

Conflicts in the land of tequila: a geographical approach to the socio-spatial challenges in Guadalajara

Conflictos en la tierra del tequila: un enfoque geográfico de los desafíos socioespaciales en Guadalajara

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Abstract

The global population faces a series of emerging conflicts related to marginalization and insecurity. The Mexican population also presents these signs as a result of the growing economic inequality that exacerbates social tensions whose evidence is the increase in violence and crime. Hence, the objective was to synthesize the problems presented by the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (ZMG) between 2010 and 2019 regarding the degree of marginalization of its population from the point of view of geography. Methodology considered office work for the selection of publication that address the topics: indicators of marginalization and insecurity, complemented by field work such as the three exploratory tours in the area during 2017-2019. The results were: a) map of the ZMG and its conurbation in 2019; b) distribution of marginalization in the ZMG related to the type of road in 2019 and c) the degree of marginalization in relation to the location of the central municipalities and those outside the study area. Therefore, the conclusions were: 1) between 2010 and 2019 the standard of living of the ZMG population decreased since the marginalization index went from being mostly low to medium and 2) the public policies implemented between 2010-2019 failed to break with the delays and insecurity among the population residing in the ZMG, a trend that was consolidated at the national level.

Social exclusion, Human geography, Population marginalization, Policies, Vulnerability

Resumen

La población global afronta una serie de conflictos emergentes relacionados con la marginación y la inseguridad. La población mexicana también presenta dichos signos como resultado de la creciente desigualdad económica que exagera las tensiones sociales cuyas evidencias son el aumento de la violencia y los delitos. De ahí que, el objetivo fue sintetizar la problemática que presentó la Zona Metropolitana de Guadalajara (ZMG) entre 2010 y 2019 respecto del grado de marginación de su población desde el punto de vista de la geografía. Metodología consideró trabajo de gabinete para la selección de las publicaciones que abordan los tópicos: indicadores de marginación e inseguridad, complementado con trabajo de campo como los tres recorridos exploratorios en el área durante 2017-2019. Los resultados fueron: a) mapa de la ZMG y su conurbación al año 2019; b) distribución de la marginación en la ZMG relacionado con el tipo de vialidad al año 2019 y c) el grado de marginación en relación con la ubicación de los municipios centrales y exteriores al área en estudio. Por tanto, las conclusiones fueron: 1) Entre 2010 al 2019 el nivel de vida de la población de ZMG disminuyó ya que el índice de marginación pasó de ser mayormente bajo a medio y 2) las políticas públicas implementadas entre 2010-2019 no lograron romper con los rezagos y la inseguridad entre la población residente en la ZMG, tendencia que se consolidó a nivel nacional.

Exclusión social, Geografía humana, Marginación poblacional, Políticas, Vulnerabilidad

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Introduction

All over the world, conflict is a situation that can generate problems and difficulties between two or more parties with dissimilar and opposing positions (definicionabc, 2018). To resolve these disputes, "negotiation, mediation and arbitration are relevant forms of conflict management... conflicts are divided into latent and manifest conflicts, with marginalisation and insecurity being examples of these" (Ahumada, 2002:10).

The growing inequality in Latin America due to diverse socio-economic and environmental situations has recently been observed to generate an increase in violence and crime (Paredes, 2023). The slums of Guadalajara and Acapulco (Niño-Gutiérrez, 2022) as well as peripheral communities are particularly affected, with high rates of poverty, lack of access to basic services and limited employment opportunities with low wages. Added to this is the presence of criminal groups that have established illegal control in certain areas, leading to a climate of fear and vulnerability among the inhabitants of Latin American cities (Segrelles-Serrano & Niño-Castillo, 2022 and Niño et al., 2020).

Guadalajara, Mexico is the second largest city where it unfortunately currently faces a number of emerging conflicts related to marginalisation and insecurity. The lack of effective policies to address these problems has led to a sense of hopelessness and frustration among the population that clamours for immediate and sustainable solutions (Acevedo, 2023).

In this essay, the characteristics of marginalisation and insecurity in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (ZMG) will be presented. This topic is framed within human geography, which is based on social theory to explain phenomena and facts related to well-being and marginalisation. Since 2000, the geographical sciences have analysed the concept of social justice in greater depth in what has been called "moral geographies" (Smith, 1973 and 1980). According to Smith, the valuation of human well-being is expressed through spatial indices of well-being that are useful for suggesting income distribution options among the population.

In 2010, Soja proposed the construction of a theory of spatial justice, where he explained that contemporary urban dynamics are linked to global economic restructuring and characterised by increasing urban poverty and socio-spatial inequality. The production of spatial injustice occurs at local, regional and national levels, and is related to endogenous development and geographical discrimination (Soja, 2010). Spatial justice is the pursuit of economic, social and cultural rights, and environmental justice is a more spatial and restricted notion that is embedded in social justice theory.

Methodology

The methodological development has two implicit phases: the first, through desk research, involved the reading and analysis of the published literature, as well as the following activities: 1) Consultation of literature that is specialised in topics such as social geography indicators (Olivera, 1997), justice in contemporary human geography (Santana, 2012) and sustainability (Niño-Gutiérrez, 2021); 2) Material complemented by promotional literature and research; 3) Search in different electronic libraries and statistical databases of the National Population Council (CONAPO) and the National Institute of Geographic Statistics and Informatics (INEGI) and 4) Drafting of the text. Meanwhile, the second phase comprised fieldwork that was carried out in September 2017, August 2018 and September 2019, where we had the opportunity to take photographs and observe in situ.

The test was carried out from a mixed geographical approach as it included the use of qualitative and quantitative techniques in an analytical and cross-sectional manner with emphasis on Guadalajara, Jalisco. The socio-spatial segregation method was applied to carry out the corresponding territorial mapping and analysis, using the five classification ranges established by CONAPO to determine the degree of marginalisation: very high, high, medium, low and very low, according to the group where the value of the principal component is located. It should be clarified that this is an inversely proportional indicator, thus Very High means the most difficult socio-economic condition, while Very Low will have the best socio-economic, social and service accessibility conditions where even insecurity is low (Figure 1).



Figure 1 Site with very low marginalization index
Source: Macías, 2019.

Theoretical framework, the theory on which the research work is based is the complexity of Morín, where he states that in order to find a solution to the problem it is through the analysis of various social, economic and environmental factors (Morín, 1991). The method of the work was based on the approach of social geography, through which it is possible to carry out an integral analysis of local socio-economic indicators (Niño-Gutiérrez, 2021).

Conceptual framework, the study of marginalisation, is a key concept of marginality, as outlined by Camberos and Bracamontes in 2012. This concept is the direct conceptual antecedent of marginalisation, which was defined in the 1950s as a small segment of the population living on the margins of the fruits of economic development compared to the benefits received by the majority of the population.

For the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, marginalisation is defined as a situation in which a set of individuals and families living within a locality or municipality, whether urban (Figure 2) or rural, do not satisfy what are considered basic needs. This situation of marginalisation is also characterised by exclusion from access to consumption of goods and services, as well as from participation in political affairs.



Figure 2 Site with medium marginalization index
Source: Macías, 2019

From an economic perspective, marginalisation refers to the population that has been left out of the benefits of development and the wealth generated, but has not necessarily been left out of the generation of that wealth, nor of the conditions that make it possible. As Ortega (2003) explains, marginalisation is a structural phenomenon that arises from a historical pattern and manifests itself as persistent inequality in the participation of citizens and social groups in the development process and the enjoyment of its benefits (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Site with very high marginalization index
Source: Macías, 2019

Geography, for its part, defines marginalisation as a differentiated condition that makes it impossible to access and enjoy, on equal terms, the benefits and achievements attained by the country or entity, which generates forms and intensities of exclusion associated with class, territory and ethnic condition.

In short, marginalisation is characterised by deprivation or difficulty in satisfying all the basic and secondary needs of a social group. It is a structural phenomenon that arises from a historical pattern and manifests itself as persistent inequality in the participation of citizens and social groups in the development process and the enjoyment of its benefits.

This article addresses the issue of marginalisation in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara (ZMG), in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. Marginalisation is defined as the situation of those individuals and families within a locality or municipality that do not satisfy a set of needs considered essential or basic. This concept is translated into nine specific deprivations that are measured in percentages.

Results

Camberos and Bracamontes (2007) define these deprivations as the illiterate population aged 15 years and over (ANALF); population aged 15 years and over without completed primary education (SINPRI); dwellings without availability of drainage or toilet (SINEXDR); dwellings without availability of electricity (SINELEC); dwellings without piped water (SINAG); dwellings with one and two rooms (HACIN); percentage of dwellings with dirt floors (PISOTI); population in localities of less than 5,000 and population earning up to two minimum wages in 1970.

The state of Jalisco had a total population of 8,110,943 inhabitants on 1 July 2017, according to projections by the National Population Council (CONAPO) and the Institute of Information, Statistics and Geography (IEEG, 2108). The ZMG is located in the central part of the state and is formed by the conurbation of six municipalities: Guadalajara, El Salto, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá and Zapopan (Figure 4), the most populated being Guadalajara with about 1.49 million inhabitants.



Figure 4 Guadalajara Metropolitan Area and its conurbation

Source: National Institute of Statistics Geography and Informatics, 2015 and Open Data of the State of Jalisco, 2019

In 2010, the total population of the ZMG was 4 380 600 inhabitants spread over six municipalities and a total area of 2 149.95 km², giving an average density of 2.1 inhabitants per m². The population of the ZMG in 2015 was 4 865 122 and in 2017 4 980 756 people (IEEG, 2018). In terms of population density, Guadalajara is the municipality with the highest number of inhabitants per square metre, reaching 7.9 inhabitants per square metre due to its single locality. In contrast, the municipality of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, the most recent municipality to join the ZMG, has a population density of 0.6 inhabitants per square kilometre, which is explained by its territorial extension and the presence of a large rural area where several unprocessed agricultural products are grown and consumed by the inhabitants of the area under study (Contreras & Medina, 2021). Similarly, the municipality of Zapopan, with a population of more than 1.2 million inhabitants, has a density of 1.4 inhab/km²+5 due to its rural area and territorial extension (Table 1)

Municipality	Population	Area (km ²)	Population density (pop/m ²)
Guadalajara	1 495 189	187.91	7.9
Zapopan	1 243 756	893.15	1.4
Tlaquepaque	608 114	270.88	2.2
Tonalá	478 689	119.58	4.0
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga	416 626	636.93	0.6
El Salto	138 226	41.5	3.3
Total Guadalajara Metropolitan Area	4 380 600	2 149.95	2.1

Table 1 Breakdown of data for the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara, 2010

Source: own elaboration with data from Census Information Consultation System (SCINCE), 2010

In recent years, the concentration of migrant populations from the countryside to the city has led to an increase in marginalisation figures in various areas of Mexico. This phenomenon has generated a situation in which basic municipal services are hardly sufficient for all inhabitants, which translates into an increase in marginalisation and insecurity.

To assess the degree of marginalisation in different areas, various dimensions have been used, such as education, housing conditions and access to health services. In this sense, areas of the city of Guadalajara and its surroundings have been identified with different degrees of marginalisation, according to the territorial distribution of the population (Martínez Lazcano, 2023).

In 2000, marginalisation presented a diverse territorial distribution in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Zone (ZMG), although the central and western part, which corresponded to the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zapopan, had a very low marginalisation rank. In the periphery, and mainly in the southeast zone (Tonalá, Tlaquepaque and El Salto), there were Basic Geo-Statistical Areas (AGEBs) with a Low and Medium marginalisation rank. In these areas there were mainly irregular settlements that had been established next to already settled localities (Table 2).

Ranges	Interval	Limits
	Lower	Upper
Very low	-1.5678	-0.22079
Low	-0.2208	1.12621
Half	1.1262	2.47322
High	2.4732	3.82020
Very High	3.8202	5.16723

Table 2 Ranges of the marginalization index
 Source: own elaboration with Census Information Consultation System (SCINCE), 2000 and 2010

In the municipality of Guadalajara, most of the AGEBS had a Very Low degree of marginalisation, as did Zapopan. However, in the southwestern part of Zapopan and in the area bordering the Barranca del Río Santiago (Comisión Nacional del Agua (CONAGUA), 2023 and de la Torre, Bartorila & Alayón, 2022), once crystal clear waters where jackal shrimp were found (Peña et al., 2022), there were areas with Medium rank. Tlaquepaque presented areas within the Low range in its oldest part, while in the periphery it presented medium ranges.

The most marginalised municipalities were Tonalá, Tlajomulco and El Salto. Tonalá had medium to high levels of marginalisation, mainly towards the southeast, while El Salto had a low to medium range. As for Tlajomulco, its areas were in the Low to Medium range, although some of them were still considered rural at that time.

In 2010, the situation changed in a negative direction, as, although a high percentage above the average remained, the indicator of very low level of marginalisation decreased drastically. This was partly due to an increase in the middle class population, indicating that there was no increase in poverty. However, the socio-economic capacity of the majority of the population decreased, as the median index increased from 9.8% to 73.2%.

The present study shows the situation of marginalisation and insecurity in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (ZMG). According to Figure 5, the low marginalisation index is found in the west of the ZMG, in the municipalities of Guadalajara and Zapopan, while the medium level is found in the central, northern, southern and eastern portions of the territory. The high level is found in the municipalities of Tlaquepaque and Tlajomulco, and the very high level is found in Tlaquepaque, Tonalá and Tlajomulco, in small areas separated from each other.

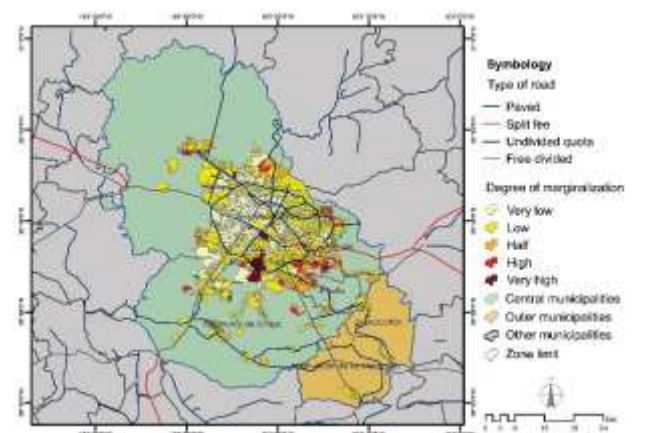


Figure 5 Roads and marginalization in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area
 Source: National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics, 2015 and Open Data of the State of Jalisco, 2019

In Guadalajara, there is a clear trend of low marginalisation in the west and medium marginalisation to the east and south, which represents the general trend of the ZMG. Zapopan, which is located to the west of Guadalajara, also has an area in the low marginalisation range, but towards the periphery it decreases to medium level. Tonalá and Tlaquepaque are located in the east and west, with medium levels in the area adjacent to Guadalajara, and high levels on the borders with El Salto and Tlajomulco (México en cifras, 2023).

In El Salto, thanks to the presence of industries that provide employment, a medium level appears in general, but in Tlajomulco, an eminently rural territory, there are localities recently incorporated into the ZMG, with high and very high levels of marginalisation. This shows areas with rural characteristics and a lack of infrastructure, as well as irregular settlements or low-cost subdivisions, with a migrant population in some cases.

It is important to mention that marginalization and insecurity affect the resident population, entrepreneurs and visitors at infra-local, local, regional, national and global levels. The indicators analysed in this study are quantitative, objective and of an economic and social nature, such as social spending on education, health or pensions, and poverty, including crime. These indicators are interrelated with environmental indicators, such as population with access to clean water, sanitation, deforestation, use of natural resources, percentage of waste recycling, among others.

Marginalisation and insecurity are dynamic phenomena that require indicators on residential satisfaction, health, economic situation, social status (crime, abuse, accessibility and job security), and sustainability, which implies preserving human capital by maintaining public health, air, water and soil quality at a level sufficient to preserve life and human well-being and with social justice.

In 2018, there was an increase in insecurity in the ZMG, and young people have modified their daily habits and are more aware of taking security and protection measures to avoid being victims of crime (Torres, 2018).

The population living in the areas furthest from the centre had the highest levels of marginalisation and insecurity. This fact coincides with the situation in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (ZMG), where some neighbourhoods, such as Tlaquepaque, had high and very high levels of marginalisation, where in March 2018, the Navy intervened with the Tlaquepaque municipal police after a list with the names of some Tlaquepaque police officers was found next to the bodies of eight people (Guerrero, 2018:2).

In the ZMG, on 7 November 2017, the 5 000 000th inhabitant was born, according to the Instituto de Información Estadística y Geográfica (IIEG) in 2018. In the last seven years, the total population of the ZMG increased by more than 482,000 people, representing 61.4% of the state population. This means that six out of every 10 Jalisco residents live in one of the six municipalities of the ZMG. In 2017, Guadalajara had 1 521 741 inhabitants, Zapopan 1 371 300, Tlaquepaque 667 257, Tlajomulco 568 683, Tonalá 547 146 and El Salto 162 270. The ZMG municipality with the highest proportion of women is Guadalajara, with 791 732 (52.0%) of its population, while Zapopan has 51.2% (702 405), according to IIEG data in 2018 (Figure 6).

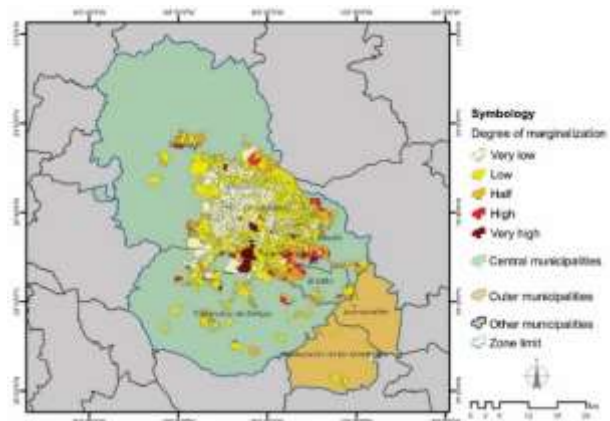


Figure 6 Marginalization in the central and outer municipalities of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area
Source: National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Informatics, 2015 and Open Data of the State of Jalisco, 2019

In sum, the ZMG is shaped as a vibrant and growing city in Mexico, but it faces various socio-spatial challenges that affect the quality of life of its inhabitants and the sustainable development of the region.

In this context, the central thesis is that urban inequality and segregation is reflected in the unequal distribution of economic resources and basic municipal services. Thus, there are places within the ZMG with high levels of marginalisation and poverty, while other areas enjoy quality infrastructure and access to all public services. Socio-spatial segregation affects social cohesion and limits development opportunities for certain population groups, generating significant economic and educational gaps.

The situation in Guadalajara is an urgent call to implement comprehensive strategies that address both the underlying causes of marginalisation and insecurity in order to improve the quality of life of all citizens and establish peace and harmony in the community.

Conclusions

Following the study of marginalisation indices in the ZMG, there is a relationship between marginalisation and the peripheral location of the colonias in the municipality of Tlaquepaque with a High and Very High marginalisation index.

In the last ten years, the general population has decreased its standard of living in the ZMG, as the marginalisation index has gone from being mostly low to medium. Although the middle class is increasing, the upper middle class has decreased, showing a growing socio-economic inequality. Public policies implemented so far have failed to break the backwardness and insecurity among the ZMG's resident population, a trend that has recently been accentuated at the national level.

This situation reflects the socio-economic crisis in the region and shows a tendency towards a decrease not only in living conditions, but also in the population's purchasing power, which can lead to problems with bank loans, mortgages and bank cards, among others. Therefore, both micro and macro public policies must take into account this social situation in order to develop objectives based on reality, looking for the factors that affect each place in order to make them effective and with a real socio-economic and territorial impact.

In this sense, it is essential to design comprehensive and sustainable strategies that consider education, health, housing, transport and employment, among other aspects. The implementation of public policies that promote investment and local economic development, social inclusion and the protection of vulnerable groups are necessary actions to overcome the socio-economic crisis in the ZMG and to build a more prosperous and just future for all its inhabitants.

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