

UDK: 316.334.56:316.34(8Monterrey)  
DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-2016-27-02-006

Prejeto: 14. 7. 2016  
Sprejeto: 3. 10. 2016

Karen HINOJOSA HINOJOSA  
Carlos ESTUARDO APARICIO MORENO

## Manjkajoča javna domena v javnem prostoru: spolno opredeljen zgodovinski pogled na primer iz Latinske Amerike

Avtorja v članku proučujeta javne domene v zgodovini javnih prostorov v Monterreyu, pri čemer analizirata, kako so jih vsakodnevno uporabljale različne družbene skupine. Z dokumentarno analizo rekonstruirata prehod od javnih prostorov v javni lasti do privatiziranih javnih prostorov, pri čemer razširita tradicionalno in nekoliko idilično predstavo o javnih prostorih in opišeta, kako so jih uporabljale različne družbene skupine. Spmembe javnih prostorov lahko razdelimo na štiri glavna obdobja. Centralistični javni prostor se je pojavil v kolonialnem obdobju (1596–1810), družbeno segregirani prostori pa so sledili v obdobju, ki je trajalo od začetka mehiške osa-

mosvojitvene vojne do časa po mehiški revoluciji (1810–1940). Razpršenost javnega prostora je bila značilna za obdobje metropolitanske širitve Monterreya (1940–1980), do privatizacije javnih prostorov pa je prišlo na prelomu tisočletja (1980–2015). Ženske, otroci in nižji družbeno-ekonomski sloji so imeli neenakopraven dostop do javnih prostorov v Latinski Ameriki, zaradi česar teh prostorov ne moremo obravnavati kot javne domene.

**Ključne besede:** javni prostori, javne domene, problematika enakosti spolov, Monterrey, družbena interakcija

## 1 Uvod

Človekove predstave o družbi morda bolj kot to, kako so prostori zasnovani, izraža to, kako se uporabljajo in dojemajo. Prostor, še posebej družbeni prostor, je posledica nešteti povezav, ki izražajo družbeni red, oziroma je družbeni produkt, do katerega ima vsak pravico (Lefebvre, 1991). Nekateri prostori so bolj hierarhični, drugi bolj demokratični, vsi pa vsebujejo izrazne oblike, povezane z družbenim razredom, spolom in starostjo, ki jih ustvarja družba na splošno. V mestnih okoljih javni prostori na splošno veljajo za potrebne in koristne, saj zagotavljajo prostor, v katerem se ljudje lahko srečujejo z drugimi. Kljub temu je še vedno veliko zmede okrog tega, kaj pomeni izraz »javni prostor«, zaradi česar je težko opredeliti značilnosti uspešnih in koristnih javnih prostorov. Na podlagi obsežne literature z najrazličnejših področij, ki se nanaša na proučevanje javnih prostorov, so v nadaljevanju razloženi nekateri izrazi, ki jih avtorja uporabljata v članku.

Ločevati je treba med javnimi sferami, javnimi prostori in javnimi domenami, čeprav se ti izrazi na različnih področjih včasih tudi zamenjujejo. Javna sfera je »prostor našega družabnega življenja, v katerem se lahko oblikuje nekaj, kar se približuje javnemu mnenju. Dostop je zagotovljen vsem državljanom« (Habermas idr., 1974: 49). Posledično je javna sfera prostor, v katerem potekajo razprave med posamezniki; najlepši primer tega je grška agora. Po definiciji Jürgena Habermasa je javna sfera namenjena vsem državljanom, mednje pa v grški družbi niso spadali ženske, sužnji in tujci (Ghent Urban Studies Team, 2002; Powell, 2002; Low in Smith, 2013), ki so bili omejeni na zasebno ali domačo sfero oziroma »oikos«. S političnega vidika ti državljanji niso pomembni, vendar so ženske kljub temu sodelovale v nekakšni obliki »kulturnega državljanstva« (Parker, 1996: 80), zborih ter pri praznovanjih in drugih verskih obredih, ki so jim omogočali družbene stike (Duby idr., 1994). Strogo ločevanje med javno in zasebno sfero je v sodobnem času manj očitno (Arendt, 1958), vendar je treba biti pri nostalgicnem idealiziranju takih primerov, ki izključujejo pluralnost človeških razmer, vseeno previden. Z drugimi besedami, agora je bila dejansko prostor, na katerem je razpravljal »polis«; bila je pojavna oblika njegove javne sfere v javnem prostoru. Posledično ne moremo govoriti o javnih domenah, če je iz njih izključena več kot polovica prebivalstva.

Javni prostori se na področju urbanizma dojemajo kot odprti prostori v javni lasti, vključno z ulicami, parki, trgi in rekreacijskimi območji, ki omogočajo družbeno interakcijo med različnimi družbenimi skupinami. Javni prostori so »območja, ki jih vsi priznavajo in dobro poznajo, dostopna so vsem ... ter kažejo in utelešajo raznolikost mesta, ki je posledica njegove dostopnosti vsakomur« (Lim, 2014: 20). Raznolikost uporabe in uporabnikov javnih prostorov je mogoče najpomembnejši

vidik mesta ter vidik, ki daje prednost varnosti in potencialnemu razvoju (Borja in Muxí, 2000). Prav obseg dostopa, udeležbe in mobilnosti, ki ga različne družbene skupine dejansko imajo na javnih prostorih, pa odpira vprašanja o stopnji »javnosti« teh območij. Dostopnost »zagotavlja prosto kroženje ljudi in dobrin. Poleg tega omogoča tudi pojav kolektivnih ali družbenih reprezentacij, na podlagi katerih se oblikujejo podobe mesta« (Tonnelat, 2010: 85).

Javne domene razširjajo definicijo javnih prostorov in vključujejo tudi zaprte prostore, kot so knjižnice in kulturni domovi, upoštevajo pa tudi javno dostopne prostore v zasebni lasti. Tradicionalni javni prostori ne vključujejo ulic, vendar so omejeni na parke in trge, pogosto pa so tudi to javni prostori, na katere se osredotočajo urbanistični uradi, kadar govorijo o javnem prostoru. Medtem ko je na javnih prostorih družbena interakcija teoretično mogoča, so javne domene »kraj, na katerih je komunikacija med različnimi družbenimi skupinami mogoča in do nje tudi prihaja« (Hajer in Reijndorp, 2002: 11). V tem pogledu glavni poudarek pri javnih domenah ni na lastništvu v pravnem smislu, ampak na lastništvu z vidika fizične in psihološke prilagoditve njihovih uporabnikov in njihovih družbenih interakcij.

Problematika enakosti spolov v Latinski Ameriki je zelo različna, na splošno pa ta skupina držav ni bila odporna na pričakovano podreditev žensk patriarhalni družbeni ureditvi (Feménias, 2009), ki je zmanjšala žensko domeno javnega prostora. Čeprav se je večina držav Latinske Amerike v 19. stoletju politično osamosvojila skladno z razsvetlenskimi ideali svobode, enakosti in bratstva, ti liberalni ideali niso veljali za ženske, priseljence, manjšinske rase in skupine, ki so veljale za drugačne.

Razlikovanje med različnimi družbenimi skupinami, javnimi prostori in javnimi domenami je torej izjemno pomembno pri raziskovalnih vprašanjih, obravnavanih v tem članku. Kako so se javni prostori v Monterreyu sčasoma spremenili? V kakšne interakcije so znotraj njih vstopale različne družbene skupine? Ker pa družbene interakcije reproducirajo temeljne strukture moči, se je smiselno vprašati tudi, ali so se družbene interakcije na javnih prostorih pojavljale pod enakimi pogoji za vse družbene skupine. Pri proučevanju vsega tega je cilj ugotoviti, ali imajo vse družbene skupine dostop do javnih prostorov metropolitanskega območja Monterreya, in s tem odgovoriti na najpomembnejše vprašanje, ali lahko te javne prostore sploh opišemo kot javne domene.

Z vidika javnih domen lahko razvoj javnega prostora v Monterreyu razdelimo na štiri glavna obdobja. V kolonialnem obdobju (1596–1810) se je oblikoval centralistični javni prostor, ki so mu v obdobju, ki je trajalo od začetka mehiške osamosvojitvene vojne do časa po mehiški revoluciji (1810–1940), sledili druž-



Slika 1: Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mehika (vir: Karen Hinojosa Hinojosa)

Opomba: Robne občine metropolitanskega območja so šrafrirane.

Preglednica 1: Število prebivalstva na metropolitanskem območju Monterreya po občinah, 1960–2015

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
Apodaca	6.259	18.564	37.181	115.913	283.497	523.370	597.207
Garcia	4.091	6.477	10.434	13.164	28.974	143.668	247.370
General Escobedo	1.824	10.515	37.756	98.147	233.457	357.937	425.148
Guadalupe	38.233	159.930	370.908	535.560	670.162	678.006	682.880
Juarez	3.166	5.656	13.490	28.014	66.497	256.970	333.481
Monterrey	601.085	858.107	1.090.009	1.069.238	1.110.997	1.135.550	1.109.171
San Nicolas	41.243	113.074	280.696	436.603	496.878	443.273	430.143
San Pedro Garza Garcia	14.943	45.983	81.974	113.040	125.978	122.659	123.156
Santa Catarina	12.895	36.385	89.488	163.848	227.026	268.955	296.954

Vir: National Institute of Statistics and Geography (špa. *Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía*, INEGI, 2015)

beno segregirani prostori. Za obdobje metropolitanske širitve Monterreya (1940–1980) je bila značilna razpršenost javnega prostora, prelom tisočletja (1980–2015) pa je zaznamovala privatizacija javnih prostorov. Tovrstna časovna razdelitev ne vključuje enako dolgih časovnih obdobj, saj je bil poudarek na iskanju prehodov med različnimi tipologijami javnih prostorov in ne na njihovem splošnem zgodovinskem kontekstu. Vsako obdobje se razlikuje po dostopnosti javnih prostorov in tudi po družbenih dejavnostih, zaradi katerih so v različnih obdobjih v njih prevladovala različne družbene skupine. Pred analizo posameznih zgodovinskih obdobj pa za lažjo umestitev proučevanega območja najprej sledi kratek splošni geografski in demografski opis Monterreya.

### 1.1 Monterrey in njegove družbenodemografske značilnosti

Monterrey je glavno mesto severovzhodne mehiške zvezne države Nuevo Leon, ki leži ob južni meji s Teksasom ter je eno

najpomembnejših industrijskih in gospodarskih središč Latinske Amerike (glej sliko 1). Mesto v dolini, obdani z gorami, je bilo po dveh neuspešnih poskusih dokončno ustanovljeno leta 1596 in do srede 20. stoletja je ostalo dokaj majhno. Po podatkih zadnjega popisa prebivalstva živijo zdaj na metropolitanskem območju Monterreya več kot štirje milijoni prebivalcev, zaradi česar je to tretje največje metropolitansko območje v Mehiki in drugo največje metropolitansko območje v državi po geografskem obsegu (National Institute of Statistics and Geography, 2010). Razteza se na površini 6.680 km<sup>2</sup> (National Population Council, 2012), ki jo razpolavlja reka Santa Catarina. Vodotok ima običajno suho strugo, ki pa se ob obilnejšem deževju napolni in vsakih deset do petnajst let celo poplavlja.

Za Monterrey je od leta 1950 značilna močna industrializacija, zato velja za gospodarsko prestolnico Mehike. Metropolitansko območje Monterreya (MOM) sestavlja devet občin. V preglednici 1 je prikazano gibanje prebivalstva v MOM gle-

de na posamezno občino. Podatki kažejo, da se je prebivalstvo MOM sicer povečalo, vendar postaja njegova razporeditev vse bolj razpršena po posameznih občinah. Leta 1960 je v občini Monterrey živelo 83 % vsega prebivalstva, do leta 2015 pa se je ta delež zmanjšal na 26 %.

## 2 Centralizirani javni prostor: Monterrey v kolonialnem obdobju (1596–1810)

Ogromni obredni prostori predšpanskih prestolnic so na španske osvajalce, ki pred tem še nikoli niso videli tako velikih mestnih javnih prostorov, naredili velik vtis (Díaz del Castillo, 1939). To je neposredno vplivalo na urbanizem v Novi Španiji, za katerega so bili v 16. stoletju značilni ogromni cerkveni atriji, ki so se uporabljali za evangelizacijo ter tudi za trženje in druženje. Čeprav kot vsa druga območja v severni Mehiki tudi Monterrey ni neposredno podedoval azteških mestnih prostorov, so njegovi ustanovitelji leta 1596 družbeno reprezentacijo teh idej in podob že sprejeli.

Zaradi politike tajnosti, ki jo je španska krona gojila do osvojenih ozemelj, tako rekoč ni na voljo nikakršnih podatkov oziroma slikovnega gradiva o javnem prostoru v državi Nuevo Leon in s tem v Monterreyu iz prve faze kolonizacije. Kljub temu lahko na podlagi listin, kot so zakoni ameriških in filipinskih kolonij (špa. *Leyes de Indias*), kraljevi odloki in takratna korespondenca, rekonstruiramo podobo prvih španskih mest na tem območju. Tako so kraljevi odloki o ureditvi novih mest določali:

Po prihodu na kraj, na katerem naj bi se naselilo določeno prebivalstvo – odredimo, da so to prazna ozemlja brez Indijancev ali domorodcev oziroma da se sicer pridobi njihovo soglasje –, je treba ozemlje z vrvico in ravnilom razdeliti na trge, ulice in parcele, in sicer se najprej označi glavni trg (špa. *plaza mayor*), s katerega potekajo ceste do vhodnih vrat in glavnih cest, pri čemer se pusti odprt prostor, da se lahko mesto kljub izjemni rasti prebivalstva še naprej razvija v isti obliki ... Ker gre za sredozemsko lokacijo, je treba glavni trg, s katerega se potem razvije mesto, umestiti v središče mesta. Trg mora biti pravokoten, pri čemer je ena stranica vsaj 1,5-krat daljša kot druga, saj je to primernejše za slovesnosti s konji in druga praznovanja (Pacheco, de Cárdenas, de Cárdenas y Espejo in Torres de Mendoza, 1867: 521).

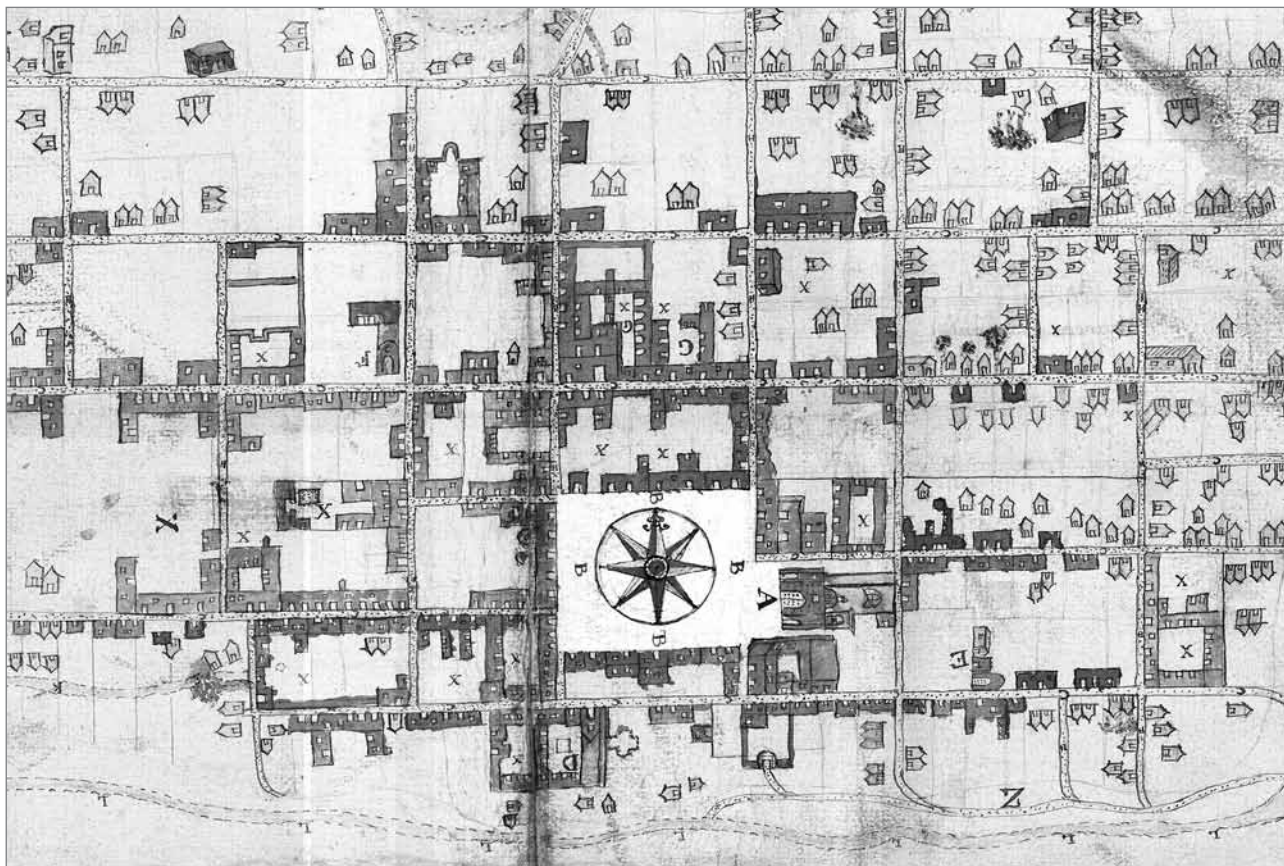
Kot v številnih drugih mestih so tudi v Monterreyu do določene mere upoštevali fizične vidike odlokov, manj pa njihove družbene vidike. Prvi zemljevid Monterreya je iz leta 1765, ter njegov avtor José de Urrutia je na njem prikazal mrežo kmetijskih zemljišč in nekaj hiš. Edine označene stavbe so bili

guvernerjeva hiša, župnijska cerkev in samostan svetega Andreja. Leta 1791 je pater Cristobal Bellido y Fajardo iz omenjenega samostana naročil izdelavo zemljevida mesta v novi kraljevini Leon (špa. *Nuevo Reino de León*, glej sliko 2). Javni prostor je na tem zemljevidu jasno viden na glavnem trgu nasproti katedrale (Flores Salazar in González Garza, 2002). Takrat je bil Monterrey zelo majhen, saj naj bi na najdaljši osi od vzhoda proti zahodu meril samo približno 550 m. Mestece je bilo obdano s potoki, gozdom in številnimi naravnimi odprtimi prostori.

Na severu so živela predvsem nomadska staroselska plemena, ki so jih običajno opisovali kot divja in krvoločna. To je bilo obdobje močne nasilne asimilacije prvotnih prebivalcev, na katere je dodatno vplival pritek novih naseljencev, vključno s temnopoltimi sužnji, mestici in več kot tisoč Tlaxkalteki, ki naj bi pomagali pri kolonizaciji in so skupaj krepko preseglji število takratnih Špancev na tem območju (Flores, 2009). Nekatera mehiška plemena (na primer Maji, Huicholi in Totonaki) so uporabljala določene obrede, ki kažejo na družbeno reprezentacijo družinske vloge žensk. Ob rojstvu deklice je na primer obredni pokop popkovine ob ognjišču simboliziral, da bo deklica v prihodnosti dobra gospodinja. Popkovino fantkov so pokopali zunaj, blizu drevesa ali rodovitnega območja, kar naj bi zagotavljalo, da bodo ti v prihodnosti uspešno skrbeli za družino (González Ortiz, 2005). Njihovo mesto (v hiši ali zunaj nje) je bilo določeno že ob rojstvu. V nasprotju s tem modelom so imele ženske iz plemen Coahuilteco, Borrado ali Rayado v severni Mehiki nekakšno mešano vlogo v družini, saj so nabirale hrano in les, kuhale in skrbele za otroke (Velázquez Morales, 1994). Ideja o javnih in zasebnih prostorih je temeljila na razlikovanju spolov in ni bila vezana na ozemlje, ampak na dejavnost.

V velikem nasprotju z romantično in skoraj naivno podobo miroljubnih osvajanj in naseljevanja, prikazano v kraljevih odlokih, so se prvotni prebivalci proti temu nenehno borili, tako rekoč vse do svoje dokončne iztreditve. Pravzaprav je obstajal natančno določen sistem pravnih, družbenih in rasnih podkategorij, ki se je v Mehiki izoblikoval v procesu rasnega mešanja, pri katerem so vse natančno označene rase oziroma kaste (špa. *castas*) veljale za manjvredne v primerjavi s Španci. To izrazito ločevanje med osvajalci in osvojenimi je bilo temelj kolonialnega režima (Cope, 1994). Le malo je znanega o vlogi žensk španskega porekla ali domorodk na takratnih javnih prostorih. Čeprav naj bi te prostore uporabljali kolonizatorji in domorodci, so bili slednji podvrženi sistematični segregaciji oziroma zapostavljanju na podlagi kraja prebivanja. Nekateri avtorji omenjajo, da so bili Tlaxkalteki segregirani zaradi naravne fizične ovire – reke Santa Catarine (García, 2003, ter Aparicio, Ortega Rubí in Sandoval Hernández, 2011). To je bilo sicer res, vendar ne more popolnoma pojasniti družbene





Slika 2: Glavni trg v Monterreyu (vir: Bellido y Fajardo, 1791)

Opomba: Glavni trg je zaradi boljše preglednosti označen z belo barvo (vzeto z izvirnega zemljevida, na katerem je sever spodaj).

in kulturne sestave območja južno od te reke. Mogoče lahko to bolje pojasnimo s poznejšim masovnim prihodom delavcev iz mehiških zveznih držav San Luis Potosi in Zacatecas sredi 19. stoletja, ki so se prav tako naselili v hribovju Cerro de la Loma Larga (Neira, 1990, ter Hernández in Escamilla, 2010).

José Sotero Noriega (1856) navaja, da je glavni trg Monterreya stal skoraj v središču mesta, prebivalstvo tega pa je južno od reke vse bolj naraščalo. Trg je imel prijetno podobo: na vseh štirih vogalih so bili nasajeni oranževci, ki so dajali senco klopem, izklesanimi iz kamna, zaradi česar je bil to eden od najlepših mehiških trgov. Avtor omenja tudi druge manjše trge, obdane s preprostimi, toda slikovitimi stavbami (na primer Plaza del Comercio, Plaza del Roble, Plaza de la Purísima in Plaza del Mercado, prej znan kot Plaza de la Carne). Ljudje so se običajno sprehajali po mostovih severno od mesta, saj so ti stali blizu plantaž in ulic z drevoredi, ki so jih lahko občudovali med sprehodom.

Čeprav so med takratnimi javnimi prostori prevladovali najrazličnejši trgi, so bili tudi ulice in pločniki pomembni kraji, na katerih so potekali vsakdanji družbeni stiki. Kot navaja Fernando Rafael Casasús (2003), navada prebivalcev

Monterreya, da sedijo na pločnikih v gugalnikih, na lesenih stolih ali neposredno na podestu pred vhomom v hišo, izvira prav iz teh kolonialnih časov. Ta običaj se v virih omenja že vse od konca 17. stoletja; v občinskem arhivu je na primer navedeno, da je guverner Juan Pedro Merino z nekaj prijatelji stal pred vrati svoje hiše, kamor se je »prišel nadihat malo svežega zraka«, ko je prejel novico, da se je zgodila pomembna nesreča (Montemayor, 1971: 407). Opisana tradicija pa ni značilna samo za prebivalce Monterreya, saj imajo tudi Španci navado opazovati in komentirati vsakdanje dogodke. Razlika je samo v tem, da v Monterreyu to počnejo ponoči, saj je podnevi prevroče (Casasús, 2003).

Na podlagi opisanega lahko sklepamo, da so prvi javni prostori v Monterreyu (trgi) stali v središču mesta in razmeroma blizu hiš, njihova uporaba pa je bila prev gotovo omejena samo na določen sloj prebivalstva in nikakor ni bila dostopna vsakomur. Med verskimi praznovanji so se na trgu Zaragoza (špa. *Plaza Zaragoza*) pred katedralo kljub temu zbrali vsi družbeni sloji. V tem primerih bi lahko torej govorili o javnih domenah, čeprav so bile časovno omejene samo na določene dneve ali trenutke v letu.

### 3 Družbeno segregirani prostori v Monterreyu od začetka mehiške osamosvojitvene vojne do obdobja po mehiški revoluciji (1810–1940)

V soboto, 29. septembra 1810, so v Monterreyu iz pisma, ki jim ga je iz mesta San Luis Potosi poslal Félix Calleja, izvedeli, da je izbruhnila osamosvojitvena vojna (Casasús, 2003). Takratna družba v Nuevo Leonu se je še vedno trudila prekiniti vdore tujcev in napade domorodcev, da bi zagotovila ugodno okolje za gospodarsko in demografsko rast. Med letoma 1810 in 1876 zaradi vmesnih vojn in spopadov ni bilo doseženega veliko napredka na področju znanosti in tehnologije. Čeprav je v večini 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja v vsej državi vladal kaos, je bilo to za Monterrey razmeroma mirno obdobje. Mesto je tudi pod okupacijo poskušalo obdržati mir in si tako zagotoviti gospodarsko stabilnost. Eden od najzanimivejših primerov opisanega se je zgodil v 19. stoletju med spopadom z ameriško vojsko (1846–1847), ki jo je vodil general Zachary Taylor, in poznejšo ameriško okupacijo. V tej vojni je namreč Mehika izgubila polovico ozemlja, ki ga je podedovala od Španije, Monterrey pa je nenadoma postal napol obmejno mesto z ZDA ter ključna postojanka na trgovskih poteh med severom in jugom.

V tem obdobju so se prebivalci Monterreya borili proti napadalcem, hkrati pa so z njimi poskušali vzpostaviti dobre poslovne odnose. V mestu so se odpirali številni lokali, kot so biljardnice, restavracije in pivnice, večina katerih je bila v lasti ameriških poslovnežev (González Quiroga, 1997). To so bili zasebni prostori za javno rabo, v katerih se je razpravljalo o javni sferi. Delovna razmerja, ki so se oblikovala v tem obdobju, so bila ključna za gospodarsko rast mesta in ustanovitev novih podjetij v poznejših letih. Tako je Monterrey leta 1858 imel že 13.534 prebivalcev (Malte-Brun, 1858).

Med letoma 1876 in 1910, ko je bil predsednik Mehike Porfirio Díaz, guverner zvezne države Nuevo Leon pa general Bernardo Reyes, je bilo obdobje relativnega miru. Reyes je to izkoristil za spodbujanje industrije, bančništva in trgovine (Saldaña, 1981). Ena od pomembnejših industrijskih prelomnic v razvoju Monterreya je bila izgradnja livarne na tem območju leta 1900, ki je s svojim delovanjem ustvarila »občudovanja vredno mrežo povezanih dejavnosti ter omogočila precejšnjo rast lokalnega povpraševanja po blagu za široko porabo in polizdelkih« (Beato in Sindico, 1983: 499).

V tem obdobju je bilo družbeno življenje na javnih prostorih močno segregirano. Španski kastni sistem je bil odpravljen, toda njegove kulturne posledice so bile še vedno močne. Skupaj s segregacijo glede na družbeni sloj je obstajala tudi

rasna diskriminacija, saj je svetlejša polt veljala za zelo zaželeno, temnejša pa je celo v višjih slojih povzročala zaničevanje in posmeh. Ta močni vidni vidik posameznikovega družbenega položaja je torej spodbujal družbeno diskriminacijo.

Družabno življenje v tem obdobju je zelo lepo predstavljeno v knjigi *An American Girl in Mexico*, v kateri avtorica Elizabeth Visère McGary opisuje svoje enoletno bivanje v Monterreyu. Med drugim opiše tudi serenade, ki so jih godci ob večerih izvajali na večini mehiških trgov:

Glavni trg je velik in okrašen z rožami in palmami. Rož je vseh vrst, celo magnolij je polno, med drevjem pa se igrivo lesketajo fontane. V vsakem senčnem kotičku je klop in vsak večer tamkajšnje brezdelneže razveseljuje nežna, čutna glasba godal, ki prihaja z odra sredi trga, ki ga drevesa skoraj popolnoma zakrivajo. Na trgih se ob večerih zberejo ljudje vseh slojev. Urejena so tri sprehajališča. Tisto na robu je namenjeno višjim slojem in *vsem* Američanom; ob njem je urejeno sprehajališče za srednji sloj, na notranji strani pa se tre »revežev« ali pripadnikov nižjega sloja (Visère McGary, 1904: 7).

Pisateljica v nadaljevanju omenja, kako neverjetno je bilo, da je vsak vedel, katero mesto mu pripada na teh sprehajališčih, če pa se je kdo zmedel ali to pozabil, so go policisti odstranili z »nepravlega« mesta. Vedénje ljudi na trgu med temi večernimi serenadami se je poleg tega razlikovalo po spolu, saj so moški in ženske hodili v nasprotni smeri, pod roko pa so se lahko držali samo, če so bili poročeni. Večina žensk iz srednjih in višjih slojev je po poroki prenehala hoditi na trg in druge javne prostore, saj je veljalo prepričanje, da mora biti poročena ženska doma. V skladu s tem ženske pravno niso bile priznane kot državljanke vse do leta 1953, ko je prišlo do spremembe ustave. Pred tem je bil njihov status enakovreden statusu mladoletne osebe, ki je bila odvisna od očeta, bližnjega moškega sorodnika ali soproga (Galeana, 2015).

Potrošniška kultura, ki se je začela razvijati z ameriško invazijo in se je še okrepila med predsedovanjem generala Porfiria Díaza (od leta 1876 do mehiške revolucije leta 1910), je pomagala odpraviti nekatere ideje o tovrstni vlogi žensk z odpiranjem blagovnic kot novih javnih prostorov za ženske srednjega in višjega sloja. V mehiški družbi se je povečeval lik matere kot gospodinje, zdaj pa so se te matere odpravile od doma in prevzele novo vlogo potrošnic gospodinjskih potrebščin v rastočem tržnem gospodarstvu. Tako so »blagovnice ter mestna nakupovalna središča in zabavišča postali območja potrošnje, ki jih je določala prisotnost žensk« (Bunker, 1997: 230).

Pomembno je tudi dejstvo, da so se lahko v tem obdobju otroci na javnih prostorih prosto gibali (glej sliko 3); pred sprejetjem ustave leta 1917 je bilo otroško delo namreč nekaj običajnega. Otroci so bili pri delu (če je bila njihova družina iz nižjega

družbenoekonomskega sloja) ali pri gibanju med domom in igriščem radovedni opazovalci in pozorni udeleženci dogajanja na javnih prostorih. Družine so bile velike, in otroci so bili povsod: na ulicah, trgih, tržnicah in pragovih hiš (Guerrero Flores, 2007).

V tem času so bile tržnice verjetno družbeno najbolj povezani javni prostori, saj so tja hodili hrano kupovat tudi višji sloji, ki so oblačila in dražje izdelke običajno kupovali v trgovinah in blagovnicah. Cirkusi in druge občasne zabavne prireditve so prav tako ponujali priložnost za druženje vseh družbenih slojev, čeprav je vsakemu od njih pripadalo določeno mesto. Višji sloji so se tako lahko zbirali v notranjem javnem prostoru mestne igralnice. Poleg glavnega trga (Trga Zaragoza) je bilo v mestu še veliko manjših trgov, na primer Plaza Hidalgo, Plaza de Cinco de Mayo, Plaza de Degollado, Plaza de la Purísima (prej Plaza de la Llave), Plaza del colegio civil, Plaza Iturbide, Plaza Zuazua, Plaza Cuauhtemoc, Plaza de la Murala, Plaza San Jacinto, Plaza Santa Isabel, Plaza Oaxaca in La Alameda. Na drugi strani reke, v revnejši soseski San Luisito, ki je bila poimenovana po priseljencih iz zvezne države San Luis Potosi, pa sta bila samo dva trga: Plaza Guadalupe pred baziliko in Plaza Vera.

Monterrey je bil mesto z vročim podnebjem, ki so ga blažile bližnje gore. Tramvajске proge so na številnih mestih prečkale privlačne parke. Najlepsi med njimi, *La Alameda*, je bil porasel z gozdom, v katerem so živele črede srnjadi, ki so pile vodo iz umetnega jezera, ob katerem je bilo veliko labodov. V aristokratski soseski Obispado v zahodnem delu mesta so bile poletne vile obdane z več stoletij starimi drevesi in cvetočimi travniki, prepredenimi s potoki (Bigot, 1910).

Leta 1910 je bil Monterrey s 63.000 prebivalci četrto največje mehiško mesto, po gospodarskem pomenu pa je bil celo na drugem mestu in si je upravičeno zaslužil naziv mehiške industrijske prestolnice. Med mehiško revolucijo (1910–1920) je umrlo več kot 30.000 njegovih prebivalcev, hkrati pa so se v tem nestabilnem obdobju v Monterrey zaradi večje varnosti priseljevali ljudje iz sosednjih mest. Priseljenci so nadomestili umrle prebivalce, zato je bilo mesto v tem času demografsko dokaj stabilno.

Najpogostejše prostočasne dejavnosti v prvih desetletjih 20. stoletja so bili sprehodi po mestnih parkih in trgih ter dnevni izleti v bližnja hribovita območja, kot so Huasteca, San Jeronimo in El Diente. Priljubljeno zbirališče je bil tudi javni bazen (*Alberca Monterrey*). Kdor ni želel plačati (sicer nizke) vstopnine, pa je lahko obiskal jezercer Charco de los Caballos oziroma »konjsko mlako« pred šolo Lazara Garze Ayale, kamor so kočijaži prihajali napajat konje. Tam so se zbirali ljudje



Slika 3: Otroci, ki sami pozirajo pred stavbo odbora za nacionalno zdravje v Monterreyu okrog leta 1900 (vir: General Archive Fund of Nuevo Leon, 1900).

iz nižjih družbenih slojev, saj je bilo kopanje brezplačno (Montemayor Hernández, 1971).

Če povzamemo, je bilo v Monterreyu več trgov – nekateri so imeli tudi vodnjake, klopi in lepo urejeno okolico –, na katerih so lahko ljudje preživljali prosti čas, vendar niso bili na voljo in dostopni vsem. Vedénje na javnih prostorih so določali rasa, družbeni položaj, spol in starost. To je bilo še zlasti očitno med predsedovanjem Porfiria Díaza, ko so pravila lepega vedenja (bonton) postala izjemno pomembna med ljudmi srednjega in višjega sloja (Bunker, 1997).

#### 4 Razpršeni javni prostor in širitev metropolitanskega območja (1940–1980)

Z rastjo mesta se je krepila tudi segregacija njegovih prebivalcev na javnih prostorih. Po podatkih šestega popisa prebivalstva, ki ga je leta 1940 izvedel mehiški nacionalni statistični in geografski inštitut (INEGI), je imela mehiška zvezna država Nuevo Leon 541.147 prebivalcev, od teh je bilo 83 % domačinov. Število tujcev je bilo statistično zanemarljivo, toda zelo pomembno za gospodarske in družbene mreže, ki so se oblikovale v tej državi.

Med letoma 1940 in 1970 je kot posledica razvojne strategije, ki se je osredotočala na domači trg, v Mehiki vladalo obdobje enakomerne gospodarske rasti, znano tudi kot »mehiški čudež«. Zaradi visokih uvoznih tarif in drugih vladnih omejitev



so v tem obdobju nekoliko upadli poslovni odnosi z ameriškimi podjetji, ki so cveteli v prejšnjih desetletjih. Glavni poudarek je bil na razvoju energetske, industrijske, komunikacijske in prometne infrastrukture, neposredna posledica prehoda s prejšnje kmetijske pridelave pa je bila hitra rast mest, kot je bil Monterrey.

Ob tej hitri širitvi mesta so nastale prve publikacije, ki so idealizirale javni prostor v preteklosti. V zanimivem, toda večinoma neizvedenem projektu izsušitve dela reke Santa Catarina iz 50. let 20. stoletja so prva tri stoletja in pol obstoja javnih prostorov v Monterreyu prikazana kot idealna; njegovi trgi, vrtovi in javni parki so svoje vloge opravljali zadovoljivo. Pozneje pa naj bi zaradi nezadostnega nadzora in načrtovanja ter hitre rasti mesta prišlo do pomanjkanja odprtih javnih prostorov in vrtov glede na število prebivalcev in higienske potrebe mesta (Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo Leon, 1960). Čeprav je bil predlog ureditve »megablokov« delno uresničen v projektu izgradnje blokov lastniških stanovanj, poziv k urbani obliki z notranjimi zelenimi površinami, rezerviranimi izključno za pešce, ni bil sprejet z navdušenjem in ni vplival na tipologijo mestne arhitekture.

Prelomnica v rabi javnih prostorov se je zgodila leta 1951, ko je bil v občini San Pedro Garza Garcia, ki naj bi postala elitni del metropolitanskega območja Monterreya, odprt golfklub Campestre. Družbeni prestiž, ki je vladal v golfklubih, je privlačil višje sloje, ki so se začeli vanje včlanjevati (Wray, 2002, in Cerón Anaya, 2010), svojega prostega časa pa zato niso več preživljali na trgih v starem delu mesta. Čeprav so bili družbeni stiki med višjim, srednjim in nižjim slojem vedno hierarhični in kodificirani, so se do takrat vsaj družili na nekaterih istih javnih prostorih. Ko pa so višji sloji te prenehali uporabljati, so stiki med različnimi družbenoekonomskimi sloji začeli slabeti. Ljudje različnih starosti ter različnih spolov in prihodkov so se tako na javnih prostorih zbirali samo še ob redkih priložnostih, kot so bile politične slovesnosti in državni prazniki.

V 60. in 70. letih 20. stoletja se je urbanizacija močno okrečila, pri čemer je nastalo metropolitansko območje z devetimi občinami: Monterrey, San Nicolas de los Garza, Guadalupe, San Pedro Garza Garcia, Santa Catarina, Garcia, General Escobedo, Apodaca in Juarez. Metropolita se je raztezala na površini 2.456 km<sup>2</sup>, od tega je bilo 16 % urbanizirane, v njej pa je živelo 80 % vseh prebivalcev zvezne države Nuevo Leon. Širitev je bila kaotična ter ni bila ustrezno nadzorovana niti načrtovana, zaradi česar je primanjkovalo zelenih javnih površin za prebivalce (Alanís, 2005). Vključitev Monterreya v regionalno metropolitansko območje je povzročila razpršitev javnih prostorov, pri čemer so nastajale soseske, ki so se vse bolj ločevale po dohodku in so zaradi tega imele infrastrukturo različne kakovosti; številne tudi niso imele dovolj zelenih površin.

Poleg pomanjkanja ustreznih javnih prostorov in mestnih zelenic je metropolitanska širitev konec 70. let 20. stoletja povzročila tudi pomanjkanje vode v mestu. Tradicionalni javni prostori so tako postali kraj, na katerih so revne ženske javno protestirale zaradi pomanjkanja vode in s tem opozarjale na nujno ureditev javnih storitev v revnejših soseskah. Spolno zaznamovani javni protesti glede javnih storitev v Monterreyu spadajo v širši vzorec tovrstnega dogajanja v Latinski Ameriki, saj so domača opravila, pri katerih je bila ključna uporaba vode, opravljale predvsem ženske. Na stotine revnejših prebivalcev Monterreya, predvsem žensk, se je zbiralo na trgu pred guvernerjevo palačo, kjer so v javnem vodnjaku kopali svoje otroke in prali umazano perilo (Bennett, 1995). Ta primer ponazarja, kako so si javne prostore prisvojile izrazito drugačne družbene skupine, kar je pri srednjem in višjem sloju sprožilo tudi negativno predstavo o tradicionalnih javnih prostorih – namreč, da pripadajo nižjemu sloju.

Razpršitev javnih prostorov na metropolitanskem območju Monterreya ni povečala samo družbenih razlik med posameznimi družbenimi sloji, ampak tudi med starostnimi skupinami. V prejšnjih desetletjih, ko je bilo mesto še strnjeno, so člani razširjene družine živeli blizu drug drugega, z razširitvijo mestnega tkiva pa so postala običajnejša bivališča z jedrnimi družinami, ki so pogosto stanovale na mestnem obrobju, s starejšimi družinskimi člani pa so se družile samo ob koncih tedna.

Drugo polovico 20. stoletja je zaznamovala intenzivna demografska in geografska širitev mesta. Ta rast je povzročila neenakomerno porazdelitev javnih prostorov, do katerih so imele revnejše soseske pogosto slabši dostop. Višji sloj je tradicionalne javne prostore zamenjal za javno-zasebne prostore, kot je bil golfklub Campestre, kmalu pa mu je v skladu s svojimi možnostmi sledil tudi srednji sloj.

## 5 Privatizacija javnega prostora: Monterrey na prelomu tisočletja (1980–2015)

Do leta 1980 je vladi zvezne države Nuevo Leon postalo jasno, da se dostopnost javnih prostorov ne sklada z dejansko površino mesta. V teh razmerah je dala pobudo za rušenje 40 ha površin v starem mestnem jedru ter za preselitev 283 družin in 310 podjetij, da bi tam zgradili velik trg oziroma ogromen javni prostor, ki bi utrdil položaj Monterreya kot mehiške gospodarske prestolnice. Ta ogromni trg s primernim imenom *Macropiazza*, ki velja za sedmega največjega na svetu, je sestavljen iz več manjših trgov in vrtov ter je razdeljen na dva dela; enega upravlja občinska uprava, drugega pa vlada zvezne države Nuevo Leon. Stavbi teh dveh ustanov stojita na severnem in



južnem robu trga (internet 1). Kljub ogromnim stroškom tega projekta ali morda prav zaradi tega trg *Macropalaza* ni izpolnil pričakovanj. Zelenje, ki so ga na njem nasadili, ni uspevalo, zato ne ponuja dovolj senčnih prostorov v mestu, ki pogosto trpi zaradi vročine. Trideset let po otvoritvi se trgu več kot očitno poznajo leta. Ne velja za priljubljeno lokalno destinacijo, zlasti ne za srednji in višji sloj, niti za prostor, na katerem bi se ljudje sproščeno družili (Jiménez, 2014).

Prelomni trenutek v rabi javnih prostorov v obravnavanem desetletju je vsekakor nastopil leta 1984, ko je bilo odprto prvo nakupovalno središče na metropolitanskem območju, imenovano *Galerías Monterrey*. S svojimi klimatsko ohlajenimi trgovinami in restavracijami je privabljalo vse tiste, ki so si to, kar je ponujalo, lahko privoščili (predvsem srednji sloj). Sprehode v parku *La Alameda*, ki so bili takrat še vedno značilni za družine srednjega sloja in delavske družine, so postopoma nadomestili obiski nakupovalnega središča. Javne prostore v starem delu mesta, ki so jih pred tem že zapustili višji sloji, je zdaj zapustil še srednji sloj. V Mehiki in drugod so ženske podvržene pogostemu nadlegovanju na ulici in drugim oblikam nasilja na javnih prostorih (glej Kearl, 2010), zato ni čudno, da so tisti, ki so si to lahko privoščili, začeli raje uporabljati zasebne prostore za druženje in zabavo, ki dajejo večji občutek varnosti, drugi pa so se preprosto odločili, da bodo manj pogosto hodili ven (Ayala Gaytán in Chapa Cantú, 2012). Družine nižjega srednjega sloja, ki si teh stroškov vsak teden niso mogle privoščiti, so park *La Alameda* zamenjale za trg *Macropalaza*, v omenjeni park pa so začeli zahajati priseljenci iz drugih mehiških zveznih držav, služkinje in gradbeni delavci (Díaz Meléndez, 2008).

Leta 1986 je bankrotirala tamkajšnja livarna (*Compañía Fundidora de Fierro y Acero de Monterrey*), ki je veljala za eno od najpomembnejših in ikoničnih tovarn v mestu. Za njo je ostalo veliko degradirano območje v središču mesta, in čez dve leti je bil ustanovljen sklad, s pomočjo katerega so ta prostor spremenili v mestni park, ki zdaj poleg parka *La Alameda* in sprehajališča ob reki Santa Lucii, ki ga povezuje s trgov *Macropalaza*, velja za enega od najpomembnejših zelenih območij v Monterreyu in mogoče tudi za edinega, ki ga uporabljajo pripadniki najrazličnejših družbenih skupin.

V 90. letih 20. stoletja in prvem desetletju 21. stoletja so se v mestu množili nakupovalni centri, restavracije in komercialni javni prostori, ki v vseh občinah na metropolitanskem območju ponujajo storitve potrošnikom iz najrazličnejših dohodkovnih razredov. Razlog za to je morda vročina, ki vlada med dolgimi poletji, ali pa amerikaniziran življenjski slog, ki je značilen za nekatere vidike kulture obravnavanega mesta. Med prebivalci so izjemno priljubljeni javni prostori v zasebni lasti, kar dokazuje tudi dejstvo, da je trenutno v mestu kar 50 nakupovalnih centrov (Tomasini, 2015).

## 6 Sklep

Na podlagi zgoraj opisane zgodovine je odgovor na glavno vprašanje te raziskave (ali so javni prostori v Monterreyu javne domene) nikalen, saj so iz teh prostorov izključene različne družbene skupine. Poleg tega je prišlo do sprememb pri navadah ljudi, ki za druženje in rekreacijo zdaj raje izberejo javne prostore v zasebni kot v javni lasti. Več avtorjev je to težnjo obsodilo, da razdiralno vpliva na družbeno tkivo ter pretirano poudarja potrošnja in varnost. Nekateri med njimi menijo, da gre pri privatiziranem javnem prostoru ali javno-zasebnih partnerstvih za zlorabo urbanističnega načrtovanja in politik ali celo za neveljavne javne prostore (Sorkin, 1992, in Banerjee, 2001), značilne za neoliberalni gospodarski model. Opustitev tradicionalnih javnih krajev je prav gotovo zaskrbljujoča, saj privatizacija javnega prostora neposredno vpliva na priložnosti za politične razprave in na še večjo družbeno izključenost (Carmona, 2014).

Vključitev vidika spolov v raziskave javnih prostorov pa je druge spodbudila k proučevanju značilnosti, zaradi katerih so javni prostori tako priljubljeni med določenimi skupinami prebivalstva, kot so ženske in najstniki. To se ujema tudi z razmerami v Monterreyu, kjer je veliko nakupovalnih centrov, ki so izjemno priljubljeni. Zaradi splošnega prepričanja, da so tradicionalni javni prostori nevarni, so tudi otroci postopno izgubili možnost prostega gibanja na teh prostorih, kar je še povečalo uporabo nakupovalnih centrov in drugih javnih prostorov v zasebni lasti, kjer jih starši lahko pustijo, da se prosto gibljejo v varnem in nadzorovanem prostoru. Poleg tega v Monterreyu tudi vroče podnebje ljudi spodbuja k temu, da namesto odprtih trgov in parkov raje uporabljajo klimatsko ohlajene prostore.

Čeprav so transdisciplinarne študije z vidika spolov v mehiškem zgodovinopisju še vedno novost, jih je v zadnjih letih vse več. Zaradi tega se pojavljajo novi podatki, ki razširjajo trenutne dogme. V primeru urbanističnih raziskav je še vedno veliko tem, pri katerih bi bile tovrstne analize zelo koristne. Ženske imajo še vedno sekundarno vlogo v javni sferi, zlasti ko gre za moč in odločanje. Tradicionalne vloge žensk, ki so jim preprečevale uporabo javnih prostorov, počasi postajajo ohlapnejše, vendar njihova udeležba v javnih prostorih še vedno ni enakopravna (Varela Guinot, 2012). Podobno velja tudi za družbene skupine v Monterreyu, ki veljajo za drugačne (priseljence, služinčad, geje in lezbijke, transseksualce, domorodce, starejše in otroke), in do zdaj je bilo opravljenih le malo raziskav njihove vloge na lokalnih javnih prostorih.

Zaradi pomanjkanja javnih domen na javnih prostorih – ali pa mogoče prav zaradi tega – se civilna združenja v zadnjih letih zavzemajo za uvedbo ustreznih urbanističnih strategij,

s pomočjo katerih bi javni prostor uporabljale najrazličnejše družbene skupine. Pri tem ne gre samo za uporabo parkov ali trgov, ampak tudi mestnih ulic, ki so široko dostopen javni prostor, na katerem trenutno skoraj popolnoma prevladujejo vozila. Te kratkotrajne javne domene na ulicah Monterreya bi lahko pešcem, ženskam, otrokom, manjšinam in zavednim državljanom omogočile, da izrazijo svoje želje, na podlagi česar bi se lahko končno oblikovali bolj vključevalni trajni javni prostori za njihove skupnosti. Če povzamemo, na mestnih javnih prostorih ne najdemo trajnih javnih domen, kratkotrajne javne domene pa nam lahko dajo približno predstavbo, v kaj bi se javni prostori v prihodnosti lahko razvili.

.....

Karen Hinojosa Hinojosa

Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Faculty of Architecture,  
Department of Graduate Studies, Mehika  
E-pošta: hinojosakaren@gmail.com

Carlos Estuardo Aparicio Moreno

Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Faculty of Architecture,  
Department of Graduate Studies, Mehika  
E-pošta: caparicio55@yahoo.com

## Zahvala

Članek je bil napisan s pomočjo štipendije CONACYT za obdobje 2014–2017. Zemljevide sta avtorja pridobila v knjižnici za zemljevide Manuela Orozca y Berre ter pri ministrstvu za kmetijstvo, živinorejo, razvoj podeželja, ribolov in hrano (SAGARPA). Fotografije sta prijazno odstopila svet za kulturo in umetnost zvezne države Nuevo Leon in knjižnica centra za umetniško fotografijo.

## Viri in literatura

Alamán, L. (1856): *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía: Apéndice. Colección de artículos relativos a la República Mexicana por José María Andrade [y otros]*. Ciudad de Mexico, J. M. Andrade & F. Escalante.

Alanís Flores, G. J. (2005): El arbolado urbano en el área metropolitana de Monterrey. *Ciencia UANL*, 8(1), str. 20–32.

Aparicio, C., Ortega Rubí, M. E., in Sandoval Hernández, E. (2011): La segregación socio-espacial en Monterrey a lo largo de su proceso de metropolización. *Región y Sociedad*, 23(52), str. 173–207.

Arendt, H. (1958): *The human condition*. Čikago, University of Chicago Press.

Ayala Gaytán, E. A., in Chapa Cantú, J. C. (2012): La inseguridad y la demanda por entretenimiento: evidencia para las áreas metropolitanas de Monterrey, Guadalajara y León. *EconoQuantum*, 9(1), str. 135–148.

Banerjee, T. (2001): The future of public space. Beyond invented streets and reinvented places. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67(1), str. 9–24. DOI: 10.1080/01944360108976352

Beato, G., in Sindico, D. (1983): The beginning of industrialization in northeast Mexico. *The Americas*, 39(4), str. 499–518. DOI: 10.1017/S0003161500050197

Bellido y Fajardo, C. (1791): *Mapa de la situación de la ciudad de Monterrey en el Nuevo Reino de León*. Ciudad de Mexico, Orozco y Berra Collection.

Bennett, V. (1995): Gender, class, and water: Women and the politics of water service in Monterrey, Mexico. *Latin American Perspectives*, 22(2), str. 76–99. DOI: 10.1177/0094582X9502200205

Bigot, R. (1910): *Le Mexique moderne*. Pariz, P. Roger.

Borja, J., in Muxí, Z. (2000): *El espacio público, ciudad y ciudadanía*. Barcelona, Electa.

Bunker, S. B. (1997): "Consumers of good taste": Marketing modernity in northern Mexico, 1890–1910. *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, 13(2), str. 227–269.

Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo León (1960): *Corazón urbano de Monterrey*. Monterrey, Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo León, Chamber of Commerce of Monterrey, Banking Centre of Monterrey, Chamber of Real Estate Owners of Nuevo León.

Carmona, M. (2014): Re-theorising contemporary public space: A new narrative and a new normative. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 8(4), str. 373–405.

Casasús, F. (2003): *Monterrey: 407 trozos de su historia*. Monterrey, Creatividad Editorial.

Cerón Anaya, H. (2010): Golf, habitus y elites: La historia del golf en México (1900–1980). *Esporte e Sociedade*, 5(15), str. 1–27.

Cope, R. D. (1994): *The limits of racial domination: Plebeian society in colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Day, K. (1999): Introducing gender to the critique of privatized public space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2), str. 155–178. DOI: 10.1080/13574809908724444

Day, K. (2000): The ethic of care and women's experiences of public space. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20(2), str. 103–124. DOI: 10.1006/jev.1999.0152

Díaz del Castillo, B. (1939): *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. Ciudad de Mexico, Pedro Robredo.

Díaz Meléndez, A. (2008): La Alameda de Monterrey: espacio estratégico de encuentro de los migrantes indígenas de la Huasteca. V: Durin, S. (ur.): *Entre luces y sombras. Miradas sobre los indígenas en el área metropolitana de Monterrey*, str. 131–171. Ciudad de Mexico, Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology, National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples, Publicaciones de la Casa Chata.

Duby, G., Schmitt Pantel, P., in Perrot, M. (1994): *A history of women in the west: From ancient goddesses to Christian saints*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Femenías, M. L. (2009): Género y Feminismo en América Latina. *Debate Feminista*, 40(21), str. 42–74.

Flores Salazar, A. V., in González Garza, R. (2002): *Ornamentaria: lectura cultural de la arquitectura regiomontana*. San Nicolás de los Garza, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.

Flores, O. (2009): *Monterrey histórico*. Monterrey, Historic Studies Centre, University of Monterrey.

Galeana, P. (2015): *Curso Historia de las mujeres en México. Sesión 1*. Dostopno na: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7u19gqoU6l> (sneto 10. 2. 2016).

García, A. G. (2003): Territorialidad y violencia en la colonia Independencia de Monterrey. V: Tijerina, A. N. (ur.): *Aedificare 2003 Anuario de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Arquitectura*. San Nicolás de los Garza, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.

Garza, I. (1995): *Atlas de Monterrey*. Mexico City, State Government of Nuevo León, Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Institute of Urban Studies of Nuevo León, College of Mexico.

- General Archive Fund of Nuevo León (1900): *Children in front of the State Health Council circa 1900*. Monterrey, Council for Culture and the Arts of Nuevo León and Centre for the Arts Photography Library.
- Ghent Urban Studies Team (2002): *Post ex sub dis: Urban fragmentations and constructions*. Gent, 010 Publishers.
- González Ortiz, F. (2005): Mujeres que cuidan. El ciclo de la vida de las mujeres en las comunidades indígenas en el Estado de México. V: Vizcarra Bordi, I. (ur.): *Género y poder: diferentes experiencias, mismas preocupaciones*, str. 181–204. Toluca, University Program for Gender Studies at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico.
- González Quiroga, M. (1997): Nuevo León ante la invasión norteamericana. V: Herrera Serna, L. (ur.): *México en guerra, 1846–1848: perspectivas regionales*, str. 425–471. Ciudad de México, National Council for Culture and Arts.
- Guerrero Flores, D. (2007): La valoración del trabajo infantil en México (1910–1920). V: Mayer, A. (ur.): *México en tres momentos: 1810–1910–2010. Hacia la conmemoración del Bicentenario de la Independencia y del Centenario de la Revolución Mexicana. Retos y Perspectivas*, str. 121–148. Ciudad de Mexico, National Autonomous University of Mexico.
- Habermas, J., Lennox, S., in Lennox, F. (1974): The public sphere: An encyclopedia article (1964). *New German Critique*, Autumn, str. 49–55.
- Hajer, M., in Reijndorp, A. (2002): *In search of a new public domain: Analysis and strategy*. Amsterdam, NAI Publishers.
- Held, V. (1993): *Feminist morality. Transforming culture, society, and politics*. Čikago, University of Chicago.
- Hernández, E. S., in Escamilla, R. (2010): La historia de una colonia, un puente y un mercado. La Pulga del Puente del Papa en Monterrey. *Estudios fronterizos*, 11(22), str. 157–184.
- Internet 1: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=19826375002> (sneto 12. 8. 2015).
- Jiménez, G. (2014): La Macroplaza del futuro. *Reporte Índigo*. Dostopno na: <http://www.reporteindigo.com/reportes/monterrey/la-macroplaza-del-futuro> (sneto 12. 8. 2015).
- Kearl, H. (2010): *Stop street harassment: Making public places safe and welcoming for women*. Santa Barbara, Praeger.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974; 1991) *The production of space*. New York, Wiley and Sons.
- Lim, W. S. W. (2014): *Public space in urban Asia*. Singapur, World Scientific Publishing Company. DOI: 10.1142/9033
- Low, S., in Smith, N. (2013): *The politics of public space*. New York, Routledge.
- Malte-Brun, C. (1858): *Géographie universelle de Malte-Brun*. Pariz, G. Barba.
- Montemayor Hernández, A. (1971): *Historia de Monterrey*. Monterrey, Association of Editors and Bookkeepers of Monterrey.
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography (2010): *Censo de población y vivienda 2010– Estados Unidos Mexicanos Resultados Definitivos por Entidad y Municipio*. Dostopno na: <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv2010/> (sneto 10. 2. 2016).
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography (2015): *Censuses of population and housing*. Dostopno na: <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/Proyectos/encuestas/hogares/especiales/ei2015/> (sneto 10. 2. 2016).
- National Population Council (2012): *Delimitación de las zonas metropolitanas de México 2010*. Ciudad de Mexico, Ministry of Social Development, National Institute of Statistics and Geography, National Population Council.
- Neira, H. (1990): Los asentamientos irregulares y la valorización del suelo urbano: un efecto de la marginalidad (el caso de la colonia Sierra Ventana: 1982). V: Zúñiga, V., in Ribeiro, M. (ur.): *La marginación urbana en Monterrey*, str. 145–180. Monterrey, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.
- Noriega, J. S. (1856): Monterrey. V: Orozco y Berra, M. (ur.): *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía, colección de artículos relativos a la república mexicana*, str. 884–885. Ciudad de Mexico, J. M. Andrade & F. Escalante.
- Pacheco, J. F., de Cárdenas, F., de Cárdenas y Espejo, F., in Torres de Mendoza, L. (1867): *Colección de documentos inéditos: relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*. Madrid, Manuel de Quiros.
- Parker, R. (1996): *Athenian religion: A history*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Powell, A. (2002): *The Greek world*. New York, Routledge.
- Saldaña, J. P. (1981): *¿Y qué hicimos? Monterrey en el siglo XX*. Monterrey, Libros de México.
- Sorkin, M. (1992): *Variations on a theme park: The new American city and the end of public space*. New York, Hill and Wang.
- Tomasini, C. (2015): *México, el rey de los centros comerciales*. Dostopno na: [http://www.milenio.com/financiar/times/ftmercados-Mexico-centro\\_comerciales-negocios\\_0\\_518348521.html](http://www.milenio.com/financiar/times/ftmercados-Mexico-centro_comerciales-negocios_0_518348521.html) (sneto 13. 7. 2016).
- Tonnellat, S. (2010): The sociology of urban public spaces. V: Wang, H., Savy, M., in Zhai, G. (ur.): *Territorial evolution and planning solution: experiences from China and France. Proceedings of the first Sino-French urban, regional and planning symposium*, str. 84–92. Pariz, Atlantis Press.
- Varela Guinot, H. M. (2012): Iguales, pero no tanto. El acceso limitado de las mujeres a la esfera pública en México. *CONfinés de relaciones internacionales y ciencia política*, 8(16), str. 39–67.
- Velázquez Morales, C. (1994): El noreste: Coahuila. V: Piñera Ramírez, D. (ur.): *Visión histórica de la frontera norte de México*, str. 15–23. Ciudad de Mexico, Autonomous University of Baja California, Editorial Kino, El Mexicano.
- Visère McGary, E. (1904): *An American girl in Mexico*. New York, Dodd Mead and Company.
- World Health Organization (2014): *Global Health Observatory (GHO)*. Dostopno na: [http://www.who.int/gho/urban\\_health/situation\\_trends/urban\\_population\\_growth\\_text/en/](http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/) (sneto 13. 7. 2016).
- Worpole, K., in Knox, K. (2007): *The social value of public spaces*. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Wray, M. (2002): *Golf en Hidalgo: un legado para México*. Ciudad de Mexico, Hidalgo State Government.



UDC: 316.334.56:316.34(8Monterrey)  
DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2016-27-02-006

Received: 14 Jul. 2016  
Accepted: 3 Oct. 2016

Karen HINOJOSA HINOJOSA  
Carlos ESTUARDO APARICIO MORENO

## The missing public domain in public spaces: A gendered historical perspective on a Latin American case

This article searches for public domains in the history of public spaces in Monterrey from the perspective of their colloquial use by different social groups. Through documentary analysis, it reconstructs the transition from publicly owned public spaces to their privatised counterparts. The article expands the traditional somewhat idyllic narrative of public spaces and offers clues to how different social groups have used them. Public spaces have changed during four main periods. A centralised public space appeared during the colonial period (1596–1810), followed by socially segregated spaces between the beginning of the war for independence un-

til after the revolution (1810–1940). The dispersion of public space characterises the period of the metropolitan expansion of Monterrey (1940–1980). Finally, the privatisation of public spaces occurred at the turn of the millennium (1980–2015). Women, children and lower socioeconomic classes have had unequal access to public spaces in Latin America, thus precluding them from being considered public domains.

**Keywords:** public spaces, public domains, gender issues, Monterrey, social interaction

## 1 Introduction

Perhaps more than the way they are conceived, the way spaces are used and perceived reflects people's conception of society. Space, especially social space, is relational, the result of a myriad of connections that manifest a social order; a social product that everyone has a right to (Lefebvre, 1991). Some spaces are more hierarchical and others are more democratic, yet each of them contains expressions of class, gender and age produced by society at large. Public spaces are generally considered necessary and beneficial in urban contexts. They provide a place to encounter others and resolve differences. However, what exactly the term *public space* entails and comprises has been the subject of much confusion, which in turn complicates the definition of the characteristics of successful and beneficial public spaces. In light of the breadth of literature from diverse disciplines pertaining to the study of public spaces, some terms are defined to clarify what is meant in the context of this study.

There is a difference between public spheres, public spaces and public domains, although they are sometimes used as interchangeable terms in different disciplines. The public sphere is the "realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens" (Habermas et al., 1974: 49). Therefore, the public sphere or public realm is where discussion and debate between individuals occurs, most notably exemplified by the Greek agora. It is to be noted from Jürgen Habermas' definition, however, that the public sphere is for all citizens, which in the historical context of Greek societies excluded women, slaves and foreigners (Ghent Urban Studies Team, 2002; Powell, 2002; Low & Smith, 2013), all of whom remained confined to the private, domestic sphere or "oikos". Politically, these non-citizens were irrelevant; nonetheless, women did participate in a sort of "civic citizenship" (Parker, 1996: 80) in choruses, festivities and other religious rituals that gave them opportunities for social contact (Duby et al., 1994). The drastic demarcation between the public and private spheres has been diluted in modern times (Arendt, 1958); nonetheless, one must be careful when nostalgically idealising such examples that exclude the plurality of the human condition. In other words, the agora was indeed the place of debate of the "polis", a manifestation of its public sphere in a public place. That said, one cannot speak of public domains when more than half of the population is excluded from participating in them.

In contrast, public spaces have been understood in the realm of urban planning as publicly owned open spaces, including the streets, parks, squares and recreational areas where social interaction between different social groups is possible. Public spaces are "areas that are acknowledged, well known and open to all . . . that exhibit and embody the diversity in a city, stem-

ing from its accessibility to one and all" (Lim, 2014: 20). The diversity of uses and users in public spaces is perhaps its most important aspect, and one that favours safety and potential evolution (Borja & Muxí, 2000). However, precisely the extent of the accessibility, participation and mobility that different social groups truly have in public spaces has raised questions about the level of open access, commonality and shared responsibility these places have; that is, how "public" they actually are. Accessibility "is what guarantees the free circulation of persons and goods. It is also what allows the emergence of collective or social representations wherefrom images of the city are produced" (Tonnelat, 2010: 85).

Public domains extend the definition of public spaces to include enclosed spaces, such as libraries and community centres, also taking into account privately owned but publicly accessible spaces. Traditional public spaces do not include streets, but are limited to parks and squares, and in many ways these are the public spaces that urban planning agencies focus on when they speak of public space. In addition, whereas social interaction is theoretically possible in public spaces, public domains are "those places where an exchange between different social groups is possible and also occurs" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2002: 11). In this sense, the emphasis in public domains is placed not on ownership in a legal sense, but in terms of a physical and psychological appropriation of their users and their social interactions.

Regarding urban gender issues in Latin America, they vary greatly, although, generally speaking, this group of countries has not been immune to the expected female submission to a patriarchal organisation of society (Femenías, 2009), which has reduced women's domain of public space. Although most of the Latin American countries became politically independent during the nineteenth century in line with the Age of Enlightenment's ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, the application of those liberal ideals did not apply to women, migrants, minority races and groups of perceived otherness.

Therefore, the distinction between different social groups, public spaces and public domains is central to the research questions that this article addresses: How have the public spaces of Monterrey changed over time? Within them, how have different social groups interacted? Moreover, because social interactions reproduce subjacent power structures, it is also meaningful to ask whether social interactions in public spaces have occurred under equal terms. The construction of this history has the objective of understanding whether all social groups are being served by the public spaces that have existed in the Monterrey metropolitan area in order to answer the most critical question: can these public spaces be described as public domains?



**Figure 1:** Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico (source: Karen Hinojosa Hinojosa).

Note: Peripheral municipalities to the metropolitan area are marked with cross-hatching.

**Table 1:** Population of the Monterrey Metropolitan Area by municipality, 1960–2015.

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
Apodaca	6,259	18,564	37,181	115,913	283,497	523,370	597,207
García	4,091	6,477	10,434	13,164	28,974	143,668	247,370
General Escobedo	1,824	10,515	37,756	98,147	233,457	357,937	425,148
Guadalupe	38,233	159,930	370,908	535,560	670,162	678,006	682,880
Juárez	3,166	5,656	13,490	28,014	66,497	256,970	333,481
Monterrey	601,085	858,107	1,090,009	1,069,238	1,110,997	1,135,550	1,109,171
San Nicolás	41,243	113,074	280,696	436,603	496,878	443,273	430,143
San Pedro Garza García	14,943	45,983	81,974	113,040	125,978	122,659	123,156
Santa Catarina	12,895	36,385	89,488	163,848	227,026	268,955	296,954

Source: National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Span. *Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía*, INEGI, 2015).

The evolution of Monterrey's public space is described through four distinct periods regarding the public domains within them. A centralised public space appeared during the colonial period (1596–1810), followed by socially segregated spaces from beginning of the war for independence until after the revolution (1810–1940). The dispersion of public space characterises the period of the metropolitan expansion of Monterrey (1940–1980). Finally, the privatisation of public spaces occurred at the turn of the millennium (1980–2015). This division does not comprise equally spaced time periods because the emphasis was placed on finding the transition between typologies of public spaces more than their general historical context. Each of these stages has characteristics not only regarding the availability of public spaces, but also their social activity, which allows them to be dominated by different social groups. Before the analysis of each of these historical periods, a brief general description of the geography and demography

of Monterrey is given to contextualise the metropolitan area studied.

### 1.1 Monterrey and its socio-demographic characteristics

Monterrey is the capital of Mexico's north-eastern state of Nuevo León. Neighbouring the southern border of Texas, it is one of the most important industrial and economic centres of Latin America (see Figure 1). Located in a valley surrounded by mountains, the city was founded twice before its definitive establishment in 1596 and remained a small town until the mid-twentieth century. According to the most recent census, the metropolitan area of Monterrey has more than four million inhabitants, ranking it as the third-largest metropolitan area in Mexico and the second-largest in area (National Institute of Statistics and Geography, 2010). The city's 6,680 km<sup>2</sup> geo-



graphical footprint (National Population Council, 2012) is bisected by the Santa Catarina River, a usually dry watercourse that nonetheless fills or overflows during periodic floods every ten or fifteen years.

Since 1950, Monterrey has been important in Mexico because of strong industrialisation, and it is well known as Mexico's economic capital. The Monterrey Metropolitan Area (MMA) consists of nine municipalities. In Table 1 shows the trends of population growth in the MMA by municipality. The data shows that, although the MMA has grown in population, the distribution of population is becoming increasingly more dispersed throughout the municipalities. In 1960 Monterrey had 83% of the population, whereas this share decreased to 26% by 2015.

## 2 Centralised public space: Monterrey during the colonial period (1596–1810)

The vast ceremonial spaces of the pre-Hispanic capitals left a considerable impression on the Spaniard conquerors, who had never seen urban public spaces of such proportions (Díaz del Castillo, 1939). This directly influenced *novo-Hispanic* urbanism, resulting in the ample church atriums of the sixteenth century, which were spaces not only of evangelisation but also of marketing and public conviviality. Even though Monterrey, like all of northern Mexico, did not have the direct legacy of the urban spaces of the Aztecs, the social representation of these ideas and images had already been assimilated by the founders of the city in 1596.

The Spanish Crown's policy of secrecy towards their conquered territories is consistent with the graphic knowledge about public space in Nuevo León and, subsequently, Monterrey during the first stages of the colony: practically non-existent. Nonetheless, through documents such as the Laws of the Indies, royal ordinances and correspondence of the time, it is possible to reconstruct a panorama of the earliest *novo-Hispanic* urbanism. The Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of New Towns state:

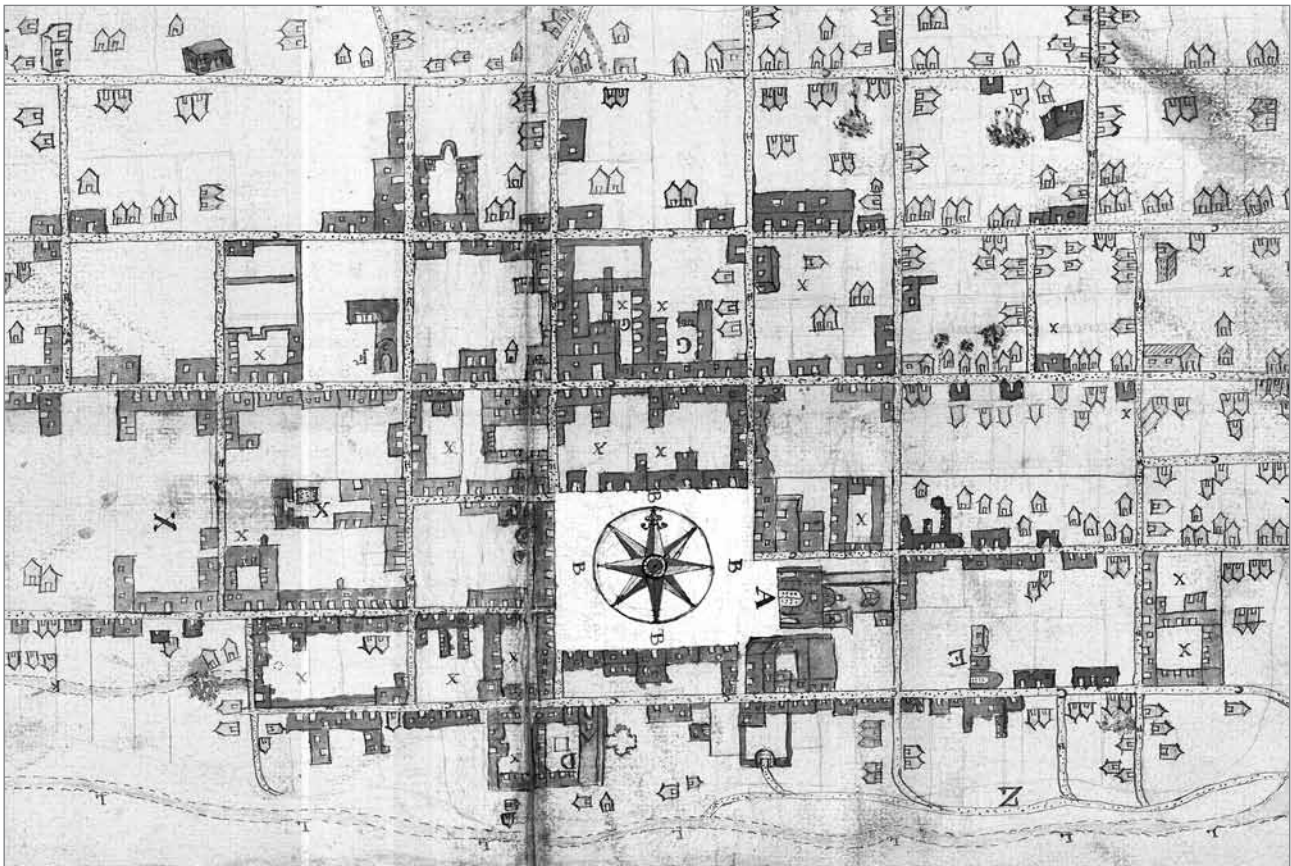
Upon arrival to the place where a population is to be established, which we ordain to be vacant lands, without Indians or naturals, or, failing to be so, with their consent, the plan is to be traced on the land, dividing it into squares, streets and plots, with string and ruler, beginning with the main square (Span. *plaza mayor*) and from there extending the roads to the gates and main roads, leaving open room so that, although the population grows greatly, the city can proceed in the same form . . . . The main square, from where the town must begin, must be made, being a Mediterranean location, in the middle

of the town. The square should be rectangular, at least one and a half times its width in length, because that way it is better for celebrations with horses and any other parties to be had (Pacheco, de Cárdenas, de Cárdenas y Espejo & Torres de Mendoza, 1867: 521).

In the case of Monterrey, as happened in many other cities, there was some adherence to the physical aspects of the ordinances, but less so to the social ones. The first map of Monterrey dates back to 1765; its creator, José de Urrutia, depicts a collection of agricultural plots and a few houses. The only marked buildings were the governor's house, the parish church and Saint Andrew's Convent. In 1791, Friar Cristobal Bellido y Fajardo of the aforementioned convent commissioned a map of the situation of Monterrey in the New Kingdom of León (see Figure 2). Public space figures prominently on this map (Flores Salazar & González Garza, 2002) in the main square facing the cathedral. At the time, Monterrey was very small, reported as measuring roughly 550 metres on its longest axis from east to west. It was still a city surrounded by streams, wooded areas and many natural open spaces.

The indigenous tribes in the north were mostly nomads, usually described as wild and ferocious. This was a time of intense and forceful assimilation of the native population, burdened by the influx of new settlers, including black slaves, mestizos and more than a thousand Tlaxcaltecs to help with the colonisation effort, a population much higher than the Spanish one at that time (Flores, 2009). In the case of other tribes throughout Mexico such as the Mayans, Huicholes and Totonacos, some rites demonstrate the social representation of the domestic role of women. For instance, at the birth of a girl, the ritualised burial of the umbilical cord near the hearth of the home symbolised her future as a good homemaker. Male babies' umbilical cords were buried outside, near a tree or a prosperous site, so that they would become successful providers (González Ortiz, 2005). Their places, inside and outside, respectively, were settled at birth. Instead of this model, the women of the Coahuiltecos, Borrados or Rayados that lived in northern Mexico had a sort of roaming domestic role, which consisted of gathering food and wood, cooking and taking care of children (Velázquez Morales, 1994). The idea of public and private spaces was gendered and not tied to a territory, but an activity.

In stark contrast to the romantic, almost naive image of peaceful conquest and settlement depicted in the royal ordinances, the natives fought continuously, practically up to their extermination. In fact, there was a very well defined system of legal, social and racial subcategories that emerged in Mexico through the process of racially-defined breeding, and all of the scrupulously labelled racial varieties (Span. *castas*) were considered inferior to the Spaniards. This distinct demarcation between



**Figure 2:** Main square in Monterrey (source: Bellido y Fajardo, 1791).

Note: The main square shown in white by the authors for clarity. Cropped from the original map, which has north downwards.

the conquerors and the conquered established the basis of the colonial regime (Cope, 1994). Little is known about the role of women of either Spanish or indigenous descent in the public spaces of the time. Although these spaces were supposed to serve both the colonisers and the indigenous population, the latter suffered systematic segregation that started from their places of settlement. Some authors have mentioned that the Tlaxcaltec Indians were segregated by the natural physical barrier of the Santa Catarina River (García, 2003; Aparicio, Ortega Rubí & Sandoval Hernández, 2011), which, although true, does not completely explain the social and cultural composition of the area south of the river. Perhaps it is more accurately explained by the mass arrival at a later date of Potosinian and Zacatecan labourers towards the middle of the nineteenth century. These migrants also settled in the same area, Long Hill Mountain (*Cerro de la Loma Larga*; Neira, 1990; Hernández & Escamilla, 2010).

José Sotero Noriega (1856) notes that Monterrey's main square was almost in the middle of the city with a growing population area south of the river. That square had an agreeable appearance, with orange trees planted at its four corners, providing shade to cut stone benches, making it one of the most beautiful

squares in Mexico. The author mentions the existence of other small squares, bounded by simple buildings with a joyful appearance, such as *Plaza del Comercio*, *Plaza del Roble*, *Plaza de la Purísima*, and *Plaza del Mercado*, previously known as *Plaza de la Carne*. The promenades of the population were generally conducted on the bridges north of the city because they were near plantations and tree-lined streets for the leisure of passersby.

Although the most notable public spaces of this time were the various squares previously mentioned, streets and pavements were also a very important place of colloquial social interaction. Fernando Rafael Casasús (2003) observes that the custom of the people of Monterrey sitting on the pavement in rocking chairs, wooden chairs or directly on the stoop goes back to this colonial period. There are references to this practice since the end of the seventeenth century, such as one in the municipal archives that states that Governor Juan Pedro Merino was "getting some fresh air" at the door of his house with a few friends when he received the news of an important accident (Montemayor, 1971: 407). This tradition is not exclusive to the people of Monterrey; it is also a Spanish custom for people to watch and comment on the events of the day, but

in Monterrey, because of the heat, it is done during the night to make it more comfortable (Casasús, 2003).

From this evidence, one can gather that the first type of public space in Monterrey, squares, were centrally located and relatively close to the housing in the city, yet the use of the space was certainly segregated and not as readily accessible to everyone. Nonetheless, during religious events, all social classes gathered in Zaragoza Square (Spa. *Plaza Zaragoza*) in front of the cathedral, and therefore in those instances they might be considered public domains, although they were chronologically limited to particular days or mere moments throughout the year.

### 3 Socially segregated spaces in Monterrey from war for independence until after the revolution (1810–1940)

On Saturday, 29 September 1810 Monterrey found out that the War of Independence had begun via a letter posted by Félix Calleja from San Luis Potosí (Casasús, 2003). Nuevo León's society was still trying to stop invasions by foreigners and indigenous attacks in order to secure a prosperous environment for economic and demographic expansion. Between 1810 and 1876 there were not many advances in science or technology because of intermittent wars and battles. Although the entire country was in turmoil during much of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Monterrey enjoyed a comparatively peaceful period, and even under occupation it tried to maintain peace to achieve economic stability. One of the most remarkable examples of this attitude occurred during the nineteenth century, in the battle against the American Army (1846–1847) led by General Zachary Taylor and the later American occupation. As a result of this war, Mexico lost half of the territory it had inherited from Spain, and Monterrey suddenly became a semi-frontier city with the United States and a key point in trade routes with the north and south.

During this mid-century period the population of Monterrey was divided between fighting the invaders and establishing good business relationships with them. Many businesses such as billiard rooms, restaurants and saloons were established in the city, most of them run by American businessmen (González Quiroga, 1997). These were private spaces of public use where the public sphere was discussed. The work relations that were established during this period were fundamental to the economic growth of Monterrey and the foundation of new businesses in later years. By 1858, Monterrey had a population of 13,534 (Malte-Brun, 1858).

There was relative peace between 1876 and 1910 with the national government of Porfirio Díaz and the state government of General Bernardo Reyes. Reyes took advantage of the peaceful period to boost industry, banking and commerce (Saldaña, 1981). One such industry that became a definitive turning point in Monterrey's development was the construction in 1900 of a foundry that began operating in this region, creating "an impressive network of related activities and making possible considerable growth in the local demand for both consumption goods and semi-manufactured items" (Beato & Sindico, 1983: 499).

During this time, social life in public spaces was highly segregated. The Spanish caste system was abolished, but its cultural repercussions were strongly felt and kept. Thus, in conjunction with segregation by social class was racial discrimination because having lighter skin was considered very desirable. Even among the upper classes, having darker colouring was a source of disdain and mockery, at the very least. This very visual aspect of one's social standing facilitated social discrimination.

A very telling social account from this time period is Elizabeth Visère McGary's book *An American Girl in Mexico*, in which she recounts her yearlong stay in Monterrey. The serenade, an activity conducted in the evenings in most Mexican squares, is described in her work as follows

The *plaza* [Main Square or Zaragoza Square] is a large square, beautiful with flowers and palm-trees. There was every kind of flower, even to magnolias in abundance, and fountains played among the trees. Every shady nook is filled with a bench, and from the bandstand in the centre, almost hidden amid the trees, the soft, sensuous music of stringed instruments delights the idlers there nearly every evening . . . All classes of people gather on the *plazas* in the evening. There are three walks laid out. The one on the edge is for the people of the higher class, and for *all* Americans; the next for those of the middle class, and on the inside walk through the "*peons*," or people of the lower classes (Visère McGary, 1904: 7).

The author goes on to comment on how remarkable it is that everyone knew their proper place, and, if anyone got confused or forgot their place, policemen ejected them from their position. People's conduct in the square during the serenade was also gendered because men and women walked in opposite directions unless married, in which case they were permitted to stroll arm in arm. Most women of the middle and upper classes stopped going to the square and other public spaces after marriage because it was believed that a married woman's place was in her home. In line with this, women were not legally considered citizens until 1953, when the constitution was reformed. Before that, they had the status of a minor that



depended on her father, a close male relative or a husband, if married (Galeana, 2015).

The culture of consumption that began with the American invasion and grew during the government of General Porfirio Díaz (from 1876 until the 1910 revolution) helped subvert some of the ideas of this female domesticity by opening up department stores as new public places for upper- and middle-class women. In Mexican society, the figure of the mother is glorified as the keeper of the home and, as such, mothers ventured out of the home and into their new role as consumers of household goods in the growing market economy. Thus, “department stores and urban shopping and entertainment districts became zones of consumption defined by the presence of women” (Bunker, 1997: 230).

The freedom of movement in public spaces that children had during this time was also important (see Figure 3). Before the constitution of 1917, child labour was common. In their engagement with work, in the case of the lower socioeconomic classes, or in their comings and goings between play and home, children were curious spectators and alert participants in life in public spaces. Families were large and children were everywhere: in the streets, on the squares, in markets and on thresholds (Guerrero Flores, 2007).

During this time perhaps the most socially integrated public spaces were markets because, although the upper classes did their shopping for clothing and fine items from shops and department stores, they still went to the popular markets for edibles. Circuses and other transient entertainment were also occasions for all social classes to interact, although with different accommodations according to one’s social standing. Those of high social standing could gather at the interior public space of the Monterrey Casino. In addition to the main square or Zaragoza Square, there were many other smaller squares such as *Plaza Hidalgo*, *Plaza de Cinco de Mayo*, *Plaza de Degollado*, *Plaza de la Purísima* (formerly *Plaza de la Llave*), *Plaza del colegio civil*, *Plaza Iturbide*, *Plaza Zuazua*, *Plaza Cuauhtémoc*, *Plaza de la Muralla*, *Plaza San Jacinto*, *Plaza Santa Isabel*, *Plaza Oaxaca* and *La Alameda*. In contrast, across the river the low-income San Luisito neighbourhood, which by now had received its name because of its demographic of migrants from San Luis Potosí, only had two squares: *Plaza Guadalupe* in front of the basilica and *Plaza Vereá*.

The panorama of Monterrey at that time is one of a hot land with a climate mitigated by the proximity to the mountains. The tramways through streets were cut now and again by attractive parks. The most beautiful one, *La Alameda*, was a wooded park that housed herds of deer that drank from its



**Figure 3:** Children posing by themselves in front of the State Health Council circa 1900 in Monterrey (source: General Archive Fund of Nuevo León, 1900).

swan-populated artificial lake. West of the city there stood an aristocratic neighbourhood called Obispado, with summer villas surrounded by centuries-old trees and flowering meadows crossed by small waterways (Bigot, 1910).

In 1910, Monterrey was Mexico’s fourth-largest city, with a population of 63,000, but it was in second place from an economic point of view, deserving the title of industrial capital of Mexico. More than 30,000 people died during the Mexican revolution of 1910–1920, but people from neighbouring towns in Nuevo León migrated to Monterrey during this unstable period for greater safety. This migration compensated for the loss of life, and so demographically the city remained somewhat stable during this time.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the most common leisure activities for the people of Monterrey were promenades around the city’s parks and squares, and day outings to nearby mountainous landscapes such as Huasteca, San Jerónimo, and El Diente. A popular urban gathering spot was the public swimming pool (*Alberca Monterrey*). For those that did not want to pay the small fee that the pool charged, in front of Lázaro Garza Ayala School there was *Charco de los Caballos* (literally, ‘horse puddle’), so named because it was where coachmen took their horses to be refreshed. Here is where people of the lower social classes gathered because it was free (Montemayor Hernández, 1971).

To sum up, Monterrey had several squares where people could meet their leisure needs, some, although certainly not all, with

fountains, benches and an appropriate landscape, but they were not readily available and accessible for everyone's use. Race, social standing, gender and age determined proper conduct in public spaces, especially under the government of Porfirio Díaz, when etiquette rules gained tremendous importance among the upper and middle classes (Bunker, 1997).

#### 4 Dispersed public space and metropolitan expansion (1940–1980)

As Monterrey grew, the segregation of its inhabitants in their public spaces multiplied. In the sixth census carried out by Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) in 1940, Nuevo León had a population of 541,147, of which 83% were native to the state. The foreign population was statistically insignificant, but was very important for the economic and social networks that were formed in the state.

Between 1940 and 1970, Mexico's domestic market-focused development strategy produced a sustained economic growth period, the "Mexican miracle". The business relationships with American enterprises that had blossomed during the previous decades slowed down due to high import tariffs and other government restrictions during this time. The focus was on developing energy, industry, communications and transportation infrastructure, and, as a direct consequence of this shift from the previous agricultural mode of production, cities like Monterrey grew rapidly.

This rapid expansion brought with it the first published idealisations of that previous public space. In an interesting and mostly unrealised project for land reclaimed from the Santa Catarina River in the 1950s, the first three and a half centuries of Monterrey's public spaces are portrayed as ideal; its squares, gardens and public arboretums accomplished their civic functions satisfactorily. Afterwards, lack of control and design combined with rapid urban growth is blamed for the lack of urban open spaces and public gardens, in proportion to the number of inhabitants and the hygiene demands of the city (Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo León, 1960). Although the superblock proposal was only partially implemented in a condominium project, the call for an urban form with internal green space reserved exclusively for pedestrians was not received enthusiastically and did not succeed in shaping the urban typology of the city.

A landmark shift in public space use occurred in 1951 with the opening of the Campestre Golf Club in what was to become the elite municipality of San Pedro Garza García, part of the Monterrey metropolitan area. The social prestige that

prevailed at golf clubs attracted the upper classes to become members (Wray, 2002; Cerón Anaya, 2010), and their leisure time was no longer spent in the squares of the old city centre. Even though social interactions between the upper, middle and lower classes had always been hierarchical and codified, up to that point they had at least convened in some of the same public spaces. With the abandonment of publicly owned public spaces by the upper classes, contact between different socio-economical classes started weakening. Political ceremonies and national holidays were a few of the occasions at which people of all ages and incomes and both genders gathered in public spaces.

In the 1960s and 1970s, urbanisation increased dramatically, and the metropolitan area of Monterrey was created with nine municipalities: Monterrey, San Nicolás de los Garza, Guadalupe, San Pedro Garza García, Santa Catarina, García, General Escobedo, Apodaca and Juárez. The area of the metropolis was 2,456 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 16% was urbanised and in which 80% of the population of the entire state of Nuevo León resided. This expansion was chaotic and lacked proper regulation and planning, which resulted in insufficient green public spaces for its population (Alanís, 2005). The integration of Monterrey into a regionally conurbated metropolitan area caused a dispersion of public spaces that were increasingly segregated into different income neighbourhoods, resulting in varying degrees of quality of infrastructure, many with insufficient green space.

In addition to the lack of adequate public spaces and urban vegetation, during the late 1970s metropolitan expansion resulted in an insufficient urban water supply. Public protests over water, held in public places by poor urban women, became another use of traditional public spaces and helped voice the urgent needs of public services in lower-income neighbourhoods. Gendered urban protests over public services in Monterrey fit into a wider Latin-American pattern, due to the higher participation of females in domestic work and the crucial role of water in such chores. Hundreds of low-income Monterrey residents, primarily women, assembled in the square in front of the Governor's Palace, bathing their children and washing dirty laundry in the public fountain (Bennett, 1995). This exemplified public spaces appropriated by distinctly different social groups, and also created a negative social representation of traditional public spaces as belonging to the lower classes among the middle and upper socio-economical levels.

The dispersion of public places in the metropolitan area of Monterrey not only had the consequence of increasing social distance between classes, but also between ages. In previous decades, when the city was compact, extended families were within a short distance of other family members. However, with the expansion of the urban fabric, the model changed to

nuclear family dwellings, often in the periphery of the city. As a result, social interaction with older family members became a weekend activity.

Overall, the second half of the twentieth century was a period of intense demographic and geographic expansion of the city. This growth resulted in an uneven distribution of public spaces, with low-income neighbourhoods often having less access to them. The abandonment of traditional public places in favour of private-public places like the Campestre Golf Club by the elite class was soon emulated by the middle class, in line with their options.

## 5 Privatisation of public space: Monterrey at the turn of the millennium (1980–2015)

By 1980, the government was well aware of the discrepancy between the availability of public places and the geographical extension of the city. Under these circumstances, the state government initiated a project to demolish forty hectares of the historical downtown area and to relocate 283 families and 310 businesses to build a great square, a civic space of enormous size to cement Monterrey's characterisation as the economic capital of Mexico. This huge public space, aptly named *Macropiazza*, the seventh-largest in the world, consists of various smaller squares and gardens, and is divided into two sections, one run by the municipal government and the other by the state. The administrative centres for these two government levels limit the square on its north-south axis (Internet 1, 2012). In spite of the immense cost of a project of this size, and perhaps precisely because of it, *Macropiazza's* success did not measure up to expectations. The vegetation that was selected has not thrived, and it does not offer enough shaded areas in this often hot city. Thirty years after its inauguration, the project has not aged well. It is not a local destination, especially for the middle and upper classes, and it is not a place for social integration and conviviality (Jiménez, 2014).

At any rate, the watershed moment in terms of use of public places in this decade came in 1984 with the opening of the first shopping mall in the metropolitan area, Galerías Monterrey. Its air-conditioned stores and restaurants lured those that could afford it (i.e., the middle classes) to its premises. The stroll in *La Alameda*, still a tradition at that time for middle-class and working families, was gradually exchanged for a visit to the mall. Thus the public places of the historical downtown that had previously been abandoned by the upper class were now also left by the middle class. In the context of street harassment and other gender violence that women are exposed to in

public spaces in Mexico and elsewhere (see Kearl, 2010), it is not surprising that those that are able to afford them turned to private gathering places, which offer an increase in perceived security, or opted to reduce their social outings (Ayala Gaytán & Chapa Cantú, 2012). Lower middle-class families, who could not easily afford such weekly spending, in turn migrated from *La Alameda* to the new *Macropiazza*, and *La Alameda* received a new population of indigenous migrants from other states, female domestic workers and male construction workers (Díaz Meléndez, 2008).

The bankruptcy in 1986 of one of the city's most iconic industrial centres, the Iron and Steel Foundry Company of Monterrey (*Compañía Fundidora de Hierro y Acero de Monterrey*), left a great brownfield in the heart of the city. Two years later, a trust was created to turn this space into an urban park. Along with *La Alameda* and the Santa Lucía Riverwalk, which connects it to *Macropiazza*, it is now one of the most important green spaces in Monterrey, perhaps the one that is most capable of integrating users from diverse social groups.

During the 1990s and 2000s, shopping malls, restaurants and commercial public places proliferated in the city, offering services in every municipality of the metropolitan area and for a wide spectrum of incomes. This may be because of the hot climate that prevails during the long summers, or because of the Americanised way of life that characterises some aspects of Monterrey's culture. Privately owned public spaces are extremely popular within this population, as testified by the fifty shopping malls currently in the city (Tomasini, 2015).

## 6 Conclusion

In the final analysis of the central question of this study, whether Monterrey's public spaces are public domains, given the history above, the answer would have to be "no" because different social groups have been excluded from them. Furthermore, as has been noted, there has been a transition in the public's choice from public spaces of public ownership to those of private ownership for their socialisation and recreation. Several authors have denounced this tendency for its disintegrating effects on the social fabric of cities and the emphasis it places on consumption and security. In fact, some consider privatised public space or public-private partnerships as malpractice in urban design and policies, or even as non-valid public spaces (Sorkin, 1992; Banerjee, 2001) typical of the neoliberal economic model. The abandonment of traditional public places is certainly worrisome because, by allowing public space to be privatised, there is a direct impact on the opportunities for political debate, and an increase in social exclusion (Carmona, 2014).



Conversely, the introduction of a gendered perspective into the study of public spaces has led others to study the characteristics that make them so popular for some demographics, such as women and teenagers. This matches what can be found in Monterrey, where shopping malls are so prevalent and popular. In the case of children, the incremental loss of independent mobility they have in traditional public spaces because of social representations of insecurity has also reinforced this preference for shopping malls and other privately owned public spaces, where their parents drop them off and they can roam freely within the safe confines of a controlled space. Admittedly, Monterrey's hot climate also bolsters the preference for air-conditioned spaces instead of open air squares and parks, which are often not designed to be climate responsive.

Although transdisciplinary studies from a gender perspective are still novel in the context of Mexican historiography, they have increasingly been incorporated into academic research in recent years. Therefore, new data are emerging that broaden the perspective of current dogmas. In the case of urban studies, there are still many subjects that could benefit from an analysis from this perspective. Women still undoubtedly play a secondary role in the public sphere, especially regarding power and decision-making. The gender roles that kept women out of public spaces are slowly becoming less rigid; nonetheless, their participation in public spaces does not occur on an equal footing (Varela Guinot, 2012). The same can be said of social groups of a perceived otherness that can be found in Monterrey: migrants, domestic workers, gays and lesbians, transsexuals, people of indigenous descent, the elderly and young children, whose role in local public spaces has been studied in a limited manner.

Despite the lack of public domains in public spaces, or perhaps because of it, in recent years civil associations have led a movement to implement targeted urbanism strategies to promote public space use by various social groups. This is happening not only in parks or squares, but also in the streets of the city – a widely available public space currently dominated almost completely by vehicles. It may be that these ephemeral public domains in the streets of Monterrey give voice to a population of pedestrians, women, children, minorities and civic-minded individuals with the desire to finally construct more inclusive permanent public spaces for their communities. In sum, public domains cannot be permanently found in the public spaces of the city, but ephemeral public domains offer glimpses of what the public spaces of the city have the potential to become.

.....  
 Karen Hinojosa Hinojosa  
 Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Faculty of Architecture,  
 Department of Graduate Studies, Mexico  
 E-mail: hinojosakaren@gmail.com

Carlos Estuardo Aparicio Moreno  
 Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Faculty of Architecture,  
 Department of Graduate Studies, Mexico  
 E-mail: caparicio55@yahoo.com

## Acknowledgements

This article was written with the aid of a CONACYT scholarship, 2014–2017. The maps were provided by the Manuel Orozco y Berra Map Library and the Secretariat of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food (SAGARPA). The photographs were all kindly provided by the Council for Culture and the Arts of Nuevo León and the Centre for the Arts Photography Library.

## References

- Alamán, L. (1856) *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía: Apéndice. Colección de artículos relativos a la República Mexicana por José María Andrade [y otros]*. Mexico City, J. M. Andrade & F. Escalante.
- Alanís Flores, G. J. (2005) El arbolado urbano en el área metropolitana de Monterrey. *Ciencia UANL*, 8(1), pp. 20–32.
- Aparicio, C., Ortega Rubí, M. E. & Sandoval Hernández, E. (2011) La segregación socio-espacial en Monterrey a lo largo de su proceso de metropolización. *Región y Sociedad*, 23(52), pp. 173–207.
- Arendt, H. (1958) *The human condition*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Ayala Gaytán, E. A. & Chapa Cantú, J. C. (2012) La inseguridad y la demanda por entretenimiento: evidencia para las áreas metropolitanas de Monterrey, Guadalajara y León. *EconoQuantum*, 9(1), pp. 135–148.
- Banerjee, T. (2001) The future of public space. Beyond invented streets and reinvented places. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67(1), pp. 9–24. DOI: 10.1080/01944360108976352
- Beato, G. & Sindico, D. (1983) The beginning of industrialization in northeast Mexico. *The Americas*, 39(4), pp. 499–518. DOI: 10.1017/S0003161500050197
- Bellido y Fajardo, C. (1791) *Mapa de la situación de la ciudad de Monterrey en el Nuevo Reino de León*. Mexico City, Orozco y Berra Collection.
- Bennett, V. (1995) Gender, class, and water: Women and the politics of water service in Monterrey, Mexico. *Latin American Perspectives*, 22(2), pp. 76–99. DOI : 10.1177/0094582X9502200205
- Bigot, R. (1910) *Le Mexique moderne*. Paris, P. Roger.
- Borja, J. & Muxí, Z. (2000) *El espacio público, ciudad y ciudadanía*. Barcelona, Electa.
- Bunker, S. B. (1997) "Consumers of good taste": Marketing modernity in northern Mexico, 1890–1910. *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, 13(2), pp. 227–269.
- Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo León (1960) *Corazón urbano de Monterrey*. Monterrey, Chamber of Transformation Industry of Nuevo León, Chamber of Commerce of Monterrey, Banking Centre of Monterrey, Chamber of Real Estate Owners of Nuevo León.
- Carmona, M. (2014) Re-theorising contemporary public space: A new narrative and a new normative. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 8(4), pp. 373–405.
- Casasús, F. (2003) *Monterrey: 407 trozos de su historia*. Monterrey, Creatividad Editorial.

- Cerón Anaya, H. (2010) Golf, habitus y elites: La historia del golf en México (1900–1980). *Esporte e Sociedade*, 5(15), pp. 1–27.
- Cope, R. D. (1994) *The limits of racial domination: Plebeian society in colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Day, K. (1999) Introducing gender to the critique of privatized public space. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2), pp. 155–178. DOI: 10.1080/13574809908724444
- Day, K. (2000) The ethic of care and women's experiences of public space. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20(2), pp. 103–124. DOI: 10.1006/jevp.1999.0152
- Díaz del Castillo, B. (1939) *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. Mexico City, Pedro Robredo.
- Díaz Meléndez, A. (2008) La Alameda de Monterrey: espacio estratégico de encuentro de los migrantes indígenas de la Huasteca. In: Durin, S. (ed.) *Entre luces y sombras. Miradas sobre los indígenas en el área metropolitana de Monterrey*, pp. 131–171. Mexico City, Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology, National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples, Publicaciones de la Casa Chata.
- Duby, G., Schmitt Pantel, P. & Perrot, M. (1994) *A history of women in the west: From ancient goddesses to Christian saints*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Femenías, M. L. (2009) Género y Feminismo en América Latina. *Debate Feminista*, 40(21), pp. 42–74.
- Flores Salazar, A. V. & González Garza, R. (2002) *Ornamentaria: lectura cultural de la arquitectura regiomentana*. San Nicolás de los Garza, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.
- Flores, O. (2009) *Monterrey histórico*. Monterrey, Historic Studies Centre, University of Monterrey.
- Galeana, P. (2015) *Curso Historia de las mujeres en México. Sesión 1*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7u19gqoU6l> (accessed 10 Feb. 2016).
- García, A. G. (2003) Territorialidad y violencia en la colonia Independencia de Monterrey. In: Tijerina, A. N. (ed.) *Aedificare 2003 Anuario de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Arquitectura*. San Nicolás de los Garza, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.
- Garza, I. (1995) *Atlas de Monterrey*. Mexico City, State Government of Nuevo León, Autonomous University of Nuevo León, Institute of Urban Studies of Nuevo León, College of Mexico.
- General Archive Fund of Nuevo León (1900) *Children in front of the State Health Council circa 1900*. Monterrey, Council for Culture and the Arts of Nuevo León and Centre for the Arts Photography Library.
- Ghent Urban Studies Team (2002) *Post ex sub dis: Urban fragmentations and constructions*. Ghent, 010 Publishers.
- González Ortiz, F. (2005) Mujeres que cuidan. El ciclo de la vida de las mujeres en las comunidades indígenas en el Estado de México. In: Vizcarra Bordi, I. (ed.) *Género y poder: diferentes experiencias, mismas preocupaciones*, pp. 181–204. Toluca, University Program for Gender Studies at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico.
- González Quiroga, M. (1997) Nuevo León ante la invasión norteamericana. In: Herrera Serna, L. (ed.) *México en guerra, 1846–1848: perspectivas regionales*, pp. 425–471. Mexico City, National Council for Culture and Arts.
- Guerrero Flores, D. (2007) La valoración del trabajo infantil en México (1910–1920). In: Mayer, A. (ed.) *México en tres momentos: 1810–1910–2010. Hacia la conmemoración del Bicentenario de la Independencia y del Centenario de la Revolución Mexicana. Retos y Perspectivas*, pp. 121–148. Mexico City, National Autonomous University of Mexico.
- Habermas, J., Lennox, S. & Lennox, F. (1974) The public sphere: An encyclopedia article (1964). *New German Critique*, Autumn, pp. 49–55.
- Hajer, M. & Reijndorp, A. (2002) *In search of a new public domain: Analysis and strategy*. Amsterdam, NAI Publishers.
- Held, V. (1993) *Feminist morality. Transforming culture, society, and politics*. Chicago, University of Chicago.
- Hernández, E. S. & Escamilla, R. (2010) La historia de una colonia, un puente y un mercado. La Pulga del Puente del Papa en Monterrey. *Estudios fronterizos*, 11(22), pp. 157–184.
- Internet 1: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=19826375002> (accessed 12 Aug. 2015).
- Jiménez, G. (2014) La Macroplaza del futuro. *Reporte Índigo*. Available at: <http://www.reporteindigo.com/reportes/monterrey/la-macroplaza-del-futuro> (accessed 12 Aug. 2015).
- Kearl, H. (2010) *Stop street harassment: Making public places safe and welcoming for women*. Santa Barbara, Praeger.
- Lefebvre, H. (1974; 1991) *The production of space*. New York, Wiley and Sons.
- Lim, W. S. W. (2014) *Public space in urban Asia*. Singapore, World Scientific Publishing Company. DOI: 10.1142/9033
- Low, S. & Smith, N. (2013) *The politics of public space*. New York, Routledge.
- Malte-Brun, C. (1858) *Géographie universelle de Malte-Brun*. Paris, G. Barba.
- Montemayor Hernández, A. (1971) *Historia de Monterrey*. Monterrey, Association of Editors and Bookkeepers of Monterrey.
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography (2010) *Censo de población y vivienda 2010– Estados Unidos Mexicanos Resultados Definitivos por Entidad y Municipio*. Available at: <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/proyectos/ccpv/cpv2010/> (accessed 10 Feb. 2016).
- National Institute of Statistics and Geography (2015) *Censuses of population and housing*. Available at: <http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/Proyectos/encuestas/hogares/especiales/ei2015/> (accessed 10 Feb. 2016).
- National Population Council (2012) *Delimitación de las zonas metropolitanas de México 2010*. Mexico City, Ministry of Social Development, National Institute of Statistics and Geography, National Population Council.
- Neira, H. (1990) Los asentamientos irregulares y la valoración del suelo urbano: un efecto de la marginalidad (el caso de la colonia Sierra Ventana: 1982). In: Zúñiga, V. & Ribeiro, M. (eds.) *La marginación urbana en Monterrey*, pp. 145–180. Monterrey, Autonomous University of Nuevo León.
- Noriega, J. S. (1856) Monterrey. In: Orozco y Berra, M. (ed.), *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía, colección de artículos relativos a la república mexicana*, pp. 884–885. Mexico City, J. M. Andrade & F. Escalante.
- Pacheco, J. F., de Cárdenas, F., de Cárdenas y Espejo, F. & Torres de Mendoza, L. (1867) *Colección de documentos inéditos: relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*. Madrid, Manuel de Quiros.
- Parker, R. (1996) *Athenian religion: A history*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Powell, A. (2002) *The Greek world*. New York, Routledge.
- Saldaña, J. P. (1981) *¿Y qué hicimos? Monterrey en el siglo XX*. Monterrey, Libros de México.

Sorkin, M. (1992) *Variations on a theme park: The new American city and the end of public space*. New York, Hill and Wang.

Tomasini, C. (2015) *México, el rey de los centros comerciales*. Available at: [http://www.milenio.com/financiamiento/ftmercados-Mexico-centro\\_comerciales-negocios\\_0\\_518348521.html](http://www.milenio.com/financiamiento/ftmercados-Mexico-centro_comerciales-negocios_0_518348521.html) (accessed 13 Jul. 2016).

Tonnellat, S. (2010) The sociology of urban public spaces. In: Wang, H., Savy, M. & Zhai, G. (eds.) *Territorial evolution and planning solution: experiences from China and France. Proceedings of the first Sino-French urban, regional and planning symposium*, pp. 84–92. Paris, Atlantis Press.

Varela Guinot, H. M. (2012) Iguales, pero no tanto. El acceso limitado de las mujeres a la esfera pública en México. *CONfinés de relaciones internacionales y ciencia política*, 8(16), pp. 39–67.

Velázquez Morales, C. (1994) El noreste: Coahuila. In: Piñera Ramírez, D. (ed.) *Visión histórica de la frontera norte de México*, pp. 15–23. Mexico City, Autonomous University of Baja California, Editorial Kino, El Mexicano.

Visère McGary, E. (1904) *An American girl in Mexico*. New York, Dodd Mead and Company.

World Health Organization (2014) *Global Health Observatory (GHO)*. Available at: [http://www.who.int/gho/urban\\_health/situation\\_trends/urban\\_population\\_growth\\_text/en/](http://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/) (accessed 13 Jul. 2016).

Worpole, K. & Knox, K. (2007) *The social value of public spaces*. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Wray, M. (2002) *Golf en Hidalgo: un legado para México*. Mexico City, Hidalgo State Government.