Urban Renewal Planning Agendas

The MP-11 and PP-17 instruments point to the street level as the unit to address urban renewal strategies and agendas for each historic centre. The street level is positioned as the spatial unit for urban renewal away from traditional *barrio*-based historic centre social urban dynamics. This section focuses on street level densification and heritage conservation objectives within the Place Transformation Evaluation Matrix of Chapter 3. A three spatial level public-private governance structure is identified in relation to land and property ownership structures to assert public sector limitations to implement the urban renewal agenda beyond the public space. Cultural corridors are positioned as bettered urban landscapes where housing real estate investment is incentivised and facilitated. In this way an inductive urban renewal vision is achieved.

6.3.1 Social Spatial Unit Shift for Urban Renewal Implementation Processes

Following the integration of *barrio* units into the planning instruments for each historic centre, this section focuses on the street level to address the historic urban landscape context is explored in this section. The complexity previously identified in the extent of local authorities' capacity to effect heritage conservation actions in private properties further asserts the approach to the historic urban landscape from the street level. Moreover, a 'negative' versus 'good' place dichotomy is established by local authorities. This is set to mobilise streets or corridors as urban renewal spatial units to attract private sector investment in historic buildings.

Both instruments equally set out to transform the street level by setting public space under local government's scope and capacity for actions. Meanwhile heritage conservation actions are shared by public and private stakeholders and housing is a private investment duty. In this way, a public-private 'partnership' for an urban renewal model is established and articulated. Heritage conservation and housing renewal are to be mostly undertaken by the private sector while public spaces are intervened by the public sector. This structure asserts the structure under which the three spatial levels are to operate (Chapter 5, section 2.1).

For MC's historic centre, the housing 'reactivation' agenda is assessed in relation to land uses such as retail, services, offices, and leisure. As seen in section 2.1, action zones and key corridors within them are identified for urban renewal interventions. Similarly, a housing 'redensification' agenda for the historic centre of GDL is planned in relation to retail, services, offices and leisure mix uses. However, these are located along key transit corridors for urban renewal interventions. In both cities the street level is also linked to informal retail dynamics, which are considered to diminish urban value and, ultimately, property values (A1.2, 9; A2.4, 9). Corridors as the urban renewal street level unit in the context of the historic centres of MC and GDL are underlined as a street along several blocks where specific social and economic activities have been identified or planned for (GMC, 2011: 22; GG, 2017: 292, 294). See Figure 6-9, below, showing the corridors identified within the planning instruments or because of the agendas within them.

Figure 6-9. Corridors for Urban Renewal in the Historic Centres of MC and GDL

Corridors:
1. Madero
2. Regina
3. Merced

Green Spaces
Relevant Heritage
Key Monuments
Monumental Core
Barrios
Working Corridors
Historic Centre
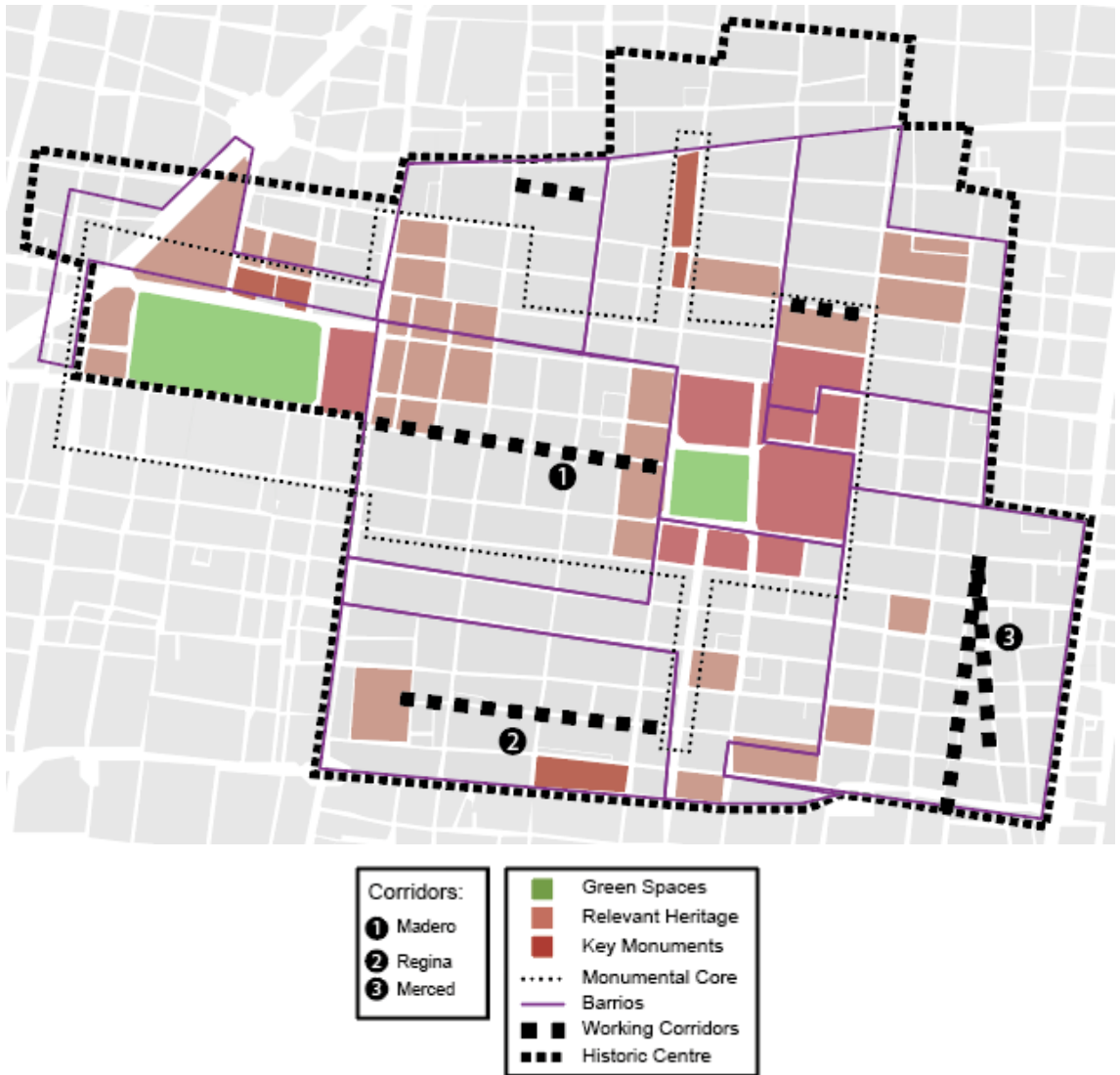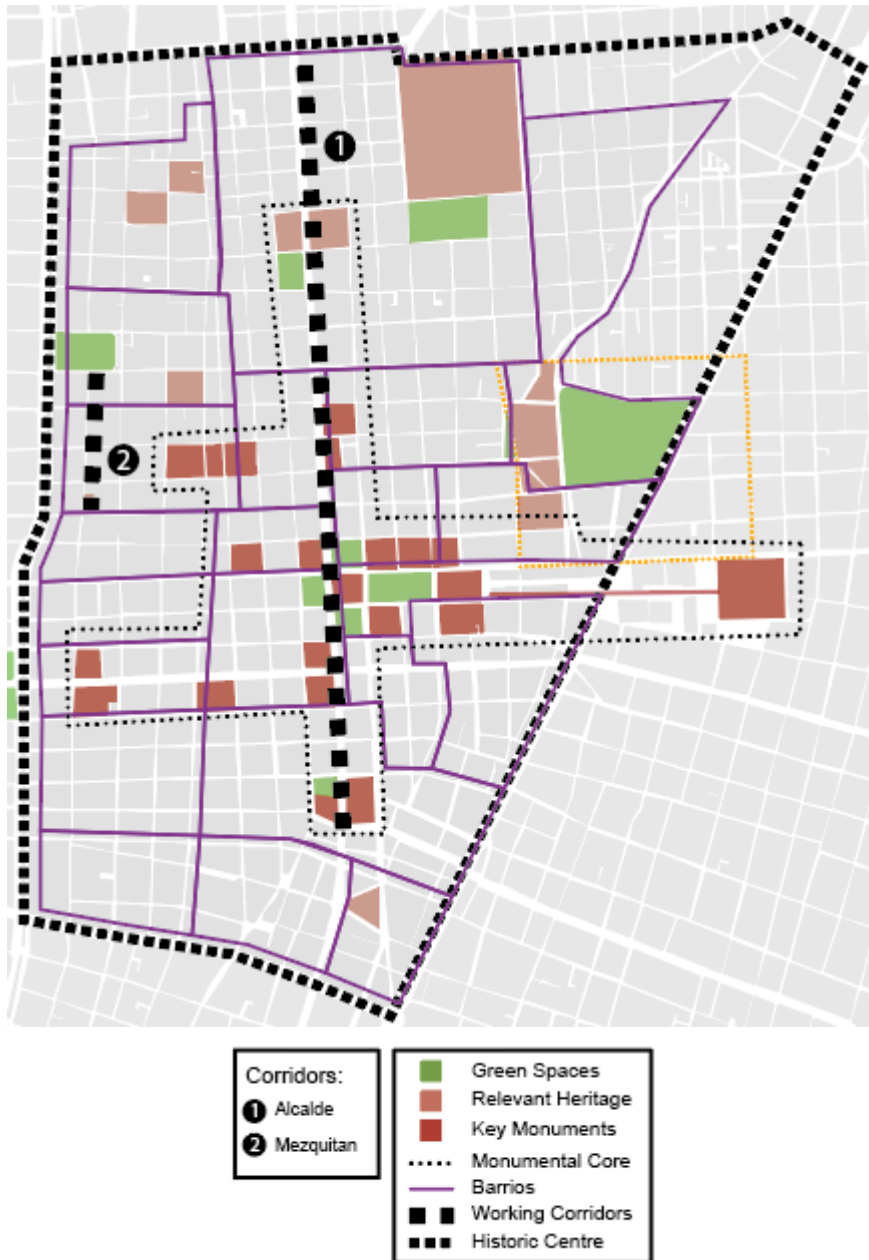
Source: Author based on GMC, 2011; GG, 2017

Importantly, the MP-11 very clearly points out the different corridors, their length and implementation stages (2011: 22). Conversely, the PP-17 does not formally set out specific corridors but establishes a transit-based urban renewal agenda (2017: 292, 294). It is only Corridor Alcalde that is broadly mentioned within the PIUE strategy but figure 6-9 shows alternate corridors which were identified within in the interviews with local officers, academics, and residents. Although both instruments recognise the value of the *barrio* unit structure, it is the corridor that is undertaken as the unit for urban renewal. A 3-D example of this governance structure is laid out in Figure 6-10 below for added clarity:

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Figure 6-10. Corridors Governance Structure (Regina Corridor example)
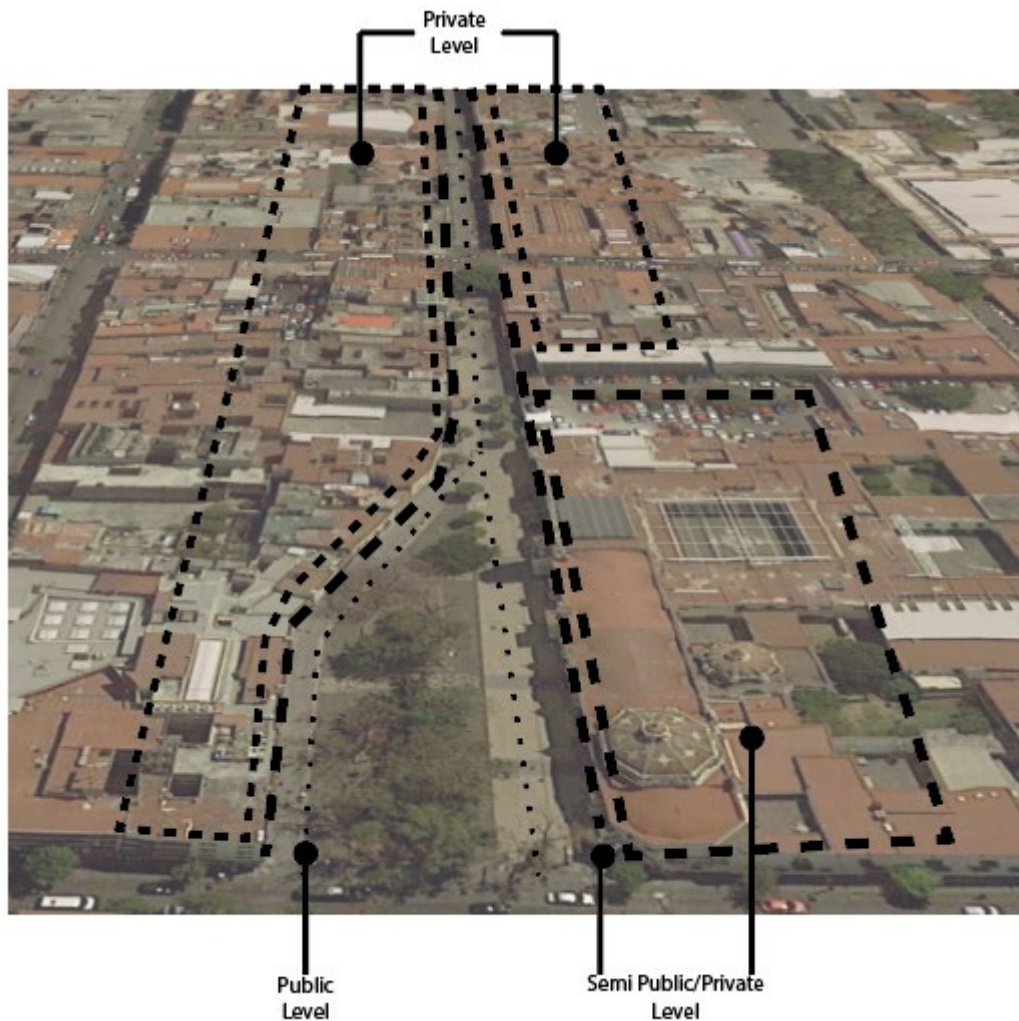
Source: Google Earth image with adaptation by author

The public, semi-public/private and private spatial levels governance structure is identified for both historic centres within each local planning instrument. This structure was established based on land and property ownership of open spaces and buildings within the historic centre. As described in Chapter 5, most buildings used for housing, retail, services, education, and offices are privately owned. Meanwhile, most semi-public/private buildings used for government offices or leisure activities are owned by local and/or national authorities. Other semi-public/private properties are owned by religious or academic stakeholders. Lastly, public spaces and streets fall within the competency of local Delegation or Municipal authorities. However, regulations concern all levels through zoning, land uses, heritage conservation restrictions and densification potential.

Yet, the dominance of privately owned buildings is used to differentiate public and private spatial levels, especially in relation to urban renewal transformation and housing redevelopment. The semi-public/private level more easily involves public and private competencies, but they largely remain as religious, cultural, and educational assets. Importantly, they provide the historic centre with monuments and a historic context yet do not directly participate in the urban and housing renewal agenda. Furthermore, the separation of the three spatial levels highlights the limited capacity of the local authorities to effect the urban renewal agenda, as illustrated by Figure 6-11, below:

Figure 6-11. Spatial Implementation Structure
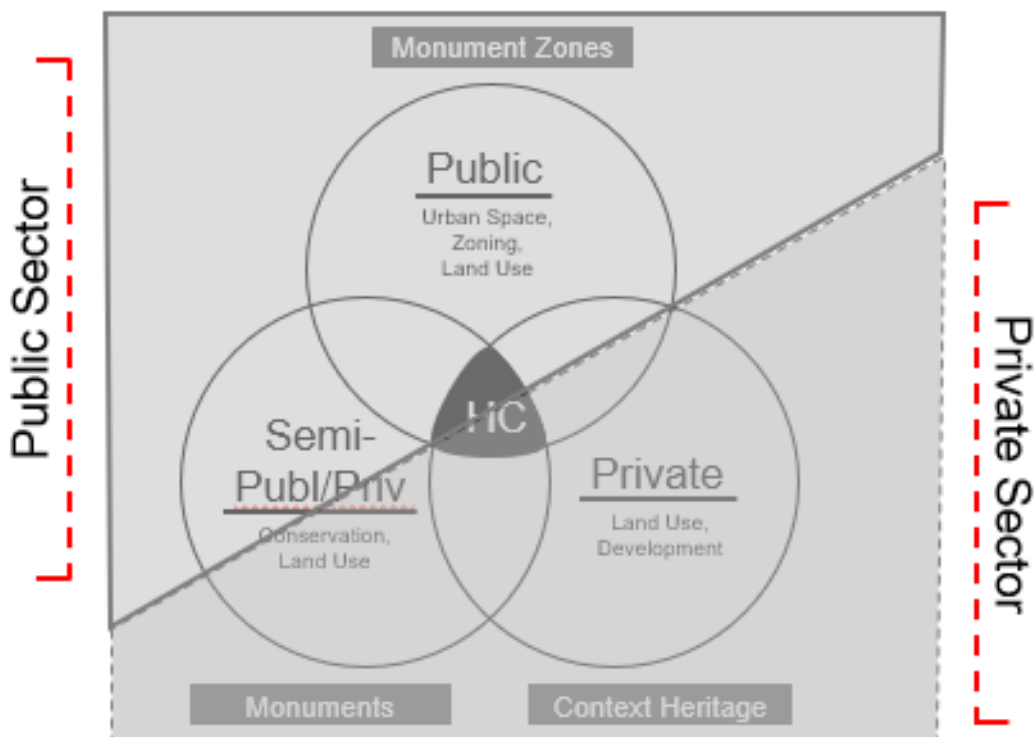
Source: Author based on Madanipour, 2003

The public level is primarily within the public sector scope of implementation capacity. Importantly, the semi-public/private level may be operationalised by both public and private sectors, depending on historic buildings value or spaces ownership as well as on national heritage conservation funds and level of protection. Specific historic buildings or spaces may be eligible for government funds for restoration or maintenance works. Finally, the private spatial level is

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operationalised by the private sector due to ownership structures and economic capacity for project implementation. Yet heritage buildings belonging to the private spatial level also fall within public regulatory structures which results in complex intervention processes, and have been determinant in ongoing social spatial deterioration processes within historic centres.

Following this, corridors are here positioned as 'sites of argumentation' where the dominant urban renewal discourse and governance structure are operationalised. Moreover, it is where tensions from the three-spatial level governance structure are more easily identified. The street level is thus directly undertaken by the local government and mobilised as assets to attract private sector investment on privately owned properties in the face of governance complexities:

*''[…] the plans and proposals […] have faced implementation and monitoring **limitation** due to the **political-administrative complexity of government** entities, **limiting regulatory frameworks**, **insufficient public and private resources**, [as well as] the vision and sectorial exercise of some groups and urgent [environmental] problems […]''*
(GMC, 2011: 06) [Emphasis by the author]

This excerpt from MP-11 clearly acknowledges implementation limitations due to administrative complexities and funds insufficiency to achieve the proposals set out within the planning instrument. Restrictive heritage conservation regulations, scarce public and private funds, conflicting political aims and environmental issues are highlighted to convey the limitations to implement the urban renewal agenda. Similarly, GDL's PP-17 points to restrictive heritage conservation regulations, complex inter-institutional and administrative dynamics, and need for private sector investment (2017: 166-7). In line with this, officers from both cities highlighted a 'need' for historic centres to be economically 'self-sustaining':

*'' Yes, but **an economic vocation that fends for itself**, **to guarantee** the urban, social and environmental **sustainability of the area**, no?''*
(A1.3-1– GDL Urban Projects Officer) [Emphasis by the author]

*''But **it would be ideal to have a centre that runs itself**, right? **With guides from** local and federal **authorities** […]''*
(A2.3-1–MC Public Space Officer) [Emphasis by the author]

In response to a context where regulatory, economic, and political factors create challenges to implement urban renewal visions, these officers aspire to ensure economically independent historic centres that require minimum government intervention. MC's officer considers planning instruments can function as 'guides' for economically independent spatial units. With no mention of social aspects, successful normative and financial structures are set out as separate from local authorities' competency. Therefore, an effort to ensure improved urban landscape units are important to initiate economically sustainable places:

*''If we incorporate **improvements** for **urban** [infrastructure], surely the properties will be more suitable for human life, right? That would of course **generate some enhancements** to encourage housing or services [investment], [...]''*
(A1.1-1 – GDL Planning)

*''We invite [the investor] to come, to buy a property and renew it, to spend a lot of money to do it, but we guarantee - **to protect your investment**. That the same investment or more than you will invest on this property, we will [equal it] in **the physical space around your property**. Because with that, we guarantee that your project will work.''*
(A2.4-1 –MC Planning)

These citations position the street level as an asset that will attract private sector investment on privately owned properties. Corridors are associated to this economic expectation due to the focus on street-level transit and publicly funded infrastructure betterment actions. The urban landscape as an asset is mobilised by its assessed potential to ensure and protect private property values. Therefore, corridors are positioned as the location for private sector property investment, which the local government will cater and 'protect' by investing in the public space. Moreover, through traditional social urban activities, street 'vocation' and the character of the landscape is articulated to raise place value. Thus, key corridors are ear-marked by the local authority for urban renewal and housing transformation processes. For this research, pedestrianised corridors with reassessed cultural vocation are highlighted to analyse the urban renewal and housing landscape.

Figure 6-12 shows the main corridors in the housing areas identified within the MP-11 and the economic activity of existing residential population within them. These housing-oriented corridors are found in ''Regina'', ''Antigua Merced'', ''Santo Domingo'' and ''Garibaldi'' (*barrios* 3, 4, 5, and 7). Notably, the corridors are positioned <u>within</u> the *barrios*, creating a *barrio* centrality structure. Although Regina and Antigua Merced *barrios* are in proximity of important transit roads (Circunvalacion (east) and Jose Maria Izazaga (south)), they do not have a significant role in corridor housing densification processes.

Figure 6-12. Potential Housing Development Areas and Economically Active Population (MC)
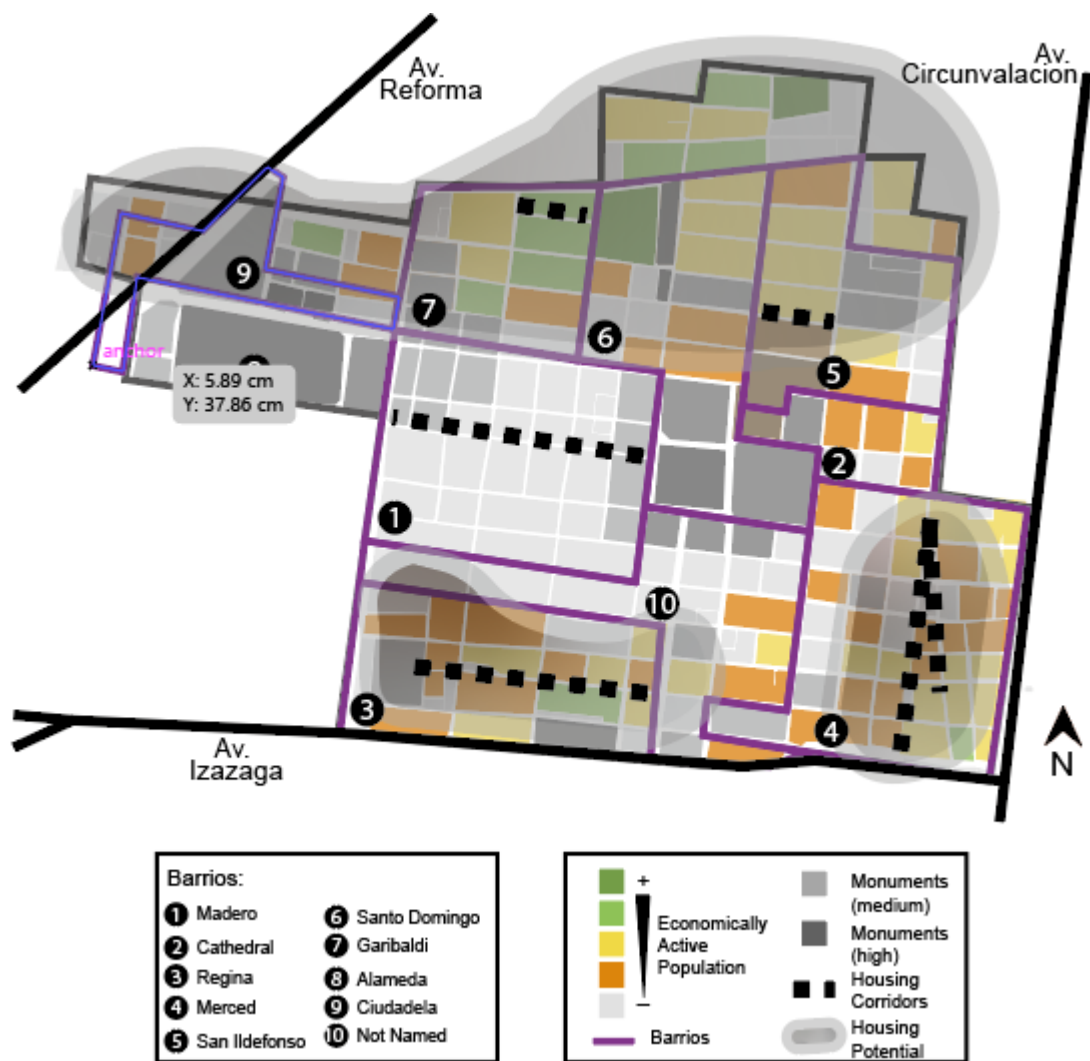
Source: Author with data from INEGI, 2010; GMC, 2011: 22, 48

The economic population activity shown within each housing 'potential' area conveys ongoing social dynamics that are key to assess corridor-based urban

renewal projects. The north area has more economically active population yet shorter corridors, compared to the corridors in the Regina and Antigua Merced *barrios*, although their population are less economically active. Between 2008 and 2009, the corridor within the Regina *barrio* was subjected to a purposefully-led intervention by local authorities, aiming to produce a model for housing-oriented urban renewal corridors within the historic centre. In this way, the 'Cultural Corridor Regina' was established as a corridor with cultural 'vocation' to enable a housing and economic reactivation agenda. Moreover, Regina was consistently described as less 'dangerous' than 'Antigua Merced'', ''Santo Domingo'' and ''Garibaldi'' *barrios* (A2.4, A2.8, A2.9), where similar corridors could have been implemented. This points to an urban renewal agenda within a lower-risk area to ensure and protect private investment.

Figure 6-13 below shows research findings on the main corridors being intervened in the historic centre of GDL in relation to data from PP-17 and INEGI. The 'potential' housing areas within the instrument are identified, as well as the economic activity of existing residential population (INEGI, 2010). The Corridor Mezquitan (left) crosses *barrios* 2, 3 and 4, while corridor Alcalde (centre) crosses *barrios* 9 to 14. Significantly, the corridors are not positioned within *barrios* but across *barrios*. A transit-oriented agenda is identified in this case, as Alcalde avenue is an important transit road while Mezquitan is parallel to Federalismo Avenue (west). Notably, the housing development areas are positioned along avenues Alcalde, Federalismo and Calzada Independencia (north to south-east). Therefore, the corridors and housing expectations along them do not follow a *barrio* dynamic structure.

Figure 6-13. Potential Housing Development Areas and Economically Active Population (GDL)

Barrios:
1 Dolores
2 San Diego
3 San Felipe
4 Capuchinas
5 Jesus Maria
6 El Carmen
7 El Pilar
8 La Trinidad
9 Santuario
10 La Capilla
11 La Merced
12 C. Universidad
13 San Francisco
14 9 Esquinas
15 Santo Domingo
16 Seminario
17 Catedral
18 Maestranza
19 Retiro
20 Sta Maria de Gracia
21 San Agustin
22 Patios
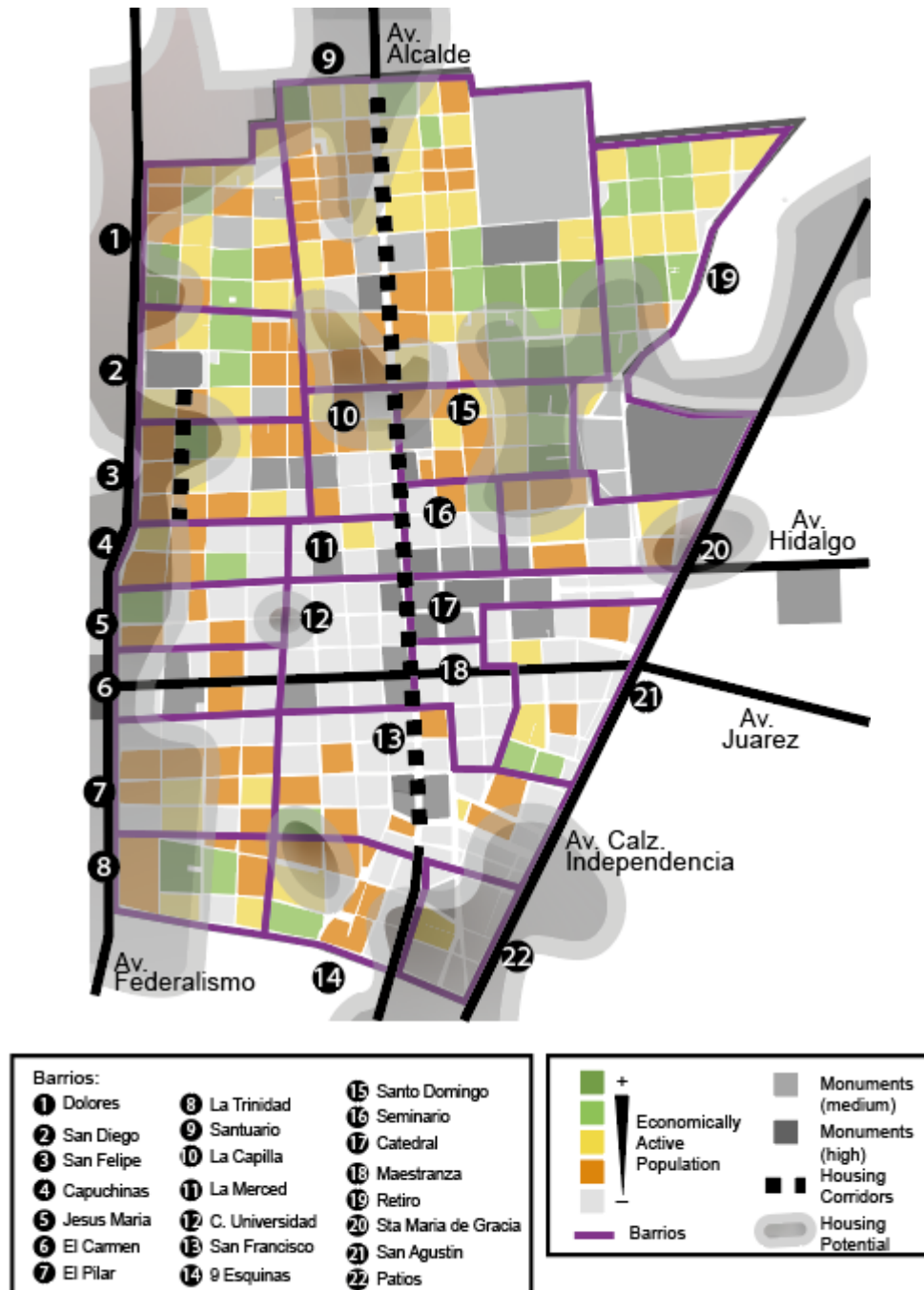
Source: Author with data from INEGI, 2010; GG, 2017: 292

Notably, the population's economic activity levels per block follow the *barrio* structure and highlight low economic activity within most projected housing areas. The corridor along Mezquitan street, which was identified by interviewed participants across groups A, B and C (C1.1, C1.3, C1.4, C1.6, C1.7), was chosen as the corridor unit for this research. It is compact, economically active and removed from east-side *barrios* that are described as 'challenging' due to

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unsafety and informal economy dynamics by local officers and academics (B1.1, B1.5, B1.6). Following the cultural corridor model, in 2015 'Cultural Corridor Mezquitan' was established and improvement works started. Although this was previously a housing-oriented street, a cultural 'vocation' was attached to it due to the existence of the 'Roxy' historic building and music venue along the street. This points to a housing densification agenda in a cultural corridor that is derived from a transit-derived agenda.

In both historic centres a cultural corridor of similar scales is set out to implement an urban renewal and housing densification agenda. However, the Regina corridor is set out within a *barrio*-oriented structure while the Mezquitan corridor crosses three different *barrios* and follows a transit-oriented structure. The institutional recognition of *barrios* to assert place character and a corridor site 'vocation' strategy is more clearly evidenced in MC's corridor. Yet, in both cases low-risk housing areas with different levels of economic activity are selected to mobilise a prospective compact city vision that will ensure the continued use of the areas during day and night. This process is described by this MC officer:

*''**Identifying points of cultural, social, economic, retail interest**. **Areas where we needed to enhance development or implement recovery [actions]**. And then we generated a series of circuits where we can say 'This [street] can be completely **pedestrian**, this [other] one can be **shared**, this [other] one only the **renewal of public space**'. Then **each zone**, by its **characteristics**, gave us definitions of **what kind of intervention it needed**. But always through a comprehensive articulation so that everything was congruent and did not look like an isolated development, like islands. **Everything is perfectly connected**.''*
 (A2.4-1 – MC Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

This statement embeds with the experience of renewal actions for the historic centre of MC from 2008, before the MP-11 was published, yet it conveys the decision-making process followed to identify urban renewal corridors in both cities. Although it has been shown that corridors in GDL are transit and not *barrio*-oriented, similar characteristics to assert interventions were also relevant. The MP-11 and PP-17 identify retail, services, housing, and cultural characteristics to identify 'potential' areas (GMC, 2011: 27; GG, 2017: 117, 146). In this sense, public urban space and private spatial interventions such as housing redevelopment are carried out by separate stakeholders. Yet they are also

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'perfectly connected', following the previously analysed three-level governance structure (figure 6-11).

The corridors units are mobilised in both historic centres to operationalise a housing densification urban renewal agenda, as undertaken within an ownership-based three-spatial level governance structure. However, the importance of public sector regulations on all three levels is also established as key to guide the vision for 'good' urban landscapes (GMC, 2011: 43; GG, 2017: 146). Corridors are projected to function as best-practice examples for the development of similar projects throughout each historic centre. In this sense, the corridor unit is mobilised to set the stage for a partnership governance model that 'creates' an economically autonomous urban unit. As in both cities, local government capacity is limited to land use regulations and public spaces intervention. Therefore, private sector investment has been increasingly necessary to undertake heritage conservation actions and housing redevelopment.

6.3.2 The Cultural Corridor Unit for Urban and Economic Agendas

In the previous section, the cultural corridor has been established as the spatial unit to implement a housing-oriented urban renewal agenda that is expected to revitalise local urban economic dynamics. The Regina and Mezquitan corridors in MC and GDL, respectively, were chosen as representative of this. Importantly, each corridor demonstrates a differentiated relation of the corridor to *barrio* dynamics, yet both corridors are located within existing housing areas. Moreover, both corridors are within densification potential areas identified by MP-11 and PP-17. To further position these projects, DC are highlighted by interviewees who identified low population occupation and the deteriorated urban landscape in need of attention:

'' […] the project will […] **create the opportunity to repopulate the area, which has lost much population** *[…] Repopulating the historic centre is* **not only having new housing units, it is to recover those that exist**. *It is to encourage or promote the existence of new housing units that are attractive in relation to* **what the housing market is looking for**. *But it is also to* **generate the <u>urban conditions in the area</u>** *that will enable you to <u>live, work, have fun and learn [all] within proximity</u>, right?''*
(A1.3-1 – GDL Urban Projects) [Emphasis by the author]

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*'' [abandonment trends] are looking to be reversed […] [So that] **people will stay to live** <u>and have options</u>. Because, as I said, before there were none. So, now they are not just fixing [monuments] […] but there are even **apartments (flats) starting to be renovated and that are beginning to be populated again**. […] It had to be done to <u>prevent further destruction</u>, deterioration… the historic centre [as] **fixed from the urban lens** […]"*
(A2.8-1 – MC Conservation) [Emphasis by the author]

These statements convey the expectations placed on urban renewal actions as linked to a housing reactivation agenda. In this sense, housing redevelopment is placed as key to 'regenerate' or 'fix' the urban area. Corridors are thus placed as sites to improve urban conditions and residential dynamics to 'reverse' low-residence trends and attract housing property market investment. In this way, investment is secured by the creation of new urban dynamics. The urban environment thus functions as more than an habitable landscape, and acts as a promotional tool to attract investment.

Property investment is here located across street-level cultural corridors that each local government has considered as strategic for urban renewal and housing redevelopment. The Regina and Mezquitan corridors are mobilised separately as 'best practice' models to articulate an urban renewal expectation that governments aim to replicate across each historic centre. To achieve this, officers establish urban function, design, and aesthetic image as the three main aspects to assess street-level renewal. Place character and economic vocation are thus set forth to be enhanced and promoted.

In this way, an aesthetic lens to assess the condition and investment viability of corridors is established. This suggests place value and character are determined through a top-down decision-making process to revert urban deterioration and mostly assessed from a street level outlook. Moreover, heritage conservation and densification restrictions assessments further establish an aesthetic lens to intervene at the street level. In doing so, a structural shift to approach historic centres as landscapes that provide a spatial incentive to mobilise private sector investment to 'recover' historic centres is established.

The MC Regina and the GDL Mezquitan Cultural Corridors are in their respective historic centres (see figure 6-14), within existing housing areas and potential housing areas, and convey a housing-oriented urban renewal agenda for historic centres. Cultural-oriented dynamics have been recognised to some extent by residents in both corridors. Bars and cafes along Regina street is where artistic and bohemian communities have met for some time (C2.2, C2.3, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6). In the Mezquitan street, the Roxy music venue used to attract a culture-oriented dynamic yet has been in disrepair for decades (C1.3, C1.4, C1.5, C1.6). In both cases their cultural character has been enhanced or attached to each corridor to mobilise new social and economic dynamics (ie. urban 'art', cafes, and bars, etc) (GMC, 2011: 17; officer A1.9-1). Building on this, the corridors are repurposed as 'Cultural' corridors through an inductive process that follows Transit and Public Space strategies in MP-11 and PP-17.

Figure 6-14. Corridors Regina and Mezquitan Context

Source: Author

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When looking at both corridors side by side, a similar structure can be recognised, in terms of scale and to the location of an open urban space at one extreme (west for Regina and north for Mezquitan). For both corridors, an assessment on place potential has been undertaken in relation to urban landscape renewal and housing densification (see figure 6-15). Heritage conservation is undertaken at public and private space levels, to support good urban conditions and provide renovated housing units within a mix uses projection that also allows for retail and services to continue (GMC, 2011: 25; GG, 2017: 171). Street level conditions of each corridor are important to assess how urban interventions have solved the DC problem (A1.2, A1.3, A1.9; A2.4, A2.7, A2.8).

Figure 6-15. Corridors Regina and Mezquitan
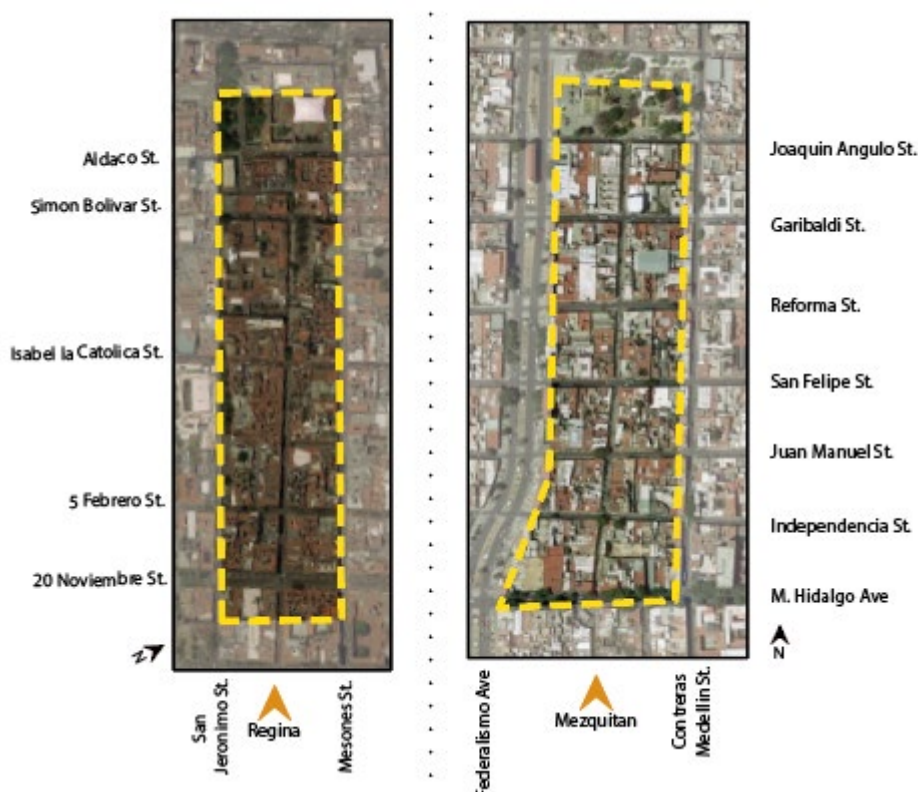
Source: Author with maps from Google Maps

The Transit and Public Space strategies in MP-11 and PP-17 instruments point to specific actions for the street level for streets and public open spaces across each historic centre. Ultimately, both frameworks signpost the physical improvement of the street level through urban design and 'clearance' actions, as shown in table 6-1. More specifically, improvement actions relate to land use,

public spaces, heritage conservation and private property investment within revised normative, economic, and spatial structures. The social dynamics in historic centres, which are reflected in place character and spatial characteristics, are thus set to change.

Table 6-1. Transit and Public Spaces Change Strategies

Historic Centre	Transit Strategy actions	Public Spaces Strategy actions
Mexico City	- Sidewalks - Cycling Infrastructure - Street pedestrianisation - Motor transit redistribution	- Public space betterment (safety) - Clearance and rehabilitation (formality) - Street art initiatives - Street vendors removal (formality, safety) - Urban design improvement - Urban image
Guadalajara	- Sidewalks - Cycling Infrastructure - Street pedestrianisation - Motor transit redistribution - Slow motor transit streets - Reduced street car parking spaces	- Public space legal standing - Clearance and rehabilitation (formality) - Public space quality - Street vendors removal (formality, safety) - Urban design improvement - Urban image - Visual impact assessment (heights)

Source: Author based on GMC, 2011: 14; GG, 2017: 59-63; 68-71

Transit and Public Space strategies in MP-11 and PP-17 share considerations for sidewalks improvement, streets pedestrianisation and cycling infrastructure, public space rehabilitation, street vendors removal and urban image. The instruments further build on these through specific transit lights provision, inclusive design, obstacles removal, context character enhancement and visual impact reduction (in relation to building heights) considerations. In each city, the strategies relate to the public space, but an underlying aim to effect a positive impact on semi-public/private and private spatial levels can be discerned. Moreover, transit streets are increasingly positioned as public spaces, attending to the creation of more open public spaces within tightly built environments. In this way, urban design is articulated to assert positive urban improvement characteristics and strengthen the urban renewal agenda.

Moreover, the Transit and Public Space strategies set out an array of specific operational actions articulated through different urban elements (see table 6-2). These actions are approached from an urban image lens to produce improved places, in contrast with the previous condition of urban deterioration. It is from

this lens that the cultural 'vocation' of each corridor is assessed and mobilised. Therefore, physical changes in paving and street levels, lighting posts, painting of facades and signage have been organised to establish the cultural corridor 'vocation'. Most residents interviewed for this research in both historic centres associated urban improvement actions to a top-down assessment of social urban well-being (see appendix 11). In this sense, although they confirmed the need for urban improvement actions in such areas, they also expressed concern for the urban renewal visions driving them (C1.1, C1.3, C1.6; C2.1, C2.3, C2.4, C2.6, C2.7).

Table 6-2. Strategic Actions and Change Elements

Spatial Actions	Elements
Transit Organisation	repaving, car lanes, cycle lanes, street parking
Infrastructure Provision	bins, benches, lighting, signage
Inclusive Design	sidewalk broadening, re-designed crossings
Removal of Obstacles	cables, street vendors, posts, potholes
Context Enhancement	street art, vegetation, art installations
Visual Impact	heights, facades, built typology

Source: Author with information from GMC, 2011: 14; GG, 2017: 59-63; 68-71

In table 6-2 the elements within each strategic action to ensure the improvement of the urban condition and increase attractiveness of streets and, more specifically, key corridors, are identified. These spatial improvement actions are described by officers in both cities as undertaken by different local government agencies. These actions are mainly focused on the reassessment of public spaces, where existing social urban challenges are removed and a process of urban enhancement through transit reorganisation, urban design and aesthetic elements are promoted. The historic urban landscape image is thus the unit of improvement assessment to address the street level. As such, the pedestrianisation of corridors is pursued to achieve aesthetic enhancement and reorganise social urban dynamics.

Aesthetic considerations for the historic urban landscape are key to understand the 'Cultural Corridor' narrative. Cultural corridors can be understood as the stage

for place 'character' visions, where organic cultural dynamics are increased by context enhancement and visual impact-based projects that increase place value. Therefore, DC are linked to transit and public space conditions but also, inherently, to the physical conditions of the built heritage. It is expected that by providing a well-maintained historic urban environment, the private sector will invest and provide property maintenance without local authorities' assistance or presence in the renewed areas (A1.2; A2.4).

The PP-17 was developed six years after the MP-11 development and GDL interventions took place eight to ten years after they had taken place in MC. This suggests the GDL government learned from MC's process, especially as at an urban level both historic centres' local governments have applied similar strategies and actions to change the urban space. Changes such as street-type conversion, urban design, infrastructure provision, removal of 'obstacles', visual enhancement and aesthetic considerations have been implemented to improve selected corridors. Reorganised and repurposed corridors are positioned as public spaces. Planning officers enthusiastically described these processes:

*'' I mean, since the **relocation** of informal public commerce in the public space, **urban image**, **cleaning** actions, **public services**, etc. [have taken place] And now the next phase is the strategies for re-densification.''*
(A1.2-1 – GDL Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' […] and **we changed everything**… **water**, **drainage**, **lighting**, everything. Then it turned into a first level area within the historic centre and then the investor had the answer through the public space. So, all the work we developed was **always contributing to the public space** to support those who want to invest… It is the way to provide [investors] with the greatest incentive, right?'''*
(A2.4-1 – MC Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

In both cases, the aim to turn the street into a 'first-level area' is based on urban image assessments. Here, social dynamics changes such as informal commerce clearance and infrastructure changes are mentioned as incentives to provide an improved urban landscape that enabled private property investment assurance for the private sector. These statements convey urban space interventions as a first phase to be followed by a phase of reactivated housing real estate investment, maintenance and/or redevelopment. Thus, the public space is

operationalised as a product through which to provide investment viability assurance to incentivise housing real estate development.

The images in figure 6-16 show the street level conditions the Regina Corridor in 2009 (left, Google Maps) and 2018 (right, author) corridors. It is important to note that images before the latest version for the Regina Corridor were not available in Google Street or through a Google images search. The quality of this photo and angle (opposite, here) are poor. However, both images show key differences in lighting, façade, and corridor usage. Notably, pedestrian flows have continued and economic remain at ground-floor level.

Figure 6-16. Regina (between Isabel la Catolica and 5th February streets) in 2009 (during) and 2018 (after) 'Cultural Corridor' interventions
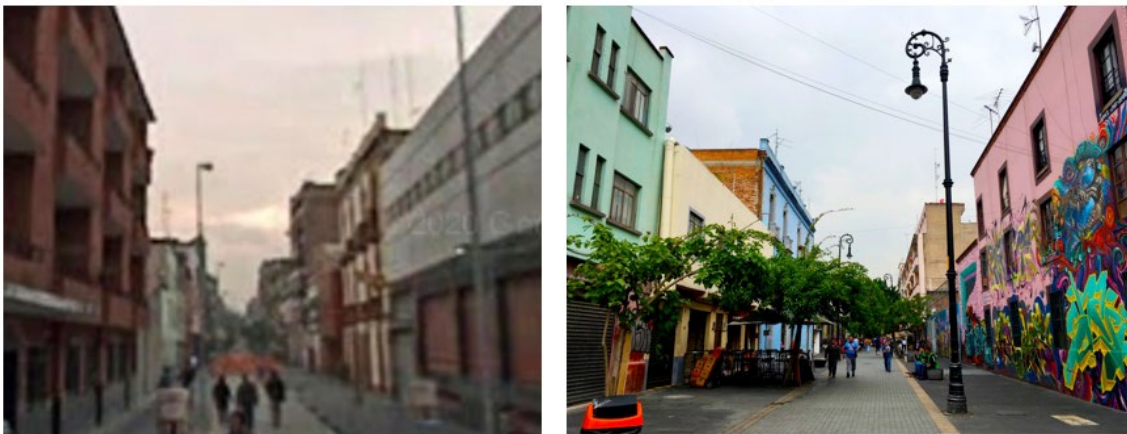
Source: Google Maps, 2009; Author, 2018

Figure 6-17 shows the strategic spatial actions undertaken to achieve the Regina Cultural Corridor agenda in the historic centre of MC. The street has been pedestrianised and spaces within it have been reorganised in relation to hospitality and walking paths as well as leisure areas where street art and community dynamics can take place. Specific elements such as façade renovation, changed streetlight posts, provision of benches and bins, signposting of walls for street art and trees planting can be identified. The corridor has been 'cleared' of obstacles and been provided with appropriate urban infrastructure and inclusive design elements to articulate a mixed housing and leisure place.

Figure 6-17. Regina Cultural Corridor in 2018

Source: Author

The images in figure 6-18 show the street level urban conditions the Mezquitan Corridor in 2009 (left, Google Maps) and 2018 (right, author). It was easier to attain older images of Mezquitan street, the quality and angle make the assessment of street interventions easier. The street is not fully pedestrianised but it has been raised to sidewalk level and improved along with the facades. Neighbourhood ground-floor retail and social dynamics are also identified in both.

Figure 6-18. Mezquitan (between Juan Manuel and San Felipe streets) in 2009 (during) and 2018 (after) 'Cultural Corridor' interventions

Source: Google Maps, 2009; Author, 2018

Figure 6-19 shows the first phase of strategic spatial actions to achieve the Cultural Corridor agenda for Mezquitan street in GDL. The street has not been fully pedestrianised but the transit road level has been risen to the sidewalk level, this indicates the possibility of a future full street pedestrianisation. The renovation of facades, streetlight posts and bins refurbishing, newly planted trees and the identification of façade walls for street art evidence changed physical elements. The transit reorganisation of the street conveys a 'cleaner' urban landscape to also attract mixed housing, retail, and leisure social urban dynamics. Importantly, some neighbourhood shops can still be seen in this image.

Figure 6-19. Mezquitan Cultural Corridor in 2018

Source: Author

Figures 6-17 and 6-19 show the condition of both corridors by 2018, with photos taken during the second data collection field trip to Mexico. These images evidence different levels of intervention of each corridor in comparison to their previous condition, but enable the assessment of the differences and similarities between both urban improvement interventions. The Regina Corridor was renovated from 2008 and the Mezquitan Corridor from 2015, the processes follow separate timelines. Yet the main difference is in the advanced level of pedestrianisation and the provision of hospitality spaces in Regina. Meanwhile, Mezquitan's pedestrian conversion is still under development, as retail and

hospitality have not taken space along the corridor. In both cases street heights have been raised to the sidewalk level and paving materials have remained different to evidence a previous transit road. The currently shared street in Mezquitan has potential to be full pedestrianised.

In both cases, contextual enhancement and visual impact elements are found in renovated façades, street art and greenery. But it is through the well-maintained façades and street art in previously blank walls or building exteriors that a cultural corridor character is mobilised. Moreover, to fulfil this vision, some shops, cafes and bars known at the barrio level have been moved or displaced. In Regina, residents negatively describe the relocation of a coffee shop that attracted local artists from Regina to San Jeronimo street after urban improvement works were completed (C2.3, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6, C2.7). In Mezquitan the displacement of convenience shops and car workshops were also negatively described (C1.3, C1.6, C1.7). The streets thus provide an optimal setting for the generation of new socioeconomic dynamics within a cultural corridor agenda, which nonetheless do not necessarily build on previously existing dynamics.

As pointed out in section 2.1, the attraction of young people to live and work within historic centres has been a driving aim for urban renewal strategies (A1.6; A2.4). In this sense, the focus on street art and other urban image characteristics can be seen as a tool to raise interest in the corridors from specific social groups. Therefore, it is with prospective potential social urban dynamics that both corridors have been envisioned and intervened as a first phase to fulfil urban renewal agendas. The second phase is attached to housing reactivation and redensification to ensure consistent place maintenance and occupation:

*'' […] what is the vocation of the historic centre? Heritage conservation, but also **reactivation of economic activities, tourism**, etc., **and re-densification […] The first [strategy] we are** working with in the historic centre **is focused on […] heritage conservation and housing densification**. And economic recovery.''*
(A1.2-1 – GDL Planning) [Emphasis by the author]

*'' Now there is this **process of housing reactivation** because for many years the historic centre was empty.''*
(A2.1-1 – MC Transport) [Emphasis by the author]

In the above statements, both officers confirm the housing reactivation or re-densification agenda as linked to an overarching urban renewal strategy to ensure place occupation and heritage buildings' maintenance. MC's officer directly links this to ongoing abandonment to justify housing reactivation, while both officers indicate the problematisation of low economic dynamics to focus on housing redevelopment. In turn, GDL's officer directly links re-densification to economic reactivation and place conservation. Housing reactivation is thus the overriding strategy to ensure the transformation of the historic centre economically and physically. In this sense, housing renewal is enabled by urban improvement actions along key corridors, but it is also expected to ensure the upkeep of the urban landscape. As a result, this public-private intervention structure builds on independent property investment expectations facilitated by current historic building regulations and property ownership conditions.

The heritage conservation condition of corridors from the street level is positioned as relevant to assert an induced sense of place and historic urban landscape value. Arguably, the top-down approach to produce a cultural corridor project produces curated urban landscapes that emulate but do not provide continuation for traditional social urban spatial dynamics. Therefore, an aesthetic-oriented sense of place within an envisioned 'good' place conception is established for the corridors Regina and Mezquitan. As such, the urban area is modified and commodified to set new neighbourhood-scale centralities that break from a *barrio* structure and set the landscape for densification to mobilise socioeconomic changes that have social implications.

6.4   Commodification Implications on the Historic Urban Landscape

This section focuses on the commodification of corridors Regina and Mezquitan as the street level objective within the Place Transformation Evaluation matrix of Chapter 3. In both historic centres, the assessed place potential of each cultural corridor to attract private sector investment in housing properties is considered dependant on street level conditions. In parallel, heritage conservation protection levels play an important part in the type of use and intervention levels for

development of buildings within their context. However, as shown in section 6.3, densification plans only seem to consider the role of conservation frameworks from the urban image level, to be fulfilled by private stakeholders with high investment capacity. Sense of place is thus equated with aesthetic place character to promote property investment and densification.

Although street-based interventions may convey phased stages of an overarching urban renewal agenda, the renewal and redevelopment of the Regina and Mezquitan corridors deliver the creation of new social urban centralities within the historic centre. These corridors are articulated in this agenda as new settings to mobilise specific social and economic dynamics. In this way, the urban renewal agenda departs from a *barrio* spatial unit to address corridors as new spatial units that encourage new urban dynamics. This presents a conflict for place character and authenticity considerations at the social urban level.

Sense of place is repeatedly mentioned by residents to describe social cultural dynamics that have fostered community memory, traditions, and resilience, as the historic centre has changed and evolved. Separately, officers in both cities define sense of place through the physical character or economic vocation within different streets, inner areas, or barrios in both historic centres. The difference in 'sense of place' assertions between officers and residents point to a complexity in outcomes for top-down urban renewal agendas. Moreover, while local communities are engaged in renewal consultation processes, they are not necessarily contemplated as part of envisioned renewal outcomes (C1.1, C1.3; C2.7). This is confirmed by an intention to attract new social groups into the historic centre not only through an improved urban environment but also through revised housing market units (Chapters 4 and 7, sections 4.3.2, 7.4).

In this context, the social spatial characteristics of the historic landscape are commodified whereby the historic centre becomes an historic object and a stage for new social and economic dynamics. The mobilisation of social and economic dynamics is generally targeted at 'young' and 'creative' groups aiming to revert DC and further raise the value of land and properties within historic centres. In

line with this, abandonment as an ongoing phenomenon in historic centres further reinforces other DC such as unsafety and decay are used to establish an urban renewal vision. However, residential activities still take place in historic centres.

Nonetheless, a closer assessment of corridors Regina and Mezquitan with data from INEGI (2010, see figure 6-20) suggests that both corridors retain different levels of occupation. Low numbers of residents are more pronounced in Mezquitan, following consistent downward population trends (Chapters 4 and 5, sections 4.4, 5.3). Regina has higher numbers of residents overall, also in consistency with slightly increased population trends in MC's historic centre overall. Notably, occupation along the Regina corridor follows a linear shape while occupation along the Mezquitan corridor can be better understood in relation to the *barrios* it crosses. In this way, *barrio* 2 has higher occupancy numbers than *barrio* 3 and both have higher occupancy by towards the west. A corridor-based housing agenda in Mezquitan does not follow *barrio* occupational patterns.

Figure 6-20. Corridors: Barrios and Occupational Levels

Barrios

MXC - Regina
- ❸ Regina
- ⑩ N/I

GDL - Mezquitan
- ❶ Dolores
- ❷ San Diego
- ❸ San Felipe
- ❹ Capuchinas
- ❺ Jesus Maria
- ❾ Santuario
- ⑩ La Capilla
- ⑪ La Merced

Population per Home

+
–

Monuments (medium)
Monuments (high)
—— Barrios
- - - Corridors
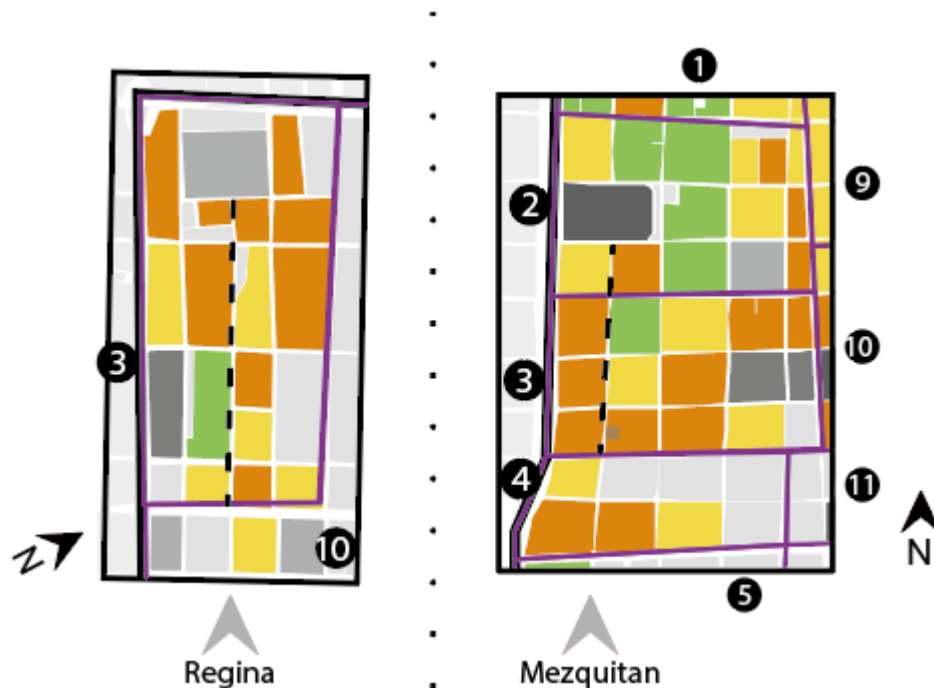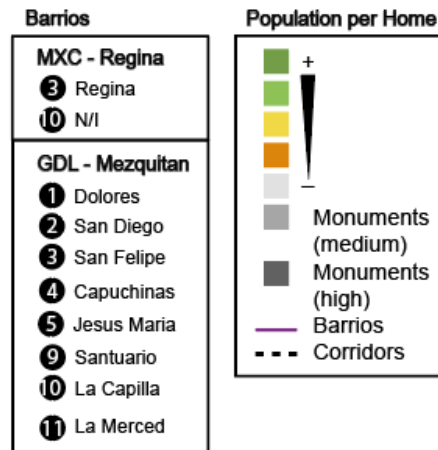
Source: Author based on INEGI, 2010

This information is key to understand a housing-oriented reassessment of the historic urban landscape and the type of commodification process and promotion both corridors have been placed under. The historic urban landscape within each corridor is positioned as an asset based on urban character and heritage conservation notions concerned with aesthetic characteristics of the street level. In this sense, cultural dynamics such as street art murals or art venues are sought to enhance the aesthetic relevance of the areas. This raises attention to the condition of facades as disconnected to the condition of buildings. The first may be intervened by local authorities to improve urban image, while building interiors rely on owner or tenant investment. At the street level, facades provide the physical boundary between public and private spaces, and act as a buffer between the public and private spheres.

The importance of some buildings over others based on monument catalogue assessments along each corridor can be seen in figure 6-21. This information provides insights into value assessments of the historic urban landscape from the street level. The Regina Corridor has higher protection buildings in the east section, but more of levels two, three and non-protected buildings throughout the corridor. The Mezquitan Corridor has monumental properties in the mid-section but a high number of environmental buildings along the corridor. Both corridors have a proportionally high amount of different two-three and environmental-current building protection levels, which enables flexibility to intervene and repurpose buildings to incentivise private investment.

Figure 6-21. Heritage Protection at Corridor Level

Regina   **Mezquitan**

Mexico City - Regina	Guadalajara - Mezquitan	
■ Level 1	□ Current Compatible	■ Historic Relevant
■ Level 2	■ Current Non-Compatible	■ Historic Monument
■ Level 3	■ Artistic Environmental	□ Unbuilt Lot
■ Public Space (w/o)	■ Artistic Relevant	
□ W/o Protection	■ Historic Environmental	
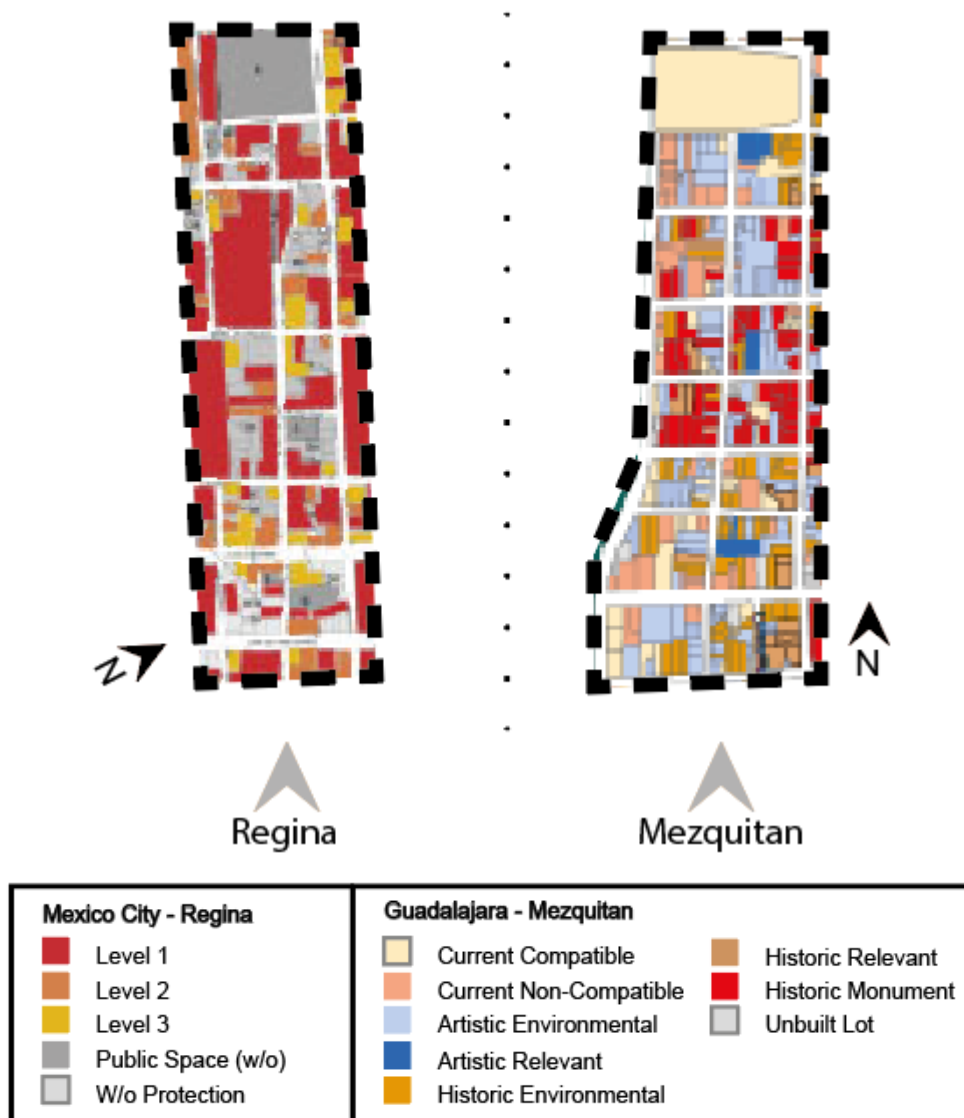
Source: Author based on data from GMC, 2010; GG, 2017: 290

Although the existence of environmental-current buildings is important to facilitate interventions and repurposing actions by property owners, they also provide the historic landscape with a vernacular historic 'character'. This vernacular characteristic is less valued than institutional, religious, or other aesthetically relevant styles in the categorisation structure (GMC, 2010: 15; GG, 2017: 223). However, these buildings are often referenced to describe a physically 'authentic' historic landscape. Moreover, it is these buildings that are positioned to be 'rescued' and maintained within an evolving owner-tenant narrative.

In line with this, officers and academics of both cities conveyed an 'authentic' historic urban place narrative to refer to specific aesthetic parameters for building exteriors (A1.3, A1.7, A1.8; A2.2, A2.4, A2.5, A2.8, A2.9). Authenticity is therefore consistently used to describe well-maintained buildings in relation to aesthetic qualities and to convey the sense of place of each corridor and across the historic centre. Separately, residents considered sense of place as inherently bound to its social context, as communities have shaped the physical landscape and, ultimately, its cultural value. This brings forward conflicting notions of 'place' that highlight differences to assess the relation between the built environment and the social dynamics fostered within it.

As Chapter 5 outlined, the existing social economic dynamics within historic centres have been linked to DC in dominant discourse. Therefore, the institutional urban renewal discourse positions residents as stakeholders that shape their built environment in relation to how they may affect or enhance it physically. This leaves the contributing role of existing communities to the social spatial traditions of the historic centre, its barrios, and corridors as ambiguous and, even, replaceable. To an extent, existing residents are thus linked to social urban dynamics which have resulted in deterioration challenges (DC) (A1.9; A2.9). Residents are also placed as relevant providers and recipients of a top-down assessed sense of place.

Figure 6-22 shows the street level physical condition and retail dynamics within the monumental core areas of each historic centre (1, 2). This was done to make differences and similarities between monumental areas with the Regina and Mezquitan corridors clear, especially after they have been intervened. The main differences in Regina (3, 5) are the pedestrianisation of the street, street art and spill-over of hospitality activities into the street, unlike elsewhere in the historic centre. In Mezquitan (4, 6) the main differences are street art, and new retail options but street heights have been elevated and a single car lane has been retained along the monumental core and the corridor. Corridors are thus set to provide a 'cultural' experience yet still convey historic place character and confirm encompassing urban design interventions.

Figure 6-22. Social Urban Dynamics Along Corridors
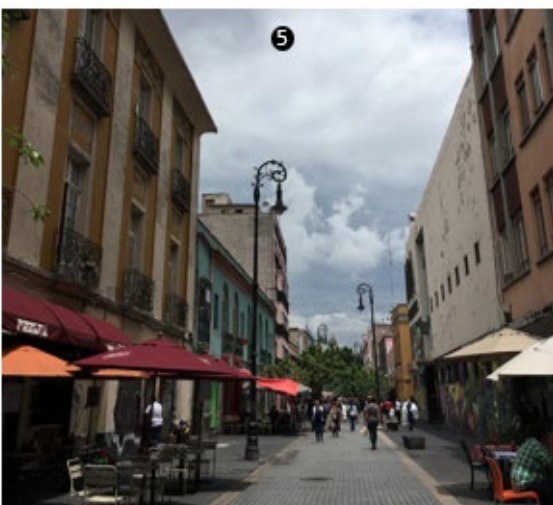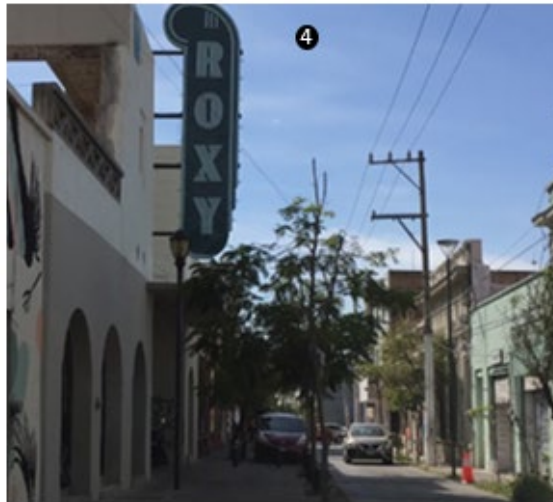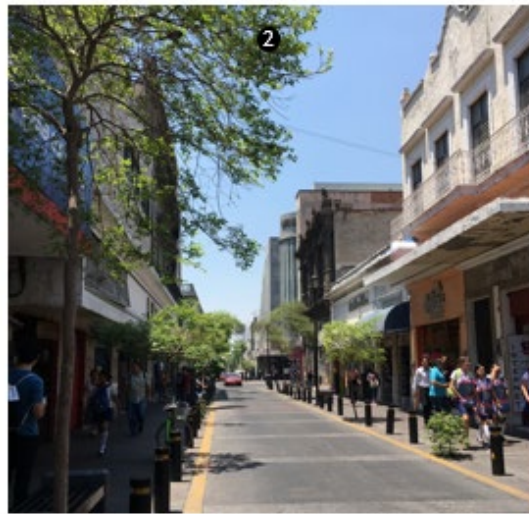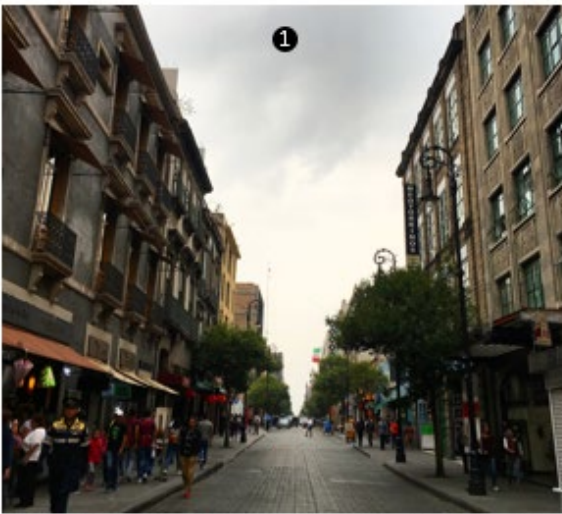
Source: Google Maps and Author

Changes to the urban landscape have produced changes to housing redevelopment and residential dynamics in both corridors (C1.3, C1.7; C1.3, C2.4, C2.6). Academics in both cities link housing reactivation and densification agendas to processes of social 'change' as a medium to delegate place maintenance responsibility from local authorities to new owners and tenants. In GDL, experts have linked this to reduced institutional capacity and complex political agendas that have resulted in similar projects having failed in the past (B1.1, B1.3). In MC, academic B2.4 points to 'spontaneous' urban projects developed by the public sector but inconsistent with previous social urban dynamics and with intermittent upkeep processes. In both cases, intermittent institutional presence in inductive place-improvement projects is considered to present further social urban challenges rather than fix previous problems. It is considered intermittently addressed projects ultimately create new 'pockets' of DC (B1.1; B2.4).

However, these physically-oriented improvement actions fail to fully acknowledge and address existing communities and existing social urban challenges. In this sense, the façade exemplifies the complex tension between urban development and heritage conservation notions and expectations, focus remains on urban image rather than on holistic outcomes. The aesthetic aspect seems to become the main indicator to assert success or failure of place renewal. Moreover, expectations are placed on a self-promoting built environment as a landscape to attract new retail and residential dynamics.

Within discourse, each corridor is positioned as an advantageous place for housing property investment, where property value is ensured by an attractive urban spatial level. Officers of both historic centres convey urban renewal as an advantage tool to promote new social, economic, and spatial visions for each corridor and, ultimately, the historic centre. The pedestrianisation of streets has been established as a strategy to boost economic activities, attracting young social groups and new commercial dynamics (ie. bars, cafes, restaurants). Officers across fields in both cities point to new social groups as essential to mobilise this vision.

Increasingly, residents in the Regina corridor stress social complexities arising from transformed space dynamics. Officers, academics, and residents from MC all acknowledged a change in social urban dynamics in Regina, and associated this change to an increase in restaurants, cafes, and bars. In some cases, this was described as positive to attract younger and more affluent social groups and to ensure the economic sustainability of the corridor (A2.3, A2.4, A2.8). However, most descriptions stressed that these economic activities have fostered inappropriate social dynamics that hinder the quality of life along the corridor (A2.7, 9; B2.4; C2.1, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6).

Although the Mezquitan corridor in GDL has not yet been fully developed into a cultural corridor with hospitality activities along the street, residents also pointed to night-time social dynamics as negative for quality of life in the historic centre (C1.1, C1.3, C1.4, C1.6). In both cities, residents referred to noise levels and alcohol consumption brought about by urban renewal agendas, which are not compatible with cross-generational dwellings (C1.1, C1.2, C1.5; C2.1, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6). These were also identified as consequential drawbacks from the urban renewal agendas by officers in both cities (A1.7, A1.8, A1.11; A2.7, A2.8, A2.9). Change in cultural and commercial activities to attract young population sectors point to, ultimately, the aim to attract new residential population groups.

Although residents were invited to be involved during consultation processes of drafting and publication of MP-11 and PP-17, they considered these instruments were produced by people with no intention to live in historic centres and set for people who don't currently live in them (C1.2, C1.3, C1.6; C2.1, C2.3, C2.4, C2. 6, C2.7). From this lens, corridors represent the articulation of a 'good place' construct but do not represent the historic centre social urban 'reality'. Moreover, they are established as a 'good practice model' and early stage for historic centre-wide induced social urban dynamics that are not mixed or inviting to existing dynamics. The role of historic value to relaunch the areas is not just limited to comprehensive public space and use transformations, but it extends to structural occupational dynamics changes, as shown in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4.1).

Corridors and the historic centre are approached as commodified assets to foster envisioned social urban dynamics. Instruments for both historic centres mention the importance of sense of place as the main attractive asset which will encourage investment and development (GMC, 2011: 15; GG, 2017: 171). Yet notions of sense of place are inconsistent between institutional and residential groups, who highlighted the intrinsic affinity between the urban landscape and the social processes within them. Significantly, important social spatial complexities have arisen from a dissonance between dominant and resident understandings of sense of place to approach and address each corridor.

6.5   Conclusion

This chapter looked at the extent of integration of social equality objectives within urban renewal agendas and strategies' implementation processes in each historic centre. To analyse this, the Policy Discourse Analysis and Place-Transformation Assessment frameworks laid out in Chapter 3 were used. The research focused on the social spatial units which have shaped and will shape social, urban, and economic dynamics within historic centres. *Barrios* and corridors are thus examined and positioned within recent urban renewal strategies and agendas for each historic centre. These units are basic to understand the extent of social equality objectives from a ''people-centred way of envisioning public spaces'' (Porter, 2016: 17). Moreover, the gaps to understand and approach sense of place by dominant discourse and residents is determinant to assess interventions and the extent to which they integrate existing local communities. The identification of corridors as an emerging social spatial unit for urban renewal agendas allows for an assessment of discourses and actions to mobilise spatial social equality-based approaches and outcomes. The deviation from the *barrio* unit to the corridor unit evidences a dichotomy between the social spatial structure and the focus on aesthetic building and landscape characteristics within urban renewal approaches. Moreover, this shows that social equality objectives are not central to urban conservation frameworks within urban renewal agendas in both cities.

The first section examined the integration of the *barrio* social spatial unit within the urban renewal agenda in the MP-11 and PP-17 instruments. The *barrio* was understood as the most accessible social spatial unit to address urban dynamics within historic centres. Although they are institutionally acknowledged, there is a gap between dominant discourse and residents to understand and assess *barrios*. The economic 'vocation' of *barrios* were institutionally recognised to formulate prospective economic and spatial activities. A prospective agenda was further exacerbated by a single-property oriented heritage conservation normative structure. Therefore, a gap within heritage conservation norms and private sector investment for housing property market objectives was emphasised in relation to prospective uses and urban enhancement. Hence, even though the *barrio* social spatial unit was institutionally recognised to assess the dynamics within historic centres, investment on private properties were more important to determine good or bad place characteristics.

Following this, the second section analysed the formulation and mobilisation of the corridor as an induced social spatial unit to address social urban dynamics within historic centres. A difference in governance to address public, semi-public/private and private spatial levels was established based on land and property ownership of open spaces and buildings. Therefore, the street level was to be improved by local authorities, heritage conservation responsibilities were shared by different public and private stakeholders, and housing development was within private sector investment capabilites. Housing oriented corridors are here considered as 'sites of argumentation' where the dominant urban renewal discourse and governance structure are operationalised. Corridors Regina in MC and Mezquitan in GDL conveyed differentiated corridor structures in relation to the barrio unit the corridors were developed within or across. Yet both corridors conveyed urban renewal agendas that mobilise residential and social spatial changes. For this, urban design was articulated to assert positive urban betterment indications and strengthen the urban renewal agenda. Ultimately, the corridors provided a setting for the creation of new socioeconomic dynamics that do not build on previously existing dynamics.

Lastly, the commodification of the historic centre and its key housing-oriented corridors were analysed. Corridors Regina and Mezquitan were discursively established as a 'good practice' models that could be replicated to achieve a historic centre-wide transformation. Importantly, conflicting sense of place notions between dominant discourse and residents highlighted issues along the corridors for quality of life. The difference in corridor and *barrio* units thus conveyed differences to assess the relation between the urban landscape and its social spatial dynamics. Historic centre authenticity was consistently linked to the physical characteristics, while a reorganised street level was expected to assert a self- promoting place to attract new retail and residential dynamics. In this context, social spatial complexities arose due to a dissonance between institutional and resident's understandings of sense of place and the commodification process of each corridor.

7   Chapter 7 – Housing Tenure Processes and Implications

7.1   Introduction

This chapter aims to respond the third sub-question of how different spatial and normative urban conservation and renewal approaches have impacted housing tenure security in historic centres. To do this, the Housing Security Evaluation matrix is used (Chapter 3). Figure 7-1 summarises the key points from this matrix, which was used to assess social equality implications of housing in Mexico City and Guadalajara's historic centres and corridors Regina and Mezquitan. This chapter also examines the role of discourse and a public-private governance restructuring regarding urban renewal to analyse the impact changing housing structures in relation to the dominant agenda have had on tenure processes.

Figure 7-1. Housing Security Evaluation Matrix Summary
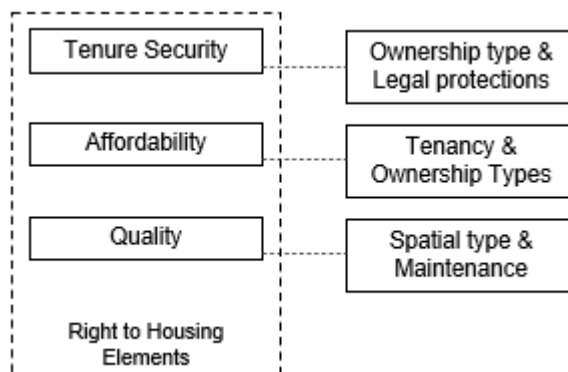
Source: Author

Tenure Security, Affordability and Quality have been positioned as the three Right to Housing elements that are more specifically analysed in this research to assess residential security in historic centres. This follows Hohmann's (2013) consideration that tenure is the foundational aspect to understand displacement (Pp. 21). However, it must be analysed in relation to other elements to be fully understood. Moreover, discourse combined with quantitative data provide insights into social urban phenomena (Hastings, 2000).

This chapter is divided in three sections as summarised in figure 7-2. The first section addresses spatial and normative housing policy considerations and provisions within each historic centre to achieve an overarching urban renewal vision. Section two is concerned with changing ownership and tenant housing structures within historic centres, especially along urban renewal areas and their impact upon existing residents. Finally, section three addresses different processes of displacement through an assessment of housing rental market changes and displacement implications for low to medium-income residents.

Figure 7-2. Chapter 7 Overview
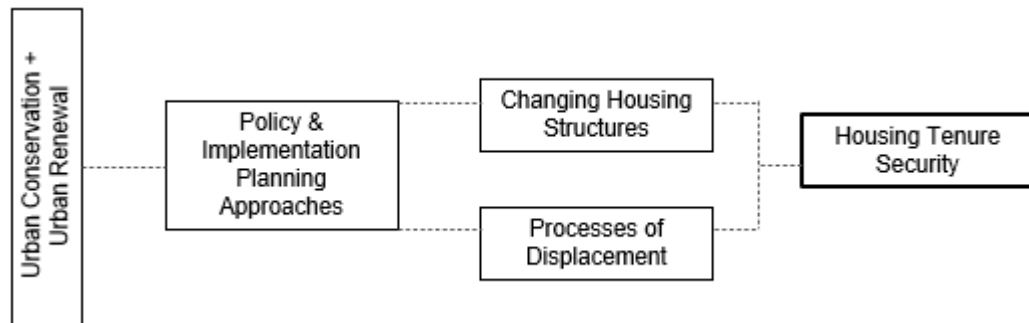
Source: Author

7.2   Housing Policies in Urban Renewal Planning for Historic Centres

Housing as a property asset within a housing market structure is analysed in this section using the 'Right to Housing' Evaluation Framework (Chapter 3, section 3.4.3). The dominant discourse expectations on property ownership and resident change processes are assessed. Moreover, urban deterioration challenges (DC) and occupational challenges are evidenced as increasingly linked to the housing agenda. Historic centres as low inhabited areas are reconfigured to attract specific types of property investment and social urban dynamics. A new housing agenda for historic centres is directed from the discursive to the spatial levels. Social and market housing options within a wide set of owner and resident types are assessed in relation to existing housing contexts.

7.2.1 Housing as Property and Property Investment Objectives

The Cuauhtemoc delegation, where the historic centre of Mexico City (MC) is embedded, has high property prices per square meter and is one of the highest sought boroughs to live in the city (Lamudi, 2018). The Guadalajara (GDL) municipality is increasingly sought to live in, with sections west to the historic centre showing increased property value prices (Lamudi, 2018). Lamudi considers home ownership is more prevalent in GDL (78%) while home renting is stronger in in MC (67%). However, the national report as well as the separate reports for MC and GDL show a renting-oriented home-tenure agenda especially for central urban areas (Lamudi, 2018[22]). This evidences different property and home tenure stages for both cities, where MC has a more developed home renting structure and patterns than GDL. Yet there is a clear intention to shift towards a similar home renting structure in GDL.

The housing market agenda in the same delegation or municipality as each historic centre (neighbourhoods Roma and Condesa in MC, neighbourhoods Chapultepec and Lafayette in GDL) have motivated changing expectations and visions for the historic centre. Mainly for the Cultural Corridor social spatial units. Chapter 4 showed renewal and densification agendas for historic centres and, especially, Cultural Corridors followed previous interest by private developers in the areas (section 4.4). In line with this, the Management Plan 2011 (MP-11) and the Partial Plan 2017 (PP-17) instruments focus on types of property owner (developer, individual) and property investment incentives (economic and legal) in discourse and norms.

Discourse for housing redevelopment in both historic centres is centred on a housing investment 'need' to revert existing deterioration challenges (DC). The MP-11 notes an increasing housing demand in the historic centre, as property owners express interest to develop medium to high-cost housing in the area (GMC, 2011: 32, 57). Separately, GDL's PP-17 highlights that a potential housing market is not being sufficiently addressed in the historic centre (GG, 2017: 17). A potential housing demand is thus assessed for housing redevelopment in both historic centres, following the National Housing Programme's housing market-oriented framework.

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[22] All the reports were from 2018 as only the MC report was produced in 2019

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In MC, the MP-11 stresses the limitations of the Partial Programme 2000's policies to achieve repopulation, retention of existing residents and densification in the historic centre (2011. 63). The MP-11 promotes a need for higher housing reactivation to counterbalance low liveability conditions produced by high activity during the day but low activity at night (Pp. 55). The historic centre is thus considered as highly active yet residentially underused (Chapter 5, section 5.3). Therefore, mixed uses in properties to accommodate housing is promoted (2011: 55). This intended to address an unbalance in retail over housing use types, under a context of informal tenure occupation and legal ownership issues (Pp. 58).

For the historic centre of GDL, the PP-17 asserts a decreasing residential tendency that a repopulation and re-densification housing agenda based is set to 'correct' (Pp. 97). Dominant retail dynamics that have surpassed housing dynamics are also identified (Pp. 121). Mixed uses in properties to increase housing occupancy are thus encouraged. Focus is placed on the real estate market to provide housing market options with no evident participation considered from housing institutions. To establish this, the 'regularisation' of land and properties within a context of legal ownership issues is considered (Pp. 124,17).

Housing market-based frameworks are reflected in the spatialisation of housing types in land use and zoning norms for both cities. Land uses norms consider a mix of housing with retail, services, leisure and/or offices, albeit through a differentiated structure. In MC, housing (H) is combined with retail (R), office (O), mixed (M), entertainment (E) (H, HR, HO, HM, HE) (GMC, 2010: norm 4.2). In GDL, housing density types (H1-low to H4, excluding H5-highest) are added to retail (commerce) and services (CS) use types (CS1, CS2, CS4) (GG, 2017: 248).

In MC, for all Housing or 'H' types (see figure 7-3) a minimum of the property building's use is to expected be destined to housing. Therefore Housing (H) should have a minimum of 50% for housing, Housing-Retail (HR) 35%, Housing-Office (HO) and Housing-Mixed (HM) 20%, and Housing-Leisure (HL) 10%

(GMC, 2010: norm 4.2). The map shows H alone is less dominant than HR, HO and HM, which are found across 'housing action' zones. In principle, social housing projects may be developed in H, HM, HC, HO & HE properties or lots (norm 4.3). However, this depends on availability of government owned properties sites for social housing and institutional capacity to develop them.

Figure 7-3. Zoning Plans (MC)
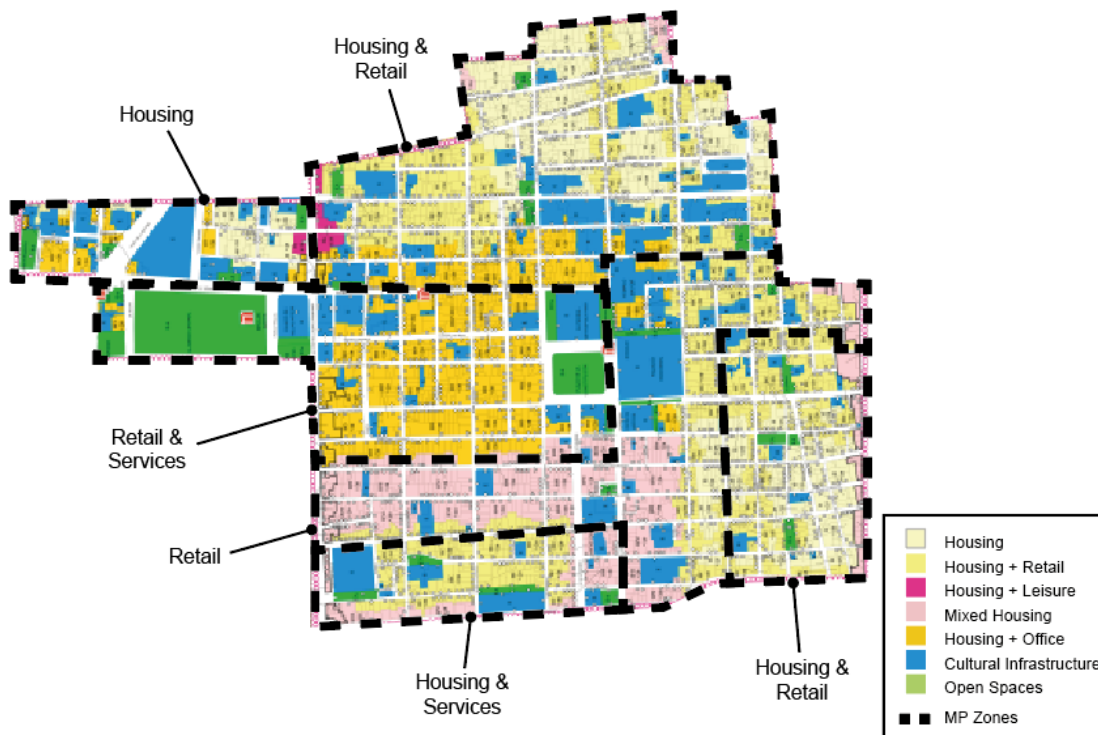
Source: Adapted by author with data from GMC, 2010; GMC, 2011: 27

In GDL a retail (commerce) and services (CS) use structure integrates different levels of housing (H), depending on housing considerations for CS2, CS3 and CS4 (see figure 7-4). Housing is integrated into corresponding intensification levels, thus CS2 is combined with H2, and so forth. In the historic centre, H2, H3 and H4 are the housing options considered, where H4 would have higher housing density and H2 lower density (GG, 2017: 242). Housing potential areas are generally located in CS2-H2 and CS3-H3 areas, therefore housing development in the historic centre considers low to medium density. Although art.91 considers H4 (along with H5) as destined for social housing, social housing is not considered for the historic centre (Pp. 243). Vertical densification agendas thus

consider a medium-high-cost market to be developed by the private sector in CS2-H2 and CS3-H3' areas.

Figure 7-4. Zoning Plans (GDL)
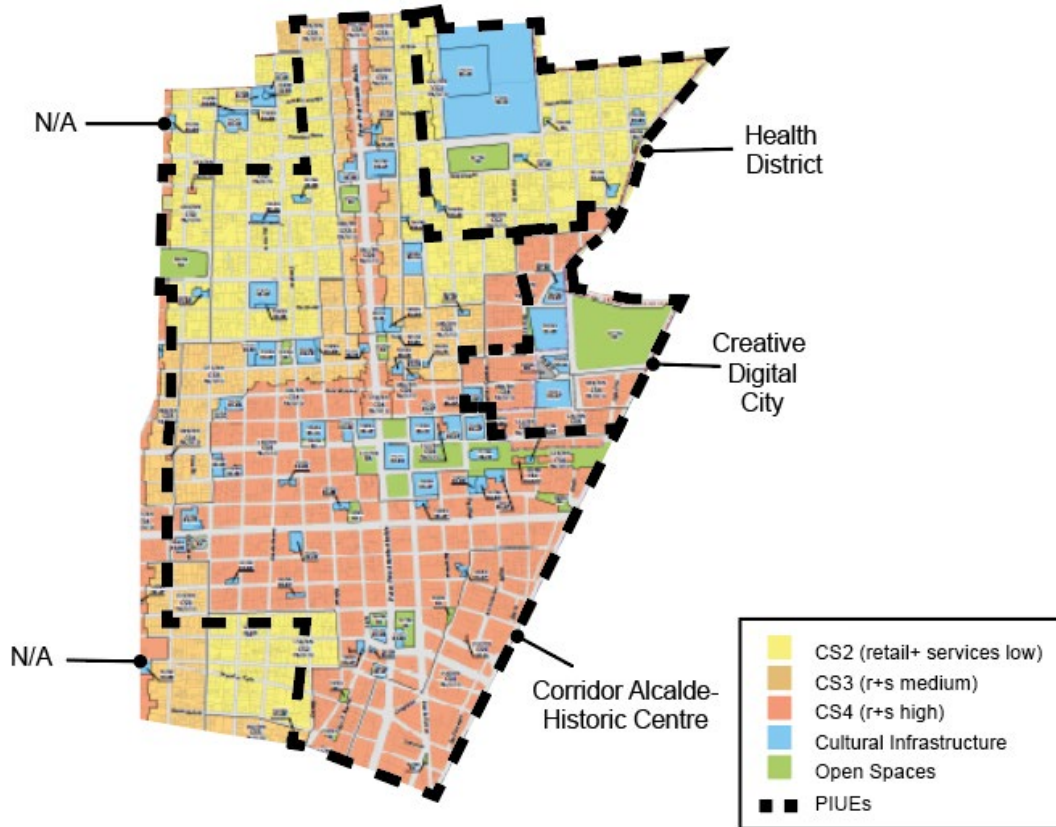
Source: Author with data from GG, 2017: 294, 302

MC's instruments assert existing social housing options in the historic centre and an intention for further provision. The PP-10 considered social housing may be provided in any housing-based use considered for the historic centre but must be developed within properties specific for this purpose (GMC, 2010: 15). These properties must be government owned and developed by INVI (Institute of Housing). Separately, the PP-17 in GDL does not consider social housing development, it is only mentioned to encourage housing market options. It is stipulated that social housing may only be developed in CS4-H4 and CS5-H5 areas (GG: norm 8, art. 51.1-a). A later specification establishes social housing in H4 areas may only be developed if in close proximity to mass transport roads or stations (art. 91.1-a.v).

The maps in figure 7-5 convey the provision of social housing in both historic centres. Social housing sites in MC are mostly located in north and east housing areas, with only one example in the Regina *barrio* perimeter. More social housing for the historic centre of MC was also projected in 2019 to be developed by INVI (Navarrete, 2019[23]). Meanwhile, in GDL social housing was not found yet social housing development was projected for 2020 in 2019 (Perez Vega, 2019[24]). These social housing projections are along sections of high-transit roads and the Creative Digital Cities (CDC) project, to be developed by INMUVI. In both cases existing or projected social housing provision is not found along the Cultural Corridors.

Figure 7-5. Social Housing Projects/Possibilities in MC and GDL

[23] Available at: https://politica.expansion.mx/cdmx/2019/11/04/la-cdmx-lanza-12-corredores-de-desarrollo-deberan-tener-30-de-vivienda-social
[24] Available at: https://www.cronicajalisco.com/notas/2019/96534.html

Source: author based on GMC, 2011: 57 and Cronica Jalisco, 2019

The PP-17 for GDL asserts the land value of the area presents an obstacle for housing-only uses and this ''makes the construction of social housing economically unviable'' (2017: 178). Moreover, a housing officer declared that land is too expensive to allow for social housing developments as viable for private sector developers (A1.10). In MC reliance on the private sector to reactivate the market housing was highlighted (A2.9). Thus, it can be concluded that densification projections for both historic centres rely on the housing market to 'repopulate' each historic centre. A housing market potential is encouraged, especially along the Cultural Corridors, over social housing need in both historic centres.

7.2.2 Housing Market Articulation Through Residential Expectations

Housing discourse for both historic centres is focused on a 'need' to further re-develop the housing market through a revised housing stock composition.

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Officers highlighted deterioration challenges (DC) and informal housing tenure as negative housing characteristics and patterns that must be 'corrected'. The housing agenda is thus reliant on the housing market to provide new tenure and household compositions and ensure place conservation. As the public sector is set to deliver an attractive place that will encourage housing redevelopment by the private sector and entice specific social groups to live in historic centres who will keep it in good conditions.

Officers in both cities consider poor urban conditions and property legal standing issues have presented complications to ensure viable and secure conditions for developer investment. In MC, officer A2.9 pointed to poor regulation implementation, lack of institutional funds, poverty and informality as linked to low investment on buildings by current owners. In GDL, officer A1.10 considers private developers are key to provide 'formal housing'. Property owners are thus counted upon to invest in buildings and thus help to revert urban deterioration processes.

Attention is thus given to types of owners through revised housing investment structures and characteristics. Private developers as investors and 'individual' owners (owner of a singular building) are highlighted by local authorities. The Individual Owner (IO) is problematised in terms of economic capacity to preserve buildings and provide revised housing units according to the urban agenda (GMC, 2011: 57; GG, 2017: 166). Notably, a revision of types of residents is linked to a revision in types of owners. The current IO-resident structure is considered to have resulted in housing informality and poor building conditions. In MC this is connected to building legal ownership issues and informal housing occupation arrangements (A2.4, A2.9). In GDL, IO's and residents are described as ignorant of correct conservation processes or unable to afford them (A1.4, A1.9, A1.10).

Although subsidies and loans are proposed for existing or future IO's, stronger incentives are aimed for Developer Owners (DO's). For IO's, INFONAVIT is presented as an option for personal credits to acquire used buildings and/or flats within an old building. MC's MP-11 includes other institutions such as FOVISSSTE, INVI, CONAVI, FONHAPO and FONACOT (GMC, 2011: 62). In

turn, GDL's PP-17 considers INFONAVIT, IPROVIPE, State Pensions and banking institutions (GG, 2017: 171). But these options are limited to housing loans and subsidies for IO's within worker-oriented institutions. In MC, INVI has provided affordable housing options for acquisition, yet it is also noted low institutional capacity and funds have hindered consistent provision (A2.9). This has not been achieved in GDL (A1.9, A1.10). Greater focus has been placed on DO investment through private banking arrangements and public-private partnerships with institutions like CONAVI and SHP, and COPARMEX in MC (GMC, 2011: 62; GG, 2017: 171). Development Transference Rights are also mobilised as an important incentive to attract DO investment (GMC, 2011: 109; GG, 2017: 172).

Housing in both historic centres have characteristics of irregular tenure, self-building (bettering in this case), poor infrastructure (outdated in this case) and low-income residents within a context of low local government investment. These processes are comparable to 'dysfunctional urban patterns', a term usually used to refer to peripheral informal settlements (ie. slums, favelas, other) (Lombard, 2014). Descriptions of the housing context within historic centres as assessed by local authorities' discourse situates them as intra-urban informal settlements. This explains renewed interest in owner-tenant structures to reassert the historic centre as a place viable for a formal and improved housing market.

In terms of tenancy structures, MC's MP-11 and Partial Programmes (2000, 2010) have no direct owner-tenant considerations for renting initiation, duration and termination. The Informal Settlements norm (3.11) contemplates 'invaded (squatted) properties' and owner-less *vecindades* with vulnerable, marginalised and overcrowding characteristics to establish property expropriation measures (GMC: 110). In GDL, the PP-17 doesn't mention informal settlements in *vecindades* and overcrowded housing, or any owner-tenant considerations. However, the Civil Codes from both cities establish old tenancy agreements may be transferable in cases where building ownership has changed, yet they may also be terminated by the new owner with a month's notice (CCMC, 2017: art.2049; CCJ, 1995: art.1989). Chapter 4 has shown considerations on tenancy duration (up to 10 years) and rent increase limits (not exceeding 10% annually)

(section 4.4). The researcher could not find specific data on the percentage of rented housing, however the MP-11, PP-17 and officers in both cities have established that most buildings are privately owned and sub-rented (GMC, 2011: 94; GG, 2017: 124).

Following an intention to change legally contested and informal owner-tenant structures, a revision of housing stock composition is mobilised in instruments and institutional discourse. The housing stock within the housing market is set to depart from current compositions of single-family houses (GDL), single-family flats (MC) and *vecindades* (both). A shift from family housing compositions to shared or uni-personal compositions and renting tenure structures are encouraged as new housing models (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.2). Across interviewed officers, traditional housing is positioned within a family household structure (A1.10; A2.9). Separately, housing for 'creative' groups, 'young professionals' or 'students' is positioned as viable housing options that can be significantly smaller yet above affordable prices (A1.9; A2.5). The latter is encouraged for urban renewal areas, under the expectation that urban betterment will ensure place attractiveness and attract 'younger' groups (A1.3, A1.4; A2.1, A2.5).

Family housing compositions are usually linked to three-bedroom housing units, while one-, two-bedroom housing units can be linked to single or shared housing compositions. Figure 7-6 shows higher single units in MC, while shared and family compositions are higher in GDL. Generally, one-bedroom units are more dominant in MC (42.65%), while three-bedroom or family units are lower (37.9%). Meanwhile two- and three-bedroom units comprise the majority in GDL (51.7% each, while 3.97% one -bedroom units). The Regina corridor has more two-bedroom units, while Mezquitan has more two- and three-bedroom units. In both corridors, family and shared housing can be assumed to be a dominant occupation type. This suggests Regina's housing market follows historic centre-wide trends and change will be clearer in Mezquitan, as single and shared units replace family housing units.

Figure 7-6. Housing Stock Composition

Source: Author with INEGI, 2010 data

Changes in housing unit compositions are mobilised to revert poor housing and squatting. Poor housing is associated to traditional family housing in both historic centres (GMC, 2011: 27; GG, 2017: 96). However, there is no official government data about illegal occupancy and squatting. Individual property status data must be requested from local Cadastral institutions to assess the legal status of each building, yet this does not provide information on informal housing or squatting.

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Figure 7-7 shows separate marginalisation assessments for each historic centre and are useful to assess challenging housing dynamics. MC overall conveys bad 'social conditions' that officers attach to housing squatting dynamics (Pp. 188; A2.4, 8, 9). For GDL, less marginalised but still challenging housing dynamics are found (A1.9, 10). The Regina and Mezquitan corridors both have medium levels of marginalisation.

Figure 7-7. Social Marginalisation
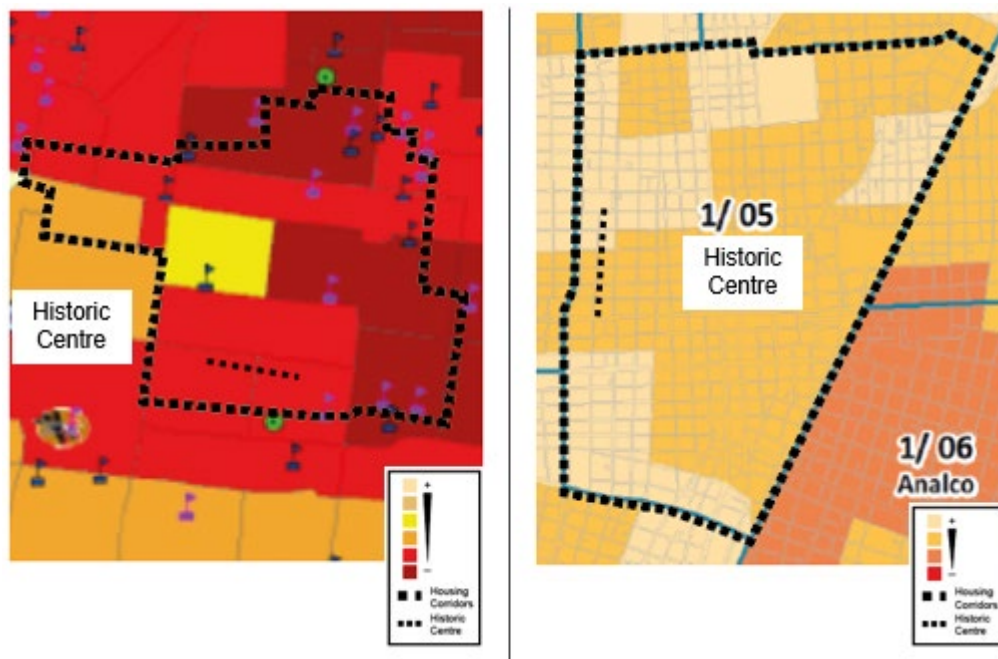
Source: Author adjustments to maps from GMC, 2013: 188; GG, 2017: 96

The housing market agenda under DO investment and new types of tenants within reduced housing units is set to reduce marginalised housing. This is expectation is based on demographic changes projections to position a new housing market (Chapter 4, Pp. 4.3.2). In GDL's mix-use land use provisions, housing in CS2-H2 (300 m2), CS3-H3 (120m2) and CS4-H4 (90m2) suggest an intention for moderate density structures. A continued expectation to attract young professionals and students to rent small housing units at newly established market prices was expressed by interviewed officers (A1.3, A1.9, A1.10; A1.7, A2.9). Although the MP-11 asserts the importance to retain existing residents under new DO properties, mid- to higher-income housing options are favoured (GMC, 2011: 09, 24).

In MC's instruments, tenure considerations are directed towards legal standing regularisation and/or expropriation processes through legal Provisions[25] to ensure tenure regularisation and/or housing development (see note below). Provisions 1 and 3 directly consider building owners and tenants, while procedures 2 and 4 assess direct expropriation or seizure of properties under judicial contestation and no tax-paying processes. In 2019, article 60 in the Mexico City Constitution addressed housing eviction protections yet it was recently controversially scrapped[26]. More explicit considerations are made for property investment with *intentions* to rent redeveloped housing in the areas. For instance, Rent Tax deductions of 80% if building use is assigned to housing or 25% Property Tax subsidy if rent over 10 years is established as a fiscal reduction stimulus (2000: art.1, 8). Commercial rent is positioned as long-term revenue incentive for DO property investment, as additional to fiscal and transference rights incentives (2010: norm 4.3.3.3b).

In Guadalajara's PP-17 a judicial process can be pursued by residents or owners before the Jalisco State's Administrative Tribunal if they are 'affected' by urban renewal works (art.112, fraction 4, 6). However, there is no specification of what is deemed by an 'affectation'. A consulted property lawyer[27] suggested this term is vague and often refers to legal ownership contestation procedures. Moreover, he connects an 'affectation' to the 'public good', under this lens an affectation experienced by a citizen due to urban interventions may be justified under public good claims. More explicit considerations and incentives are found for private sector property investment. The facilitation of construction in 'buildable' lots (norm 2, art.19), and additions to buildings are established (norm 4, art.37). Building 'setback' additions to low-rise houses are introduced to promote verticalisation (norm 12, art.81, norm 5, art.38). An 80% discount on Land Occupancy Coefficient and Utilisation of Land Coefficient tariffs (per m2) may be granted for

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[25] 1. 'Voluntary jurisdiction trial' (compensation and eviction notices for 'deep-rooted' residents who have payed taxes), 2. 'Expropriation due to public utility cause', 3. 'Irrevocable domain transfer trust' (spatial compensation to owners for a property that has been renovated by the HC Trust) and 4. 'Seizure' (GMC, 2000: 110)

[26] See: https://politica.expansion.mx/cdmx/2019/06/11/derecho-a-invadir-o-derecho-a-desalojar-esta-es-la-polemica-en-la-cdmx

[27] A property lawyer based in Guadalajara was reached 12/08/2020 and 23/10/2020 to clarify legal procedures and processes in Mexico City and Guadalajara in relation to land use, property ownership and tenancy arrangements and procedures.

housing densification projects near high-transit corridors, but no mention of market rent as an incentive is made. Finally, the granting of exceeding or total transference of urban development rights are displayed (norm 9, art.58).

Both historic centres are considered as development 'generating' areas, this means developing rights potential is immediately granted for 'receiving' areas within each city. Thus, incentives to invest in the areas are also contemplative of development in other areas, this puts into question the intention to reduce sprawl. These provisions and incentives are mostly focused on property investment by the private sector. This DO investment structure inherently overlooks existing IO and tenant capabilities. Moreover, the housing informality in the areas is descriptive of local populations that are not able to access new housing market options. Moreover, existing loans and subsidies may present a barrier for low-income IO's and tenants to access and/or transition into formal ownership and tenure housing structures.

7.3 Traditional and Market Housing Structures in Mexican Historic Centres: Changing Patterns and Structures

For this section, interviews with residents are useful to assess the implications and impacts of changing housing agendas. In total, sixteen key residents of both historic centres were interviewed (seven in GDL, eight in MC) (see Chapter 3, section 3.5.1.1.3). Of these, five in GDL and 6 in MC have been long standing residents (with one from MC that no longer lives there but grew up there and wishes to return). Additionally, a total of seven (three in GDL, four in MC) are new residents in the areas within the 28-45 age groups. This section explores the link between the urban landscape and housing structures. Tenure formality, affordability and quality structures are assessed in relation to long-standing and new residents and the changing housing market.

7.3.1 Addressing Informal Housing Structures: Process Towards Formality

Key longstanding residents in each historic centre describe DC as persistent. Moreover, they consider diminished government investment in the areas has

facilitated these processes. Housing tenure and ownership dynamics have changed as this has happened. Irregular housing structures in relation to tenancy types, housing costs and quality are thus positioned as part of a wider process of historic centre deterioration.

Longstanding residents have a strong connection to the historic centre and express a desire to remain in them. However, they are also described as challenging places to live in because of complex social urban dynamics (C1.2; C2.2). Residents positioned high influx of floating population, noise, and car traffic as difficult (C1.2, C1.3; C2.2, C2.4). Moreover, residents confirmed negative descriptions found in dominant discourse, especially about housing abandonment and deterioration:

*''… **it's kind of abandoned**… there are people still living [in the vecindad], people keeping things in storage and then some empty flats. **In fact, one side of the roof of an apartment fell about fifteen years ago**. It fell to the first floor and those flats were **uninhabitable** […] and they were **never fixed**.''*
(C2.2-2 – Mexico City)

*''… a lot of **people left the centre**. From being liveable, classic, beautiful neighbourhoods, big houses full of plants and friendly neighbours…''*
(C1.2-2 – Guadalajara)

Both statements note that a decrease in residents and poor building and urban quality have happened over time. This positions urban and housing deterioration as long-term processes linked to residential use and negative liveability characteristics. The MC resident points to a long process of buildings' deterioration, due to absence of building owners to fix housing conditions. Meanwhile, the GDL resident states good urban and housing conditions to live in the historic centre have been lost and people have gradually moved away. In both cases, decreased housing quality is expressed. Yet both residents convey an underlying acceptance of the deteriorated landscape and aim to remain in the areas, with a desire to improve present conditions.

Housing is consistently acknowledged across groups in relation to social urban dynamics and physical urban conditions. Importantly, an underlying acceptance

of deterioration is articulated as a characteristic feature of the housing and urban context in both cases (C1.1, C1.2, C1.3, C1.4, C1.7; C2.1, C2.2, C2.4, C2.6). The acknowledgement of a deteriorated landscape with gradual and consistent decrease in housing use within historic centres is in line with institutionalised dominant discourse. This suggests DC (abandonment, decay, dereliction, underuse, unsafety, and informality) have also resulted in a further residential reduction and poorer urban conditions (as seen in Chapter 5).

The continued existence of long-standing residents and an intention to remain in the areas despite DC tests the 'abandoned-place' narrative seen in chapter 5. Residents interviewed for this research are part of an existing group of people who have lived in the historic most or all their lives. However, a gradual loss of residents has certainly happened. Importantly, older residents have witnessed or experienced housing tenure and affordability changes over time (C1.1, C1.2; C2.1, C2.4, C2.5). Meanwhile younger residents who have grown in these areas are able to closely describe both traditional and new housing dynamics (C1.3, C1.4; C2.2).

The process of urban landscape deterioration is linked to housing stock deterioration over a long period of time and impacted rent contracts and property ownership negatively. As a resident in GDL put it, housing in the historic centre was ''cheap because it [was] abandoned'' (C1.7). A gradual absence of contracts is described as key to access and retain an affordable housing unit by many long-standing residents. In MC, resident C2.2 describes a shift from formal to informal tenure structures in the *vecindad* building where he grew up:

''*All the buildings (in that block) were vecindades. Most have two stories: ground floor, first level and second level. **[My parents] arrived to rent 42 years ago** […] [these] buildings [were] planned for housing but [as] larger homes. So, […] when <u>they wanted to get more people in</u>, **vecindades started**, they […] <u>subdivide[d]</u> [the <u>spaces</u>]. Then there were smaller rooms, some very large rooms, others without windows, others with patio, and so on. It was **not well planned**…*''
(C2.2-2 – MC)

In the statements by resident C2.2 it is possible to trace different moments of housing structure changes that encompass multifactorial aspects and influenced

current informal housing conditions. The resident describes the formation of *vecindades* as unregulated housing spaces of varying levels of quality yet within a formal rent structure that became gradually informal. After 30 years, formal rent contracts were suspended when an attempt by the owner to sell the flats to the occupants failed (*vecindades* were also examined in Chapter 5). Notably, this was attempted in partnership with INVI within a formal economy structure that was not accessible to many of the residents whose income is outside the formal economy:

Later adding, *''[…]* **12 years ago** <u>they wanted to **sell us the flats**</u>. *Most of us [said] yes[.] There were* **meetings with [INVI]**, *[…]* <u>they [would pay] the owners and we [would pay] them</u>. *It sounded good* **but many of the people living there could not justify their income**, *so they could not be [legally bound] to pay. They were told 'if you cannot prove that you are going to pay monthly, or bi-monthly, we cannot sell the flat to you'. So, they refused and if more than half of the occupants refused the paperwork could not be done, […]* <u>we got nowhere</u> *with buying and selling and* **rent stopped being charged**. *[The]* **rent payments bounced** *and we never knew why. The* **landlord disappeared** *[…] – Someone checked, and after a while* **if your owner has disappeared but you remain** *living there, prove [it],* **the place becomes [yours]**. *So that's why many people didn't leave […]''*
(C2.2-2 – MC)

As the owner 'disappeared', the building entered a legal standing contestation process that ultimately resulted in uncertain tenure status for long-standing residents. This resulted in a rent-free building with continued occupation due to the possibility of eventually legally owning flats through an occupational legal challenge. This is considered by a property lawyer[28] as possible yet uncertain and risky under the concept of *usucapion* (property ownership change after a 10-year period during which third party pays service charges under their own name). Separately, resident C2.4 describes a complex home-ownership process in the building where her mother lives due to a similarly 'disappeared' building owner:

'' [In that building] **everyone owns their flats**. *They still don't have deed papers because the previous owner borrowed to pay for [the building] and didn't pay it off.* <u>[We] trusted him</u>. **Our [current] deed is not valid, they are in the process**

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[28] Here considering claims such as informal long occupation to acquire property deeds through continued payment of services is more likely, yet risky, than validation of void contracts, as well as provisions for relocation in case of displacement.

*of [validating it]. [We are] paying mortgage to the bank that the owner had acquired and… **it's likely an agreement will be reached**.''*
(C2.4-2 – MC)

Here, the process of tenure uncertainty is linked to informal home-buying processes arranged with the owner but not legally bound. Thus, not ensuring valid ownership in case of eventualities, such as the owner's disappearance. The processes described by residents C2.2 and C2.4 are repeated by other long-standing residents in the historic centre (C2.1, C2.5, C2.7). Similar processes of tenure formality changes and occupational uncertainty are described as linked to building ownership difficulties, which results in tenure uncertainty as well as low, frozen, or inexistent rents and bad housing quality. Although efforts have been made by local authorities, building owners and residents to formalise tenure structures, uncertainty prevails. In the case of GDL, residents also confirm the existence of *vecindades* and eroded housing tenure structures:

*''This [historic] centre was proclaimed as commercial rather than for living […] So, **the owner – if there was one – sold**, and **if someone rented [they left]** and then the owners turned [the building] to commerce.''*
(C1.1-2 – GDL)

*''In many vecindades <u>owners tried to increase the rent</u>… […]. They wanted to raise their incomes, but then [residents] <u>went and legally protected themselves</u>, so they paid the rents in court. Then the <u>owners could not raise rents</u>. […] There is [another] vecindad close to here that holds [heritage] protection by INAH. **No improvement could ever be made**. They never managed to do anything. So, what happened? That when **they decided to evict the residents the residents legally protected themselves**. And the <u>owners ended up selling it</u> instead. And there it is, **abandoned**, nobody could do anything.''*
(C1.2-2 – GDL)

Although less descriptive than those from MC's residents, these accounts convey conflict between owners and tenants, they also point to houses rather than building flats. Here, *vecindades* are composed of large houses with rooms for rent rather than varying types of flats for rent and C1.1's statement points to a prevalent absence of building owners. Moreover, remaining owners are described as showing no interest in building upkeep and to update tenure contracts as well as rent fees. Through outdated contracts, residents link low rents and low housing quality to low owner interest. C1.2 notes expired contracts

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and frozen rents over long periods in *vecindades* are a common occurrence. Both residents express that, recently, some owners aimed to raise rents or sell without improving buildings, leading to resistance by occupants. A lack of building maintenance attributed to heritage conservation restrictions is also linked to low quality and subsequent frozen rents as well as low selling prices.

Resident C1.7 points to an informal home-buying process based on IO limitations to access bank loans or subsidies for old houses or buildings. This differs from MC's C2.4 residents' account, yet both convey informal ownership arrangements. This statement connects low building quality in relation to the previous owner's heritage conservation actions capacity and, ultimately, a low selling price. As many of the houses in the historic centre are too old to access bank loans for improvements or mortgage loans, owners frequently sell them at low value prices. This resident later revealed that historic houses as old properties with low economic yet with high historic value has been shifting since urban renewal works began. This is useful to understand a historically degraded housing landscape in the historic centre until recently.

*''[…] it was a situation where **the person selling needed the money**, and because [they had been **trying to sell**] for a year – and because **banks in GDL don't give loans for [old] houses**, so they needed someone to pay in cash [and soon].''*
(C1.7-2 – GDL)

Although housing tenure changes in each historic centre follow different processes, key moments of shifts from formal to informal housing tenure structures and diminished value can be identified. The latter is linked to frozen or inexistent contracts and low housing quality, as owner-resident relationships and housing occupancy gain complexity. In MC, efforts by local government or owners for tenants to buy their flats or rooms were sought, but this was not the case in GDL. In both cases, legal protection or assurance has been sought by residents to maintain residence where tenure has become informal. This way, residents expect to continue under low or frozen rent (GDL) or gain ownership by paying service bills for the property (MC). Importantly, housing characteristics of tenure, rent prices and quality have been significantly diminished yet endured by residents who wish to remain in the historic centre.

Following a process of analysis of interviews as texts alongside policy documents, patterns were identified to assess housing tenure changes in each historic centre. Residents' descriptions situated changes in housing tenure structures separately from the dominant discourse. This was analysed in relation to population changes and local authorities' policies and interventions, according to MP-11, PP-17, and officers' accounts. Figures 7-8 and 7-9 show housing tenure formality, as described by residents, decreased in both cities as population numbers also decreased. Notably, an increase in housing tenure formality is seen in both as urban renewal agendas are introduced into each area, alongside a slight population increase in MC.

Figure 7-8 shows the gradual decrease in housing tenure formality (as assessed by residents) is in line with population decrease data. The first sign of this can be linked to the increased use of buildings as dense *vecindades* after the 1950's alongside an urban decentralisation agenda. This continues until the 1990's, especially after the earthquake of 1985. Most residents identified the earthquake as a breaking point from previous rent structures and efforts by owners and institutions to sell flats to tenants, as buildings were very affected and renovation was costly. This resulted in tenure uncertainty for many residents (C2.1, C2.2, C2.4). It was generally agreed retail activities increased, and housing spaces were used for retail and storage. A slight increase in population since 2010 and formal tenure structures are shown as urban renewal works were implemented from 2008. However, by 2018 some residents considered formality in housing had fallen again, ten years after urban renewal works took place.

Figure 7-8. Housing Structures Changes Discursive Mapping (MC)

In GDL, figure 7-9 shows a steady decrease in housing formality that is consistent with decreasing population trends generally. After modernisation works in the historic centre in the 1950's, an urban decentralisation agenda resulted in decreased investment in the historic centre. Many people living within the historic centre moved to peripheral areas and people who stayed entered informal rent agreements (spoken and not written contracts) (C1.1). Population trends are higher in the 2000 periods according to PP-17 data yet this increase is not significant and it decreased again by 2010. Importantly 2000's population increase followed the '100 blocks' urban renewal strategy (see Chapter 4). It can be expected that a population increase can be expected after recent urban renewal actions. Urban renewal actions after 2015 are increasingly consolidating a change in housing tenure structures, is in line with the urban renewal agenda to attract investment and new residents.

Figure 7-9. Housing Structures Changes Discursive Mapping (GDL)

① Historic Centre	☐1 Urban Spread
② WHM	☐2 Modernisation
③ CCN	☐3 100 Blocks
④ PP-17	☐4 CDC
▬ Housing Trends	☐5 Renewal Works
- - - Research Period	➤ Housing accounts
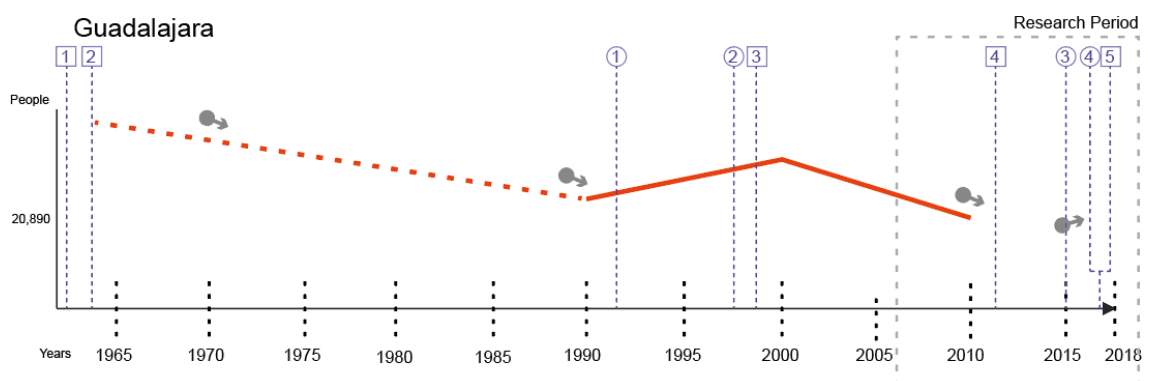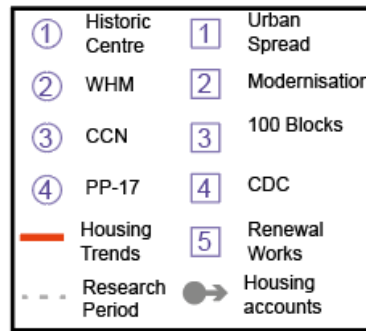
Source: Author based on interviews with officers and residents; GG, 2017: 94, 129

These cognitive timelines convey how residents assess the process of formal to informal housing structures in relation to government data. A direct link between population changes, public policies and investment on the urban context and changing housing tenure structures is identified. Although UNESCO titles and Monuments Zone (MZ) delimitations impacted the policies and significance of both historic centres, this had little effect to achieve higher population and tenure formality. Separately, both figures show the negative impact urban decentralisation agendas had on occupation and tenure within historic centres. Moreover, the implementation of urban renewal works is coincidental with higher residential occupancy and formal tenure assessments. Therefore, low historic centre investment has resulted in low property owner investment and poor housing formality. However, it can also be assumed that low owner investment and residential formality has resulted in low tax revenues and low area upkeep. Yet it is relevant that housing occupancy and tenure structures have increased *after* over encompassing urban renewal strategies.

Residents convey endurance of informal housing (frozen/no contract) tenure structures and lower housing prices and quality, yet they also express a desire for these processes to be reverted. Challenges due to informal housing occupancy and missing property owners are equally positioned negatively by officers in both cities. Moreover, these figures confirm deterioration processes, which have been identified by officers and instruments in Chapter 5. A process of gradual housing tenure deterioration is linked to a gradual urban deterioration.

Generally housing occupancy, tenure and quality is considered as affected by low government investment and property ownership challenges (missing owners

and/or legally contested buildings). It is here considered housing tenure, affordability and quality in historic centres have functioned similarly to informal settlements (or *'colonias populares'* in Spanish). Although housing in historic centres are located in formal land, they have functioned under informality tenure structures since the urban decentralisation agenda was implemented in both cities. For residents, these processes are linked to low government investment. Comparing residents' experiences to government data confirms that higher government investment has also resulted in higher population and tenure formality structures. Ultimately, residents remaining in historic centres describe a wish to remain within familiar neighbourhood and/or *vecindad* dynamics (C1.2, C1.3, C1.4, C1.7; C2.1, C2.2, C2.4, C2.5, C2.7). These social characteristics are continually described as a reason to remain in the areas despite urban and housing challenges.

7.3.2 *Evolving Housing Structures: Market Housing and Tenant-type Shifts*

Shifts in housing tenure, access and quality structures aimed for new residents are identified through changing characteristics of property ownership and housing market rent options. Interviews with key 'new' residents, most of which are young professionals, were attained and analysed to assess this process. This further confirms the link between the public space and property values with a housing structure change based on new housing market considerations. Moreover, housing structures shifts are positioned as an incentive for DO investment in housing properties. This establishes potential investors and residents with higher social and economic capacity as desirable to ensure heritage and urban conservation.

Across interviewed groups and instruments, property ownership is highlighted as a factor in urban DC and housing tenure issues. The MP-11 differentiates IO's from DO's and positions both types of owners as 'custodians' of buildings, a clear preference for DO is established (Pp. 57, 71). The PP-17 points to owner ignorance or apathy to preserve buildings in good conditions, with retail use as more profitable for IO's (Pp. 93, 166). In both cases, property owners are connected to urban and heritage conservation conditions and a preference for

DO's over IO's is established in dominant discourse. A change in property owner type to ensure urban conservation investment is also linked to a resident-type changes to maintain the preserved building and historic landscape. However, changes in IO to DO properties is here assessed from a discursive analysis level, specific property ownership data would require a separate research that may derive from this study.

'New' residents interviewed for this research provided descriptions relevant to assess shifts in property ownership and resident-types structures. In officers' statements and in instruments, a housing market for 'young' people is mobilised as a viable housing option in both areas. Planning and housing officers in both cities stressed the importance of a 'social regeneration' (A1.9) and the introduction of 'different social profiles' to address and revert area abandonment (A2.7). The 'new' residents interviewed for this research are representative of a population group catered to by urban renewal strategies for historic centres (aged 28-45, also referred to as 'Millenials'). Across new residents, attraction to live in the areas was higher after urban renewal projects took place, as seen in the Regina Corridor since its renewal in 2008 and the along or nearby the forthcoming Mezquitan Corridor since 2015.

New residents continuously pointed to an initial suspicion to live in each historic centre due to ongoing DC and discursive stigma attached to them (C1.5, C1.6; C2.6, C2.8). Except for residents C1.7 and C2.7, urban renewal projects were considered important to change their bad perception and decide to live in the areas. All new residents acknowledged 'good prices' for good-quality flats and closeness to work. The latter showcases shifting social dynamics from traditional neighbourhood-work dynamics to work-commute dynamics. This suggests a work-centred lifestyle and a transitional residence in the historic centre, where the possibility to relocate elsewhere is linked to a shift from young professional to family dynamics (C1.5, C1.6, C2.6, C2.7).

New residents described processes to acquire rent tenancy as the areas undergo (GDL) or have undergone urban renewal processes (MC). Along Corridor Regina in MC, resident C2.6 described a rent tenancy process with a DO that resembles

descriptions by other residents along the same corridor and immediate area (C2.3, C2.4, C2.5). Importantly, MC's historic centre has seen a longer period of urban renewal and property investment processes. Strict processes with developers to access housing rent, including a review of socioeconomic characteristics, are described as relevant for having secured housing after the corridor underwent renewal:

*'' […] these are **well recovered buildings**, very beautiful, very well preserved and **very sought** after back then – they said that you had to belong to the artistic community or have something to add to the area, the cultural life [to be accepted]. I have nothing to do with culture [but] I arrived, **presented my documents to the real estate company**. […] **I found it online**, a friend told me 'have a look and see if there is something for rent right now' […] Suddenly, I saw it was announced, called, saw that **I could afford it**, sent my documentation and that was it. **They were very strict […] regarding the topic of your income, you have to prove it, and [someone to co-sign]** […] In some ways they are very relaxed. For example […] there are a lot of pets in the building. Curiously, there have never been children in the time I've been there. Moreover, **there is a profile of new inhabitants, single people or young couples without children**.''*
 (C2.6-2 – Mexico City, 2018)

Notably, this resident has lived in a rented flat within a DO building along the Regina Corridor since after its renewal (nine years by 2018). A single-person rent market housing unit within a developer-owned building under a formal tenure structure is described. Moreover, a particular demographic group is expected to 'add something to the area', in line with dominant discourse aims for a cultural corridor urban renewal agenda (GMC, 2011: 17). The process to attain a housing unit within the renovated building to the real estate company includes the presentation of personal documents that validate economic capacity, these were not requested under previous tenure structures. This resident considers the process of renting was strict. With key differences, a move towards a rent market structure that considers demographic and economic characteristics to attain housing access is also described by this GDL resident:

*''… my landladies are a couple of **old ladies who run the building** and the **owner** is a man who **lives in Queretaro**. […] after I moved in, they always told me 'oh, bring more friends to the building, recommend us.' […] Because **they wanted people of a certain social class**, of certain [economic] access. […] Because they knew **these people were going to pay them**, who **would not complain about rent increases** – because we understand that they have to*

*raise the rent – , that you are not going to destroy the flat, that **you will [invest]** in it […] and **slowly I started to see a change**. And a couple of my friends live in the building now – we are like Friends! – but, I mean, that was **their vision**! That **[they don't] want big families with pets and [who] destroy the flats**…"*
(C1.6-2 – Guadalajara, 2018)

Under a remote IO property that is run by non-owner landladies, this resident describes a shift in housing structures at the west of the historic centre (not far from Corridor Mezquitan). This resident has lived there for four years but although a detailed renting access process was not described, a focus on prospective tenants' socioeconomic characteristics to access housing was conveyed. Flats are increasingly catered for higher-income and younger social groups that require smaller spaces or will share flats, while family housing compositions are positioned as informal and non-desirable (ie. not paying on time, destroying the flats). A concern for building maintenance is voiced and tenants who will 'invest' and cover initial and incremental rent prices are sought. This conveys the connection between resident types to building maintenance, with 'bad' residents as a building deterioration factor.

An envisioned resident within new housing market rent structures is pursued and in line with predilections for young 'artistic' and 'creative' groups within dominant discourse (officer A1.4 confirmed this). A demographic shift is discursively linked to changing rent tenure structures. Age and economic characteristics are frequently mentioned as relevant to be eligible to rent housing units. Reduced households and smaller housing units are linked to higher economic capacity. Residents are expected to upkeep buildings and the urban area and provide higher long-term profitability for DO's and some IO's. This suggests owners are ensuring the government aim of housing tenure 'regularisation' through a reconfigured vision of the 'resident' they will allow market access to. Additionally, single person housing was mentioned in MC while house or flat share was more common in GDL and is consistent with the vertical/horizontal urban morphology of each historic centre (see Chapter 6).

Some differences and similarities to assess shifting IO and DO rent structures in dominant and residents' discourse are shown in table 7-1. Dominant

considerations are drawn from instruments and officers' discourse, while Resident considerations are drawn from new and old residents' discourse. A clear difference is identified between Individual Owner (IO) and Developer Owner (DO) by both sources. Aside from C2.6 resident's descriptions, IO properties are generally linked to informal tenure structures and poor housing conditions. DO properties are overall positioned as formal housing in good conditions, although they tend to be more strict and costly. Higher economic capacity for building upkeep and a preference for new and reduced household types positions DO as in line with dominant urban agenda aims. However, residents also value flexibility for diverse household types and less expensive housing options. Also, residents considered restrictive conservation regulations and high upkeep costs have disproportionally affected IO's and resulted in poor housing conditions, which became a bargaining chip for lower rents.

Table 7-1. Individual (IO) vs Developer Owner (DO) Rent Structures

Discourse	Individual Owner (IO)	Developer Owner (DO)
Dominant Discourse (instruments, officers)	- Low building upkeep interest and capacity - Informal tenure (no contracts, cheap or frozen rents) - Poor housing quality - Family oriented households	- High building upkeep interest and capacity - Formal tenure (contracts, mid-high price rents) - Good housing quality - Young professional households
Resident's Discourse (old & new residents)	- Expensive and restrictive building upkeep processes - Tenure flexibility (tenure duration, prices) - Negotiable housing condition vs price - Flexible household type	- Building conservation process capacity and property value rise - Strict tenure (contract, more expensive) - Good housing condition and set price - Specific household types

Source: Author

While in dominant discourse the IO is considered to have low interest and economic capacity for building conservation, residents pointed to high conservation costs and administrative restrictions for poor housing conditions and tenure structures' 'flexibility'. This has limited IO and/or tenant-led housing betterment plans (C1.1, C1.2, C1.5, C1.7; C2.1, C2.2, C2.3, C2.6). Conservation costs and restrictions are assessed across interviewed groups as problematic to ensure building upkeep but also housing in good conditions. Officers have stated conservation restrictions limit DO property investment and development (see Chapter 6). Heritage conservation regulations and long administrative processes are thus generally considered as difficult for IO and/or tenants, but also as

deterring DO property and housing investment. However, incentives have attracted DO investment and a change in household and tenure structures has been promoted to achieve short and medium-term profits.

Residents in both cities convey a differentiated housing stock in terms of tenure, quality, and affordability, which are also indicative of the stage of each urban renewal process. Tenants in MC described that after the corridor's renewal in 2008 flats offered for rent were formal, in good conditions but more expensive. In 2018 tenants in MC conveyed rent was still formal but building and units' upkeep depended on the property agency (DO) or property owner (IO) and lower upkeep had been used by tenants to reduce rent prices (C2.3, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6, C2.8). In GDL a prevalence of flexible tenure and poor as well as cheap housing stock was still found, as urban renewal works are still in development (C1.3, C1.5, C1.6 and C1.7). Here, tenancy structures such as co-sharing and building/house sub-management are articulated as positive for prospective good housing conditions and upkeep (C1.3, C1.5 and C1.6). Generally, good, or poor conditions of the housing stock are linked to housing tenure formality and high/low prices (ie. formal-market, informal-outside market).

Although a housing market rent is mobilised in both historic centres to ensure formal tenancy and good housing conditions, residents pointed to owners to ensure this:

*''…**they rent but don't care** what happens to the building **[or] assume responsibilities**. I have a leak, quite bad and they tried to fix it but didn't finish… **It has now become a bargaining chip to not increase my rent**. Like 'hey you haven't repaired my roof' and 'oh, ok, I won't increase your rent'. ''*
(C2.3-2 – Mexico City, 2018)

*"… at the moment [there are] **few housing options in the historic centre**. And **the short supply can be divided into two [types]**, […] **flats and [houses] in poor condition**, very neglected and [as] community housing – [in] **vecindades**, or **shared buildings**, or **rent of rooms**. [Also] a **sub-organisation** [where] someone rents a house [and] sub-rents the rooms […] and many people can access a room of $3,000 pesos. What my flat used to cost is now the price of a room, in a four-year comparison. [Also] the scheme where many people are coming [to] occupy [old] **houses that belonged to relatives and are restoring them**."*
(C1.6-2 – Guadalajara, 2018)

These experiences convey the link between housing quality and upkeep with tenure formality and costs. In MC, a formal tenure and increased rent is stagnating due to decreased housing quality because of inconsistent owner upkeep actions. In GDL, resident C1.6 points to persistent rent tenure sub-organisation structures and poor housing maintenance that have been characteristic of *vecindades*. Both residents highlight housing conditions in relation to tenure types and rent prices, with housing in good conditions as more expensive. Yet the assumption that owners would maintain good housing quality to ensure incremental high rents is challenged by a fickle continuity of good housing conditions, as seen in C2.3's statement. In GDL, resident C1.6 conveys rising market rent prices in relation of expected property value rises that will affect her own housing prospects.

*''[**Housing] is being offered [to] Millenials** that […] will [rent] their 70 m² flat […] at the moment there is a **trend** of housing for Millenials… **tiny, well-connected**. […] **All the young people in the centre and all the old [people] to the peripheries**.''*
(C1.7-2 – Guadalajara, 2018)

*''Another **projected dynamic for the mid-term** in the real estate agency is to **gradually change the profile of tenants** to gentrify […] **A second wave of gentrification**, people who can **pay even more for rents** and so they displace [the previous group]''*
(C2.6-2 – Mexico City, 2018)

Residents C1.7 in GDL and C2.6 in MC reside along the Regina and Mezquitan corridors, respectively, and point to a 'second wave of gentrification' as housing is increasingly directed to a new prospective resident. Resident C1.7 describes the emergence of small flats or housing units in well-the connected central city area as attractive for young professionals. Later this resident considered the eligibility of younger people for bank loans over older people with problematic or contested credit histories as also at play. Both residents point to a differentiation between population profiles, C1.7 points to ages while C2.6 points to economic capacity to assess social groups the housing market is intended for.

Resident C2.6 considers a prospective younger resident that can pay even higher rents is preferred by property agencies. This follows discourse from officers in both historic centres, who assert a young professional will accept living in single or shared flats or houses between 30-60 m^2 above $3,000 (£108.24) rent per month (A1.9, A1.10, A2.4, A2.9). In MC, the average flat in 2019 was 60-65 m^2 for an average of $4,500-7,100 (£162.37-256.18) per room, but $9,000-15,000 (£324.74-541.23) per room flats were also found. In GDL the average flat (or subdivided house) was 60-150 m^2 for $2,200-4,000 (£79.38-144.33) per room, although prices $16,000-18,000 (£577.32-649.48) per room in the same size range were also found[29]. The intention for smaller units suggests reduction of the existing housing stock and shows an intention for higher-cost shared housing schemes for young professionals. Moreover, this supports the consideration for a prospective resident and a 'second' gentrification wave as described by current residents (see figure 7-10).

Figure 7-10. Resident Types Changes
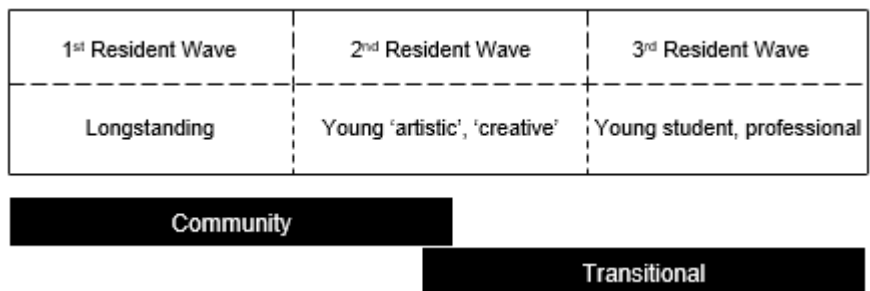
Source: Author

Three types of residents have been identified in this research following descriptions by long-standing and second-wave residents. As urban renewal agendas are ultimately catering to a prospective resident with higher economic capacity and reduced housing space needs. Prospective or third-wave residents are interchangeably referred to as 'Millennials' by residents and officers to describe university students or early professionals with 'more active lifestyles' (A1.2, A1.3, A1.4, A1.9, A1.10; A2. 1, A2.4, A2.8, A2.9). Notably, resident types may also be linked to community or transitional social dynamics. Long-standing

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[29] This information was attained from a random sampling of online local real estate sites, it was undertaken 07/11/2019

residents have conveyed a strong community-based sense of place that second-wave residents have begun to build relationships with, although social separation was expressed (C1.6; C2.4, C2.6). Third-wave residents were conveyed as transitional residents who have work, travel and leisure communities separate from barrio or corridor community dynamics. Therefore, smaller housing units aimed for this group will inherently ensure a continual flow of residents (residents will move as they begin families and need larger housing). This suggests that community dynamics will significantly change in the corridors and, gradually, the historic centre.

7.4   Processes of Housing Displacement: From Cognitive to Spatial Processes

This section explores 'soft' and 'hard' displacement processes from a discursive to a spatial level using the 'Right to Housing' Evaluation Framework (Chapter 3). Changes in the rental housing market showcase rises that are more accessible to prospective third-wave residents. Processes of displacement were described by residents of both historic centres, especially in relation to rent change patterns. However, eviction processes were also described. Ultimately, destination places following displacement conveys the negative impact housing displacement has on social and urban equality.

7.4.1 Housing Expectations: Sense of Displacement and Housing Tenure Access

Housing rent market changes and increase of property values has impacted affordability and access for different socioeconomic residents. Capacity to access and hold housing market tenure is here positioned as linked to housing selling/renting prices. An increase in housing rent market follows the shifting national housing market agenda identified by Lamudi (2018), confirmed in MC and being established in GDL. However, the market-rent housing structure may not accessible to all resident types, especially first- but also second-wave residents. Moreover, increment in housing rent prices are linked to property values rise based on urban renewal processes:

*''At first [**Corridor Regina**] **was very pretty**… the first time there was a pedestrian street like Naples or Rome! **But the reality is that [the] only thing it did was to increase the neighbourhood costs**, right? The **flats that used to cost $5,000-$6,000 pesos** (£180.43-216.51[30]) for rent **automatically doubled** just for having repaired the street and having [new] businesses […]''*
(C2.1-2 – Mexico City, 2018)

This resident conveys the change in flat rent prices before and after the urban renewal of Regina Corridor and suggests urban improvements resulted in an increase of property values, living expenses, and rent prices. Separately, resident C2.6, who arrived in the corridor after its renewal, considers rent has remained high and increased although the corridor has deteriorated in recent years. While initial rent increases may be linked to urban renewal actions, their consistent increase despite re-emerging urban deterioration suggests a break with the initial trend. Residents C2.3 and C2.6 link rents increases as linked to property developers' intentions to attract residents that can *''pay even higher rents''* (C2.6). Separately, in GDL:

*''It is complex because **housing that is at a good price**, I don't say cheap, but a good price **is in poor condition** […] [Considering] what you can rent at **a reasonable price of $4,000-$3,000 pesos** (£144.33-£108.25), you may find rents of $2,500-$2,000 pesos (£90.21-£72.17) in the centre still. But you realise it is a house with leaks, the wall is falling, [with] humidity [or] moisture, or it's a tiny room… And **spaces that are not like this are expensive and out of [my] budget**.''*
(C1.6-2 – Guadalajara, 2018)

GDL's resident C1.6, who is a young professional in the Millennial age group (born between 1981-1994) describes the price-range she can pay for rent in the historic centre. This suggests her income is akin to average rent prices for units under good conditions, just above a price-range under bad conditions and below high rent prices with high housing quality. This resident mentions three housing market options to evidence housing structures changes and differences. First, 'reasonable' rent prices with medium housing quality and strict contract under sub-tenant or DO properties (confirmed by C1.3, C1.4 and C1.5). Second, low quality housing with low rent prices under informal sub-tenant structures

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[30] Mexican Peso to British Pound exchange rate at 1GBP=27.71MXN. From XE Converter: https://www.xe.com/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=6%2C000&From=MXN&To=GBP , last accessed: 12/10/2020

(described by C1.1 and C1.2 to assess *vecindades*). Last, high quality housing under a DO within formal contracts and high rent prices (C1.7).

In the historic centre of MC, the flat is continually described across interviewees as the unit for housing rent rather than rooms. This is consistent with data from Lamudi, which asserted a flat rent market is more established in the city overall. Figure 7-11 conveys the prices of flats for rent across the historic centre and in the Regina Corridor and nearby streets according to high, medium, and low prices based on the range of prices attained through a random online search (see appendix 18). This figure shows medium prices across the historic centre and Regina are similar yet there are clear differences between high and low prices. Corridor Regina rents tend to be medium-high and no low options were found. This suggests the corridor is above the historic centre rent average and above affordability means for existing population groups.

Figure 7-11. Rent per Flat in the historic centre of MC and Regina Corridor
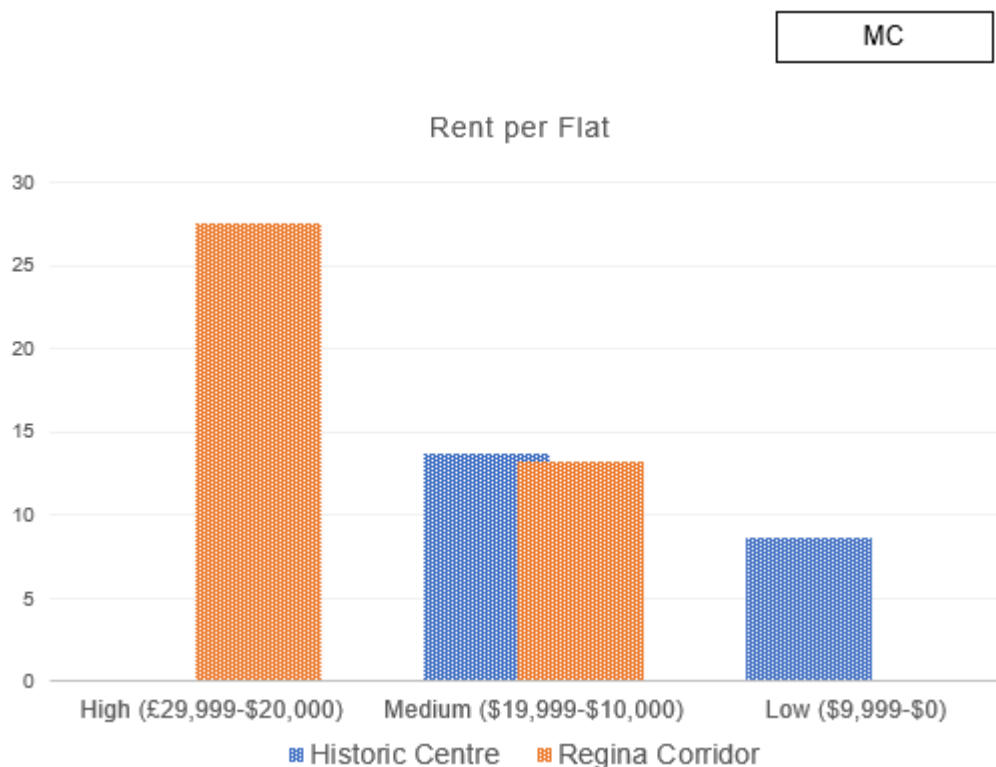
Source: Author based on online rent prices data

Figure 7-12 compares rent prices in Regina Corridor between 2008 (provided by officers and residents) and 2019. To do this, an adjustment of the average 2008 price with inflation changes between 2008 and 2019 was made using the national general index calculator (INEGI, 2021)[31]. In 2008 urban renewal interventions were started in the Regina corridor and rent prices started to change. Residents generally pointed to $5,000-$6,000 (£180-£216) rents, thus providing an average of $5,500 (£198.45) which multiplied by the rate of inflation (1.53) is equivalent to $8,415 (£303.63) in 2019 (when the online rent search was carried out). The average rent of $16,149 (£582.69) per flat in the corridor in 2019 was calculated taking five examples along or near the corridor, the lowest was $10,000 (£360.825) and the highest $27,744 (£1001.07) (111.67m^2 average). To assess the rise of market rent prices, 2008's rent average was compared to the 2019's rent average. This showed the market price in 2019 was 1.919 times higher than 2008's rent (taking inflation changes into account).

Figure 7-12. Inflation changes and market prices (Regina)

Source: Author with Inflation data from INEGI, 2021

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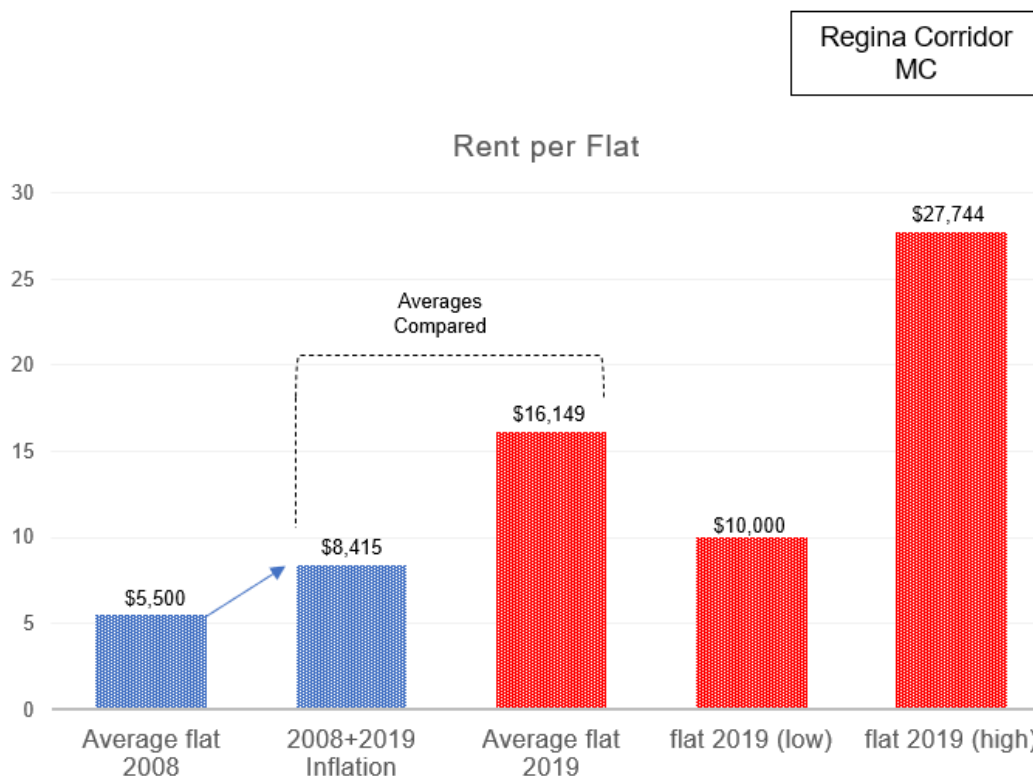
[31] https://www.inegi.org.mx/app/indicesdeprecios/calculadorainflacion.aspx 01/05/2021

In the historic centre GDL, rooms for rent within family-sized 2-3 level houses were described across interviewees as the unit for housing rent rather than flats. This suggests a still emerging flat rent market and the prevalence of an IO structure where rooms may be rented. Figure 7-13 shows the prices for rooms across the historic centre and near the Mezquitan Corridor according to high, medium, and low prices found in an online search (see appendix 18). This shows high and low prices between the historic centre and corridor are relatively close yet the Mezquitan corridor area did not provide any medium price examples. This suggests the area has had very low prices traditionally but high-cost housing is being introduced. This follows the aim to introduce and develop a more expensive housing rent market, through gradual changes in densification and ownership structures (from IO to DO), as identified by Lamudi and various officers.

Figure 7-13. Rent per Flat in the historic centre of GDL and Mezquitan Corridor
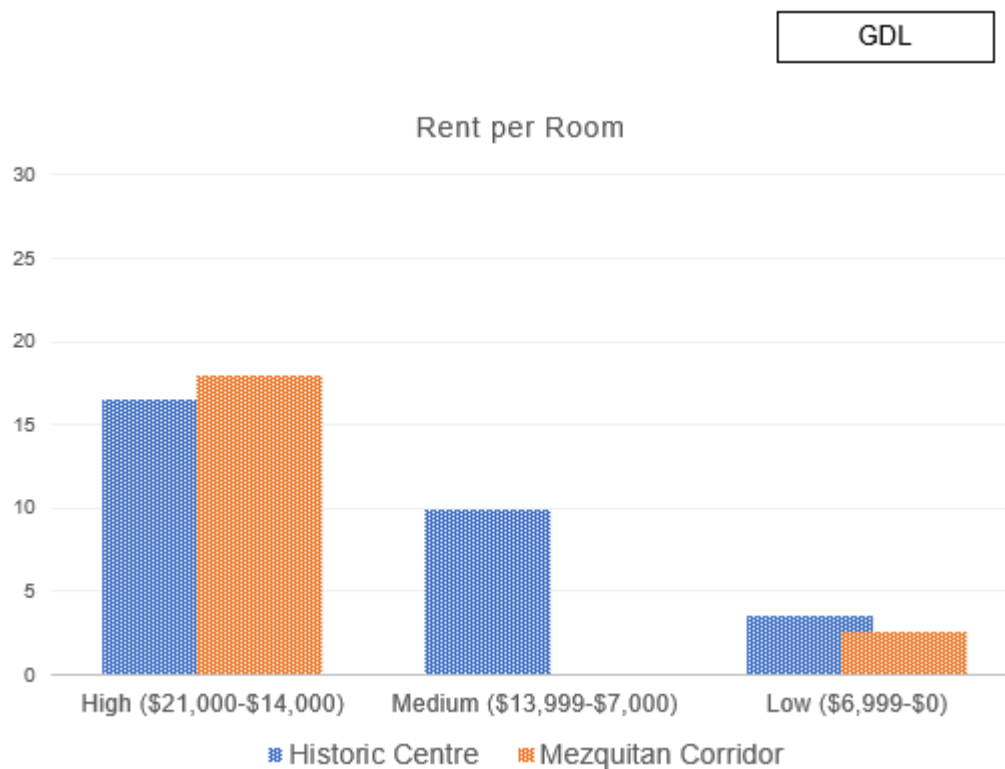
Source: Author based on online rent prices data

Figure 7-14 compares rent prices per room in the Mezquitan corridor area (as provided by officers and residents) between 2008 and 2019. A similar process to adjust prices between 2008 and 2019 for Regina was undertaken for Mezquitan.

Although urban renewal interventions for the corridor were not undertaken until 2015, by 2008 an urban and housing decline had followed the '100 blocks' renewal strategy (C1.1 and C1.7). Residents pointed to rents of about $1,200 (£43.29) by 2008, which have been adjusted to $1,836 (£66.24) by using the national general index calculator for 2019 (INEGI, 2021). The average rent for a room in the Mezquitan corridor area by 2019 was $9,775 (£352.70). This was calculated taking four examples, with $2,600 (£93.81) as the second lowest and $18,000 (£649.48) as the highest (all around 70m^2). A comparative of 2008's rent (plus inflation) with 2019's rent shows that 2019's market rent price is 5.324 times higher than 2008's.

Figure 7-14. Inflation changes and market prices (Mezquitan)
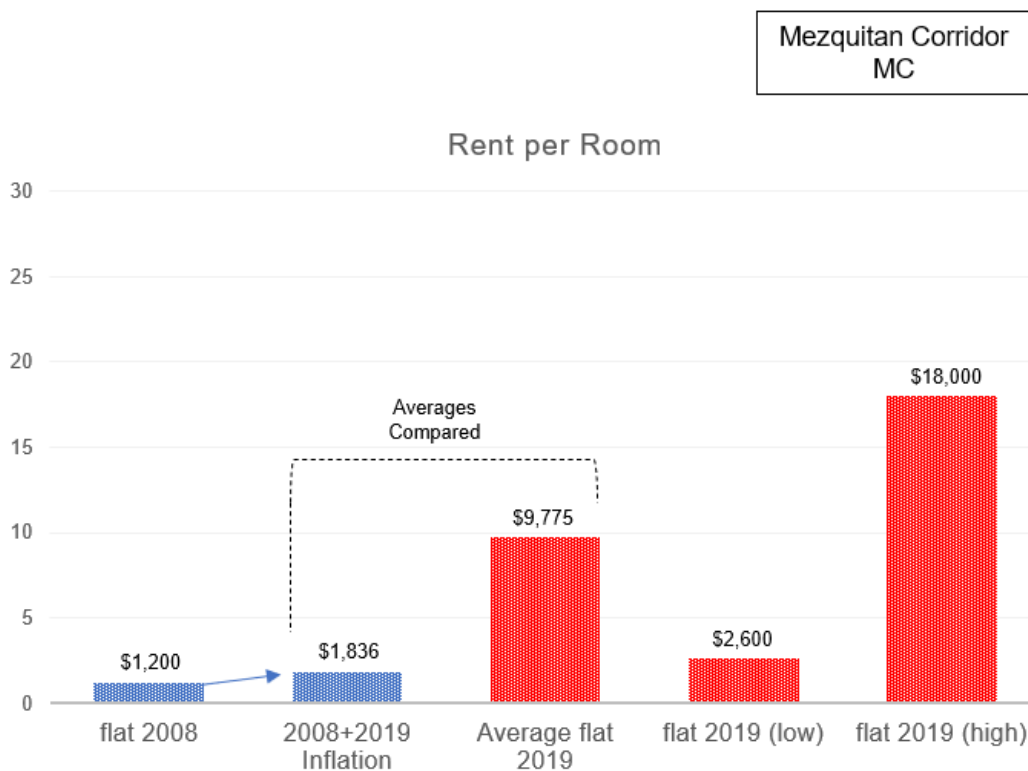
Source: Author with Inflation data from INEGI, 2021

The assessment of average rent prices for both corridors in 2019 in comparison with 2008's prices (including inflation price adjustments) showed different rates in rental growth for each historic centre. As figure 7-15 shows, rent has grown 1.919 times in MC and 5.324 times in GDL between 2008 and 2019. This indicates a faster growth rate in GDL, where a housing reactivation agenda aligns

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with a housing rental market development agenda (thus introducing a new housing market that was not previously dominant in the historic centre). However, growth is high in both areas, especially if compared to first- and second-wave resident's affordability capacity.

Figure 7-15. Housing rent market increase between 2008-2019

Housing Rent Market Changes
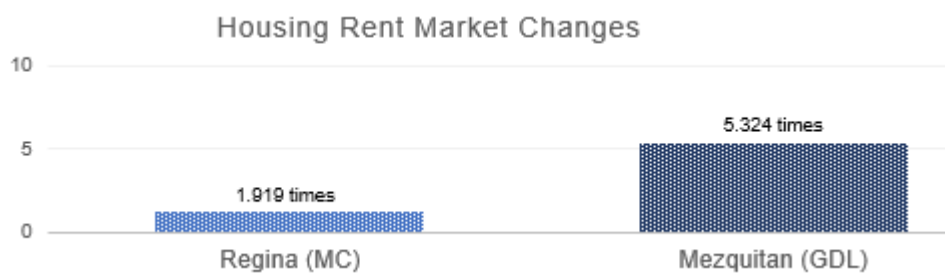
Source: Author

To put rising prices into further perspective, a comparative of national formal economy minimum wages in 2019 in relation to a medium-price flat for each historic centre was here undertaken. In 2019 the national minimum wage was of $102.68 (£3.70) (CONASAMI, 2018: 02). For the first three months of 2019 INEGI showed the highest national income proportion was for 1-2 minimum wages per day, this followed by 1 and then 2-3 wage per day (INEGI, 2019). To access a medium-range flat in MC a person must earn 4.43 daily wages[32] and 3.2 daily wages in GDL[33]. This suggests by 2019 GDL was slightly less unaffordable than MC for a person over the 3 minimum salary threshold. Yet this is not a salary accessible to a high proportion of the population, as first- and second-wave residents range between below 1 to below 3 according to their statements.

Existing residents described constant rises in rent and living costs in both historic centres, especially near or along Regina and Mezquitan corridors. Thirteen residents across groups mentioned limited 'Funds' to make home improvements and challenges to access loan and/or subsidies for maintenance actions as well as for home-ownership aspirations. Meanwhile 'Cost Rise' was mentioned in relation to rising living expenses and rent prices due to urban renewal and rising

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[32] Dividing $13,675 over $102.68, and then divided by 30 days in the month (average)
[33] Dividing $9,875 over $102.68, and then divided by 30 days in the month (average)

property values. In this sense, economic constraints to manage housing conditions and tenure are described as directly linked to a costly housing market in urban renewal areas (ie. corridors).

It can be assumed that market rent prices for flats and rooms in each city will continue to rise. However, because of the intention to develop a flat rent market this can be expected to be more pronounced in GDL. Moreover, a more expensive housing rent market has been sought in both cities to replace tenure informality. This has produced difficulties as not all residents can undergo strict processes to prove formal incomes to be granted housing tenure access. It is the prospective third-wave resident that is increasingly described as sought by DO's to take these housing units. However, interviewed residents have also pointed to new tenancy structures such as short-term letting for tourists. Resident C2.6 notes the increasing possibility of higher revenues for property owners under this model. Meanwhile resident C2.7 points to an increasing proliferation of this model across the historic centre. This was less mentioned in GDL yet an expectation for a future short-term property letting market for tourists was noted as a feared possibility (C1.5, C1.7).

Across interviews with long-standing and second-wave residents, sense of place is described as threatened by changes in the housing rental market. 'Sense of place' and 'sense of displacement' were respectively mentioned 71 and 54 times overall (see appendix 11). This is connected to community dynamics that are altered by a changing urban and residential landscapes. Residents consider they may not be able to continue in the areas due to increased living and housing costs. A change in housing policies for the areas is thus assessed as *for* social groups *different from* existing residents, which has fostered unease in occupational certainty: *''…we are like on a tightrope…''* (C2.4).

Occupational uncertainty is reinforced by changes in the housing market that break from a national IO home-ownership structure to developer-owned (DO) properties and market-rent structures. These changes have been part of the urban renewal agenda to achieve the 'formalisation' of properties in both historic centres. Notably, some residents have expressed intentions to own their

flat/house, yet it is acknowledged as increasingly difficult (C1.1, C1.7; C2.2, C2.3, C2.4). Increase in property values due to urban renewal actions (as undertaken or expected to happen) have been important in this process. Residents in MC acknowledged changes in housing ownership and rent tenure access across the historic centre, but more specifically in renewed corridors such as Regina. This was also the case in GDL, as property values along the Mezquitan corridor and nearby areas have reflected rent increases beyond current residents' means.

7.4.2 Housing Market Implications for Residential Displacement Processes

Residential displacement implications of a dominant rent housing market in relation to traditional housing access structures in both historic centres are here examined. For this, the different displacement implications of a new housing agenda are evaluated according to the Housing Security Evaluation matrix. This builds on assessments by first- and second-wave residents in relation to a prospective third-wave resident. In this sense, current residents have described a lack of clarity in legal protections and fear of imminent displacement.

Property expropriation processes for property redevelopment by the private sector is conveyed by residents, academics, and officers to describe the new housing agenda. While residents locate expropriations and evictions near urban renewal projects (ie. corridors), academics acknowledge it as a widespread process related to rising property values (B1.3; B2.4). This has fostered uncertainty to remain in the areas and a sense of social difference or otherness between groups living in the historic centres:

*''Everything is going to inflate for me […] **everything will cost more**…''*
 (C1.2-2 – GDL)

*''I have been here all my life… it has changed. Other types of people arrive, **you don't feel like it's 'your' street anymore**.''*
 (C2.4-2 – MC)

Although these statements are made in relation to living costs and sense of place changes, these changes are linked to alterations in housing options and the

resident type they are catered for. GDL's resident expects living expenses to rise beyond their current economic means. Meanwhile, MC's resident considers there is a differentiation in relation to incoming residents with a socioeconomic capacity that will change the urban landscape. Resident C2.6 directly connects housing tenure changes to a social urban change:

*''Personally, I assume that **I don't know how to defend myself** in this regard and my fear of losing the flat is stronger […] What the real estate agency has been doing is increasing rents a lot, **with certain tenants this raise has doubled** […] **as if to get rid of certain tenants**, I don't know why […] I don't know if [they had] a bad relationship with someone in the [agency] or if it responds to another dynamic. **A mid-term project [to] change the profile of the tenants** to gentrify […] **a second wave of gentrification**, people who can pay even more for rents and **slowly displace** [previous tenants].''*
(C2.6-2 – MC)

Although this chapter has separately examined many of the elements found in this statement, this account fully conveys a slow process of displacement as consequential of rising rents (in new and ongoing rent contracts). There is a 'projected' intention by DO's to use this as a tool to articulate a socioeconomic demographic change. This is not a singular occurrence, several first- and second-wave residents describe similar processes along properties in Corridor Regina (C2.2, C2.3, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6) and in different areas of MC's historic centre (C2.1-north, C2.7-west, C2.8-west). Resident C2.6 positions themselves as a first-wave 'gentrifier' (second-wave resident), yet expresses concerns about a new wave of gentrification in relation to rent increases and place changes. Thus, concerns to 'defend' themselves is constantly referenced by residents within both historic centres.

Resident C1.7 describes a slow displacement process along Mezquitan Corridor in GDL. This statement focuses on demographic changes through a change in the housing market and who it is intended to attract (university students). Notably, this resident points to the local government's densification policies and low regulations for property development along the corridor, and across the historic centre. Although this resident is also part of a first gentrification process, concern is expressed for long-standing residents in a *vecindad* along the corridor. In a

later statement the resident considers this is being set out as a slow process that will ensure a gradual social profile change in the corridor and the historic centre:

*'' I believe the [worst] is coming, **now that the municipality has a policy of facilitating or giving incentives to vertical housing, which is not being regulated** [and] is being offered [to] **Millenials** […]*
*… what normally happens [here] is the **contract ends and 'you should go'**. […] So, I think my neighbours – […] around 20 people live [in one house] – **they will be the first ones I won't see anymore**. And what will happen? The owner is going to get them out when their contract ends […] and when there is no one left, sell the house or [invest] about $200,000 pesos (£7,294.01), **better it, and rent the same flats [rented for $1,000** (£36.08)] **[for] $3,000** (£108.25). **Because** […] **of the Cultural Corridor Mezquitan** – <u>university students</u> are going to say 'ah, I want to live there'.''*
(C1.7-2 – GDL)

Although second-wave residents acknowledged themselves as part of a resident-type change process in the areas, they do not view themselves as the ultimate target resident. Although a difficulty to integrate between existing first- and second-wave residents was pointed out, this improved as both groups share a fear for the arrival of a third-wave resident (C1.5, C1.6, C2.6; C2.3, C2.6). Sense of displacement is thus inherently linked to changing residential dynamics. Moreover, life dynamics linked to younger residents are considered difficult for community-building yet more profitable for DO's:

*''… now, the **new [household] configuration** […] [a young person] says 'what do I want this big house for?!'. Keeping it is going to be [expensive] […] Housing [now] is not configured for families, it is configured for you to live with someone else as **roomies** […] **or young [couples] that decide to not have children**…''*
(C1.7-2 – GDL)

*''It is more this profile of new residents […] **single people or young couples without children**.''*
(C2.6-2 – MC)

These statements address changes in household structures to convey changes in the housing market for a resident that will not establish in the historic centre, as traditional residents have done. In GDL, resident C1.7 stressed a reconfiguration of housing for single or shared housing options that is also described by resident C2.6 in MC. This separates family from single or shared

housing structures, rather than encourage mixed housing options. The choice to not include children within these structures suggests a future re-location to form families, thus the historic centre is expected to be for unattached and transitory young groups.

The maps in figure 7-16 show the proportion of single and married households along each corridor in 2010. Data was taken from INEGI's 2010 census data after Corridor Regina's renewal (2008) but before Corridor Mezquitan's renewal (2014/5). After renewal, in MC a higher presence of single occupants along the corridor is clear, and married households are higher along the corridor than its immediate area. In GDL higher presence of single occupants along north section of corridor and immediate area is found. Yet this same area also has higher presence of married households. This shows strong inclinations towards single households yet was unclear if unmarried and older households are considered.

Figure 7-16. Household Occupation per Corridor
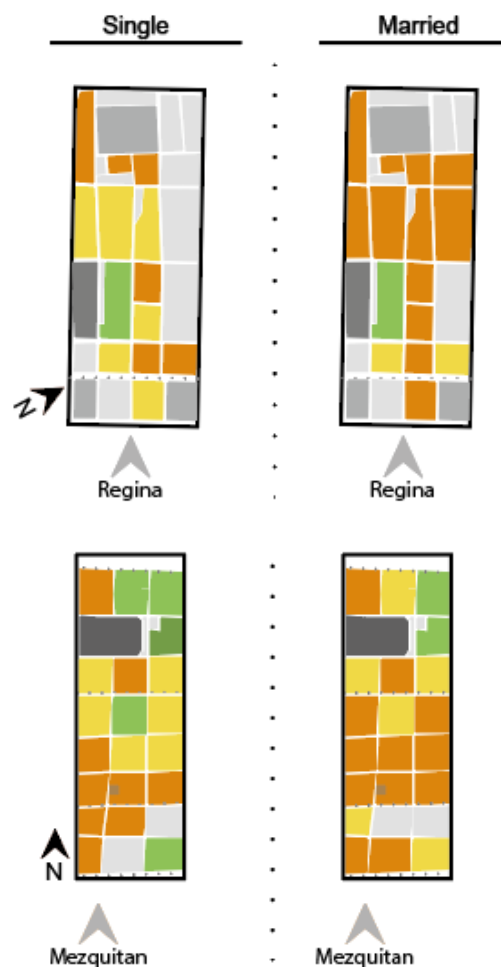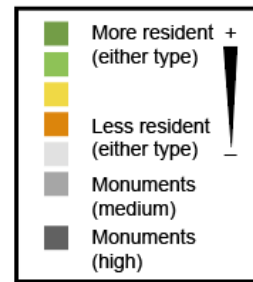
Source: Author with data from INEGI, 2010

MC's residents expressed concerns that high single occupancy patterns in the corridor have been more strongly pursued in recent years, yet this has always been a feature long the Regina Corridor. Although GDL's data is before the corridor's renewal and this may affect a straightforward comparison, it provides understanding of pre-existing dynamics as also reinforced by the cultural corridor agenda. Thus, concerns from residents in both cases respond to existing patterns that are reinforced by local housing policies. This positions the corridors as places with a cultural corridor agenda where 'young' population dynamics are or will be prevalent. Both have been described as degraded before renewal (see Chapter 4), yet both successfully convey and enable private investment to situate a housing market agenda.

'Older' long-standing residents expressed increasing alienation from intergenerational dynamics and convey sense of displacement due to changing work-leisure rather than family-oriented residential and community dynamics. Resident C1.7 described a slow displacement process where the young will live in GDL's historic centre and the 'old' (above 30 years old) will move to peripheral urban areas. Resident C1.6 (early 30's) mentions the possibility of moving outside of the historic centre to start a family-based lifestyle. While some young long-standing residents C1.3 and C1.4 aspire to remain in the historic centres, there is a concern of not being able to transition to a family dynamic there anymore. This also reflected in MC, as young residents voiced concerns to transition from a young to a family household (C2.2, C2.3, C2.7). This notably voiced by government officers, who suggested the historic centre is good for 'alternative' or 'young' lifestyles (A2.5, A2.8).

Housing rent as well as living expenses increases were described to convey soft displacement processes by residents in both historic centres, especially along the corridors and nearby areas. Although legal appeals to freeze rent increases (GDL) and continued residence without a legal contract or protection (MC) have been described to convey resistance to displacement, residents are ultimately expected to relocate. Notably, possible displacement destinations are conveyed differently in each historic centre. In GDL where processes are still 'gradual', displacement 'destinations' are linked to upward or downward social mobility processes. In MC where processes shift from gradual displacement to increasingly forced evictions, residents point to imminent possibility of relocation in distant areas.

Figure 7-17 shows the marginalised areas associated to places of destination from displacement processes from the historic centre of MC, as indicated by interviewed residents. Although not all residents were keen to indicate possible displacement destination areas, descriptions of 'boundaries', 'peripheries', 'poor areas', 'far away areas' were repeated. Resident C2.7 more consistently mentioned Ecatepec and Tlanepantla, while officers also pointed to Nezahualcoyotl. These areas are frequently acknowledged as marginalised and gradually regularised informal settlements that are still informally developing. This suggests displacement processes are also indicative of downward social mobility, which means poor housing options and increased long outer-to-inner-city commuting for work implications.

Figure 7-17. Discursive Destinations of Displacement in MC
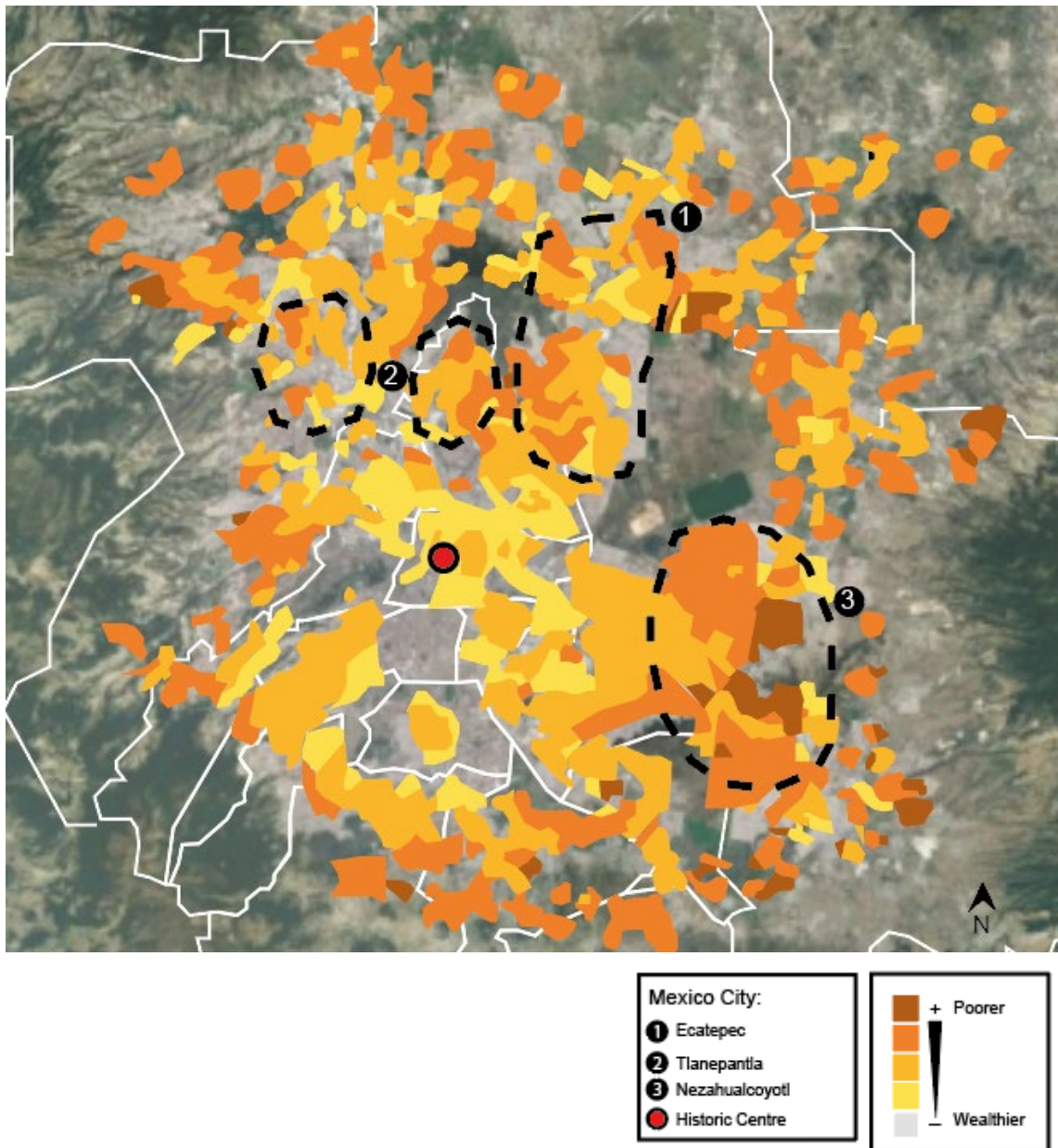
Source: Author with data from CONAPO, 2010

Figure 7-18 shows the marginalised areas associated to places of destination from displacement processes from the historic centre of GDL. Residents were more willing to mention potential destination areas because of residential displacement. This was assessed in relation to second-hand knowledge (friends who moved) or socioeconomic-based assumptions. The areas were described as 'far away', 'peripheries', and city 'boundaries'. The areas consistently mentioned were Oblatos, Tlajomulco, Tesistan, Tonala and Tlaquepaque. Notably, officers avoided displacement notions while local academics and experts confirmed these

peripheral urban areas as possible displacement destinations. These peripheral and marginalised areas are where many informal settlements as well as low-quality semi-social housing (INFONAVIT) zones have developed in the last twenty years. In this case, a downward social mobility is also conveyed as consequential from historic centre displacement processes.

Figure 7-18. Discursive Destinations of Displacement in GDL
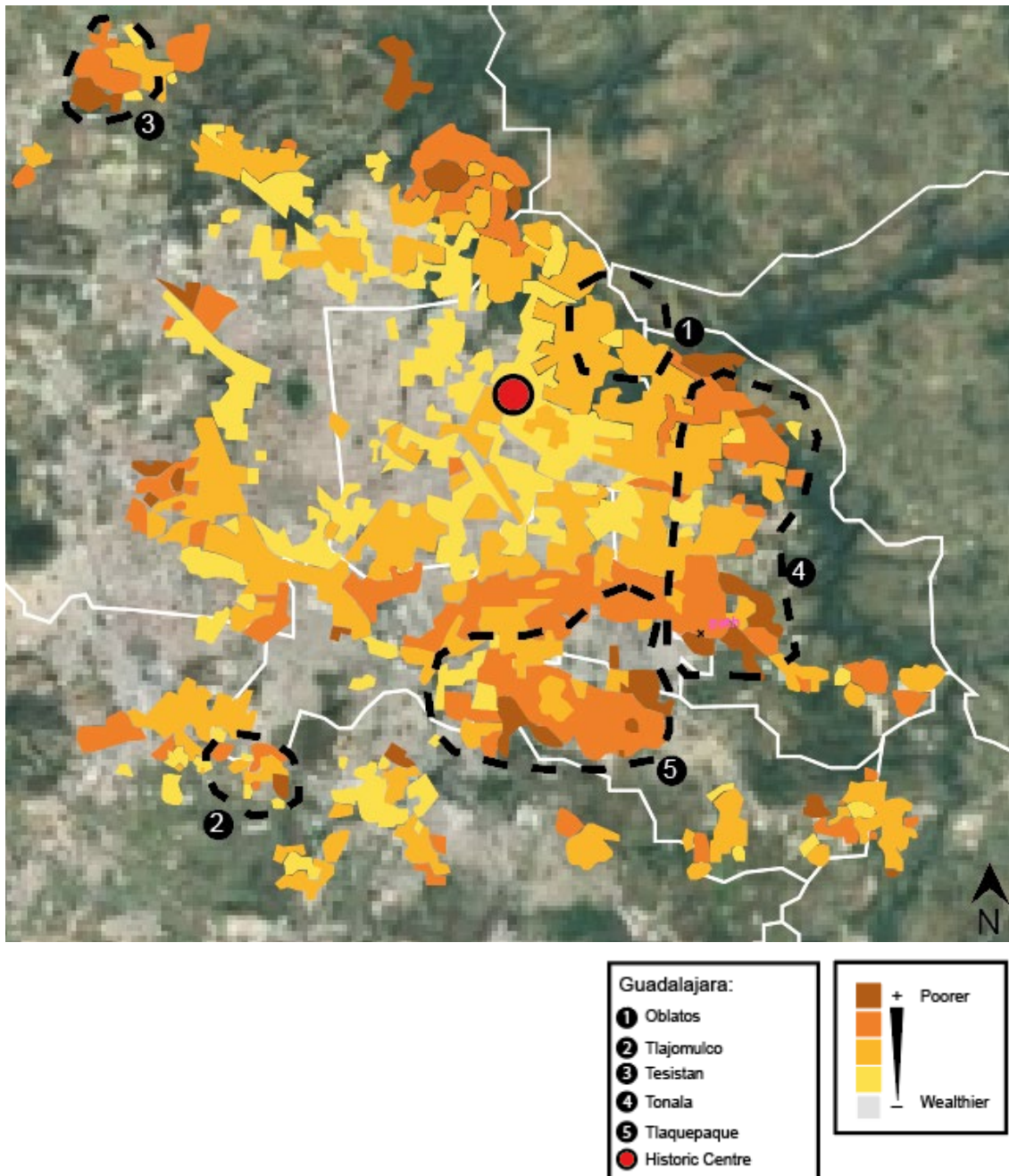
Source: Author with data from CONAPO, 2010

In both cases a downward social mobility trend consequential of residential displacement from historic centres is shown through different procedures that may be indicative of different stages of urban renewal and densification processes. In GDL gradual or 'slow' displacement processes was described as dominant, while in MC gradual displacement was increasingly substituted by forced eviction processes, especially in the last decade (C2.6, C2.7). In both cases residents consider residential displacement has been 'promoted' by authorities by allowing inappropriate social urban dynamics to attract young residents (ie. bars, clubs) (C1.3, C1.6, C1.7; C2.3, C2.4, C2.5, C2.6, C2.7). Similarly, unregulated housing market changes were mentioned (C1.1, C1.2, C1.3, C1.6, C1.7; C2.3, C2.6, C2.7).

For current residents of historic centres, lack of clarity in legal protections as formal tenants is continually expressed along with fear of imminent displacement. An acknowledgement of government-led property expropriation processes is described by residents and interviewed academics or experts in historic centres. While residents locate expropriations and evictions near renewal projects (ie. renewed corridors, CDC in GDL), academics acknowledge a widespread process related to rising land and property values. Both groups point to gentrification in relation to displacement processes. Notably, expert B2.1 considered *''gentrification is good or bad depending on who you are''*, further saying:

*''**When you own the home you live in, you want gentrification** because [the] place […] you live [in] is worth more. […] **When you rent, you don't want gentrification** because it will become expensive and you will be displaced. There will come a time when you won't be able to pay […]''*
(B2.1-1 – MC Conservation)

This statement conveys two standpoints: the owner (IO or DO) and the tenant. Therefore, the economic interests of each in relation to changing property value is assessed separately. This description conveys an inevitability of displacement of some social groups as part of urban renewal processes and does not oppose it. In GDL, a planning academic considered property owner interest and property value increase in the following way:

*''[through] intentional abandonment, to **depreciate [property] value** and then be able to **execute intervention projects**, with an **entrepreneurial logic** and not a city, neighbourhood [vision]…''*
(B1.3-1 – GDL Planning)

This excerpt notes that deteriorated buildings are seen as an economic liability and are thus pushed into further decay to be able to redevelop them and elevate the value of the land or property. This follows an 'entrepreneurial logic' based on minimum input and maximum profit that can be expected from a private property owner. Other interviewed experts confirmed an 'entrepreneurial' lens adopted for the historic centre of GDL that was inspired by urban renewal of MC before it (B1.5, B1.6). This suggests that a social objective for the private sector to undertake considerations for a mix of housing prices to cater to a variety of population groups is not realistic. Separately, resident B1.3 connects increased land value and development costs to a lack of social housing, which would need to be developed by the state. Overall, group B interviewees in both cities consider an 'entrepreneurial logic' is having an inevitable social impact that will magnify social inequality (B1.6; B2.1).

Residents have formed organisational structures to resist and contest different stages of displacement processes in each historic centre. Although government-led property expropriation processes in GDL area are described by residents, displacement is still generally acknowledged as slow while local 'resistance' is still generally fragmented. Meanwhile, displacement processes in MC were continuously described as forced evictions by property owners and local 'resistance' groups have started uniting efforts to stop these processes. Resident C2.7 described a local residents' led effort against displacement processes across different *barrios* in the historic centre. Resident resistance processes in MC are more advanced, as they progressed into evictions, unlike in GDL.

Importantly, displacement challenges have created commonalities between long-standing (first-wave) and new residents (second-wave). An intention and effort to remain in the historic centre has been mentioned across groups and social boundaries have thus shifted against a third-wave resident. The shift of 'otherness' notions between first-wave and second-wave to a third-wave resident

is centred on fear of displacement by rising housing property value and investment, and the changing housing rental market. Notably another aspect considered is in relation to transient residence enabled by online platforms (ie. AirBnB). This is generally considered as a prospective residential structure that may be more profitable for IO or DO's and which may further damage residential tenure security.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the impact of different spatial and policy urban conservation and urban renewal approaches to housing on housing tenure and, ultimately, social equality in both historic centres were analysed. The Housing Security Evaluation matrix of Chapter 3 was used to assess intersecting tenure, affordability and quality elements and evaluate social equality implications of housing development in MC and GDL's historic centres and the Regina and Mezquitan corridors. This research followed Hohmann's focus on tenure security as the main aspect to ensure housing across groups and fulfil the Right to Housing. Yet tenure is inherently connected to affordability and quality (habitability) as well as place location and cultural meaning (Hohmann, 2013: 18). A discursive analysis of interviews with key long-standing and new residents within each historic centre showcased differences and similarities in housing structures and processes. An assessment of housing market options and housing displacement outcomes showed disproportional housing access and security for different owners and residents.

Housing was assessed as an asset and not a right, this is evidenced by a low consideration of social housing and few normative provisions and institutional capacity to implement this type of housing. Land use policies and norms articulate and mobilise a housing market potential rather than real housing demand. Moreover, potential housing investment is increasingly linked to prospective tenants. This positions long-standing tenants as less desirable than newer tenants within an envisioned 'creative' and 'dynamic' social urban dynamic for the historic centre. Reduced household compositions and small housing units are set out as an attractive and 'viable' option for an envisioned third-wave renting

resident (a new 'gentrifier'). This has created distance between first-wave (long-standing) and second-wave residents (first wave 'gentrifiers') with prospective third-wave residents. This separation is also reflected between owner types, with individual owners (IO's) as less preferable than developer owners (DO's). IO's are positioned as connected to traditional housing, with housing informality patterns. With low tenancy protections and incentives provisions for IO's, legal, financial, and spatial development incentives are set out for DO's.

To understand the rental housing market in both historic centres, a revision of previous and current housing dynamics was assessed. All residents confirm the existence of deterioration challenges (DC) as persistent in relation to social urban dynamics and housing informality. However, a clear link between urban landscape deterioration with housing stock deterioration was shown. These processes were described to have taken place over a long period of time. Moreover, diminished local authorities' urban investment and presence as well as subsequent low owner presence or absence were shown to have been influential in informal tenure (non-existent, frozen), low rents and low-quality housing structures. Ultimately, informal housing structures resulted in poorly maintained buildings and housing units.

In line with the dominant renewal agenda of each historic centre, shifts in property ownership and resident-types were set out to mobilise tenure formality and a well-preserved historic landscape. Residents along Corridor Regina and along or near Corridor Mezquitan described a shift in living dynamics in relation to work-centred over *barrio*-centred lifestyles. Notably, third-wave resident fit into an envisioned transitional resident with the possibility to relocate elsewhere depending on work or life-related changes (ie. to start a family). In MC, the process of renting from DO's was described as strict to break from previous informal renting processes that were conveyed by longstanding residents while renting to IO's. In GDL, it was noted tenants are sought by IO and DO's in relation to housing unit management and incremental rent prices economic capacity. In both cases building maintenance was positioned within the resident's scope of responsibilities. Moreover, second-wave resident expressed economic limitations

that further establish an aim to attract a third-wave resident with higher economic capacity.

Rises in property value were assessed in relation to rising rental housing market changes, especially where urban renewal agendas within each historic centre is taking place. In MC, flat rent prices in Corridor Regina tended to be above those across the historic centre. Although Corridor Mezquitan is still in process of development, rent in the area was either lower or significantly higher than the historic centre average. Generally, market rent prices between the 2008-2019 period have risen in both corridors, but this has been proportionally higher in the Corridor Mezquitan area. It was suggested this is due to a strong intention to establish a flat-oriented rental market in an area where family housing and room rent within low-stories houses have been traditionally dominant. In both cases rent prices have risen above existing residents' economic capacity, who felt increasingly excluded. This showed there is a negative impact of rent market changes on affordability and access for different socioeconomic groups', especially where urban renewal has taken or is taking place.

Within a context of exclusionary housing structures, soft and hard displacement processes were identified by residents in each historic centre. Changing housing market structures that were supported by local governments to ensure formal housing dynamics have resulted in urban displacement for first- and second-wave residents. This encouraged a second wave of gentrification that further separates social groups rather than integrates them. Although displacement has been described as initially gradual in both cases, forced evictions were increasingly frequent in MC. The places of destination from soft and hard displacement showed a downward socioeconomic mobility for displaced groups. Residents noted a lack of clarity in legal protections and expressed fear of imminent displacement. Because of this, residents have formed groups to challenge displacement and remain in the historic centres. Within a market-only housing landscape and non-regulated eviction processes, the urban renewal agenda to achieve urban conservation is having disproportionate outcomes for its existing and potential residents. Therefore, social equality through equal

tenure security and access opportunities is not being currently achieved in historic centres.

8 Chapter 8 – Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the theoretical, methodological, and empirical chapters to provide a discussion that assesses the main research question through each sub-question. The extent to which urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments for historic centres provide housing tenure security and ensure socially equal historic centres is explored by understanding the historic centre meaning and significance, and processes of landscape and housing commodification. Overall, the research evidenced that housing processes are positioned as underlying drivers to achieve urban renewal agendas and urban conservation aims. The research also noted that place branding and economic competitiveness notions are linked to a shifting public-private governance model aimed at reverting urban deterioration and housing informality. Hence, place objectification is assessed to understand a commodified housing landscape viable for the private sector investment. Furthermore, the three main discussions are developed to build on different, yet complimentary, aspects that expand into the overarching argument derived from the findings in this research.

The first section discusses the discursive and spatial formation and repositioning process of historic centres as influenced by national and UNESCO concepts and values. The second section builds on this to discuss the social urban units for urban renewal and an inherent disconnection with holistic place-making notions that position the historic centre within a market-oriented context. Lastly, the third section discusses the implications of a commodified housing landscape based on housing market-based structures that promote disproportionate ownership and tenancy structures which depart from the right to housing notions.

8.2 The 'Historic Centre' as an Institutional Construct Under Resignification Through Selective Narratives

This section discusses the findings of Chapter 5 to answer the first research sub-question on the role of UNESCO titles and values to inform local urban conservation and housing approaches within urban renewal agendas in the historic centres of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL). The Monument Zones (MZ) and World Heritage Site (WHS) delimitations are here positioned as discursive representations. These discursive narratives have resulted in integrated or fragmented meaning-formation and policy approaches into the historic centres of MC and GDL, respectively. This aims to build on Hajer's intention to understand the selection of one dominant discourse over others to assess how a problem is represented and approached (2003: 02). Heritage conservation and urban development approaches to protect or change the historic centres further highlight the role of language in policy processes to mobilise planning views (Rydin, 1998: 177). The repeated use of 'deterioration', 'repopulation', 'redensification', and 'renovation' to describe historic centres is here considered to validate language in a dominant discourse through which to address specific deterioration challenges (DC). Thus, 'urban conservation' is used as a container concept where different UNESCO titles function as tools to reposition historic centre significance and different spatial visions. Ultimately, historic centres are positioned as objectified landscapes for economic growth and physical management (Porter, 2016; Harvey, 2008).

8.2.1 Historic Centre as Construct Influenced by International and National Notions

As seen in Chapter 5, the delimitation of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) historic centres initially developed under national heritage conservation notions of Monument Zones (MZ). Historic centre delimitations were influenced by this and are here considered as the spatialisation of the discursive focus on monuments-based heritage buildings' value to assess historic place value. In this sense, the MZ is positioned under a modernist understanding of cultural sites (Logan, 2001: 52). In Mexico, this enables focus on the *amassing* of monuments

with different relevance levels, without considering holistic social and urban characteristics. Through this lens, the delimitation of the historic centres of MC and GDL were determined in relation to building value assessments (Pp. 163). As a result, the historic centre is here positioned as a *contingent* cultural place construct, that is legally protected against aesthetic and physical change. This follows monumental-aesthetic value notions that are disconnected from urban or social dynamics of the place (Schneider, 2001: 265-6). Moreover, this does not consider urban conservation approaches where diverse heritage conservation and different social spatial processes have been reviewed and planned for (Rodwell, 2007: 7).

Yet at the local level, international-local standings through different UNESCO titles also determined historic centre delimitation as well as cross-institutional integration or fragmentation to produce heritage or urban conservation-based approaches. Chapter 5 showed the World Heritage Site (WHS) delimitation for MC's historic centre is aligned with the MZ delimitation (Pp. 168). Meanwhile different local heritage conservation and planning delimitations in GDL showed fragmented concerns and approaches for the historic centre (Pp. 169-70). This highlighted the importance in the difference between *types* of UNESCO titles to influence historic centre-wide place meaning and significance formation. The WHS title encouraged an integrated urban conservation planning approach for MC's historic centre, while the non-encompassing World Heritage Monument (WHM) and Creative Cities Network (CCN) titles did not encourage the same for GDL. In both cases, local authorities continue to seek and work to retain UNESCO titles, to position each historic centre within cultural and urban place branding processes to mobilise place marketing aims (Labadi, 2016; Porter, 2016).

With the WHS title, the historic centre of MC is positioned as an 'iconic marker' for which an effort to produce an integrative planning instrument with inter-institutional cooperation to align a historic centre agenda was made (Salazar, 2010). The globalising status the title provides ensured a revision and repositioning of the historic centre at the local level (Askew, 2010; Labadi, 2016). Therefore, UNESCO guidance overpowered a national monumental value-based

framework and an approximation to urban conservation was produced through the Management Plan 2011 (MP-11). Although the CCN was sought to attract a similar standing of international-level attention for GDL's historic centre, it remains within a national framework that evidences tensions between heritage conservation and urban development visions.

Thus, national frameworks informed by the World Heritage Convention (WHC) and not the Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) Recommendation are guiding fragmented planning approaches for non-WHS historic centres in Mexico. However, the CCN title has had a level of influence and the Partial Plan 2017 (PP-17) conveys a more integrated historic centre instrument. Nonetheless, different area delimitations remain. This highlights an imbalance in built heritage value systems to attract investment that is based on international assessments. This value system promotes international-local place value competition structures that differentiate places ''rather than promote the idea of a shared and common past'' and which may be ultimately linked to a market-oriented governance framework (Labadi, 2013: 73; Labadi, 2016: 141).

Under different international-local structures, both MP-11 and PP-17 move towards separate levels of integration of urban conservation aims. Yet in both historic centres different dominant groups increasingly recognise the symbolic value of the historic place to achieve common objectives and interests (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 96). Moreover, at the local level the historic centre was positioned within a discursive duality of understanding, as a place with static cultural value but also as dynamic and with opportunity for further development. This evidenced a direct discursive tension (Pp. 165), as static and dynamic place understandings promote specific discursive aims (Hajer, 2006). Moreover, each definition implies a *preferred* form of knowledge (and practice) that is to produce and be re-produced by specific representations of reality (Hall, 2001: 74).

This research found that the heritage conservation lens positions the historic centre as a cultural *object* (static) while the urban development lens positions the historic centre as a cultural *landscape* attractive for investment (dynamic) (Pp. 166). Arguably, both assess the historic centre within a monumentalist vision that

positions the historic centre as a branded object or landscape. However, heritage conservation approaches aim to *protect* while urban development approaches aim to *change* the historic centre (Pp. 166). These discursive assessments of the historic centre inherently function under pre-fixed ideas and visions. In this sense, the cultural object or landscape responds to specific pre-conceived ideas of what the historic centre should look like and be. In both cases, this conveys an aesthetic assessment rather than a holistic approach (Schneider, 2001: 260). These approaches are prevalent in the assessments for the historic centres of MC and GDL. They confirm Bentacur's consideration that historic centres in Latin America are approached through pre-conceived nostalgic constructs that benefit elitist-aesthetic notions (2014: 04).

The use of three separate levels of space (public, semi-public/private and private), inspired by Madanipour's (2003) three 'forms of territory', to assess discursive and practical assessments further evidenced the heritage conservation and urban development approach gap (Pp. 173). Monuments and public spaces emerged as key features of historic centres to be assessed in dominant discourse beyond social urban dynamics. In this way, the different spatial levels were linked to different institutional understandings and linguistic structures to provide significance to spatial characteristics of historic centres. Yet this gap is centred on the value of the monument (or building) and the urban landscape, but does not sufficiently allow for a reflection of historic centres as holistic places. The argument was based on aesthetic intervention types for conservation or improvement concerns. Therefore, despite place vision differences, historic centre approaches have resulted in physical strategies concerned with the ''image of a place'' (Fincher et al., 2016: 520).

Ultimately, heritage conservation notions and urban development visions have positioned place value predominantly on the built landscape, without considering holistic visions for historic centres. This has been further exacerbated through the reassessment of local governance structures to undertake management of the different spatial levels. Public spaces management is undertaken by urban institutions, whereas semi-public/private spaces are managed by conservation institutions, and private spaces by private investment. However, this spatially

defined public-private governance model also evidences local institutional limitations and tensions. Differentiated place understandings (as forms of knowledge/practice) convey diffuse and unstable implementation structures as the three spatial levels inherently overlap and conflict because they are not independent units (Deleuze, 1986: 62).

Dominant concerns over monuments and public spaces highlight the role of the urban image when addressing historic centres. The condition of the street level is positioned as the unit through which to address and assess the value of both historic centres (Pp. 240). This positions public urban spaces as the stage for the production and re-production of preferred or envisioned realities. In this sense, sense of place is positioned as a physical feature that does not follow a holistic historic place 'revitalisationist' approach that departs from aesthetic and monuments-based place visions (Schneider, 2001: 260).

The dominant urban image focus at street level followed by heritage conservation and urban development institutions ultimately positions both historic centres as objectified landscapes, where the real tension lies in the type of management and redevelopment. The WHS and CCN titles were seen to have further encouraged this on the basis that place conservation and investment attraction should be ensured to retain the titles (Pp. 171). However, this is not consistent with evolving UNESCO urban conservation considerations, which call for socially-integrative urban landscapes (2011: 05; Pereira Roders, 2019: 22). This further highlights understandings of place 'authenticity' as tangible vestiges of the past, not connected to current social urban dynamics (Pp. 182).

Hence, it is the building and built environment that are taken as the reflection of historic authenticity, as inherently disconnected from traditional or ongoing social urban dynamics. This positions authenticity within a nostalgic meaning and significance of historic centres. In both case studies the international titles seemed to reinforce pre-existing place understandings and constructs, connected to historic place nostalgic and romanticised notions of the past (Betancur, 2014: 05; Cresswell, 2004: 50; Burgess, 1979: 319). Cresswell (2004) has previously warned against this, as romanticised place notions may also

promote negative experiences *through* and *in* a place (Pp. 50). This research thus calls for a departure from a romanticised place narrative where physical strategies and approaches to assess place image are used to re-direct social urban dynamics, as previously observed elsewhere by Fincher et al. (2016: 521).

Furthermore, despite UNESCO titles being determinant to provide a more or less integrative policy approach to historic centres. They continue to be assessed as stagnated or evolving places in discourse, as limited to legal place delimitation or urban planning approaches (Wu & Hou, 2015: 40). UNESCO WHS and CCN titles have influenced local MC and GDL place significance discourses and frameworks but national monumental assessments remain persistent. The commodification of both historic centres as landscapes is here assessed as the product of locally-based meaning-making processes, informed by national and international value systems and frameworks. Therefore, UNESCO titles may be positioned as an additional discursive tool to increase place value and further position an economic development agenda (Labadi, 2016; Porter, 2016). This was confirmed by officers in both cities, as they conveyed the importance of international titles to ensure supra-national place value and in this way influence local policy-making and investment attraction, as well as civic perception (Pp. 171). Thus, 'universal' values are articulated to encourage the attraction of investment into a legitimised well-known place.

It is here argued that interpretations of place value in both cities are still made through stagnated heritage conservation definitions, which have an important impact on social urban dynamics. Although existing social urban dynamics are evaluated as problematic in relation to the conditions of the built environment, the impact of nostalgic visions for historic centres is rarely assessed in relation to social urban implications. This suggests that a decision of *what is important* to assess in historic centres has been made, thus buildings and the urban form are prioritised to produce landscapes for gaze and investment (Cresswell, 2004: 11). This promotes exclusionary leisure and residential dynamics in historic centres, which derive in social and urban displacement processes. Hence, focus on the historic centre as a cultural landscape results in exclusionary place dynamics (Bentacur, 2014: 04). This stands in direct contradiction with calls to integrate

social urban aims to address historic centres and places in urban conservation literature (Pereira Roders, 2019).

8.2.2 Selective Narratives and Discourse for Shifting Significance and Approaches

The inherent cultural value of historic centres is not altered by place perception, yet perception was seen to affect place significance assessments through which planning instruments and strategies were approached (Pp. 185). In this sense, place significance assessments for both historic centres were dependant on positive/negative place narratives. Planning instruments and different officers' rhetoric across cities offered terms like 'abandonment', 'unsafety', 'dereliction', 'renovation', 'repopulation', and 'redensification' to assess each historic centre. Thus, language effectively set out a place problematisation narrative to foster social urban changes in historic centres within economic conceptions of commodification and places for consumer consumption (Kearns and Paddington, 2000; Colomb & Novy, 2017).

Therefore, the historic centre as a pre-fixed cultural and spatial construct is reassessed under selective discourses based on existing problems as narratives to shape planning processes and outcomes (Rydin, 1998: 178). Furthermore, Deterioration Challenges (DC) indicators were identified in this research to encase the main negative place condition descriptions that were continually used to reassess historic centres and assert a prospective renovation and repopulation agenda (Pp. 185). This confirms that the significance of historic centres was repositioned through the commodification of the urban landscape. This was sought to increase financial desirability that does not differ substantially from neoliberal market-based management structures for WHS's (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012; Colomb & Novy, 2017; Harvey, 2008).

This research also showed that the MP-11 and PP-17 instruments were key to position and develop market-oriented resignification processes through a 'recuperation' and 'renovation'-based narrative for each historic centre (Pp. 178). It was also shown that encompassing historic centre assessments focus on

aesthetic features. These approaches ultimately fail to differentiate transitional and residential social urban areas within historic centres and thus fail to approach them as heterogenous and complex places (Bentacur, 2014: 05). Moreover, DC are used in dominant discourse to highlight how the monument or historic landscape have been affected by social socioeconomic dynamics, as Labadi (2013) has also highlighted. Additionally, attained UNESCO titles are used in discourse to focus on urban image interventions that reposition both historic centre's significance and encourage investment and high-income social urban dynamics. This has been observed in top-down place-making approaches to create induced ''new visions for urban space[s]'' (Fincher et al., 2016: 5189).

These processes of discursive repositioning to attract investment and higher-income groups have been characteristic of urban renewal and regeneration of degraded areas in different contexts (Roberts and Sykes, 2000: 13). The data gathered showed that the discursive repositioning of the historic centres of MC and GDL was centred on physical characteristics at street level, to mobilise the change from negative to a positive place (Pp. 204). The change-based narrative was mobilised by a description of DC and the doormat potential of historic centres. This highlights place potential in relation to urban landscape improvement to attract private investment. This positions the urban renewal of the historic centres of MC and GDL as an urban beautification processes driven by the aim to retain and capitalise from UNESCO titles (Deben, Salet & Van Thoor, 2004; Labadi and Long, 2010).

Both historic centres are thus conveyed as a branded landscapes (Porter, 2016). The historic centre is thus positioned as an asset or commercial resource in itself to increase place value for touristic, retail and residential real estate investment (Salazar, 2010). Thus, UNESCO titles enable local governments to reposition the 'lost' value and potential of historic centres due to physical deterioration. This suggests UNESCO titles also play a role in induced place visions and expectations, through which selective nostalgic ideas of place beauty and authenticity are pursued. The stress on specific deterioration challenges separately or as a whole to convey the negative condition of the historic centre and position positive place ideals are here understood as the discursive

production of selective statements of 'truth' (Hall, 2001: 76). In both historic centres negative place characteristics are highlighted to re-assess place meaning and assert chosen designations of significance to reassert them (Cresswell, 2004).

The renewed attention to DC in historic centres is a consequence of newly assessed economic development opportunities derived from urban renewal and redevelopment processes. The research showed that social and urban challenges in MC and GDL historic centres are not recent or sudden (Chapter 7, Pp. 283-4), as previously expressed in literature for historic centres across Latin America (UNESCO, 2016). Despite this, an urgent 'need' to 'recover' is conveyed through a problem-solution agenda, which more specifically highlights social spatial occurrences such as abandonment, decay, and informality of public urban and private housing spaces. Madanipour's three spatial levels were useful to assess how public and private spatial levels affect each other negatively or positively. From this lens, urban renewal agendas are implemented to mobilise a housing market agenda and the outcome of both agendas is expected to create economically self-sustaining places.

This process has been observed in many contexts where local governments seek to raise a place's profile to attract non-governmental investment and funds (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016: 1097). This highlights the limited capacity by local governments to fully address and invest in encompassing urban renewal agendas, including heritage conservation and housing aims. This was confirmed as underlying discourse across heritage conservation, urban planning and housing officers for both case studies presented a landscape where place value is only to be recovered through private sector investment (Pp. 241). Aesthetic assessments of the historic landscape are set to evoke high-income investment and social urban dynamics, thus the urban image is used to direct specific urban visions and dynamics as previously noted by Lynch (1960). And an inextricable link between public, semi-public/private and private spaces is thus acknowledged. However, due to complexity in heritage conservation restrictions and costs beyond façade renovation of historic buildings, urban renewal has been undertaken separately for public and private spaces by public or private sectors.

Housing properties as private spaces have 'environmental' aesthetic value, therefore they are a set of collective buildings that give character to the historic centre but are also assets with permeable internal spatial, cultural and economic dynamics (Rama, 2012). Notably, there was a lack of official housing definitions in historic centres and were more consistently described negatively to position a potential housing market to mobilise changes in residential dynamics (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.2). It is through a negative-to-positive position to describe existing housing dynamics that 'renovation' or 'recovery' expressions to refer to the urban landscape were increasingly connected to housing dynamics. Housing traditions like *vecindades* were thus inherently acknowledged negatively, as sites where informality as well as social urban deterioration processes are fostered.

Descriptions of DC in historic centres in Chapter 5 and residents' descriptions of the housing stock within historic centres in Chapter 7 showed that historic centres possess social spatial characteristics typically associated with informal settlements. In this sense, both historic centres function as inner-city areas with 'dysfunctional' urban patterns that are more often acknowledged in relation to peripheral slums (Lombard, 2014: 03). Therefore, historic centres are inherently within a negative place narrative based on existing social urban challenges. Yet these social urban challenges are set to be transformed rather than addressed to produce a 'good' place. This suggests a process of social urban cleanse and replacement, where local populations are viewed as ''threat[s] to the site'' (Labadi, 2013: 89).

However, as described in Chapter 7, current owners and residents pointed to restrictive and costly heritage conservation processes to convey poor housing quality, increased housing informality and a deteriorated urban landscape. Therefore, heritage conservation frameworks are suggested as having negatively affected housing maintenance and quality upkeep (section 7.3.2). Therefore, a revised housing agenda suggests a wealthier owner and resident is needed to ensure property maintenance yet no incentives for upkeep for low-income stakeholders are set out. The limited capacity of the local government to address housing and heritage conservation challenges directly or by providing low-income

loans or subsidies are thus evidenced. Limited local government capacity has led to public-private partnerships that rely heavily on the private sector to preserve heritage, as Starr also pointed out (2010: 147). This highlights the significance of urban spaces as argumentative sites through which to guide a social urban transformation and re-direct housing ownership and residential dynamics.

To further position urban renewal agendas, planning instruments and officers continually stressed historic centres were mostly abandoned or underused. This research established that this is an argument based on true residential dynamics over many decades during which population levels were reduced, yet it was also clear that housing areas within historic centres still retain longstanding residents and communities (Chapter 7, section 7.3.1). The selective abandonment-repopulation dichotomy is thus predominantly used to mobilise an urban renewal agenda. This dichotomy suggests the partial acknowledgement of existing residents to point to DC, thus dominant discourse articulates a deliberately selected aspect of reality in relation to an existing context (McCann & Ward, 2015: 828). This narrative proposes the absence/omission of specific groups (ie. existing communities) and their contribution to the historic place. This serves to further evidence a resignification and spatial re-construction of urban and residential landscapes. Therefore, discursive notions of underuse or abandonment do not address social urban complexities but focus on neoliberal market mechanisms to commodify historic centres as cultural assets (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010).

Consequently, UNESCO titles convey more than cultural place value and function as aides to re-signify and reposition historic centre as viable places for investment. The title may thus assist market-based solutions and projects to *solve* social urban challenges (Albrechts, 2015: 512). Albrechts has previously recognised this as an inherently neoliberal approach to planning within a context of competitive cities promoted by multi-level government levels (Pp. 512-3). While the UNESCO WHS title raises MC's historic centre to attract international-level investment, the CCN title was sought in GDL to also mobilise international-level investment interest. Therefore, both historic centres are positioned as competitive

branded historic landscapes to promote and generate market-based investment (Porter, 2016: 41).

However, it is also shown that place branding is approached in different ways in each city, with each approach being influenced by the international-local value structure of each title. The historic centre of MC is approached from an outstanding cultural value lens, as culturally and historically rich, yet in continuous evolution. GDL's historic centre is approached through a creative economy lens, as a historic landscape that provides an attractive setting to foster creative economies and ensuing social urban dynamics. Nonetheless, both historic centres are promoted as competitive units where specific 'cultural' or 'creative' market-oriented investment projects are to be generated (Albrechts, 2015: 512).

The 'generation' of projects to ensure market investment have been integrated within the public-private governance model that separates public, semi-public/private, and private spatial investment structures within each historic centre's planning instrument (see Chapter 6). This is set to mobilise increasingly sanitised historic urban landscapes to attract touristic and residential investment (Labadi, 2016: 141; Colomb and Novy, 2017: 11). Moreover, a historic centre renovation aims inherently to address market-oriented urban development, heritage conservation and housing aims. Terms consistently used to articulate this such as 'living city' and urban 'dynamism' represent a prospective vision that depart from a 'negative' existing context. Therefore, it is in a prospective value assessment that positive place perception is established and where an increased economic viability potential is located.

The value of the UNESCO title and the historic centre are important to legitimise political agendas for historic centres, as highlighted by Starr (2010). New agendas are sought as an alternative to existing DC. Yet, while DC are consistently identified and addressed as underlying problems to achieve a 'good' place, they are here assessed as recurring incidents indicative of a structural problem (Hajer, 2006). The structural problem being related to systemic social inequality that is further encouraged and promoted by housing market-based urban renewal agendas. The different DC are therefore not just consequential but

reflective of recurring social urban poverty and marginalisation, as it has been highlighted by Lafrenz Samuels (2010) elsewhere. Yet, dominant discourse to reposition historic centres seems more concerned with *transforming* rather than *addressing* structural social urban challenges through holistic approaches to urban renewal of historic centres.

8.3   Place-Based Transformation for Urban Landscape (re)Production

This section discusses the findings for the second research sub-question about the extent in which urban renewal approaches and strategies for each historic centre integrated social equality aims. Chapter 6 showed the difference between the traditional *barrio* social spatial unit and the induced corridor social spatial unit to mobilise an urban renewal agenda. This highlights the importance of revised social spatial units to produce branded landscapes with focus on aesthetic features that depart from holistic placemaking aims. The street-level corridor is thus placed as the representation of a discursive agenda based on a revised market-based urban development and residential investment agenda. This research showed that community-building concepts such as the 'Right to the City' and placemaking have been institutionalised (Pp. 127), to mobilise non-holistic agendas such as the commodification of a beautified urban landscape (Ozogul & Tasan-Kok, 2018). 'Good place' notions based on 'successful place' expectations are thus reconfigured at the local level and mobilised through the 're-creation' of the historic architectural landscape. And corridors are thus positioned as sites that represent discourse and argumentations but also conflicting views and social urban tensions.

8.3.1   Historic Centre Social Spatial Units to Address Social Urban Challenges and Spatial Governance Arrangements

In both historic centres, a linear street 'corridor' along several blocks was established as the social spatial scale unit to ensure and mobilise urban renewal agendas and approaches. However, Chapter 6 showed that this is an induced unit to achieve urban renewal that breaks from the traditional *barrio* social spatial unit under which social and urban dynamics have developed within historic

centres (Pp. 231). The social spatial *barrio* unit would thus be the holistic unit to address and promote encompassing context-based agendas to achieve social equality. This suggests that corridors are positioned as branded urban landscapes that are sought to attract specific new private investment and socioeconomic dynamics (Porter, 2016). In this sense, the commodification of historic landscapes as commercial resources does not consider inherent social urban dynamics of the place.

It is, however, important to note that the *barrio* social spatial unit and delimitations were integrated into the MP-11 (MC) and PP-17 (GDL) planning instruments to convey context-based interests and aims. This suggests that the value of *barrios* as intrinsic social spatial units to address historic centres is not lost to policymakers. Yet despite this, strategies focus on the street level through a set of envisioned corridors. *Barrios* are also used to convey 'empty' or deteriorated inner-'landscapes' with aggregate investment value for which prospective social urban dynamics are 'envisioned' (Porter, 2016). The integration of *barrios* to assess and envision the street-level suggests a top-down approach to small-scale planning interventions that are expected to gradually permeate throughout the historic centre (Fincher et al., 2016: 519). In this way, social urban dynamics of *barrios* are not significantly acknowledged as relevant but excluded from prospective historic centre visions.

This further highlights the commodification process conveyed by a corridor-based approach to mobilise market oriented urban models. This has been previously noted as implemented elsewhere to mobilise tourism development (Colomb & Novy, 2017; Labadi & Long, 210). Yet the findings of this research are closer to Porter's assertion that these processes are ultimately mobilised to attract residential developers as investors (2016: 41). Street-level corridor strategies are thus the representation of a discursive agenda based on revised urban and residential investment and dynamics.

As Porter also asserted, these processes seem to be facilitated by the WHS title as a foundation and driver for place branding strategies (2016: 12). In the historic centres of MC and GDL, the top-down nature of UNESCO titles and national MZ

historic centre assessments further allowed for inductive urban renewal processes based on specific place visions. At the local level, the framework and strategy for the historic centre of MC was highly influenced by the WHS title, while the CCN was influential for the historic centre of GDL. Ultimately, both UNESCO titles were used to promote and ensure corridor-based place branding agendas.

Moreover, heritage conservation restrictions and local government implementation limitations to address urban conservation and housing challenges strengthened these processes. A move towards a market-oriented governance model where local governments depend on private sector investment and are no longer able to fully direct governance processes was thus observed in both cases (Kearns and Paddinson, 2000: 846). Therefore, the 'production' of an attractive historic landscape was mobilised to encourage public-private governance 'partnership' models (Rydin, 1998). In this sense, the public space was positioned as an asset to encourage and provide assurance to private sector investment.

Importantly, the corridor-based urban renewal agenda can be linked to national (LUD) interpretations of 'the right to the city', as this interpretation focuses on street-level physical interventions (Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). From the national to the local levels, 'right to the city' and place-making concepts are discursively articulated to convey a holistic urban renewal agenda. Yet as discussed in Chapter 6, it is ultimately the corridor within a market-oriented urban agenda that was pursued although a holistic urban renewal agenda would be better achieved by addressing barrios and their existing social spatial structure. This breaks from original 'right to the city' definitions and aims (Lefebvre, 1968). This evidences an issue with knowledge and policy transfer between different contexts, as the ultimate implementation of holistic planning concepts may not be consistent with their initial definition, as highlighted by many authors (Healy, 2011; Robinson, 2013).

The Lefebvrian concept of 'Right to the City' is used as both a discursive and operational notion to intervene public spaces and promote inter-institutional and civic urban agendas, as also seen for urban agendas of other cities in Latin

America (Minuchin, 2019). In Mexican legislation this concept has been used as a term to focus on place-design strategies to convey and validate a set of actions for public spaces. It is here argued that the integration of the 'Right to the City' into the planning agenda has been as a 'political practice' that fails to acknowledge a conceptual definition concerned with individual and collective rights (Minuchin, 2019). At the local level, this was reflected in the integration of spatial justice concepts to reposition and drive urban development investment agendas.

Both MP-11 and PP-17 as well as statements from planning officers used the placemaking concept to convey top-down street improvement processes that mobilise the repositioning of each historic centre. At the local level, placemaking is more strongly highlighted to mobilise street-level public space interventions. This showcases a partial understanding of 'universal' socially-integrative concepts and puts into question their interpretation and application for local implementation under interpretations that are not accompanied by original conceptions (Roy, 2009: 820; Healey, 2011: 196). Thus, concepts are used as terms that break from initial right to the city or placemaking definitions that are concerned with community-building processes (Fincher et al, 2016). More specifically, the placemaking interpretation at the local level for each historic centre highlights the potentially problematic urban design-based applications of the placemaking concept for institutional rather than community-based purposes (Ozogul & Tasan-Kok, 2018).

Ultimately, strategies for both historic centres focus on the street-level through corridor interventions centred on street beautification processes based on architectural features and induced cultural dynamics (Carmona et al., 2018: 01). Therefore, it is envisioned or re-imagined place dynamics that are 'produced' in space and result in curated urban landscapes. This is tied to notions of place authenticity as well as 'good' place interpretations based on aesthetic-nostalgic ideals that may not contemplate and incorporate current social urban dynamics (Burgess on Foley 1979; Cresswell, 2004; Betancur, 2014). Thus, these place transformation processes consistently position a stronger focus on the physical elements of historic centres as a vehicle to attract investment away from social

integration considerations (Labadi, 2013; Porter, 2017; Ozogul & Tasan-Kok, 2018; Carmona et al.; 2018). Moreover, streets as appealing cultural public spaces are laid out to be replicated across the historic centre as induced 'good practice' models.

Significantly, the corridor unit was mobilised to achieve an economically independent and self-sustaining historic centre. Chapter 6 showed that local governments aimed to achieve this by undertaking urban improvement actions to produce transformed urban landscapes (section 6.3). Moreover, each planning instrument is set out as a 'guiding' framework to provide a layout for how the historic centre should be maintained and developed by non-government stakeholders. This is in line with neoliberal market-oriented governance, which reflects the economic strains of local governments in historic areas with reduced government budgets to fulfil urban agendas (Martinez Yanez, 2012; Starr, 2010). Morales et al have previously positioned this governance model in Latin America as embedded in increased market and middle-class reliance to fulfil urban agendas (2016: 1092). However, Chapter 7 showed low government investment in historic centres over time has resulted in increased urban deterioration and housing informality processes. Therefore, it might be presumed that self-sustaining urban units as they have been sought for both historic centres cannot be fully expected to function without some normative and spatial intervention involvement from the local governments.

Ultimately, the corridor is the site where institutional conflicts and limitations to implement policy and social argumentations as well as expectations are represented (Davies, 2005: 320-1). Moreover, the governance model identified in this research highlights an intention to reassess not only residential real estate markets within historic centres, but also residential dynamics and resident types (Figure 6-11, section 6.3.1). The public space is thus positioned as a medium to reconstitute social urban practices derived from a re-assessed housing market. Therefore, attention to the physical condition of individual buildings and investment for property conservation and maintenance were shown to be ultimately strong elements to assess urban renewal (section 6.3.1). Furthermore, property-based heritage conservation and housing market assessments and

approaches were further reinforced by a dominance of privately owned properties in both historic centres. In this way, corridors fall within Albrecht's (2015) assessment of neoliberal planning projects to mobilise a competitive market agenda with tourism and/or residential investment aims.

Although an encompassing vision of the urban landscape is established, the property unit is ultimately how urban and property conservation and renewal are assessed. Therefore, the urban vision of the corridor is an aesthetic parameter to be maintained by private stakeholders who may have a different vision and expectation for their property and its context. Yet temporary improvement solutions to produce a financially desirable place for which governance arrangements as well as financial, spatial, and legal arrangements that benefit 'new' property owners (developers) have been designed (Harvey, 2008). Therefore, a break from traditional *barrio* social urban units and dynamics to mobilise corridor landscapes and property investment is part of an economic and social restructuration process. This has been described elsewhere as an intensive social urban restructuring process in Latin American inner-city areas (Lopez-Morales, 2016: 1096).

8.3.2 Urban 'Image: Place Commodification Structure and Implementation Tensions

The corridors are the main units and 'sites of argumentation' for a context-based urban renewal process that effectively mobilises a path to historic centre-wide commodification. Chapter 6 showed a set of corridors with different retail, hospitality, touristic and cultural 'vocations' were mobilised by local instruments and/or officers. The Regina and Mezquitan corridors in MC and GDL's historic centres, respectively, were positioned as 'Cultural Corridors' to articulate a housing market-oriented urban renewal agenda. Notably, both corridors have historically fostered local cultural activities and housing traditions. This suggests social urban dynamics were partially acknowledged to determine their 'Cultural Corridor' value. The symbolic value of a cultural corridor within the historic centre was therefore used as a platform to mobilise urban renewal interventions (Le Gales, 2001).

The cultural value through which to position each corridor as commercial resources inherently points to a long-term historic centre-wide commodification process (Opillard, 2017: 134). Furthermore, the historic features of the corridors in relation to physical characteristics were the main focus is to assert cultural place identity. Subsequently, urban interventions were then set out to confirm a 'cultural' place value. This has been previously described as a process where the historically accumulated social urban elements of the built landscape are approached through pre-defined place visions (Labadi, 2010: 72; Porter, 2016: 132). A process of reinterpretation of the urban historic landscape to inherently reassess and reorganise social urban dynamics was thus seen in both historic centres.

Significantly, sense of place was positioned in dominant discourse as an aesthetic physical feature of the historic urban landscape. Sense of place was therefore used as a strategic unique characteristic of the historic landscape to attract new investments and people (Fincher et al, 2016: 519). In this way, an institutionalised understanding of sense of place inherently negates the relation between people and place and, more importantly, the attachment, identity and security conveyed through sense of place (Cresswell, 2004: 12). Moreover, the consistent description of historic centres as empty further encouraged a limited assessment of existing social urban dynamics and a community-based sense of place. This departs from key placemaking aims to enhance existing physical and social dynamics and processes (Fincher et al., 2016: 518). The corridor was thus repositioned as a public historic landscape embedded in a physically-located sense of place. Therefore, a cultural corridor vocation can be situated as a top-down urban intervention and residential market-based agenda that is inherently unrelated to existing social urban dynamics.

The commodification of a beautified urban landscape was articulated and operationalised to revert or eliminate deterioration challenges (DC) and to revert previous negative place conditions. Therefore, the beautification of historic landscape was sought through the implementation of selective discourses within local agendas (Rydin, 1998). As was shown in Chapter 5, negative place

associations played an important part in historic centre assessments and urban improvement was thus mobilised to encourage good place perception and private sector investment. Arguably, 'good place' notions are based on 'successful place' expectations, yet the success of a place is subjective to the different stakeholders who benefit or not from this process. Short and Livingstone (2020) have argued this is a subjective idea that may benefit the markets operating in the areas yet it is questionable whether this is also beneficial to the local communities (Pp. 175).

In this sense, residents of both historic centres considered 'good place' notions to be a top-down assessment of social urban well-being of the historic centre. Moreover, residents stressed this is more indicative of place visions and economic expectations than real concern for existing social urban dynamics. In both cases, 'good place' notions to be reproduced through each cultural corridor was inherently limited to physical strategies and urban image improvement to encourage social urban changes (Fincher et al, 2020: 520). This confirms Betancur's positioning of urban agendas for historic centres in Latin America as inherently focused on aesthetic and market values over holistic placemaking aims (2014: 05).

The corridor is thus a reflection of the discursive aim to produce a 'good' place within the historic centre where medium to high socioeconomic dynamics and private sector investment can be fostered. However, this evidences a top-down 'good city' vision for historic centres that is based on aesthetic understandings of urban interventions typically in the global 'North' (Watson, 2009: 2261). This approach significantly overlooks local social urban dynamics and confirms residents concerns that only select groups who can afford leisure and residential dynamics will be able to access a commodified historic centre (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2004: 49). This approach is thus at odds with holistic urban agendas that are inherently promoted by instruments such as the HUL (UNESCO, 2011) and the 'New Urban Agenda' (UN-Habitat, 2016).

The urban renewal approach for both historic centres focused on the aesthetic value of historic buildings and urban design elements. A mix of high and middle-value historic buildings with 'vernacular' buildings were found in in both corridors.

Although vernacular buildings have important aesthetic value, in both local contexts vernacular buildings were inherently positioned by officers as less valuable yet also where place 'character' or an aesthetic sense of place could be located. Moreover, urban design interventions that aimed to retain place character and drive urban renewal and housing market strategies were assessed (Short and Livingstone, 2020: 184).

An idea of the urban image of the historic centre is thus expected to have been formed based on the 're-creation' of the historic architectural landscape, as previously asserted by Porter (2016: 132). Hence, the value of the street was placed on the façade and the urban space was positioned as an objectified historic urban landscape. Importantly, although the façade may belong to a privately owned property, local authorities intervened them in some cases to kickstart the urban improvement of the corridor. The focus on the historic architectural features of buildings from the street level over a focus on the holistic historic landscape confirmed a process of spatialisation of nostalgic pre-constructed ideals (Labadi, 2016: 141). This is here considered to be based on the representation of selective narratives of social and spatial characteristics of historic centres.

In both corridors, these social and spatial characteristics were attached to well-maintained architectural elements and facades, building heights, and urban design elements such as lighting posts and signage. Yet elements such as street pedestrianisation and graffiti murals were also promoted to drive a forward-looking vision for historic centres. A selective set of physical elements consented by heritage conservation regulations were thus implemented to 'transform' each corridor. In this way, Hall's assessment of a selective version of 'the truth' as mobilised through discourse can be located in space, as perpetuated discursive practices were here used to reinforce and reproduce specific urban visions and interests for each corridor (Hall, 2001: 76). However, this is a partial solution to attract private sector property investment to ensure long-term property and urban maintenance

Notably, the modifications made to the urban realm in the Regina and Mezquitan corridors were remarkably similar, as they focused on the reorganisation of pedestrian and commercial areas, street safety and elements that point to an artistic street vocation. Thus, some DC were intended to be addressed through design modifications to the physical fabric of each corridor (Carmona et al, 2018: 11). Importantly, the street design interventions are similar yet they are not directly linked as part of a unified corridor-based urban renewal agenda beyond national notions of public spaces design. This suggests that local aesthetic notions for historic centres have been gathered, shared, and reproduced to fabricate an interpreted version of place quality based on specific physical characteristics. Although this is mobilised to produce changes in economic dynamics in the corridors, these economic changes do not necessarily benefit the pre-existing local economy (Pp. 03).

A spatial sanitisation process to remove informal retail and challenging social dynamics was described for both corridors and across both historic centres (Pp. 247-8). However, this entailed a local government-led displacement process of socioeconomic dynamics, rather than an attempt to address social urban challenges. In this sense, the production of curated or re-interpreted urban places as settings or cultural landscapes to encourage new socioeconomic dynamics was mobilised (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2004). It is here considered that this will only deepen social urban inequalities, as the historic centre and the chosen corridors for development inherently are positioned as vehicles to displace rather than address social urban challenges.

The main expectation driving the urban renewal agenda and 'Cultural Corridor' strategy were seen to rely on the creation of visually pleasant urban landscapes to encourage 'good' place perception and provide financial security to private sector investment. Moreover, this was expected to also mobilise new younger and higher-income retail and residential urban dynamics. This has been previously described in the European and Latin American contexts to assert the role of 'real estate islands' to attract wealthy or 'creative' groups of people (Franco & McDonald, 2018; Lopez-Morales, 2016; Betancur, 2014). Therefore, the corridors may be positioned as housing-oriented real estate 'islands' with revised

socioeconomic dynamics within the historic centres. These dynamics are expected to gradually permeate across both historic centres. However, this ultimately departs from UNESCO's aim to retain existing urban, cultural, social and economic activities and meanings (2011: 01).

Chapter 6 also showed that changes in retail due to urban transformation have produced challenges for long-term residential and community dynamics. Economic value was thus produced for new investment but not added to retail and services from before urban renewal took place (Carmona et al, 2018: 03). Moreover, this also applied to long-standing residents who described a raise in living costs and new challenges produced from new retail and hospitality activities that were not compatible with residential dynamics. The Regina corridor showcased these processes, which were also increasingly found in the Mezquitan corridor. This supports Fincher et al.'s argument that an imbalance is created through non-holistic placemaking, which disproportionately affects low-income local communities (2016: 519).

Ultimately, the risk of long-standing residents' departure because of a gradual socioeconomic detachment and displacement risks the eventual re-constitution of historic-place cultural and spatial dynamics. Because of this, sense of place in the historic centre will be determined by new social urban dynamics contained within a place of curated 'character'. Ultimately, market-based governance will result in social conflict (Davies, 2005). Chapter 6 showed that social spatial complexities have arisen due to a dissonance between dominant and resident-based understandings of sense of place. This dissonance is seen as reflected in the implementation of corridors that convey new urban centralities separate from the *barrio* unit to encourage new social urban dynamics.

Importantly, interviewed academics considered that intermittently addressed places could create new 'pockets' of deterioration rather than 'self-sustaining' urban units. The corridors as new neighbourhood-scale centralities that break from a *barrio* structure are expected to function under private investment and wealthier resident management. Thus, economic capacity of residents emerges as an important factor for place management and maintenance contributions

(Labadi, 2013). Ultimately, low institutional capacity and resources to maintain and manage the historic centre are seen to be driving urban renewal economic expectations and the reliance on specific types of residents to manage them (section 7.4.2). This is part of worldwide process of state-led path gentrification, as seen in different places worldwide (Leckie, 1992; Betancur, 2014; Labadi, 2016; Lopez-Morales, 2016). Moreover, this evidences the role of local planning instruments to address the historic centre as a place with unique physical landscape value and high economic performance expectations (Kearns & Paddison, 2000: 846).

8.4   Housing as A Social and Market Asset in a Historic Landscape

This section discusses findings on the third sub-research question about the impact of urban conservation within urban renewal approaches on housing tenure security in historic centres. The rental housing market is expected by local authorities to 'revert' urban DC's and housing informality. This research identified Individual Owners (IO) and existing residents as non-contributing stakeholders in dominant discourse, while Developer Owners (DO) are expected by local authorities to have long-term investment interest in properties. Local authorities expect the latter to fulfil a dominant housing formality policy and urban conservation aims. Hence, 'potential' versus 'real' housing landscapes are sought to raise economic value of properties and achieve a commodified historic centre that is attractive for investment (Lopez-Morales, 2016: 1096). A reconfiguration of housing structures to revert housing informality and low housing quality has enabled exclusion from urban renewal areas with a revised housing market aimed for a prospective new resident. Because the current regulatory system has created tenure security challenges, this research follows Hohmann (2014) when discussing the right to housing to identify the creation of 'development islands' to assess changes in community structures and displacement processes.

8.4.1 Structural Housing Reconfiguration: The Formalisation of Housing Through the Housing Market

In local authorities' dominant discourse the expectation that the rental housing market will 'revert' urban DC's and housing informality is articulated and promoted (section 7.3.2). this is undertaken through an 'entrepreneurial' lens in GDL to assert a purposeful state-led process to raise land and property values and encourage high-level economic flows (B1.3 quote in Pp. 311). Consequently, the latest urban renewal agendas (between 2008-2019) focus on developer owners (DO) and a new housing market for historic centres. Housing has thus been positioned as a commodified asset and as an instrument to attract specialised housing real estate firms. However, high-finance within a number of super-firms and a financialised landscape was not identified as yet developed in these historic centres (Sassen, 2009; Sassen, 2018). Importantly, this housing market was not dominant before these urban renewal processes in both historic centres, instead modest to low-income areas vulnerable to commodification processes and consequential sharp inequality were identified (2018: 586).

Housing was continually highlighted by local authorities as a problematic aspect to point out deterioration challenges (DC) in the urban landscape. Hence, physical and social aspects of housing were assessed to differentiate between types of owners and residents, as well as housing unit types and tenure structures to assess housing deterioration. Moreover, Individual Owners (IO) of properties were situated in discourse as not able to manage properties in MC and as ignorant in relation to heritage conservation in GDL (Pp. 290). Institutionalised discourse suggested that this enabled the pauperised housing stock and residential informality, thus responsibility for community problematisation discourses was placed on owners (Labadi and Long, 2010). Developer Owners (DO) were discursively promoted by local authorities to assert formal housing arrangements where residents are chosen based on their income and thus fulfil property improvement and urban conservation aims. Through this, urban renewal areas are catered for middle-income groups to restructure the housing market (Lopez-Morales et al, 2016: 1096; Betancur, 2014: 02). This establishes a clear difference between types of owners and residents that departs from planning instruments' aim to encourage inclusive urban environments.

However, restrictive heritage conservation regulations and long administrative processes made maintenance difficult for IO and/or tenants (Pp. 290-1). While these aspects also deterred DO property investment, more legal, financial, and spatial incentives were established to mobilise a DO investment that far outbalanced similar or corresponding mechanisms for IO's. This shows an 'asymmetric' housing market structure agenda based on housing development potential that is supported by negative property owners and resident-type narratives (Labadi, 2013: 89). To achieve formal housing structures, differences between demographic groups to mobilise a 'good place' vision were established in urban agendas for both historic centres (see previous section 3.2). Through this social urban restructuration, housing is placed as a commodity to establish a change in owner and occupational stakeholders with the aim to ensure the maintenance of the historic centre and ensure high value of housing properties.

Moreover, local officers conveyed a difficulty to provide social housing due to high land values and building restoration costs to further position low viability of social housing development and a reliance on the housing market. Land and property values have especially risen along the renovated Cultural Corridors Regina and Mezquitan, in which the urban renewal agenda is located and set to be replicated throughout the historic centres. Therefore, a concern for the physical fabric and its historic character is also motivated by an interest to raise economic value of properties to achieve a commodified historic centre that is attractive for investment (Lopez-Morales, 2016: 1096). A normative consideration to develop social housing units in conjunction to market housing projections could have been considered, as the provision of housing for all social groups to fulfil social justice and equality aims is inherently normative and political (Harvey, 2009). Yet the research showed that social housing in Mexico has not been provided by the state but through public-private credit ownership structures for workers that are usually located in urban peripheries (Chapter 7, figure 7-5). It is to some of these areas that residents referred to as potential destinations from displacement from historic centres.

Chapter 7 further showed that a prospective housing potential demand based on changing demographic characteristics has been used to restructure the housing

market agenda. While some efforts have been made by local housing institutions to promote housing for low-income groups, especially in MC, a comprehensive and effective mixed housing agenda was not achieved. Middle to high-income potential demand has been sought over an existing low-income housing need through different financial mechanisms and strategies (Delgadillo-Polanco: 2008). Moreover, local authorities considered formality of housing as a main concern, as the informal economic sector has an important presence in both historic centres (not just in retail but in housing structures) (Pp. 834; Vazquez Piombo: 2015). Chapter 7 also showed the deteriorated housing stock in both historic centres has been occupied by low to medium income groups under flexible or informal arrangements that do not align with the dominant housing aims for historic centres. Yet planning instruments do not directly undertake the formalisation of housing and rely on DO to streamline housing tenure patterns prevalent for 20-30 years. The failure to develop a social housing agenda along with a new housing market agenda is here considered to widen formality and inequality gaps rather than addressing social urban challenges.

The utilisation of housing within a structure based on expectations for potential investment is here considered as directly linked to the repositioning of historic centres as 'objects of desire', a reconfiguration of economic needs and aspirations (Lopez-Morales et al., 2016: 1099). It was the driving notion of 'real' versus 'potential' landscapes that underlined the housing market agenda for both historic centres. This asserts the economic expectations of an induced housing market accompanied by a shifting occupational-tenure model situated to provide certainty within a commodified urban landscape and viable conditions for housing real estate investment. In this way, commodification through the renovation of historic centres is set to tackle and solve challenging occupational dynamics (Robert, Sykes & Granger, 2000: 13).

A structural shift from home ownership to flat or room renting for residents within a re-densified urban landscape managed by DO's is set out to fulfil this vision. Densification is promoted in both historic centres although changes to the urban landscape are at odds with heritage conservation officers, who generally aim to limit pressure for changes to the built environment (Short and Livingstone, 2020:

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181). In MC buildings are higher and densification is approached through smaller housing units for a younger demographic, while in GDL low building heights are sought to be vertically extended through scaled developments. In both cases increased density within existing and/or vertically extended buildings is sought.

Moreover, 'Cultural' corridors with housing potential were used in both historic centres as selected real estate islands for densification (Bentacur, 2014). Both corridors were positioned as housing development areas with city-level economic competitive potential. While urban renewal in the areas took place because of their re-assessed international titles or recognition value, real estate investment interest was used to promote corridor-specific development. Thus, the market housing agenda has been promoted after UNESCO recognition attracted interest from DO to investment in housing properties (ie. Slim in MC) (Delgadillo-Polanco, 2008: 836). In this context, smaller housing units for 'creative' groups, 'young professionals' or 'students' have been marketed as viable housing options to ensure long-term financial returns for developers and ensure stable tax catchment for local authorities.

In this landscape, the separation of housing areas within the historic centre to position housing market development areas suggests an economic agenda that does not sufficiently address existing housing challenges through efficient planning mechanisms. This constitutes a process of inner-city spatial differentiation that encourages negative social urban stereotypes. Lombard (2014) has shown that stereotyping informal places may often lead to increased marginalisation processes and, later, to institutionally justified redevelopment and displacement processes (Pp. 04). Notably, both corridors were not initially the most marginalised *barrios* within both historic centres yet they have been used to address DC more prevalent in other *barrios*. This further serves to legitimise the differentiation of types of potential owners and residents to establish formal housing market and household structures that exclude existing local populations.

For this, reduced households and small housing units in a formalised housing market and attractive place are expected to be a 'viable' option for an envisioned 'younger' renting resident. An increasingly 'strict' and selective renting attainment

process described by residents in both historic centres further establishes the underlying aim to revert low-income housing dynamics. Chapter 7 showed that housing rent values have increased in both historic centres, especially near and along each corridor (Pp. 296-8). While flats have been a fixed unit for housing rent in MC, this unit is being introduced in GDL, where a room within a house has been the traditional unit for renting. Notably, the rental housing market that breaks from previous home-ownership a tradition is growing faster in GDL. This confirms the shift to new housing dynamics in GDL's historic centre as aligned to a housing market already established in the historic centre of MC. Hence, changes in household types and units promote a more expensive rental housing market along cultural corridors in relation to a changed social urban context (Pattillo, 2013: 512).

This neoliberal housing market model has been used in 'less complex' *barrios* with development 'potential'. Hence, the aim to address DC is undertaken through corridors where DC are present but less prevalent than in other areas in both historic centres. This shows a concern for the spatial environment that will ensure investment viability for DO. This further suggests there is low confidence in the extent of housing investment the historic centre overall can attract without a corridor-oriented urban renewal agenda. This model is set to be replicated within barrios across historic centres and nationally. However, the extent of replicability of this model in *barrios* and historic centres with higher levels of poverty, unsafety and informality is here questioned. This confirms Bentacur's assessment for Latin American gentrification processes as based on governance shifts, spatial interventions, and discursive legitimation processes (2014: 03). Housing is thus located as a vehicle within renovated sites of argumentation to legitimise assessed solutions to existing social urban challenges.

8.4.2 *Right to Housing Lens: Integrative or Exclusionary Housing Outcomes*

The housing market structure set out by local government in the planning instruments for both historic centres evidence a focus on ownership 'arrangements' (Pattillo, 2013). These arrangements promote bank loans, subsidies and incentives that disproportionately benefit DO's over IO's. Through

the separation of spatial, financial, and legal provisions and incentives directed at IO's and DO's, the planning instruments have accelerated processes of 'otherness' between different residential groups in historic centres. Hence, this research positions housing as an inherently normative action where procedures and outcomes of policies determine implications for equality objectives (Hay, 1995: 504; Hepple, 2004: 31). A landscape of separation between groups that fail to recognise mutual common interests was promoted within renewed corridors but also across the historic centre and the different 'conditions and surroundings' within them (Van Kempen, 2000: 58).

This research followed Hohmann's (2014) consideration of tenure as the main element to address the right to housing (Pp. 21). Tenure security and opportunity for attainment of housing was an important lens through which to analyse housing changes in historic centres in combination with affordability and habitability (here as 'quality') (Pp. 21; Chapter 7, section 7.3). Housing affordability and quality are intersecting elements to understand the impact of urban conservation frameworks on tenure within urban renewal processes. Through the descriptions of the housing context, Chapter 7 showed that a decrease in housing formality, prices and quality were long processes in historic centres that resulted in unstable tenure conditions (section 7.3.1). This has been exacerbated as urban renewal-based changes in the housing market towards higher housing formality, prices and quality were out of reach for many low-income residents under already unstable housing tenure conditions. Hence, the housing market has been directly connected to place significance constructs and visions, and ownership and tenure structures were adapted to mobilise them.

The differentiation between IO and DO responsibilities and management capacities as well as resident types differentiation under re-shaped tenure structures further assert renewed place visions. Yet it is also established that the role of public space intervention in raising or lowering land and property value has had a direct effect on IO presence or absence that has further enabled or even *produced* informality housing tenure dynamics for residents. Therefore, low public investment in historic centres has resulted in low property value and low owner investment as well as increased housing informality. This follows

Hohmann's assertion that housing is an asset for which expenses (such as maintenance) can represent financial risks rather than investment on a good for certain groups (Pp. 24). Housing properties became an asset for DO, while housing property investment became a risk for IO and low-income residents with limited capacity for rent increases. Hence, housing as an asset was seen to be stronger after urban renewal has taken place.

Chapter 7 showed housing maintenance actions decreased overtime alongside the decrease of state investment in the urban realm, as other places in the city with higher economic value were prioritised for housing development (as seen in Chapter 4). It is here considered that the main reason for low owner investment on properties is connected to decreased value of land and properties in historic centres. Moreover, similarities in discourses between long-standing residents of both cities revealed processes and implications of decreased urban and housing quality as linked to increasing informal tenure and affordability arrangements. Although each historic centre has undergone differentiated processes of disinvestment trends as well as urban renewal approaches, both reflect similar urban and housing process of deterioration. In both cases this resulted in tenancy changes such as void or no contracts, frozen rents, cheap rents, or informal occupation. This follows Harvey's findings that differentiated assessments for areas across the city encourages social urban inequalities that leaves already vulnerable groups more vulnerable (Harvey, 2009: 97; Harvey, 2008: 36). In the historic centres of MC and GDL, this is evidenced by the increased vulnerability of residents overtime as deterioration increased, followed by an inherent exclusion from urban renewal areas with a revised housing market. This suggests the risk or reality of displacement to more marginalised places that further divide the 'formal' and 'informal' city (Lombard, 2014: 04).

Displacement has highlighted an asymmetry in normative focus on DO-based provision and incentives in comparison with those provided for IO's and tenants. Additionally, although tenant-landlord provisions are found in each city's Civil Codes, added provisions in the MP-11 and PP-17 were not found in the same level as DO investment-oriented provisions. Homeownership has also seen a shift towards DO ownership and a rental market for young groups. The

occupational characteristics of both historic centres suggests that the family housing model is still prevalent yet the housing market along both corridors has been aimed towards single or co-sharing models under DO's. Tenure structures mixed across the economic and demographic spectrum are necessary for an integrative housing policy that is not delivered for the historic centres of MC or GDL. This finding implies that current norms and policies do not challenge a free-market commodity of housing, which Pattillo has positioned as key to provide ''a mixed political economy in the realm of housing'' to ensure the right to housing (2013: 521).

Three types of residents were identified in this research after undertaking an analysis of interviewed residents' discourse: long-standing (1st type), first-wave 'gentrifier' (2nd type) and second-wave 'gentrifier' (3rd type). Notably, 3rd type resident is yet to arrive but expectations are already placed on them. Low to high economic, 'reasonable', and expensive housing options (as identified by resident C1.6) can be generally connected to each type of resident in dominant discourse. Thus, levels of housing tenure structures are linked to demographic groups and housing formality, affordability, and quality. This research showed the role of the government to promote tenure structures in a context of strained relations between existing tenants and owners (IO or DO). Hence, this research challenges the notion that tenant and owners in central areas of Mexico share similar social characteristics and economic capacity (Gilbert, 1987: 04).

Historic centres thus represent a paradox, as places with meaningful cultural significance and urban dynamics that are poised for urban experimentation agendas yet also without an efficient and integrative housing policy agenda. Moreover, the problematisation of residents as 'harmful' to the historic centres is conveyed and the DO, as a key economic actor, is introduced under the notion of a stakeholder that will manage and maintain the cultural and urban landscape (Labadi, 2013). This builds on Gilbert's notions (1987: 04), as planning instruments and officers assert the reduced economic capacity of IO's and low-income tenants as responsible to provide maintenance for buildings and their built environment. Thus, the government is further separated from having an active role to fulfil the housing agenda. It is here considered that a failure by local

governments due to capability constraints to address private properties and housing configurations to tackle housing informality has been used to justify the problematisation of low-income population groups in the areas.

This research used Hay's (1995) call to assess policies and procedures from the spatial level to evaluate their direction or outcome (Pp. 502). This evidenced tenure and affordability policies are not substantive across groups and fail to address disproportionate exclusion to housing access opportunities and tenure security (Hepple, 2014: 28). Moreover, by considering a transformative approach to the normative system to assess changing social urban processes and needs (Harvey, 2008), legal protections and incentives are assessed as disproportionately placed. In this sense, increased housing market provision for 2nd and, especially, 3rd resident type is indicative of limited housing opportunities access as inextricably linked to increased socioeconomic capacity that does not ensure housing for all groups (Debben et al., 2004: 7). Although housing as a right may seem straightforward, as it has been integrated in the Constitution and multi-level housing policy discourses, it is not mobilised in normative or practice (Pattillo, 2013: 512).

A key finding in this research was the use of different types of residents in discourse across interviewed participants to position different stages of urban and housing gentrification in historic centres. However, although officers and experts pointed to residential changes, it was in residents' discourse that this became clearer. From an experiential lens, 2nd type residents acknowledged their place as first-wave 'gentrifiers', yet 1st and 2nd type residents suggested the housing agenda was more strongly aimed to attract a 3rd resident type. This suggests changes in local dynamics through changes in the housing market that do not foster a sense of continuity and benefit to existing communities (Labadi, 2013: 111).

To understand this, Chapter 7 showed that while MC's housing rent prices have progressively increased 1.9 times over a 10-year period after urban renewal started, a sharper increase of 5.3 times was seen in GDL since urban renewal started. Moreover, it was shown that to access a medium-range flat a person

must earn 4.43 and 3.2 minimum daily wages in MC and GDL, respectively, in a context where the average historic centre resident may only earn between 1 to 3 (in the case of newer residents) (Pp. 299). This suggests a population with higher economic capacity is being sought through a revised rental housing market. Furthermore, this confirms that an inaccessible housing market is being nurtured in both areas, especially along the renewed corridors. Thus, this housing market is established as the only housing option and sets the grounds for potentially ''extreme unaffordability [that] can lead to eviction and homelessness'' (Portillo, 2013: 518).

Although the flat rental market is more established in MC than a room rental market that is intended to evolve into a flat rental market in GDL, in both cases residents conveyed resilient intentions to remain in the historic centres despite housing changes (Pp. 252). Moreover, this is shown as part of an advanced processes of residential resilience under informal structures that planning instruments and government officials have not been able to engage with. This has been assessed by Portillo (2013: 522), in cases where areas with low property values are reassessed beyond the local populations' means, who may use legal resources or actions to challenge this process. Tension over changes in housing units in relation to size reduction for revised household types was thus assessed by 1st and 2nd type residents, as prospective housing units have been described by officers as targeted to transient and mobile groups (Pp. 293).

Changes in community structures within historic centres were thus expressed by 1st and 2nd type residents, to convey an incremental lack of community integration that has been traditional in historic centres at social and spatial levels (ie. the *barrio*). A loss of sense of place and increasing 'sense of displacement' was continually mentioned, especially by long-standing residents that have experienced urban and housing disinvestment and renewed investment processes (Pp. 301). However, community integration to oppose soft and hard displacement in relation to rising rents and, in some cases, forced evictions by changing property ownership processes was seen in MC. A common aim to dispute direct pressure on tenants to relocate to different areas has resulted in higher community integration yet within a context of ambiguous knowledge of

legal claims to retain or access changing housing structures. Soft displacement related to economic capacity to meet new housing and living prices have been identified in both cities while hard displacement in relation to arbitrary seizure or eviction of residents has increased in MC. Thus, different 'mechanisms of displacement' are embedded in changes of spatial compositions but also on daily life aspects, especially for the expelled and dispossessed underprivileged (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016: 1177).

Housing as a commodified market asset has resulted in a new set of challenges, as beyond local residents' reach while it is not clear who it is for (3rd type residents and/or a potential AirBnb economy). A downward social mobility trend for displaced residents with poor housing and community loss implications have been consequential of a housing market-dominant model in both historic centres. This shows the elements of culture and location within the right to housing structure are important factors to assess in relation to displacement destinations available for 1st and 2nd type residents. The repetitive notion that DO's and 3rd type residents will ensure heritage and urban conservation through a self-sufficient housing market suggests notions of historic places as not accessible to all social groups is not limited to tourism discussions (Colomb and Novy, 2017; Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). Downward social mobility processes, with displacement destinations in marginal peripheral areas (often informal settlements) shows a residential historic centre-based sense of place and culture is inevitably lost. Therefore, housing as a purely market asset entails an exclusionary housing model that is based on neoliberal policy application embedded in gentrification or displacement processes (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016: 1176, 1177).

8.5   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings across Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 in relation to the research sub-questions put forward Chapter 3 and within the conceptual, methodological, and contextual frameworks established in Chapters 2 and 3. In doing so, the discussion informs the answer to the main research question about how urban conservation frameworks for historic centres in Mexico are promoting

social equality in relation to housing security. The hypothesis that urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments for historic centres do not sufficiently provide housing tenure security to ensure more socially equal historic centres is therefore confirmed. However, discursive structures and implementation processes of urban renewal and a housing market agenda provided insights into complex and multi-layered context-based practices.

In the first section the discussion positioned the role of UNESCO titles and values for urban conservation approaches in each historic centre. Policy Discourse Analysis (Chapter 3) was useful to situate historic centres as sites of argumentation where discursive 'incidents' and selective narratives were identified. The Monument Zones (MZ) and World Heritage Site (WHS) delimitations of Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) were recognised as spatialised discursive constructs informed by national and/or UNESCO notions. Through this, stagnant heritage protection notions and change-oriented agendas to revert deterioration challenges (DC) were identified. Importantly, UNESCO titles were seen to have a stronger influence on local planning agendas than on national concepts or legislation. This diverges from the hypothesis in Chapter 3 by showing important UNESCO title type influence on local historic centre-wide approaches. The World Heritage Site (WHS) title thus had a stronger planning agenda integrative role in MC than the scattered World Heritage Monument (WHM) and Creative Cities Network (CCN) titles in GDL. Importantly, DC's were identified as an ordering concept that encapsulates negative physical, social and usage characteristics were used to drive an urban renewal narrative and agenda in both historic centres. It was observed that nostalgic place ideas have played a significant role in place significance and economic competitiveness aims. Ultimately, approaches to both historic centres increasingly positioned them as branded landscapes to attract investment (Porter, 2016).

The second section discussed the way in which urban renewal approaches and strategies were seen to integrate social equality aims. The Place-Transformation Assessment framework was used to identify the social spatial unit for urban renewal strategies and the normative and spatial elements for transforming the public urban level. The corridor as the social spatial unit to mobilise and ensure

a housing market-oriented urban renewal agenda that is at odds with a traditional *barrio* social spatial unit was identified. This was key to understand the level of induced social urban dynamics through non-holistic urban interventions that cater to private property developers. Moreover, this was supported by the diminished role and capacity of institutions and local authorities and an increasing reliance on public-private governance arrangements that benefit the private sector. To position corridors as attractive places for investment, focus was seen to remain on the urban aesthetic level where sense of place has been reduced to physical fabric features that convey a historic and cultural character. Therefore, holistic strategies and implementation processes that consider community needs within socially integrative structures was assessed as not achieved. This proved the initial sub-question hypothesis, as planning instruments for historic centres have established inductive approaches that address social equality objectives in discourse but not in practice.

Finally, the third section discussed the impact of urban conservation within urban renewal approaches on housing tenure security in historic centres. For this, the Right to Housing Evaluation framework was useful to assess the implications of housing provision structures and discourses. The capacity of owner and resident types to invest in and maintain properties as well as their built environment was highlighted as key in the new housing agendas for both historic centres. Individual Owners (IO) were thus connected in discourse to the pauperised housing stock and informal occupational trends while Developer Owners (DO) were positioned as important to achieve housing formality and to ensure 'good place' dynamics. However, it has also been shown that owner disinvestment or renewal in properties has been related to public investment on the urban landscape, as property values reflect a fall or raise because of this. Long-standing (1st type) and recent (2nd type) residents have experienced these changes, yet they are not envisioned as part of new housing market agendas. Changing housing ownership and tenure structures have been projected for a prospective 3rd type resident that is expected to achieve the ultimate transformation of historic centres. This has resulted in soft and hard displacement processes that have resulted in negative social urban effects that are not in line with inclusive urban agendas aims. Thus,

confirming that housing access and security is not fulfilled for all social groups in historic centres and therefore the right to housing has not been ensured.

9   Chapter 9 – Conclusion

9.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the argument and contributions of this research, reflecting on the lessons and implications it provides. First by responding to the main and supporting research questions to assess the main findings and arguments to provide relevant insights. Following this, a set of recommendations that relate to theoretical and practical implications drawn from the research are provided (ie. conceptual challenges, policy recommendations). Lastly, future research that this thesis has opened questions for is indicated to motivate the continuation of research that will expand the present work.

9.2   Answering the Research Questions

This research analysed how urban conservation frameworks for Mexican historic centres have promoted social equality in relation to housing security within Mexico City (MC) and Guadalajara (GDL) as holders of different UNESCO titles. Each historic centre was taken as a case study unit under common national structures yet with different local approaches to effect urban conservation and housing policies through urban renewal agendas. As sites of argumentation, each case study was useful to underpin the representation and reproduction of discourse in local urban renewal planning instruments and from institutional, academic, and resident stakeholders. Through a cross-sectional comparative of contextual dynamics and processes, similarities and differences in urban conservation and housing discourse and practices were assessed.

Discourse Analysis was chosen as the main theoretical framework for this research, as shown in Chapters 2 and 3, to assess the impact of urban conservation frameworks within urban renewal instruments on housing tenure

security. For this, the urban space was positioned as a discursive representation to understand historic centres as multi-layered spaces where dominant discourses shape urban and residential dynamics. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 suggested urban conservation is a more socially integrative approach, yet it was also highlighted that urban commodification and thus residential displacement is prevalent in historic centres. The findings in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 showed historic centres are still approached as cultural landscapes and social values in UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (HUL) have not permeated to historic centres, especially without World Heritage Site (WHS) title like Guadalajara. Moreover, an urban commodification process through housing real estate investment and ensuing residential displacement was confirmed to take place in both case studies. This was further shown in the Cultural Corridors of Regina (MC, 2008) and Mezquitan (GDL, 2015) between a 2008-2019 period, as 'real estate islands' for exclusive housing investment and residential dynamics. This was previously noted by Franco and MacDonald (2018) and Bentacur (2014) in European and Latin American contexts.

As presented in Chapter 5, the type of UNESCO title was highly influential on the urban renewal approach to urban conservation and housing. The first research sub-question was answered using the Policy Discourse Analysis Framework to analyse policy and practices as texts to identify languages, rhetoric narratives and discursive patterns regarding the role of UNESCO in the historic centres of MC and GDL (Chapter 3, section 3.4.1). Findings showed the type of UNESCO title supported place boundaries as well as value. This had a direct effect on urban conservation and urban development approaches within a national monumentalist vision to mobilise a housing market-oriented agenda. Moreover, the poor physical condition of historic places, identified as 'Deterioration Challenges' (DC), was used in dominant discourse to mobilise the commodification of the historic centre through a place problematisation-solution structure.

Chapter 6 showed that the social spatial units through which historic centres are addressed through urban renewal strategies have significant impact on the promotion of social equality. The second research sub-question was answered

through the Place-Transformation Assessment Framework to analyse implementation processes within the discursive argument of change need for place 'recovery' (Chapter 3, section 3.4.2). The *barrio* social spatial unit emerged as the most accessible unit to implement urban renewal strategies, yet the 'Cultural Corridor' as chosen in both historic centres to position a housing market urban renewal agenda. An urban commodification process with exclusionary urban and housing changes for existing residents was identified in both cases. The identification of corridors as public spaces for housing redevelopment was key to understand public-private governance structures that evidenced the extent of institutional/private reach, capacity and expectations. Ultimately, aesthetic urban conservation approaches to address the urban renewal agenda were preferred over the promotion of encompassing holistic approaches.

Chapter 7 showed housing access and security outcomes from urban renewal agendas were disproportional for different owner types and residential groups in historic centres. The 'Right to Housing Evaluation' Framework was used to answer the third research sub-question of the impact of urban conservation context-based urban renewal processes to ensure housing tenure security as well as housing quality and affordability (Chapter 3, section 3.4.3). Findings offered a difference between Individual Owners (IO's) and Developer Owners (DO's) to underpin housing informality dynamics and mobilise a rental housing market agenda. Furthermore, three different types of residents were presented, where rising housing property and rent values are connected to a yet to be real 3rd type resident that previous types cannot easily access. Housing is identified as the underlying driver of urban renewal through the reassessment of property ownership and rent tenure structures, as promoted from the national level. Place value and management is thus positioned within owner/resident duties to fill institutional capacity gaps, yet this enabled soft and hard residential displacement processes that affect city-wide social mobility negatively.

9.2.1 Main Findings and Contributions

This research was informed by different disciplines to address Mexican approaches to historic centres as influenced by UNESCO's World Heritage

framework. This research departed from a tourism-based focus to analyse housing impacts of urban conservation and renewal approaches. For this, it was necessary to understand the evolution of historic place approaches, from heritage to urban conservation and urban renewal approaches, as reviewed in the literature in Chapter 2. Literature concerning urban renewal approaches informed by place-making, regeneration and spatial planning practices was important, yet this research assessed this from the lens of 'less developed' places where American-Eurocentric concepts may be applied from different ontological understandings (Brenner & Schmid, 2015: 152; Parnell and Robinson, 2012: 595). However, addressing European and North American (Global North) social urban processes and outcomes was key to underpin the Mexican case from a Latin American (Global South) position. This research has contributed to expand current social urban conceptualisations and literature by providing a rich set of examples of places not usually studied (Robinson, 2013: 666).

This thesis offers methodological contributions in the scope of qualitative case study-based explorative urban planning research by using Discourse Analysis as the overarching methodology. The development of policy, spatial and residential-focused frameworks contributed to produce a rich body of primary and secondary data that is useful to assess urban renewal and housing displacement issues. This allowed for an in-depth study of rhetoric, policy, spatial, and social elements to produce an overarching argumentative thread that answered the main research question. Historic centres as case study units with representative cultural corridors were treated as sites of argumentation where key incidents within discursive narratives and practices were assessed (Hajer, 2006; Hall, 2001; Rydin, 1998). This was done with the objective to understand how social equality has been impacted by urban conservation frameworks within urban renewal instruments in a context of shifting governance structures due to institutional reduced capabilities and divergent field aims.

Concerns to address housing through a discursive structure rather than traditional quantitative approaches have been expressed (Hastings, 2000: 133). This research showed the assessment of housing through a discursive analysis was successful to highlight sets of relations and aims which shape housing

policies to assert a shift toward housing security equality. Thus, asymmetries in housing access and security structures and social dynamics through a discursive assessment were underpinned as part of a corridor urban renewal strategy phenomenon. The understanding of different social urban spatial units within policy and dominant discourse was key to recognise the *barrio* unit as more adequate than the corridor to fulfil social objectives within a gradual historic centre-wide small-scale interventions agenda (Fincher et al., 2016: 519). Placemaking holistic aims were thus useful to underpin spatial equality discourses and practices in each historic centre.

This was qualitative research that analysed residential impacts of urban conservation and urban renewal discourse and practice in Mexican historic centres under local, national, and international conceptual frameworks. By exploring cultural, economic, social and governance dimensions to understand housing access and security within urban conservation approaches to Mexican historic centres, the following key findings were extracted to answer the main question of this research:

1. Importance of conceptual evolution to develop urban conservation approaches and regulations,
2. Significance of perception as knowledge to build place significance and shape social spatial policies,
3. Relevance of governance organisational structures from a discourse, policy, and spatial implementation levels, and
4. Regulations should integrate of spatial, legal, and financial provisions to ensure housing tenure security.

This research highlights that stagnated national heritage conservation frameworks have resulted in non-holistic local urban conservation assessments and planning agendas that do not sufficiently integrate different social urban aims. Although integration has been encouraged by UNESCO titles as soft-power structures, local-international agendas do not sufficiently address social elements of planning for places with historic value. This research showed at the local level the World Heritage Site (WHS) framework has stronger influence than the Historic Urban Landscapes Recommendation (HUL). This has been pointed out in critical

research for WHS across different global contexts, as the integration of social aims urban conservation concepts and approaches is gradual and context-subjective (Chapter 2). The heritage and urban conservation discourses fostered by UNESCO are here considered as decisive in third world countries but also European cities to shape national understandings of cultural place value and local historic place approaches. In line with this, this research contributed to show the process of conceptual revision to include social aims is slower in contexts with weaker institutional structures and higher reliance on private sector investment. This research confirmed the pervasiveness of nostalgic aesthetic approaches to attract investment, which have excluded low socioeconomic groups across Latin American historic centres (Bentacur, 2014), yet this is also found in 'developed' cities elsewhere.

This research identified negative perception as a form of knowledge-power structure to reassess place significance and produce commodified places that inherently exclude vulnerable social groups. Yet it was shown two historic centres in Mexico with different value structures have similar deterioration and informality processes resulting from urban decentralisation processes and urban disinvestment seen in peripheral areas across Latin American cities (Lombard, 2014). It was important to evidence historic centres have shared characteristics associated with urban slums, such as housing informality processes which are not exclusive to self-built peripheral settlements. This research showed that although a discursive problematisation to legitimise urban renewal processes was undertaken, a lack of public investment played an important role in current public-private DC and informality dynamics more often associated with urban slums (Chapters 6 and 7). Policy discourse and practice is shown to have a key role in a problem-based socially exclusionary or inclusive social urban outcomes.

By underpinning real social spatial challenges to form a problematised place narrative, new social spatial units, and governance structures to reposition stakeholders in relation to reduced institutional capacity was identified. The WHS (in MC) and Creative City Network (CCN, in GDL) titles were used to legitimise political aims to produce branded landscapes that compete and generate economic flows as seen in cultural and natural heritage sites elsewhere (Porter,

2016, Labadi and Long, 2010). The spatialisation of corridors as social urban units to address contextual challenges as 'good practice' models followed contextually-irreflexive conceptual interpretations of 'good place' notions as seen elsewhere to assess the local context. This follows a top-down process that has been questioned in global north-south knowledge-sharing discussions (Chapter 2), as concepts may not stand on their own to produce socially integrative outcomes. This is evident not only in relation to urban conservation, urban design tools and place-making concepts but also in legal provisions to fulfil the international right to housing as ratified by the Mexican State (see Chapter 4). A contribution of this research is the identification of contextually developed social spatial units to successfully address local social urban challenges.

Although the right to the city is evoked to ensure equality outcomes (Chapter 4), housing is established as a market-based asset within a commodified urban context that showcases deficient institutional capacity and increasingly disproportionate private sector reliance. The focus on urban image betterment and maintenance to reposition the housing market seen in this research has been a contentious topic in urban conservation and regeneration studies (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010). Yet the cases of MC and GDL indicate these discussions need to delve deeper into questions of housing security for existing groups and to ensure mixed residential groups in renewed settings to ensure diverse places. The consideration of residents as holders of historic value can contribute to produce non-exclusionary social urban approaches to ensure social integrative places and not merely branded landscapes. Although in this research 'housing displacement processes' was preferred to 'gentrification', this research contributes to Lopez-Morales et al.'s (2016: 1093) notion of 'gentrification' as an umbrella concept that can be tailored to study contextual challenges and add to a global discussion. This positions increasingly established Latin American gentrification processes to enrich a global conceptual understanding and assess multiple realities to produce more diverse approaches.

Separately, the right to housing has been considered too idealistic and ambiguous to underpin correct approaches that prevent displacement and housing-related downward socioeconomic mobility processes (Hohmann, 2014).

However, it provides evaluative elements that can be used as a lens to approach housing within different contexts to structure a realistic assessment within the global neoliberal planning context, as the cases in this research show. Tenure, affordability, and quality were used to assess housing security and Chapter 7 showed they are inherently connected to public space conditions and property value. These findings contributed to widen the discussion to argue for the integration of just occupational dynamics as key for urban conservation studies and practices. This was further highlighted as the discursive separation between IO's and residents from DO's resulted in disproportional legal, spatial, and financial incentives for the latter. Chapter 7 showcased the need for stronger legal and institutional provisions for IO's and renting residents to balance DO incentives and reduce displacement probabilities. Discourse analysis as a method to assess housing inequality and displacement thus provided insights beyond quantitative measurements, to assess the impacts of language and narratives to mobilise exclusionary social urban processes. The assessment of existing residents as 'problematic' conceptions expand socioeconomic differentiations and consequentially widen inequality gaps.

This research contributed to reposition historic centres from monument zones or historic sites to urban places that hold significant historic and cultural value yet are also occupied places with complex social urban dynamics. Stronger urban conservation planning approaches and instruments are needed, as the current position of the HUL at an international level remains as a non-binding recommendation still to come close to the WHC framework. This research contributed to show the WHC framework continues to shape national approaches, while the HUL is only partially undertaken at select local levels (encouraged by the type of title each place holds). Importantly, it was in MC, which holds a WHS title, that the HUL approach was more successfully approached (albeit partially) than in GDL, with fragmented boundaries and separate UNESCO titles. Moreover, this study considers calls for the further integration of housing within international to local conservation discussions and instruments traditionally focused on tourism agendas. The re-integration of historic centres into the urban residential dynamics may not result in place detriment but in enhanced relevance as well as improved urban equality and

urban sustainability agendas. In this sense, the recognition of housing as not primarily a market asset is important to balance unsteady housing market provision structures that currently shape historic centres.

9.2.2 Policy Recommendations

<u>Heritage Conservation, Urban Development and Housing Frameworks</u>

The national legislation for heritage conservation is still rooted in the Law for Heritage Conservation (LHC, 1972), which has had few reforms since. Historic centres as places with historic value embedded within substantial social urban dynamics are still considered as 'Monuments Zones' (Pp. 10). This research proposes a discursive and normative shift from a monuments-based approach. The recommendations made here intend to depart from tourism-oriented and aesthetic approaches that do not sufficiently consider residential activities or incentives to maintain and/or encourage them:

   a. Heritage conservation standards and practices are important and should be an element for urban conservation planning but not an overriding lens.
   b. Promote the concept of 'urban conservation areas' to address urban planning of historic centres and develop pertinent operational frameworks.
   c. Increase public investment on heritage and urban conservation practices and processes to counterbalance reliance on private sector investment.

Within the heritage conservation legal concept derived from a WHC framework, types of monuments, urban image in relation to monument aesthetic affectation and institutional competencies are generally assessed in historic places (Chapters 2 and 5). Historic areas are thus shaped by homogenising monuments-based notions, this needs revision to address historic places as heterogenous, complex, and multi-layered places that need holistic approaches. However, this may be difficult at the local level where agendas are shaped according to World Heritage recognition aspirations to gain place recognition and tourism-based revenue. This research considers the holistic integration of touristic and housing aims can contribute to a more integrative urban conservation planning approach.

While the national legislation for urban development considers 'conservation' and 'cultural heritage' as part of the planning agenda, it is only the urban re-centralisation agenda that references planning actions for historic centres (LUD, 2016). A deeper connection between heritage conservation and urban development agendas needs to be developed. The integration of legislation and policies to address historic centres can also reflect a better understanding of social urban spatial units to address inner-areas and dynamics of historic centres. The following recommendations for more integrated planning agendas aim to promote holistic approaches that enable and achieve spatial social equality processes:

a. Recognise historic centres as embedded in and representative of city-wide social urban challenges that holistic conservation planning approaches can better address.

b. In many cases, historic centres (or parts of them) must be accepted as pauperised informal settings that urban commodification approaches cannot properly provide the right strategies for to promote social equality.

c. Establish a connection between public spaces, housing, and communities to promote a social mix agenda for residential dynamics.

These recommendations are based on the findings of this research that showed a market-based urban and housing landscape has been promoted through induced corridor units in formerly neglected historic centres and excluded local populations (Chapters 6 and 7). This was mobilised through a public-private governance approach where the public space is intervened to attract and ensure viability for private investment on housing properties. Non-holistic approaches for places with rich social value have been previously highlighted in placemaking and urban renewal discussions (Fincher et al, 2016). These recommendations aim to shift from a dominant market reliance to promote public space investment and private sector involvement without completely compromising sense of place and opportunities for local groups. Although the diminished financial capacity of local authorities to address historic places means high reliance on private sector investment can continue, this recommendation aims to mobilise social objectives in practice beyond rhetoric.

In relation to housing, the national legislation for housing was seen to further establish a housing market agenda based on changing demographic patterns and residential dynamics (Chapter 4). Although the right to housing is referenced, it is articulated through the lens of minimum and adequate housing standards for rural housing. While an inner-city housing agenda is encouraged in coordination with urban development legislation, few considerations for social housing alongside the housing market are made due to reduced institutional capabilities (Chapter 7). These proposals seek to address these gaps to provide a wider array of housing access options for different population groups to ensure housing tenure security:

a. Integrate urban conservation to housing aims to bridge the gap between building conservation and density expectations.

b. Tenure access and mix policies that promote community life and incremental formality structures within a long-term plan to support an upward local social mobility agenda.

c. Consideration and integration of non-dominant housing discourses to inform housing provision and tenure structures across socioeconomic groups.

This research showed that housing in historic centres is inherently positioned as an asset for private sector investment (Chapters 2 and 7). New household structures, spatial dimensions and social dynamics were mobilised to position dense and formal housing, yet parameters need to be established to balance housing provision for poor, middle and wealthy population groups in historic centres. However, this would require the revision of housing legislation and policies to establish thresholds to ensure mixed housing types within intervened and/or densified properties (including social housing). This may prove challenging as governments rely on private investment for housing development heavily, yet this would ensure community construction rather than displacement processes. This is also relevant for housing access and security provision in other contexts, as residential displacement is the ultimate outcome of an unbalanced housing market system.

Urban Conservation and Housing Market in Urban Renewal

This research showed local planning instruments function under different heritage conservation and housing reactivation structures as influenced by the type of UNESCO titles across or within each historic centre. Integrative or fragmented place boundary structures reflected international-local influence on conceptual and spatial notions yet focus remained on the building or place image level. An assessment of context-based social needs is thus suggested to also address social objectives in relation to inclusive urban and residential dynamics to counterbalance possible displacement from place commodification. This highlights the need to evaluate international values and frameworks in relation to local conditions and understandings to produce holistic approaches and add to global knowledge to address diverse historic places.

This study identified the discursive articulation of 'some' owners and existing tenants as problematic stakeholders, which is also highlighted in cases elsewhere in the literature review (Chapter 2). Differences in types of owners and residents were highlighted to mobilise private investment and tenants with capacity to pay higher rents under the premise that these actors will ensure urban and building maintenance. Yet low urban public investment was more directly related to informal and deteriorated housing processes. This challenges dominant discourses that place unilateral responsibility on low-income groups for the deterioration of historic centres. This research suggests a shift from this discourse which exacerbates 'otherness' between groups within historic centres to promote community building and more socially equal residential opportunities historic centres.

Finally, a recommendation is made for the international UNESCO level to position the HUL instrument as equal or complimentary to the WHC. This would further push for an urban conservation agenda across historic urban contexts where the WHC still holds a higher position and value but which remains a monuments-based document. Yet it is also considered here the HUL Recommendation would benefit to further integrate housing considerations to balance a tourism agenda that has led to incremental temporary accommodation dynamics that hinder housing dynamics. Moreover, the importance of local communities (not just as

traditional communities but as existing communities) should be acknowledged to address the right to housing as intersecting right that does not conflict with the right to culture and education.

9.2.3 Research Limitations and Challenges

The limitations presented for this research are in relation to data collection visits, data availability and researcher limitations. Chapter 3 addressed this in the description of data collection processes, yet two aspects are of interest here: process of interviewee contact/interview attainment and open/closed data availability to the researcher. Although formal email attempts were made to contact participants, the informal context of social relations in Mexico proved more fruitful to attain interviews. However, this process entailed an informal snow-balling process that, in many cases, meant the researcher had only partial control over the number of interviewed participants as well as their characteristics. This was especially true in relation to residents, as increased insecurity levels for women in Mexico were a constraint to approach residents more randomly. Therefore, a reliance on known contacts and informal connections that did not compromise the researcher's safety was preferred. The number of residents and types of residents reached in each city provided rich data for this research and it was not necessary to resort to surveys that would have added safety challenges for the researcher.

The second aspect related to data availability was in relation to some policy instruments as well as statistical data for property, population, and conservation characteristics. Key policy instruments were initially downloaded by the researcher from official websites, yet some documents have become unavailable since 2018. Similarly, property data and conservation area maps were not available, and it was not clear how to attain them. This did not affect the research as they were sought to triangulate data, yet showcase a difficulty presented. While statistical data was available through INEGI online, differences in methodologies made comparisons between different time periods difficult. Help was sought from a previous work colleague to unify the scattered data to be able to analyse it.

Finally, the researcher was presented with personal limitations during the site visits and data analysis processes. During site visits safety was a key concern, considering an evolving negative situation for women within a male-centric country. The researcher had to be careful while moving between interviews but also with her conduct throughout them. When interviewing male participants, care was taken to not appear contentious or over-informed as this would have resulted in poor responses. This is a precarious situation for a researcher, yet the decision was made to go forward, as the intent of the study is meaningful to the researcher beyond a momentary conduct change. Moreover, this protected the researcher from receiving inappropriate comments or conducts. This does not excuse such behaviours but acknowledges the cultural and psychological workings behind situations that may evolve negatively. In relation to data analysis, help was sought to understand legal jargon and legal processes in relation to legal property and housing challenges. This proved key to fully understand the intent behind legislation, discourse and offhand comments that informed this thesis.

9.3   Further Research and Current Context

9.3.1 Further Research Aims

This research addresses the approach to housing tenure security in historic centres in urban conservation frameworks within planning instruments for urban renewal to assess social equality. While it is shown that inequality has been widened through the continuation of aesthetic-monumental urban renewal approaches that promote a market housing agenda that is not accessible across social groups, further steps can be taken to explore this phenomenon. This research is part of an increasing body of critical heritage studies that address and highlight the role of historic places to ensure or hinder social justice and equality. Yet more research is needed to establish a more widespread discussion of this phenomenon across global north and south contexts. Although differences in regulatory regimes and practices are to be expected, diverse discussions and experiences can mobilise a change in heritage and urban conservation approaches.

A close examination of the impacts of international heritage and urban conservation frameworks for national legislation formation and local urban conservation structures to assess aesthetic and socially cleansing processes is needed. This positions UNESCO as a relevant soft-power stakeholder that can encourage the preventative or stagnate social justice discourses and practices in places with cultural value. Moreover, further analysis is needed to assert the role of international aesthetic monument-based notions to increase residential social inequality. For this, perception of communities as forms of knowledge may inform approaches to urban conservation. A parallel economic understanding of property value in relation to legal standing, physical urban conditions and positive/negative communities' perception can be useful.

Considering not all historic places are eligible for international titles, a study of different types of historic places under neoliberal planning agendas embedded in place competitiveness to attract economic flows is needed. This is increasingly relevant considering calls for sustainable cities where activities are re-centralised in inner urban areas such as historic centres. This is here considered to be a common phenomenon experienced across places with cultural value. Moreover, the gentrification from attractive inner areas phenomenon as shown in this research put current urban agendas into question, as they may cause further sprawl through social urban displacement processes.

The use of discourse analysis to study intra-urban housing informality within places that hold historic value may continue to uncover hidden discourses and practices that have further ensured informality and displacement phenomena. The role of urban conservation within urban renewal agendas to mitigate deterioration processes without creating further inequality can be further explored in a cross-contextual manner. This positions current urban conservation and urban renewal agendas as 'landscape making' processes. The identification of governance structures may further assist to study cultural place governance structures as common or contextual practices that discursively follow similar epistemological agendas.

9.3.2 The Current Context

After the first draft was sent to both supervisors, the Covid-19 pandemic unfolded across the world. This changed social urban dynamics and patterns across cities and greatly affected urban centres, including those with historic value. While the situation is ongoing and the real consequences and ultimate change in social urban dynamics and patterns is still unknown, an initial tendency for increased housing in suburban and rural areas was seen across the world (Florida, 2020). This was due to fear of high densities and a need for space in the face of prolonged time within compact housing units. However, it has also been shown that pauperised urban areas have been the worst affected regardless of urban or rural locations (Jones and Grigsby-Toussaint, 2020). This is relevant for inner-city historic places, especially with deteriorated characteristics, as processes of urban centralities' abandonment can be expected to generate further urban deterioration and housing pauperisation processes.

In the Mexican context, where it has already been shown that low government investment in public spaces as well as population abandonment trends have negatively affected housing, housing tenure, quality, and residents' wellbeing precarity is further expected to be produced. It is also here considered that these processes can also be expected across Latin American and across the global south cities where a propensity for housing informality is latent and where the inequality gaps are expected to widen due to the pandemic crisis. Although this considers the Latin American context, these processes may also happen in cities across the global north and south, as the economic crisis has affected public investment capacity everywhere. In line with residential considerations, this research identifies an opportunity to address housing more strongly in a post-pandemic historic place (Shirvani, De Luca and Francini, 2021). Future cross-context research may be pursued to identify how residential trends in historic centres have been affected by a Covid world, but also to position differences in approaches to mitigate or aggravate previously existing residential inequality processes within them. Therefore, research to assess how limitations on tourism-based economies may function as a driver to reassert housing in World Heritage and non-World Heritage historic places is important.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter gave an overview of the main contributions and arguments set forward by this research to reflect on lessons that may shape future research and recommendations. Each research question was answered according to the findings of this research to expand literature on historic centres or areas in Mexico but also across different contexts. General policy recommendations were made to assess housing tenure security in historic places through urban conservation-based urban renewal processes. The lessons learned in this research are relevant not just for Mexico and Latin America, but for planning and housing studies related to urban conservation in global north and south contexts.

10 References

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11 Appendix 1

UNESCO and ICOMOS Instruments and Value Assessment

Year	Type		Document	A	E	S	Decade
1962	R	U	Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites	x			1960
1964	c	I	International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)	x	x		
1966	c	I	Resolutions on the Regeneration of Historic Urban Sites	x	x		
1968	R	U	Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works	x	x		
			Instruments per type	4	3	0	
1972	C	U	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage	x	x		1970
1972	R	U	Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage	x	x		
1975	d	I	Declaration of Amsterdam	x	x		
1976	R	U	Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas	x	x	x	
			Instruments per type	4	4	1	
1981	c	I	The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter)	x		x	1980
1982	D	U	UNESCO Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies	x	x	x	

Year			Instrument				Decade
1987	c	I	Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (The Washington Charter)	x	x	x	
			Instruments per type	3	2	3	
1994	d	I	The Nara Document on Authenticity	x		x	1990
1999	c	I	International Cultural Tourism Charter - Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance	x	x		
			Instruments per type	2	1	1	
2001	D	U	UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity	x	x	x	2000
2003	C	U	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage	x	x	x	
2008	c	I	ICOMOS Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites	x		x	
			Instruments per type	3	2	3	
2011	c	I	The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas	x	x	x	2010
2011	R	U	Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape	x	x	x	
			Instruments per type	2	2	2	
			Total of instruments per type	18	14	10	

12 Appendix 2

<u>Argumentative Discourse Analysis Ten-Step Structure</u>

Note: Text has been edited to highlight how each step was relevant to this research.

Hajer, M. (2006). Doing discourse analysis: coalitions, practices, meaning. In Words Matter in Policy and Planning: Discourse theory and method in the social sciences (Chapter 4). Netherlands Geographic Studies.

1. Desk Research: general survey of the documents and positions in a given field […] This all to make a fist chronology and come up with a first reading of events;
2. 'Helicopter Interviews: interviews […] that are chosen because they have the overview of the field […] from different positions [;] **(N/A)**
3. Document Analysis: analysing documents for structuring concepts, ideas and categorisations; employment of storylines, metaphors, etc. This should result in a first attempt at defining structuring discourses in the discussion. At this stage one would get a basic notions of the process of events as well as the sites of discursive production;
4. Interviews with Key Players: on the basis of the proceeding steps, interviews can be conducted with central actors in the political process. The interviews can be used to generate more information on causal chains ('which led to what') that will always be the assumed core of the meeting on part of the interviews, but the interviews might also be used to get a better understanding of the meaning of particular events for the interviewees. It then becomes a 'focused interview [;]
5. Sites of Argumentation: searching for data not simply to reconstruct the argumenta used but to account for the *argumentative exchange* [;]
6. Analyse for Positioning Effects: actors can get 'caught up' in an interplay. They might force others to take a particular role, but once others are aware of what is going on, they might also try to refuse it [.] This positioning not

only occurs on the level of persons but can of course be found among institutions or even nation-states; **(N/A)**

7. Identification of Key Incidents: this would lead to the identification of key incidents that are essential to understand the discursive dynamics in the chosen case. As much as possible, these key incidents are then transcribed in more detail allowing for more insights in which determined their political effects;

8. Analysis of Practices in Particular Cases of Argumentation: rather than assuming coherence on the part of particular actors, at this tage one goes back to the data to see if the meaning of what is being said can be related to the practices in which it was said;

9. Interpretation: on this basis one may find a discursive order that governed a particular domain in a particular time. Ideally, one should come up with an account of the discursive structures within a given discussions, as well as an interpretation of the practices, the sites of production that were of importance in explaining a particular course of events;

10. Second Visit to Key Actors: discourses are inferred from reality by the analyst. Yet when respondents are confronted with the findings, they should at least recognise some of the hidden structures in language. Hence to revisit some key actors is a way of controlling if the analysis of the discursive space made sense. **(N/A)**

13 Appendix 3

Group A Interview Sheet 1 (English)

Questionnaire for Government Officials

A. Frameworks for urban conservation

1. What is your role in this organisation? Please circle all that apply to you
   - A) Director / Senior Manager / Team Leader / Project Manager
   - B) Team Operative /Consultant
   - C) Administrator
   - D) Other, please state _____

2. How does your job relate to the historic area?

3. Are you aware of international agencies such as below, and do you work/collaborate with them:

	Awareness	Collaboration
UNESCO	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
UN-Habitat	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
ICOMOS	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
Other	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____

4. Do these fall under the remit of your organisation/institution's work (in relation to the historic area only) (tick all that apply)?

13.1.1 *heritage conservation* ☐ *urban development* ☐ *social advancement* ☐

other: _____

5. What instruments do you have and use for heritage conservation, urban development and social advancement in the historic area?

	Regulatory frameworks	Policies	Tools
Heritage conservation	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:
Urban development	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:
Social advancement	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:

6. Do you consider new international concepts (such as cultural dissemination through tourism and housing) have been integrated within planning instruments for historic centres in Mexico?

7. Do you consider the instruments previously mentioned relate to tourism and/or housing in historic centres? Can you explain how?

B. Tourism and Housing

1. What is your organisation/institution's approach to tourism promotion and housing development in the historic area? Are they looked at in separation or as complimentary?

2. Could you give examples of activities for tourism promotion and for housing development in the historic area? And for both at the same time?

3. In your opinion, do regulations and strategies for historic centres promote tourism and housing in synchronicity?

4. How relevant do you consider the conjunction of tourism and housing in historic centres? Can you give an example?

5. Do you consider the integration of the historic centre in planning and housing instruments to city planning important?

13.1.2 *Extremely important* ☐ *moderate* ☐ *low* ☐ *not at all* ☐

6. How can historic centres add to the social development of the city?

7. Do you consider international conventions and recommendations are relevant for planning of the historic centre?

	Relevance	Explanation
UNESCO (Historic Urban Landscape, 2011)	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _
UN-Habitat (New Urban Agenda, 2016)	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _
Other	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _

Thank you for your support of this research!

14 Appendix 4

Group B Interview Sheet (English)

Questionnaire for Academics and Professional Specialists

A. Frameworks for urban conservation

2. What is your position in this organisation? Please circle all that apply to you
    E) Director / Senior Manager / Team Leader / Project Manager
    F) Team Operative
    G) Consultant
    H) Academic/Professor
    I) Espert/Specialist
    J) Other, please state _____

2. How does your job relate to the historic area?

3. Are you aware of international agencies such as below, and do you work/collaborate with them:

	Awareness	Collaboration
UNESCO	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
UN-Habitat	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
ICOMOS	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____
Other	No ☐ YES ☐	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, how?_____

4. Do these fall under the remit of your organisation/institution's work (in relation to the historic area only) (tick all that apply)?

14.1.1 *heritage conservation* ☐   *urban development* ☐   *social advancement* ☐

other: _____

5. What instruments are useful to your work?

	Regulatory frameworks	Policies	Tools
Heritage conservation	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:
Urban development	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:
Social advancement	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:	No ☐ YES ☐ If yes, give examples:

6. Do you consider new international concepts (such as cultural dissemination through tourism and housing) have been integrated within planning instruments for historic centres in Mexico?

7. Do you consider the instruments previously mentioned relate to tourism and/or housing in historic centres? Can you explain how?

B. Tourism and Housing

1. How do you assess tourism and housing in the historic centre? Are they separate or integrated?

2. Do you consider tourism and housing are incompatible for the historic centre in any way? Can you give an example?

3. Do you consider current regulations and strategies promote an integration of tourism and housing in the historic centre?

4. How relevant do you consider the conjunction of tourism and housing in historic centres? Can you give an example?

5. Do you think there could be a better integration of tourism and housing agendas?

6. Do you consider the integration of the historic centre in planning and housing instruments to city planning important?

14.1.2 *Extremely important* ☐ *moderate* ☐ *low* ☐ *not at all* ☐

6. How can historic centres add to the social development of the city?

7. Do you consider international conventions and recommendations are relevant for planning of the historic centre?

	Relevance	Explanation
UNESCO (Historic Urban Landscape, 2011)	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _
UN-Habitat (New Urban Agenda, 2016)	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _
Other	No ☐ YES ☐	If yes, how?_____ _____ _

Thank you for your support of this research!

15 Appendix 5

Group A Interview Sheet 2 (English)

Questionnaire for Government Officials

A. Process for Access and Tenure

1. What is the process to access housing in the historic centre with this project?

2. What is the commonplace process to retain/secure housing in the historic centre with this project/programme?

3. What is the target population of this project/programme?

B. Urban Conservation and Housing Considerations

4. Is the conservation of heritage work an asset for the development of the project/programme in relation to housing in the historic area?

5. In what way could the conservation of heritage work as an asset for this project/programme in relation to housing in the historic area?

Thank you for your support of this research!

16 Appendix 6

Group C Interview Sheet (English)

Questionnaire for Experts/Residents

A. Process for Access and Tenure

1. What is the process to access housing in the historic centre?

2. What is the commonplace process to retain/secure housing in the historic centre?

3. What is the impact of the regeneration programme that is taking place in regard to access and tenure of housing in the historic centre?

4. What social processes are related to these changing urban dynamics?

5. Are there instruments that enable formal and quality housing outside of the regeneration project in the historic centre?

B. Urban Conservation and Housing Considerations

6. Is the conservation of heritage work an asset for access to and tenure of housing in the historic area?

7. In what way could the conservation of heritage work as an asset to enable better housing access and tenure conditions in the historic area?

8. Could you expand on you previous answers or give an example to understand more?

Thank you for your support of this research!

17 Appendix 7

Interviewees Reference Sheet

Reference Structure

Interview Group	City Number	Interview Process Order	Data Collection Visit Number	Field of Relevance
A	**1.**	**8-**	**1–**	**'X'**
A- Officers B- Academics C- Residents	1- Guadalajara (GDL) 2- Mexico City (MC)	1, 2, etc- order of undertaken interviews	1- 2017 2- 2018	Conservation, Planning, Resident, Other.

Interviewees List

A1.1-1 – GDL Transport

A1.2-1 – GDL Planning

A1.3-1– GDL Urban Projects

A1.4-1 – GDL Planning

A1.5-1 – GDL Planning

A1.6-1– GDL Public Space

A1.7-1– GDL Conservation

A1.8-1 – GDL Conservation

A1.9-1 – GDL Conservation Planning

A1.10-2 – GDL Housing

A1.11-2 – GDL Housing

A2.1-1 – MC Transport

A2.2-1 – MC Public Space

A2.3-1– MC Planning

A2.4-1 – MC Planning

A2.5-1 – National & MC Conservation

A2.6-1 – MC Housing

A2.7-1– MC Planning

A2.8-1– MC Conservation

A2.9-1 – MC Housing

B1.1-1 – GDL Heritage Conservation

B1.2-1 – GDL Culture

B1.3-1 – GDL Urban Planning

B1.4-1 – GDL Urban Planning

B1.5-1 – GDL Urban Planning

B1.6-1 – GDL Urban Planning

B2.1-1 – MC Transport

B2.2-1 – MC Urban Planning

B2.3-1 – MC Heritage Conservation

B2.4-2 – MC Heritage Conservation

C1.1-2 – Resident

C1.2-2 – Resident

C1.3-2 – Resident

C1.4-2 – Resident

C1.5-2 – Resident

C1.6-2 – Resident

C1.7-2 – Resident

C2.1-2 – Resident

C2.2-2 – Resident

C2.3-2 – Resident

C2.4-2 – Resident

C2.5-2 – Resident

C2.6-2 – Resident

C2.7-2 – Resident

C2.8-2 – Resident

18 Appendix 8

First Codes List

Name	Sources	References
Attraction-Cultural	15	42
Attraction-Local Activities	6	8
Attraction-Retail	9	11
Attraction-Work	6	11
Business Model-Heritage Conservation	4	9
Business Model-Historic Centres	10	24
Business Model-Housing	12	35
Business Model-Retail & Land Use	5	7
Business Model-Social Development	4	7
Business Model-Tourism	10	15
Business Model-Urban Infrastructure	4	13
Contingent Solver	4	7
Monumental Value	17	53
Tourism Value	6	10
Functions Traditions	8	19
Gentrification 1	1	6
Gentrification 2	5	9
Gentrification 3	9	18
Gentrification 4	8	22
Governance Limits	11	25
Governance Obstacles	4	10
Civic Resistance	2	2
Political Agendas	9	17
Governance Interinstitutional Participation	6	8
Governance Interinstitutional Challenges	11	26
Governance Facilitation	7	11
Governance Reach	4	6
Gentrification Challenges	1	2
Urban Conservation Strategies	5	14
Conservation Development Obstacles	14	40
Institutional Difficulties for Conservation-Development	17	56

Limited Resources for Conservation	5	9
Problematic Legislation for Conservation-Development	19	84
Housing Context for Urban Conservation	17	32
Housing Gentrification	10	19
Housing Re-Condition	5	11
Housing Re-Value	3	4
Housing Social Mixture	4	6
Housing Social Segmentation	4	7
Monumental-Aesthetic Identity	5	10
Urban Identity	17	39
Conservation Institutions	4	4
Urban Development Institutions	3	6
International to National Influence	14	24
Inferred Goals	1	1
Internal to External Influence	2	3
International to National Instruments	7	13
International Participation	21	36
International Reach	13	30
International Local Status	6	14
Status Shame Tool	8	20
International-Local Challenges	17	36
Legal Processes	4	6
Heritage Legislation	3	4
Urban Legislation	10	32
Market-Driven Urbanism	1	1
Medium-Up Decisions	2	2
National Influence	3	4
Congestion Challenges	9	20
Deficient Housing Landscape	7	13
Floating Population	12	17
Informality Retail	5	19
Low Quality Services	6	10
Low Quality Housing	4	4
Use Challenges	4	4
Abandonment	19	43
Degradation	13	32
Degradation Displacement	9	13
Inadequate Living Conditions	5	7

19 Appendix 9

Codes Assessment

cultural trade-off value

urban identity through spatial characteristics- idea of space

cultural heritage: traditional values within space

conservation notions to maintain social meanings

abandonment & decay as change need factor

delimitation notions to maintain social meanings

Crisis social & urban: negative factor for change

Perceived opportunity & characteristics for vision to be enabled

Strategic reconfigurations of meanings and perception through space

Conservation tensions: conflicting formed vs forming values

Housing as strategic for 'crucial' reconfiguration of urban vision

Bad perception as perceived opportunity for positive (need for) change discourse

Spatial discourse: changing urban perception through provided image imaginations

Social implications that don't match imaginations: displacing existing dynamics, social deterrents

Spatial-social perception factor

Delimitation constraints: value limitations (outdated cons in new contexts)

Initial social landscape to change

Changing the sp-soc landscape: changing perception to fit new positions

Heritage conservation reach & produced

tensions

Drive for reposition of HC: changing vocations &

meanings

renewed attention to Hcs: urban opportunity

space

Reposition of HC: validation of shift processes

Factors to reposition: creating economic landscapes

Planning as strategic for transformation process: changing limits

Housing & densification in complicated development environment

Housing visions vs Housing needs: planning housing for visions, not residents

of area

Evolving visions: transformation attempts

Cons aspirations: aesthetic & non-adaptative agenda

Legal provisions: securing change capacities

Densification as catalyst & social traditions

Public space to reach & enable private

opportunity

Policy level enabling: for private opportunity

Social shifts validation

Guidelines for selective development: normalising displacement

Civic responsibility & accountability for space: reasons for

intervention

Housing types as systemic social shift vehicle

Systemic 'out of reach' agenda: displacing

groups

Sense of belonging threat: dispersing the social fabric

Social boundaries & changes

assessment

New housing tenure, access & standards

Changes inertia: repositioning HC

Normative gaps & contextual challenges

Importance of commitments: accountability

Change factors: unviable current situation

Exiting fabric: HC not empty

Shift for newer/more uses

HC + Cons limits for H access/tenure: costs displacement

Validation to repurpose & reuse-intensify use

Cons aims incompatible with H needs

Need for alternative methods of action

Urban welfare aspirations

Cons as displacement/marginalisation enabler: high costs

Social catering: groups w/low needs and $ capacity

Spatial alienation & local tensions

Natural gentrification': land 'best' uses

Better-returns strategies: changing tenure types

20 Appendix 10

Final Codes List

Name	Description
Delimitation	Legally determined and protected 'Heritage Conservation Area' as geographic delimitation and location
Dynamic	The historic centre as dynamic place and container of ongoing social urban events and activities
Expansion	Increasing inclusion of historic centre area into city-wide planning instruments and strategies, blurring conservation-based strategic delimitations
Identity	Social urban identity associated to the historic place and its social cultural heritage and traditions
Location	Locational embeddedness or separation of historic centre from the wider urban fabric of the city
Abandonment	Indication of absence of residents in historic centre buildings and also absentee institutions and owners, with increased physical degradation
Dereliction	Indication of physical decay of the urban landscape, loss of features in buildings and cheap rent
Decay	Indication of informal, often illegal, social urban dynamics and occupation of physically decayed buildings and environments, linked to low-brow places
Floating Population	Transitory daily population groups for activities and/or uses such as tourism, retail or offices and their impact on historic centres
Underuse	The partial use or occupation of buildings and/or public spaces that could service or hold more users, linked to dereliction and degradation processes
Unsafety	Indication of unsafe activities and personal safety challenges, linked to dereliction, illegal activities and/or informal groups
Advantage	Assessed opportunity for and from renewal transformation for new residents and private development investment projects

Betterment	Renewal actions of the public and semi-public/private space within selected opportunity areas and to be replicated elsewhere
Densification	Mobilisation to increase amount of 'formal' residents within existing buildings along urban renewal project areas and through out the historic centre
Promotion	Urban renewal actions as strategy to mobilise development expectations and envisioned benefits to live and invest in historic centres
Transformation	Urban renewal strategies and actions to produce change on private space level within a selected area or corridor
Commitments	Importance and adherence to legal and ethical commitments with international institutions such as UNESCO or UN-Habitat
Costs	Heritage conservation costs of singular buildings and urban landscape that may exceed institutional and/or local government capacities
Facilitate	Enabling strategies and incentives to attract private sector investment for real estate development and heritage conservation actions
Funds	Public sector subsidies or investment limitations with constrained structures and lacking funds for institutions and projects
Restrictions/ Reach	Institutional and normative challenges due to lack of interinstitutional cooperation and probing and contradicting normative aims and restrictions
Cost Rise	Low rent vs rise of living costs for existing residents due to urban renewal projects and real estate developments, closely linked to informality and speculation
Displacement	Projected and real processes of residential and retail displacement consequential of renewal-densification projects, linked to new demographic groups
Drawback	Challenges to fulfil regeneration and densification expectations such as new socioeconomic dynamics and new residential groups attraction
Pressure	Created pressure on residents of historic centres by urban interventions and changes in the social urban landscape
Continuation	Struggle to maintain residential permanence and community, as linked to traditional social groups and place characteristics

Funds	Individual owners or tenants financial constraints to access ownership or tenancy as well as to make home improvements, linked to loan and subsidies challenges
Sense Displacement	Economic pressure implications on existing residents and sense of imminent displacement (by cost rise or forced evictions)
Social Dynamics	Sense of temporality of new residents and struggling social dynamics with 'traditional' residents
Sense Place	Intangible social cultural characteristics associated to a place, considering both its historic 'memory' and its current and ongoing dynamics
Well Being	Top-down assessed well-being for existing and new residents as produced by renewal interventions and projects in historic centres

21 Appendix 11

Final Codes List (analysed)

Name	Sources	References	S-AB	R-AB	S-C	R-C
Delimitation	15	46	15	46	0	0
Dynamic	16	24	7	13	9	11
Expansion	3	8	3	8	0	0
Identity	23	69	12	39	11	30
Location	17	30	11	21	6	9
Abandonment	26	70	15	27	11	43
Dereliction	22	84	10	20	12	64
Decay	18	50	6	17	12	33
Floating Population	13	34	7	23	6	11
Underuse	12	29	6	13	6	16
Unsafety	20	31	7	18	13	13
Advantage	16	41	10	26	6	15
Betterment	27	102	14	49	13	53
Densification	26	132	12	51	14	81
Promotion	17	49	12	32	5	17
Transformation	27	123	14	54	13	69
Commitments	16	88	14	86	2	2
Costs	14	35	9	24	5	11
Facilitate	22	80	14	44	8	36
Funds	20	52	9	29	11	23
Restrictions/ Reach	28	145	16	94	12	51
Cost Rise	18	115	6	18	12	97
Displacement	21	105	8	13	13	92
Drawback	18	43	6	10	12	33
Pressure	15	93	2	5	13	88

Continuation	19	114	5	11	14	103
Funds	15	69	2	5	13	64
Sense Displacement	13	54	0	0	13	54
Social Dynamics	12	102	0	0	12	102
Sense Place	18	71	6	13	12	71
Well Being	19	51	6	11	13	51

S-AB   Sources (groups A & B)

R-AB   References (groups A & B)

Sources   (group

S-C   C)

R-C   References (group C)

Highest mentioned

Second-highest mentioned

22 Appendix 12

Themes and Codes List

Concept	Description	Codes
Meanings Definitions	Institutionalised meaning and significance of the historic centre as a place determined by physical, historic and cultural characteristics	Delimitation, Dynamic, Expansion, Identity, Location
Cognitive Descriptions	Negative place descriptions based on place perception and rooted narratives to define and ascribe value to the historic centre	Abandonment, Degradation, Dereliction, Floating Population, Underuse, Unsafety
Expectations Opportunity	Renewal' discourse mobilisation within place development opportunity promotion and expectations upon urban, social and economic levels	Advantage, Betterment, Densification, Promotion, Transformation
Structural Limitations	Normative, financial and/or legal limitations for governance of historic centres and placement of public-private partnerships	Commitments, Costs, Facilitate, Funds, Restrictions-Reach
Product Implications	Implications of renewal through urban design and densification of historic centres as a social urban product	Cost-Rise, Displacement, Drawback, Pressure, Funds
Application Effects	Effects on residents and place through challenges presented	

	by the renewal actions in historic centres	Continuation, Sense Displacement, Social Dynamics, Sense Place, Well Being

23 Appendix 13

Argument Themes Analysis

Concept	Languages	Narratives
adaptability of place	dynamic, evolving,	public space recovery and building use change
desirability of place	attractiveness, relevance, urban image, place perception	urban image and investment attractiveness
development opportunity	habitability, betterment, regeneration, renewal, speculative value, transference rights	housing investment opportunity in renovated locationsfor developers
dignified housing	minimum standards, peripheral housing, bank loans, new housing	households restructuring to adapt more than dignified housing to historic centres
governance limitations	new investment promotion, fiscal and legal incentives, interinstitutionalconstraints	limited governance capacity and new partnerships
habitation recoveryneed	abandonment, repopulation, redensification, recovery, mixedhousing	decrease of resident levels with accompanying and consequential decay
heritage management and restrictions	monuments, compatible uses, land value, protection zones, development limitations	conservation restrictions and management costs aslimitations for historic centre preservation
heritage title	legal determination, authenticity and integrity, strict normative tool	national/local symbolic and legal value assigned to historic properties and places
historic urban landscape	urban image, urban form, historic layers, spatial configuration	objectified landscape for gaze and investment, tangible urban incentive for investment
housing access types	social housing, social 'interest' housing, medium market housing,high market housing	access types based on redensification and repopulation aims per zoning and land use norms
housing tenure types	family, single parent, one person, shared, communal	tenure types as projected according to current life-style patterns and demands
legal standing of heritage property	zoning, land uses, legal standing, fiscal revenue and incentives,informality	land costs and capture, with residents as clients andupkeep managers

mixed tenancy models	urban dynamism, mixed renting, planned densification	contemporary life as determinant for cultural urban dynamism and housing options
monumental value	monument types, protection, levels	monumental-centric assessments of place
neighborhood roots and links	community development, cultural promotion	foster ongoing culture and social connections
public space recovery	pedestrianisation, walkability, clean space, property value, betterment	recovery of public spaces with streets or corridors as place-based landscapes

24 Appendix 14

Interview Ethics Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form for *Participant* in Research Studies

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Project: **Frameworks for Urban Conservation: Social Equality in Mexican Historic Cities**

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): **11251/001**
Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet and what the study involves.

2. I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.

3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.

4. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

5. I agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

6. I understand that my participation will be taped/video recorded and I consent to use of this material as part of the project.

7. I agree that my data, after it has been fully anonymised, can be shared with other researchers.

8. I agree to be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite me to participate in follow-up studies.

9. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I will be sent a copy. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me from any publications.

10. I understand that I may refuse to take part, withdraw from providing information or ask for my interview to be deleted at any time.

11. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____

   Name of Person   Date   Signature

   Taking Consent

25 Appendix 15

<ins>Interview Information Sheet</ins>

<ins>INFORMATION SHEET</ins>

Information Sheet for <u>*Participant*</u>   in Research Studies

You will be given a copy of this information sheet.

Title of Study: **Frameworks for Urban Conservation: Social Equality in Mexican Historic Cities**

Department: Bartlett School of Planning, UCL

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee (Project ID Number): **11251/001**

Name	Monica Lopez Franco
Work Address	Bartlett School of Planning
	Central House
	14 Upper Woburn Place
	London WC1H 0NN
Contact Details	monica.franco.15@ucl.ac.uk
Principal Researcher	e.cidre@ucl.ac.uk

You will be given a copy of this information sheet. Please discuss the information provided with the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. You can decide to take part in the interview or not. You can decide to withdraw from the interview at any moment and to request your information be removed. This research ensures anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Mexican Federal Law for Protection of Personal Dara om Possession of Private Parties, and with the United Kingdom Data Protection Act 1998.

The research is called 'Frameworks for Urban Conservation: Social Equality in Mexican Historic Cities''. This research aims to examine the significance of social equality values within frameworks and practice for urban conservation in the historic areas of Mexico City and Guadalajara. The objective is to understand social processes of housing access and tenure in historic areas under frameworks developed locally through international and national levels of influence. This research will provide with experiences of historic areas with cities that hold important levels of influence for other cities at a regional, national and international level.

The research will carry out interviews with academics, experts, governmental officers, institutional stakeholders and users in the cities of Mexico City and Guadalajara. The interviews will collect information regarding social processes within the historic area: policy making (e.g. networks, collaborations), strategies undertaken (e.g. investments, initiatives) and urban activities (e.g. commercial and habitational arrangements)

The data will be collected by one to one interviews between researcher and participant. Interviews will be voice recorded to help the researcher to capture the respondent's insights accurately and in their own words. To record the interviews consent must first be provided by the participant. A questionnaire of the questions to be asked during the interview will be provided for your consent. Recorded interviews will be transcribed at a later stage and the recording will be cleared.

Your data is for the use of this research only and will not be shared with anyone, including other participants. It will also be anonymised. This means that your name will not be recorded in the same file as personal data for contact and both files will be protected by passwords and careful storage. The recordings will only be heard and accessed by the researcher and for the purpose of this study. If you agree to take part you will be asked whether you are happy to be contacted about participation in future studies. Your participation in this study will not be affected should you choose not be re-contacted.

Findings of the research will be written down in the final thesis of this work and will be accessible to all participants upon request. Findings may also be published through academic journals, conferences, and papers. Drafts will be shared with all participants

for review and consent will be asked before they are published. They will only be published after consent has been received to do so.

If you do not wish your personal data to be used, it is your right to refuse participation in the interview. It is also your right to stop the interview and refuse to answer any further questions.

It is also your right to request the information you provided not be used after the interview. You can do this immediately after the interview of via e-mail at a later date.

In any of the cases stated above, all your information will be deleted from the researcher's records.

After the completion of the research (estimate January 2020), all your personal data will be deleted.

Please discuss the information above with others if you wish or ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering take part in this research.

Appendix 16 –

	International	National	Mexico City	Guadalajara

1917 — Mexican Constitution

1939 — INAH

1946 — UNESCO — INBA

1960

1965 — ICOMOS

1970 — Law for Cultural Heritage

1972 — WHC — LFMAAHZ/LHC — INFONAVIT

1976 — UN-Habitat I — Law of Human Settlements

1980 — National 'Monuments Zone'

1985 — Earthquake

1987 — UNESCO WHS

1990 — FIDEICOMISO Trust

1992 — Culture Secr. — Gas Explosions

Housing Amendment — Historic Centre Board

1994 — UN-Habitat II

1997 — UNESCO WHM 'Cabanas'

2000 — Delegation & Partial Programmes

CC (I)

2006 — Law for Housing — Historic Centre Authority

2011 — HUL — Civil Code (latest) — Management Plan 1 — Pan-American Games

Human Rights Amendment

2012 — Creative Digital City

2014 — UN SGD's — LF/LH — State Historic Centre Partial Programme

2016 — UN-Habitat III — LFAHDU/LUD

2017 — Law for Cultural Rights — UNESCO Creative Cities — UNESCO Creative Cities

Management Plan 2

2018 — Const CC (I)

2020

Timeline

| | | State | Historic Centre | State | Historic Centre |

27 Appendix 17

Setbacks and Heights in PP-17

GG (2017) Partial Programme

Chapter 7. Norm 7: Conditions of Construction Restrictions (Pp. 213)
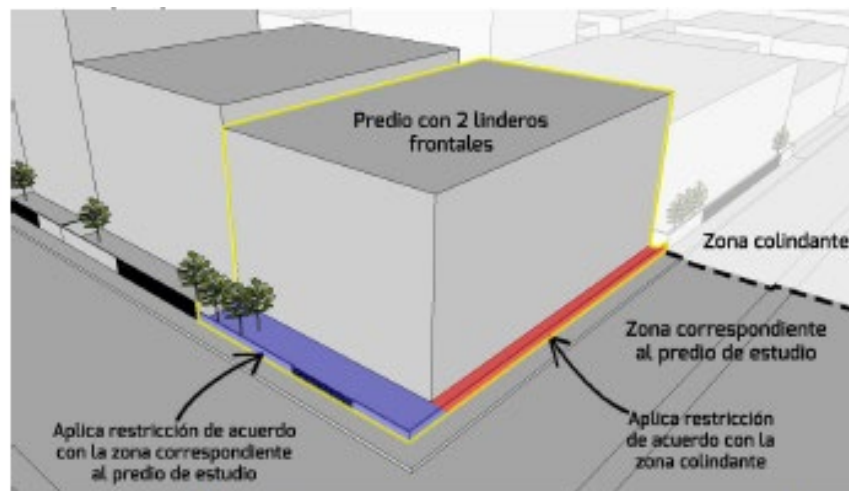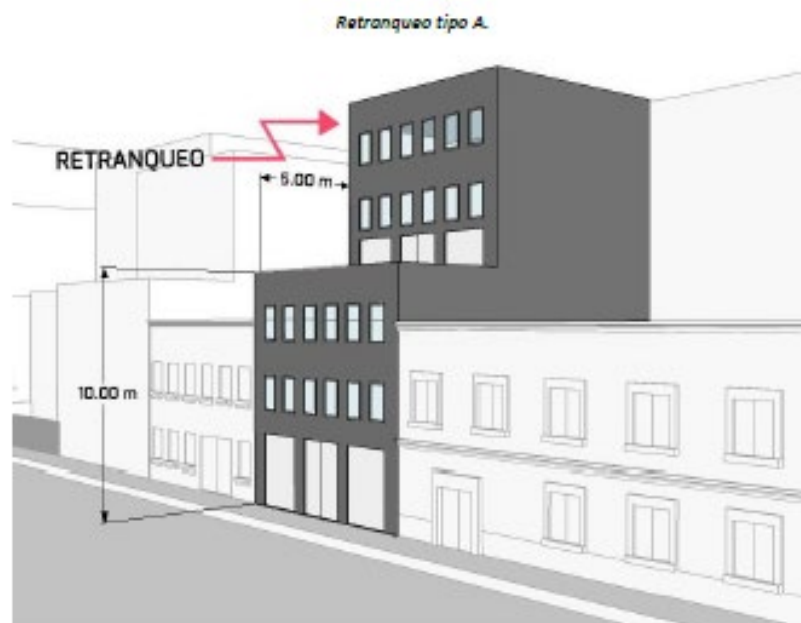

Chapter 12. Norm 12: Setbacks (Pp. 239-40)

Retranqueo tipo B.

RETRANQUEO

5.00 m

16.00 m

28 Appendix 18

Online Rent Examples

Mexico City

MXC	Name	Price	Bedroom	M2	$ Bedr	flat/house	Corridor?	Source
1	Neza	8,000	2	46	4000	f	0	1
1	Balderas	14,200	2	60	7100	f	0	1
1	Indep	9,000	2	65	4500	f	0	1
1	Articulo	11,000	3	90	3666.666667	f	0	1
1	Ayunt	14,000	1	30	14000	f	0	1
1	Revillag	17,500	1	50	17500	f	0	1
1	0	12,600	2	86	6300	f	0	1
1	Balderas	14,100	2	60	7050	f	0	1
1	Revillag	15,000	1	60	15000	f	0	1
1	Allende	9,000	NA	65	9,000	f	0	1
1	Articulo	11,000	2	80	5500	f	0	1
1	Mesones	19,500	1	NA	19500	f	0.5	2
1	Regina	27,744	2	138	13872	f	1	3
1	Regina	12,000	4	100	3000	f	1	4
1	Regina*	10,000	2	NA	5000	f-r	1	5
1	Regina	11,500	3	97	3833.333333	f	1	5
16		13509			8676.375			

Average						
All (16)	13509	1.875	$10 to	13	Over $15	3
Regina	15311	2.75	2 bedrc	6		1
R & near	16148.8	2.4	1 bedrc	2		2
			3+ bedr	3		0

Guadalajara

GDL	Name	Price	Bedroom	M2	$ Bedr	flat/house	Corridor?	Source
1	-	2,600	1	60	2600	f	0	1
1	Belen	19,500	2	100	9750	h	0	1
1	-	3,300	1	NA	3300	f-r	0	1
1	Carmen	18,000	1	70	18000	f	0	1
1	Sn Felipe	4,000	1	100	4000	f	0	1
1	M Barcn	18,500	7	270	2642.857143	h	0.5	1
1	Juarez	2,600	1	60	2600	f	0.5	2
1	J Manuel	16,500	1	86	16500	f	0	3
1	R Plascnc	19,400	3	120	6466.666667	h	0	3
1	-	11,000	3	140	3666.666667	h	0	3
1	M Barcn	80,000	8	627	10000	h	0.5	3
1	Carmen	18,000	1	70	18000	f	0.5	3
1	Medellin	3,300	1	NA	3300	f	0.5	3
1	Hosp Civ	2,500	5	500	500	h	0	4
1	-	4,500	2	150	2250	f	0	4
1	Refugio	6,000	2	NA	3000	f	0	5
16		14356.25			6661.011905			

Average			flat		10			
All (16)	14356.25	2.5	$2 to $		10	$10 +		3
Mezqu (0)	0	0	1b		8		1b	3
Near (5)	24480	3.6	2b		2		2b	
			3+		0		3+	

house							
$10 to		1	$16 to 20		2		$80
1b				1b			8b
2b				2b			
3		1		3		1	
3+				7		1	