

**Weak Governance, Divided Residents:
The Development of Gated Communities in Guatemala City**

University of Ottawa
Department of Political Science
Master's Thesis

Laura Dalby
Fall 2013

© Laura Dalby, Ottawa, Canada, 2013

Abstract

This thesis asks the question: how can one describe the development of gated communities in Guatemala City? It collects and analyzes data on gated communities in Guatemala City in order to explore the nature of their development in a violent geographical region, which has also been neglected by the academic community. It argues that the development of gated communities in Guatemala City does not fit the mutually exclusive ‘security’ argument as scholars have made. Instead, a mixture of economic factors, social status, weak governance, and security concerns are involved as large private corporations draw upon security-related fears, unregulated development of real estate and weak governance, resulting in a disorganized model of spatial organization. This study adds to the growing body of literature on gated communities by laying the groundwork needed to fill the gap that currently exists in Central America.

Résumé

Cette thèse pose la question: comment pouvons-nous décrire le développement des communautés protégées dans la ville de Guatemala? Elle recueille et analyse les données sur les communautés protégées afin d’explorer la nature de leur développement dans une région géographique violente, un thème négligé par le milieu académique. Elle fait valoir que le développement des communautés protégées dans la ville de Guatemala ne correspond pas exclusivement à l’argument de la « sécurité » tel que certains chercheurs le prétendent. Au lieu de cela, une combinaison de facteurs économiques, le statut social, la faiblesse de la gouvernance et des problèmes de sécurité interviennent tandis que les grandes entreprises bénéficient des craintes liées à la sécurité, au développement anarchique des biens immobiliers et à une gouvernance faible, ce qui donne lieu en un modèle d’organisation spatiale désorganisée. Cette étude ajoute à la masse croissante de la littérature sur les communautés protégées en exposant les bases nécessaires pour combler les lacunes qui existent actuellement en Amérique centrale.

Acknowledgements

I would like to start by expressing gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Dominique Arel, who took a chance on a part time master's student who was working full time and planning to leave the country. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without his guidance, flexibility and support. Thank you Dr. Miguel de Larrinaga, who not only was a member of the defence committee, but also guided me through two courses –in French, which is my second language –and introduced me to academic arguments on space and territoriality. Thank you Dr. Stephen Brown for being a member of the defence committee and providing insightful comments. I would also like to thank Dr. Daniel Stockemer, who chaired my defence. Thank you Dr. Matthew Paterson and Dr. Cedric Jourde whose excellent teachings also influenced the direction of my work. I would like to acknowledge the continual calm support and encouragement from my partner Dr. Brandon John Marriott, who also read many drafts of the thesis. The completion of my courses was possible thanks to Jeff Marder and Robert Shaw-Wood's support of my academic goals and flexibility in my work schedule. On the ground in Guatemala, Christine Luttmann welcomed me into her home, her family and her incredible knowledge of the city. She also introduced me to Jonathan Berube, who became my invaluable research assistant. Thank you Jonathan for setting up interviews and exploring so many buildings to conduct preliminary research. Finally, I would like to offer an anonymous thank you to all of my interviewees and others who spoke openly to me during my research.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Historical Background and Gated Community Development.....	19
Chapter 2: Security and Fear	33
Chapter 3: The Public-Private Divide.....	48
Chapter 4: Wealth and Elitism.....	61
Conclusion.....	82
References.....	88
Appendix 1: Map of Homicide Rates in Central America.....	93
Appendix 2: Interview Questions.....	94
Appendix 3: Map of Interview Locations.....	101
Appendix 4: Map of Guatemala City in 1965.....	105
Appendix 5: Photographs of Gated Communities.....	107

Introduction

“Why do some people get to do this (build gated communities) without respecting the laws. It is a luxury. People in gated communities only think of themselves.”

-Interviewee who lives outside of a gated community, lamenting reduced access to former public transit routes and the subsequent increase in his gasoline expenses.

Designed by the elite of the global West, gated communities originated in the United States and have become an internationally escalating trend.¹ Globally, there has been a steady growth in gated community development since the 1990's. In Guatemala City, in particular, gated communities have exploded, yet research is lacking.

How can one describe the development of gated communities in Guatemala City? To what extent is the growth of gated communities in Guatemala City simply tied to security concerns –an argument that has been postulated for their development in Latin America? What role, if any, do weak governance, wealth and status play in this process?

This study collects and analyzes data on gated communities in Guatemala City, a central point of the northern triangle of Central America (Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras) that is home to high violence and homicide rates, in an attempt to explore the nature of development of gated communities.² Overall, it argues that the development of gated communities in Guatemala City does not fit the mutually exclusive ‘security’ argument that scholars have made. Instead, a mixture of economic factors, social status, weak governance, and security concerns are involved

¹ Matthew Durlington, “Suburban Fear, Media and Gated Communities in Durban, South Africa.” *Home Cultures*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (2009), p. 73. Durlington notes, however, that the basic idea of “secured enclaves” has existed since medieval times.

² While I considered a comparative study of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, the former was chosen due to time and budgetary restraints. I selected Guatemala City because I was more familiar with it than the alternatives and also had a greater number of connections in the city. I chose the city because: “[t]he capital of the country, with all of its problems, is an eloquent example of a national reality which is expressed in enormous contrasts of access to services and living conditions for rich and poor.” Hermes Marroquin, “City Profile: Guatemala City,” *CITIES* (1987), p. 206.

as large private corporations draw upon security-related fears, unregulated development of real estate and weak governance in order to develop gated communities in a disorganized model of spatial organization. Weak governance, in particular, plays a dominant role in both supporting conditions that lead to the development of gated communities and is a product of their development. This thesis, thus, introduces the concept of a weak governance feedback loop.

Problematique and Definition

Gated communities stand out as one of the most significant aspects of urban space, representing a dichotomy between integration and segregation.³ While gated communities may be so common that they now represent a degree of normalcy in residential living, they create challenges by dividing neighbourhoods.

Disorganized urban planning is manifest in Guatemala City, where various levels of economic housing are situated next to each other. People of diverse social and economic backgrounds live within close proximity of one another, but they are socially and spatially isolated.⁴ A high-income community is right next to a middle or low-income community even though it is physically segregated by walls, barbed wire, and private roads that have controlled transportation access points to ensure that the neighbouring communities never meet. Gated

³ Sonia Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom? The Analysis of a Gated Community in Mendoza, Argentina," *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), p. 306. Also see: Low 2003, p. 391, in Durlington, "Suburban Fear," pp. 84-85: "Gated communities respond to middle-class and upper-middle-class individuals' desire for community and intimacy and facilitate avoidance, separation and surveillance. They bring individual preferences, social forces, and the physical environment together in an architectural reality and cultural metaphor."

⁴ Christien Klaufus, "Watching the city grow: remittances and sprawl in intermediate Central American cities," *Environment & Urbanization*, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), Vol. 22, No. 1 (2010), p. 127.

communities have been described as a means for developers to maximize economic profits in urban areas as well as a popular new lifestyle choice for wealthy populations.⁵

Gated communities are a “spatial zone that is separated from its surroundings by a wall or fence, with access controlled by gates.”⁶ They may include various security measures and contains predominantly upper-class residents.⁷ In Guatemala City, a gated community is often known as “*barrio cerrado*” (a closed neighbourhood or suburb) because gated communities are often very large and encompass many neighbourhoods.⁸ While new gated communities are sometimes built as specific developments, many of them are previously residential suburbs that were gated over different time periods, leaving a series of gates within gates.

This thesis defines gated communities in this manner to allow for the inclusion of various types of gated communities in Guatemala City. At the same time, such a definition avoids a western, pre-conceived notion about the forms of gated communities, which helps to avoid definitional problems associated with gated communities and allows for comparability in future research.⁹ For instance, since much research has been completed in the United States, one would not want the definitions and concepts from that research to predefine how gated communities in

⁵ Durlington, “Suburban Fear,” p. 73.

⁶ Charlotte Lemanski, “Residential Responses to Fear (of Crime Plus) in Two Cape Town Suburbs: Implications for the Post-Apartheid City,” *Journal of International Development*, No. 18 (2006), p. 790.

⁷ Durlington, “Suburban Fear,” p. 73. In advocating this information, Durlington cites: Blakely and Snyder 1997; Caldeira 1996; Low 1997, 2003a, b; Marcuse 1997. The gated communities examined in this research may include other definitional aspects. For instance, Caldiera’s (2000) social homogeneity, services and amenities or Roitman’s (2010) code of conduct. For a detailed definition, see: Roitman, Sonia (March 2010), “Gated communities: definitions, causes and consequences”, *Urban Design and Planning* 163, Issue DP1, p. 33.

⁸ Mario Alfonso Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización segregación social violencia urbana y barrios cerrados en Guatemala, 1944-2002*, (Guatemala City: Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, 2007) p. 178 footnote 105.

⁹ There are many deviances in the search for a standard definition. Authors have focused on varying features of gated communities, meaning that many studies are looking into different aspects and using dissimilar definitions. There is also a gap in research surrounding housing design or type within gated communities, which would be a basic component of a standardized definition and further analysis. Roitman, “Gated communities: definitions,” p. 37, 33.

other countries are composed. It should be used, instead, as a form of comparison and in a review of secondary literature.

Gated Community Arguments and Literature Review

Gated communities pose a unique challenge because they provide specific benefits to their residents, which do not necessarily extend to surrounding populations. Accordingly, there is widespread debate about whether gated communities are beneficial or detrimental for residents and non-residents, often focusing on the following themes: economic elitism, security, fear, social cohesion, changes in mobility and access to basic amenities.

The academic literature recognizes specific gated community arguments, which are used to understand these housing developments in certain regions. Academic discourse, however, has not equally treated all parts of the world; many areas have been neglected, including Central America. This means that there is a lacuna of both data and scholarship on the development of gated communities in Guatemala.¹⁰

The literature that does exist presumes that gated communities in Latin America, including those in Guatemala, have been built primarily in response to the fear and security concerns of urban residents. In fact, the literature on gated communities states that, in Latin America, the growth in gated communities is predominantly attributed to security-related concerns, such as urban crime. It does not account for other factors, such as prestige and lifestyle.¹¹ Such arguments, however, oversimplify the situation. Each community serves a

¹⁰ For the purposes of this research, Central America consists of the geographical isthmus that includes Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Belize.

¹¹ Serife Genis, (2007), "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul," *Urban studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2007), pp. 791-792.

different purpose depending on the characteristics of the residents as well as different “social, cultural and economic” factors.¹²

One cannot discount the importance of security concerns in Central American nations such as Guatemala. The growing trend in gated community development, in the northern countries of this region (Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala) is at least partially tied to the high rates of homicide, which are among the highest outside of war zones in the world.¹³ In 2011, Honduras had a homicide rate of 91.6 per 100,000, El Salvador had a rate of 69.2 per 100,000, and Guatemala had a rate of 38.5 per 100,000.¹⁴ Mexico, on the other hand, had a rate of 23.7 per 100,000 in 2011 while the United States and Canada had rates of 4.8 and 1.6 respectively in 2010.¹⁵ These statistics paint a grim picture, but there are multiple and complex reasons for the violence in the region.¹⁶

In Guatemala specifically, high rates of homicide and violence are only part of the picture because there is an underreporting of crimes, a lack of investigation and a failure of prosecution that has resulted in a situation where many of those who commit crimes remain anonymous.¹⁷ Furthermore, there is “a lack of public confidence in state institutions, indifference on the part of officials, and deficiencies within the judicial system.”¹⁸ As in other Latin American countries,

¹² Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 791.

¹³ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean: A Threat Assessment* (2012), p 16. Note: Statistics were provided with the National Police of each nation.

¹⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, *2011 Global Study on Homicide*. Homicide Statistics. For a visual representation of these homicide rates divided by municipality, refer to Appendix 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* In addition to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Statements about the high levels of violence in Central America are also supported by the World Health Organization, and the Geneva Small Arms Survey.

¹⁶ Andrew Hurrell, “Security in Latin America,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (1998), p. 543.

¹⁷ Paula Godoy-Paiz, “Women in Guatemala’s Metropolitan Area: Violence, Law, and Social Justice,” *Studies in Social Justice*, Vol. 2, No 1 (2008), p. 30.

¹⁸ Godoy-Paiz, “Women in Guatemala’s Metropolitan Area,” p. 30.

many believe that the police work alongside criminals in committing offences.¹⁹ Today, Guatemala is home to a high level of crimes, including homicides, human rights violations, illegal gang activity, armed robberies, abductions, and theft.²⁰

Two prominent perspectives are used to account for violence in Guatemala. The first is a continuum of violence. Scholars have argued that the underlying socio-political conditions and forms of violence in the civil conflicts in Central America are still present in Guatemala.²¹ Violence did rise dramatically following the outbreak of civil war, most notably in the 1970's and 1980's,²² and there is a causal relationship between contemporary violence and violence from the civil conflicts. One result of the civil war in Guatemala, for instance, was the militarization of society that has led to vigilante violence.²³ Lynchings are still common, often instigated by or with participation by former paramilitary personnel.²⁴ This may be a result of the lingering psychological effects of the incorporation of civilians into civic patrols ("*patrullas de autodefensa civil* or PAC"), which forced violence and killing during the civil wars.²⁵ All of this points to weaknesses in governance, specifically in the justice system and policing.

¹⁹ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 30. Note: Godoy-Paiz cites: Caldera, 2000 and Goldstein, 2003.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 29. Note: Godoy-Paiz cites: del Alamo, 2004; Amnesty International, 2005, Asturias & Del Aguila, 2005; Logan, Bain & Kairies, 2006; CALDH, 2006; CIIDH, 2006; PNUD, 2007, Urias, 2005.

²¹ Manz, "Continuum of Violence," pp. 151-164; John-Andrew McNeish, and Oscar Lopez Rivera, "The Ugly Poetics of Violence in Post-Accord Guatemala," *Forum for Development Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (2009), pp. 49-77; Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, "Lynchings and Democratization of Terror in Postwar Guatemala: Implications for Human rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2002), pp. 640-661; Michael K. Steinberg, Carrie Height, Rosemary Mosher, and Mathew Bampton, "Mapping massacres: GIS and state terror in Guatemala," *Geoforum*, Vol. 37 (2006), pp. 62-68; Staffan Lofving, "Paramilitaries of the Empire: Guatemala, Colombia, and Israel," *Social Analysis*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2004), pp. 156-161.

²² Klaukus, "Watching the city grow," p. 127.

²³ Manz, "Continuum of Violence," p. 152.

²⁴ Godoy, "Lynchings and Democratization," p. 649.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 648. Manz also describes the PAC, stating that there was effectively a militarization of civil life, which included rigid routines and shifts, training, and check points. A report by the Catholic church also shares the view that violence through militarization has long term effects on society. Manz, "Continuum of Violence," p. 153.

The second and increasingly popular perspective states that the high levels of violence in Central America are directly linked to new clandestine activities and violence tied to drug trafficking and gangs.²⁶ While the existence of gangs in Central America is not new, there has been exceptional growth in them over the last two decades.²⁷ One of the reasons for this growth is a change in United States policy. In 1996, the *Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act* called for the repatriation of non-US citizens who had been sentenced to one year or more in prison.²⁸ Over 46,000 convicts were repatriated to Central America between 1998 and 2005, with El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras receiving 90% of these people, many of whom had been members of gangs in the United States.²⁹

In order to understand the security concerns that are attributed to the growth of gated communities, one must also touch briefly on drug trafficking. In Central America, there is evidence not only of gang involvement with drug trafficking, but also “towards more violent behaviour patterns.”³⁰ Trafficking from South America towards Mexico and farther north passes

²⁶ Gabriela Torres, “Imagining Social Justice amidst Guatemala’s Post-Conflict Violence,” *Studies in Social Justice*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2008), pp. 1-11; Alisa Winton, “Young people’s views on how to tackle gang violence in “post-conflict” Guatemala,” *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol.16, No. 2 (2004), pp.83-99; Ana Arana, “How the Street Gangs Took Central America,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (2005) pp. 98-110; Tom Diaz, *No Boundaries: Transnational Latino Gangs and American Law Enforcement*. (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2009); Dennis Rodgers, and Robert Muggah, “Gangs as non-state armed groups,” *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2009), pp. 301- 317.

²⁷ Rodgers and Muggah, “Gangs as non-state armed groups,” p. 303. These authors also note that despite this statement, there is little reliable information to quantify the growth of gang activity in Central America.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Oliver Jutersonke, Robert Muggah, and Dennis Rodgers, “Gangs, Urban Violence and Security Interventions in Central America,” *Security Dialogue, Special Edition on Urban Insecurities*, Vol. 40, No. 4-5 (2009), p. 381. These authors cite the following authors in making this claim: (Aguilar, 2006; International Human Rights Clinic, 2007; Rodgers, 2006a, 2007b; Rocha, 2007a).

directly through Central America, where drug cartels work to secure the passage of drugs and other illicit goods.³¹

At first glance, the relationship between gated community development and rising crime would seem to support the existing literature that links security concerns with the growth of gated community development in Central America. Yet the lack of research on gated communities in Central America means that there is little actual evidence to support this claim.

This is not the first time that Central America has been passed over: this region was overlooked by the international and academic communities until the profound eruption of violence in the 1970's.³² Due to the high level of violence, academic literature and international discourse has subsequently focused excessively on this factor at the expense of other economic and social issues.

Turning to gated communities more generally, there is a broad body of literature on their development throughout the world. Literature following this trend emerged in the 1990's to shadow the movement that was changing the urban landscape.³³ Two prominent scholars, Setha M. Low, who focuses on South Africa and the United States, and Teresa Caldeira who studies Brazil, discuss the growth of gated communities in relation to crime, fear and segregation. South Africa, in particular, is a hub for gated communities and associated research, and scholars have written on many topics, including eco-estates, suburban fear, the role of the media and

³¹ It is important to note, however, that gang activity is not simply related to economic gains, but rather to larger societal issues including "exclusion and spatial segregation." Jutersonke, Muggah, & Rodgers, "Gangs, Urban Violence and Security Interventions," p. 381.

³² David T. Mason, "The Civil War in El Salvador: A Retrospective Analysis," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1999), p. 180.

³³ Roitman, "Gated communities: definitions," p. 31.

exclusivity.³⁴ There is also extensive research on gated communities in the United States, notably on trends in Los Angeles and Las Vegas.³⁵

The majority of the research on gated communities is qualitative in nature.³⁶ Scholars often underline the importance of local explanations in the emergence and proliferation of gated communities,³⁷ which “provide indigenous rationales and help to shape the extent, form and function of private enclaves”.³⁸ This is perhaps a reason why quantitative measures are largely absent in the literature. In addition, empirical evidence from representative samples of gated communities is extremely difficult to obtain.³⁹

³⁴ Richard Ballard and Gareth Jones, “Natural Neighbours: Indigenous Landscapes and Eco-estates in Durban, South Africa,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 101, No.1 (2010), pp. 131-148; Durlington, “Suburban Fear,” pp. 71-88; Lemanski, “Residential Responses to Fear”, pp. 787-802; Benjamin Roberts, “Age of Hope or Anxiety? Dynamics of the fear of crime in South Africa,” *HSRC Policy Brief, Human Sciences Research Council*, (2009) pp. 1-12.

³⁵ Mike Davis, *City of quartz: excavating the future of Los Angeles*, (London, New York: Verso, 2006); Mike Davis, “How Eden Lost its Garden: A Political History of the L.A. Landscape,” *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1995), pp. 1-29; Evan McKenzie, “Constructing the *Pomerian* in Las Vegas: A Case Study in Emerging Trends in Gated Communities,” *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), pp. 187-203. While I compiled this list of authors looking at gated communities, Graham and Marvin (2001) use the following literature in their summary from the 1990’s: “North America (Zaner, 1997), Istanbul (Sandercock, 1998a), Mumbai(Bombay) and Delhi (Masselos, 1995; King, 1998), Jakarta (Dick and Rimmer, 1998), Johannesburg (Lipman and Harris, 1999), Manila (Connell, 1999), Shanghai (C. Smith, 1999), Tokyo (Waley, 2000) and Sao Paulo (Caldeira, 1996, 1999).” Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 271.

³⁶ To name a few, the following authors completed detailed field research and in their studies: Lemanski, “Residential Responses to Fear,” pp. 787-802; Angela Giglia, “Gated Communities in Mexico City,” *Home Cultures*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2008), pp. 65-84; Theresa Kenna, “Fortress Australia? (In)security and private governance in a gated residential estate,” *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2010), pp. 431-446; Nora Libertun de Duren, “Planning a la Carte: The Location Patterns of Gated Communities around Buenos Aires in a Decentralized Planning Context,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2006), pp. 308-327; Roitman, “Who Segregates Whom?,” pp. 303-321; Gillad Rosen and Eran Razin, “The Rise of Gated Communities in Israel: Reflections on Changing Urban Governance in a Neo-Liberal Era,” *Urban Studies*, Vo.. 46, No. 8 (2009), pp. 1702-1722.

³⁷ Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 792.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 772.

³⁹ Renaud Le Goix, “Gated Communities: Sprawl and Social Segregation in Southern California,” *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), p. 324.

This literature, which debates the impact of globalization and spatial segregation,⁴⁰ posits that there are three arguments that explain the formation of gated communities and act as motivations that drive people to seek shelter within their walls. The first argument is the already mentioned “security argument”, which centres on security demands, stemming from an increase in crime levels and weak law enforcement. Quite simply, people no longer feel safe living in isolated houses and think that a community surrounded by walls and other security measures will protect them. Weak governance is often cited in this argument, wherein the state cannot adequately guarantee secure living conditions for its citizens.⁴¹ Because most scholars agree that modern-day violence is a prominent issue in Central America, it is not surprising that security has been cited as the main cause of gated community development in this region.⁴²

The second argument is based upon a neo-liberal economic model, which focuses on the privatization of urban space. This model describes how the changes in the 1980’s led the private sector to play a more dominant role in urban development, which contributed to a prioritization of those who could afford private vehicles and the homogenization of city spaces.⁴³ Some definitions of gated communities use the privatization of public spaces as part of their central

⁴⁰ Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” p. 127. NOTE: Klafus references the following authors in making the claim that there has been broad debate on globalization and spatial segregation: “Caldeira, T (2000), *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in São Paulo*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 487 pages; also Lima, J (2001), “Sociospatial segregation and urban form: Belém at the end of the 1990s”, *Geoforum* Vol 32, pages 493–507; Coy, M and M Pöhler (2002), “Gated communities in Latin American megacities: case studies in Brazil and Argentina”, *Environment and Planning B* Vol 29, pages 355–370; Aguilar, A and P Ward (2003), “Globalization, regional development and mega-city expansion in Latin America: analyzing Mexico City’s peri-urban hinterland”, *Cities* Vol 20, pages 3–21; Fortín-Magaña, G (2003), “Low-income housing in El Salvador”, *ReVista Harvard Review of Latin America*, Winter; Rodgers, D (2004), “‘Disembedding’ the city: crime, insecurity and spatial organization in Managua, Nicaragua”, *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 16, No 2, October, pages 113–123; and Baires, S (2006), “Los barrios cerrados en el AMSS: una nueva forma de segregación residencial en la era de la globalización,” *Revista ILA*.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴² Teresa P. R. Caldeira, *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. 53.

⁴³ Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” 127.

tenet.⁴⁴ New development projects designed their plans for a population with ready access to vehicles; road networks were upgraded in a biased way to improve conditions and routes for the wealthier communities.⁴⁵ This argument will be referred to the “neo-liberal argument”.

The third argument delves into the social aspect of status symbols, including prestige and lifestyle preferences in the development of gated communities.⁴⁶ This argument posits that gated community developments cater to upper-income residents and boast social status, exclusivity and socioeconomic homogeneity as part of their “re-fashioning” of local urban demands.⁴⁷ Leisure, “privacy, nature and pleasure” are all integral parts of social status, and marketing campaigns cite these as benefits of their gated communities on billboards and electronic advertising.⁴⁸ This argument, which focuses on North American examples, began in the 1990’s and will be referred to as the “elite argument”.⁴⁹

Despite these separate arguments, one alone cannot account for the development of gated communities. Interview responses from this research often identified more than one argument in their choice to live in a gated community. In addition, the literature supports the increasing importance of the neo-liberal and elite arguments across the globe, in combination with and separately from the security argument. This thesis demonstrates how these three arguments are mutually reinforcing.

The growth of gated communities in Guatemala City, as in many other Latin American cities, is a recent phenomenon. The academic literature is therefore lacking. Literature that does

⁴⁴ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 323.

⁴⁵ Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” p. 127.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127; and Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 772. Note: Genis separates lifestyle and prestige gated communities into two separate categories.

⁴⁷ Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” pp. 771-772.

⁴⁸ Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” p. 128.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128. This model identifying three types of gated communities is also supported by: Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 325.

exist is often comparative in nature and focuses on the importance of security, notably in South Africa and the United States.⁵⁰

In relation to Latin America, research centres on Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico,⁵¹ while the countries in Central America have been neglected despite the growth of gated communities in these states. References to Central America are only found in a few academic articles that discuss the following topics: the relationship between remittances and gated communities in El Salvador and Guatemalan intermediate cities; changes in inequality and migration between two neighbourhoods in Guatemala City between 1960 and 2005; the growth of gated communities due to crime and insecurity in Nicaragua; and the development of gated communities in Guatemala during and immediately after the civil war.⁵² So far, only one forward-thinking scholar who discusses Guatemala in a larger context acknowledges that a multiplicity of factors may have had an impact in the extensive gating over the last twenty years.⁵³ Further investigation is therefore desperately needed.

Not only is there a lack of research on Guatemala, but the broader study of gated communities has not adequately examined link between the rapid growth of gated communities and the “lack of human and financial resources faced by governments, and local governments in

⁵⁰ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, p. 178; Charlotte Lemanski, Karina Landmana and Matthew Durlington, “Divergent and Similar Experiences of ‘Gating’ in South Africa: Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown,” *Urban Forum*, Vol. 19 (2008). *Springer Science and Business Media*, p. 133.

⁵¹ Libertun de Duren, “Planning a la Carte”, pp. 308-327; Roitman, “Gated communities: definitions,” pp. 31-38; Roitman, “Who Segregates Whom?” pp. 303-321; Leonie Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus: A Political Economy of Urban Fears* in J. Hillier and E. Rooksby *Habitus: A sense of Place* (London: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 203-218; Jacquelyn Chase, “Their Space: Security and Service Workers in a Brazilian Gated Community,” *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (2008), pp. 476-495; Enrique Desmond Arias, “Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 38 (2006), pp. 293-325; Giglia, “Gated Communities in Mexico City,” pp. 65-84.

⁵² Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” p. 135; Bryan R. Roberts, “Moving On and Moving Back: Rethinking Inequality and Migration in the Latin American City,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 42 (2010), p. 603; Dennis Rodgers, ““Disembedding” the city: crime, insecurity and spatial organization in Managua, Nicaragua,” *Environment & Urbanization*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2004) pp. 113-124; Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*.

⁵³ Klafus, “Watching the city grow,” p. 128.

particular.”⁵⁴ The literature has also failed to account for the changing realm of public and private spaces implicit in gated communities, as well as the role of the state in their management.⁵⁵ Finally, academic discourse does not adequately address the connection between globalization and local environments within and surrounding gated communities, as well as the “role of political economic actors in facilitating the[ir] spread”.⁵⁶ This thesis seeks to fill the gaps by examining both a neglected territory and subject.

While governance is a prominent theme in gated community literature, its nature in their development is underexplored. This thesis describes how weak governance contributes to conditions that support the development of gated communities. Through specific examples, such as the role of private security in gated communities, it also demonstrates how gated communities contribute to a lack of state control in areas such as failing to provide equal security for all residents. Gated communities are portrayed both a result of and a contributing factor to weak governance, resulting in a weak governance feedback loop.

Methodology

Like most other research in this field, this study undertakes a qualitative approach. Its conclusions are primarily based on twelve interviews with twenty people in both English and Spanish held in Guatemala City in June 2012.⁵⁷ This study also benefited greatly from the work of a research assistant in Guatemala City who set up interviews and conducted preliminary visits to the Central American General Archives, the National Geographic Institute, the National

⁵⁴ Roitman, “Gated communities: definitions,” p. 34.

⁵⁵ Judit Bodnar and Virag Molnar, “Reconfiguring Private and Public: State, Capital and New Housing Developments Berlin and Budapest,” *Urban Studies*, Vol. 47, No.2 (2009), p. 809.

⁵⁶ Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 792.

⁵⁷ Within the city, eight interviews took place in interviewees’ residences, three took place in a hostel and one took place in a coffee shop.

Institute of Statistics, City Hall, the CIRMA Mesoamerican Regional Centre for Investigation and the San Carlos University library.

Due to the security situation, going door-to-door to conduct interviews was not an option, nor was calling people one did not know. Indeed, interviewees living in gated communities and outside of them stated that they would neither open the door to respond to a doorbell if they were not expecting someone nor would they answer the telephone if they did not recognize the number. While this may seem unexpected, it should not be considering their past experiences and stories of extortion and home invasions resulting from such actions that will be discussed in due time.

Interviewees were selected using the snowballing technique. Each interview lasted for approximately one hour. Twelve interviewees lived in gated communities or had previously lived in gated communities; eight lived outside of gated communities. Some interviewees were more comfortable being interviewed together with another person, which accounts for the variance in numbers. While I asked to visit all interviewees in their homes, some people were more comfortable meeting in another location, such as a friend's house or a coffee shop. Interviewees lived in zones ten, eleven, twelve, fifteen, sixteen as well as the surrounding suburbs of Villa Nueva (west of the city) and Mixco (south of the city).

I also conducted informal interviews with people in Guatemala, Canada, Mexico and Haiti who had knowledge and experience relating to Guatemala, including Canadian public servants and former Guatemalan residents, in order to gain additional background information and insight into the situation. Interviewees were not randomly selected –this was not a

possibility –so sampling bias is unfortunately a shortcoming of this research.⁵⁸ While qualitative research cannot be used to generalize to other populations or employed for future projections, it looks at local circumstances within historical and cultural environments and “can still transfer and be useful in other settings, populations, or circumstances” through extrapolations, “transferability” and “naturalistic generalization.”⁵⁹ In this way, this qualitative research can resonate with many individuals and settings despite being based on data from one sole population.⁶⁰ The interview responses in this thesis stand as either examples of similar responses or of specific illustrations that reveal a particular point.⁶¹

In terms of the interviews themselves, they were based on a list of questions that I developed for residents of gated communities and a different, yet similar, list of questions for residents who lived outside of gated communities. These questions are found in Appendix 2. The goal of these questions was to help me determine the degree to which weak governance, social status and security concerns play a role in the development of, and choice to live in, gated communities. These questions also provided indicators of the public-private relationships that exist in gated communities. While I brought this list to all of the interviews, each interview evolved naturally and eventually reflected a more informal style.

Some questions, such as any questions based on financial information, did not end up being appropriate. People were not comfortable discussing this information. In addition, questions on

⁵⁸ Since random selection is a key element in controlling the dynamics of any investigation, without it a causal relationship cannot be ascertained, such as would be the case with quantitative research and statistical generalization. Jonathon W. Moses and Torbjorn Knutsen, *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 56-58.

⁵⁹ Sarah J. Tracey, “Qualitative Quality: Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research,” *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No. 10 (2010), p. 845. Note: this is part of Tracey’s explanation of eight best practices in qualitative research, which are: “(a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigor, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence.” p. 837.

⁶⁰ Tracey, “Qualitative Quality,” p. 845.

⁶¹ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 54. Style of interview quotation adapted from Caldeira’s style.

corruption and the civil war were met with stunned reactions and advice that such questions should not be asked for both my own safety and the reluctance of people to discuss these topics. One interview ended as soon as I raised these topics, although I believe this was partly related to the interviewee's experience with a recent home invasion.

At the beginning of each interview, I explained orally about the voluntary and confidential nature of the interviews and that we could stop at any time. I also explained the nature of my research. I did not complete written consent forms, obtaining verbal consent instead, given that the security situation was not conducive to it. First of all, it could have been a problem if I were stopped by the police or robbed of my work because the nature of the questions on the civil war, police corruption and violence are very sensitive. In addition, it is doubtful that any interviewees would have agreed to sign a consent form. With this in mind, the verbal explanation and ascertaining of consent was used to uphold the procedural ethics to “do no harm, avoid deception, negotiate informed consent, and ensure privacy and confidentiality.”⁶² I charted the gated communities where I conducted interviews on a city map in order to visually capture their locations, which is located in Appendix 3. This is necessary because mapping has been successful in visually illustrating information in other studies in Central America.⁶³

Theory

In order to help unravel the development of gated communities in Guatemala City, this thesis looks at fear and the spatial connections to violence as outlined by Nigel Thrift, Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. For the application of this concept, this thesis draws from the

⁶² Tracey, “Qualitative Quality,” p. 847.

⁶³ For instance, using geographic information systems (GIS) of the state-led massacres that took place during the civil conflict in Guatemala, it was possible to conclude that the massacres were not random and that they occurred in predominately Mayan regions of Guatemala. Steinberg, Height, Rosemary, and Bampton, “Mapping massacres,” p. 67.

works of Leonie Sandercock and Teresa Caldeira in their studies of gated communities in Sao Paulo, expanding on their model by discussing capitalist influences on the construction and direction of urban development as described through neo-liberalism and the work of Henri Lefebvre.

The application of this model is complementary to the responses of interviewees and helps to explain the interplay of factors arising from weak governance, namely an unequal division of public spaces and reduced government responsibility coupled with rising fears of residents. This, of course, has led to a more fragmented urban environment. This theoretical approach also links together the security, neo-liberal and elite arguments, underscoring the interconnections between these perspectives and the ever presence of weak governance. An examination of gated communities, in turn, reveals a certain way of understanding these arguments. This ideological approach also aids in understanding the security argument of gated communities, which helps in to determine whether it is appropriate for the case of Guatemala City.

Overall, this study adds to the growing body of literature on gated communities in three ways. First, it lays the groundwork needed to fill the gap that currently exists in Central America by understanding a case study on Guatemala City. Second, it calls into question the merits of the security argument of gated communities in this region, which has larger implications for this field. Third, it expands upon the underexplored relationship between the nature of private-public space and unveils weak governance as a dominant player in the development of gated communities.

Chapter one provides the historical background of gated community development of Guatemala City by examining the impact of migration, population expansion and the civil war. Chapter two uses theoretical concepts to explain the connections between weak governance, the loss of public space, and the fear of crime in people's choice to live in gated communities. Chapter three discusses the division between public and private space by exploring police access to gated communities and the role of private security in responding to crimes. Chapter four centres on the role of other factors, such as wealth, class, elitism and weak governance, in the development of gated communities. The thesis concludes the security argument is in part appropriate for application in the study of gated communities in Guatemala City; however, other arguments and competing factors related to weak governance, social status and the lack of regulation of commercial activity also play a key role in the development of gated communities and must be considered as well.

Chapter 1: Historical Background and Gated Community Development

This chapter explores the historical background of Guatemala City's urban expansion, which includes the development of gated communities. It also touches upon the civil war, crime and the security features of gated communities. It asks how the violence and other events of the twentieth century, including the civil war, impacted both the creation of gated communities and how people understand them. It argues that migration, increasing population density, and violence all contributed to the rise of gated communities in Guatemala City.

Migration and Population Expansion

Between 1821 (the year of Guatemala's independence from Spain) and 1900, the population of Guatemala City exploded from 40,000 to 100,000.⁶⁴ Today, Guatemala City's metropolitan area is estimated to contain three million of the over thirteen million people in the country.⁶⁵ The rapid growth of this city highlights a global trend: the increase of urbanization that has resulted in this being referred to as the 'urban century.'⁶⁶ Urbanization has been accompanied by many problems, including violence, which have been growing quickly within large, densely populated areas.⁶⁷ The growth of security concerns that accompanied urbanization is a persistent factor in the period leading up to the vast development of gated communities in urban areas.

⁶⁴ Marroquin, "City Profile: Guatemala City," p. 204.

⁶⁵ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 31.

⁶⁶ Stephen Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2010), pp 1-2 and Allen J. Scott, "Globalization and the Rise of City-regions," *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (2001), p. 813.

⁶⁷ Elena Lucchi, "Between war and peace: humanitarian assistance in violent urban settings," *Disasters*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2010), p. 973.

Metropolitan Guatemala includes Guatemala City and the surrounding municipalities, such as Mixco and Villa Nueva.⁶⁸ It is essential to remember that the physical lines of the city are blurred within the larger metropolis of Guatemala that surrounds the city centre. This highlights another global trend in which the expansion of urban areas have occurred to the extent that physical markers and ideas that define a city no longer exist; “we can no longer even agree on what counts a city.”⁶⁹

The urbanization of Guatemala City is tied to migration from the country side and natural disasters. Due to earthquakes, Guatemala City has been destroyed and rebuilt many times.⁷⁰ In 1917-1918, an earthquake devastated the city, leading to a new stage of growth and development, which included the construction of monuments under the rule of President Jorge Ubico, who was then ousted in 1944.⁷¹ Changes in economic policies led to the growth of migration from the countryside by people who were either searching for jobs, fleeing from violence, or escaping damage from earthquakes.⁷² This migratory trend triggered a concentration in the population in Guatemala City, which was further increased with the political turmoil in the 1970s and 1980s, as more people moved from rural to urban areas or out of the country. All of this has led to both high demands for services and high unemployment rates in the city.⁷³

Guatemala City is organized into over twenty zones, which spiral in a counter-clockwise direction out from the centre. The most modern expansion occurs towards the southern and westerly fronts,⁷⁴ while the zones themselves follow the normal layout of many Spanish colonial

⁶⁸ Godoy-Paiz, “Women in Guatemala’s Metropolitan Area,” p. 31.

⁶⁹ Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), p. 1.

⁷⁰ Marroquin, “City Profile: Guatemala City,” p. 203.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Roberts, “Moving On and Moving Back,” p. 605.

cities: the roads follow north-south and east-west accesses.⁷⁵ Each zone contains a square grid of streets and avenues, and addresses are listed with this information, followed by a dash and another number indicating how many meters the destination is away from the closest intersection.

This method makes finding one's way around the city very easy; however, this process is impeded by the physical barriers of the city. For example, the partially-completed highway circulating through the rich zones of the city to connect gated communities⁷⁶ called the Anillo Periférico and a trans-metro line (the 'safer' bussing option) which only runs through the economic and central business districts cut through the city.⁷⁷ The expansion of these kinds of developments "in recent years...has been characterized by considerable horizontal expansion, with peripheral commercial sub-centres, an inefficient public transport system, proliferating precarious settlements, a free market economy and a decrease in State attention to housing needs."⁷⁸

In addition to man-made barriers, Guatemala City is in a mountainous area with many natural barriers, such as large ravines or '*barrancos*'. Some of these ravines have become home to immigrants from the countryside who have illegally moved to the city and built unsafe houses along the steep slopes. Not only are these houses exposed to the elements and subject to dangerous mudslides, but also the residents do not have access to health care or education given that they are not 'legal' residents of Guatemala City. The most famous ravine dwellings are

⁷⁵ Marroquin, "City Profile: Guatemala City," p. 203.

⁷⁶ Roberts, "Moving On and Moving Back," p. 604.

⁷⁷ See Appendix 3: Map of Interview Locations

⁷⁸ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 32.

found in *La Limonada*, a community that exists outside of the high walls of the surrounding gated communities.

Guatemala City has expanded rapidly over the last century. In the 1960's and 1970's, distinct residential areas and communities known as '*colonias*' were present throughout the city. Today, they exist as gated communities. For photos of a map from 1965, refer to Appendix 4. These *colonias* now contain a variety of houses and apartment buildings as well as an array of residents. As the population grew and the security situation worsened in the city, some residents decided to take matters into their own hands and close off the community, turning the *colonias* into gated communities.

While some gating took place both during, and at the end of, the civil war, much more gating has taken place within the last twenty years. For example, the gated community of El Carmen in zone twelve was originally built in an open area. It was designed as a community without gates. Later, however, a neighbourhood committee came together and made the decision to close the community due to security concerns. With already existing public services and amenities, they built new physical barriers, and hired security guards to protect them and to liaise with the national police on any issues. While the City of Guatemala takes care of maintenance related to public services, such as the replacement of street lights, the neighbourhood committee is responsible for all other maintenance, including filling pot holes and any other road repairs. Prior to closing El Carmen, there were some public spaces, which allowed for access to open areas. Now, however, it is not possible to access or cross the community unless one is a resident or a visitor of a resident. Residents have identification on their windshields as well as an access card, and visitors must provide the name and address of the house that they wish to visit. The

closing of these old neighbourhoods in response to security concerns appears to support the security argument of gated communities, as ascribed generally to Latin America.

The civil war in Guatemala has also affected the development of gated communities. This civil war was the longest in Latin American history,⁷⁹ lasting for thirty-six years with periods of greater and lesser intensity.⁸⁰ It led to over 200,000 fatalities⁸¹ and displaced 1.5 million people.⁸² Following the end of the civil war in 1996, violence in Guatemala moved progressively to urban areas, and Guatemala City and its surrounding suburbs have become some of the most violent areas.⁸³

Many scholars argue that this present violence is a continuation of the violence from the civil war.⁸⁴ At the same time, the perpetuation of socio-economic inequalities, such as high levels of poverty and impunity, have also contributed as underlying conditions that lead to violence.⁸⁵ Since most literature on violence during the civil war as well as post-war impacts of violence focuses on rural areas, urban areas like Guatemala City suffer from a lack of data and research for post-civil war comparisons.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, this project was not able to explore the actual causes of violence because most interviewees were reluctant to discuss the civil war due to perceived concerns for their own safety.

⁷⁹Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Guatemala in the Global System," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2000), p. 109. Also in: Poppema, "Guatemala, the Peace Accords and education," (2009), p.385.

⁸⁰David Kincaid, "Demilitarization and Security in El Salvador and Guatemala: Convergences of Success and Crisis," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2000), p. 47.

⁸¹ Charles Brockett, "An Illusion of Omnipotence: U.S. Policy Towards Guatemala, 1954-1960," *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2002), p.92. Also see: Nazih Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings: Explaining Criminal Violence in El Salvador and Guatemala," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2010), p. 432.

⁸² Manz, "Continuum of Violence," p 152.

⁸³ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 30.

⁸⁴ Manz, "Continuum of Violence," 151-164; McNeish and Rivera, "Ugly Poetics of Violence," pp. 49-77; Godoy, "Lynchings and Democratization," pp. 640-661; Steinberg, Height, Rosemary, and Bampton, "Mapping massacres," pp. 62-68; Lofving, "Paramilitaries of the Empire," pp. 156-161; Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*.

⁸⁵ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 29.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Of the interviewees who were willing to discuss their opinions on the civil war and its potential impact on either the development of gated communities or a resident's choice to live in a gated community, one woman who was not a resident of a gated community stated that she did not believe that the war had anything to do with gated communities or their development. She noted that many people fled the country towards Mexico, while others moved to Guatemala City. If they relocated to the city, however, she believed it was more in search of employment or education. She thought that the phenomenon of gating in general is related directly to the high crime rate in the city. While she spoke briefly about the involvement of military in crimes and business during the war (as well as training from the United States), she would not delve into the topic in an in-depth manner because she believed that it was sensitive and dangerous information.

Another interviewee, who was a resident of a gated community, only briefly commented that the war was a cause of internally displaced persons. He too shared the opinion that people who chose to relocate to Guatemala City were primarily motivated by employment opportunities. Another woman who was also a resident of a gated community simply stated that changes in city housing patterns were not associated with the war, but rather with new crime and narco-traffickers.

The only person who was willing to discuss the civil war in depth was the Guatemalan professor whom I interviewed in Haiti. On the topic of potential links between the civil war and gated community growth, he believes that it is unlikely a direct link; however, he did concede that there could be indirect connections. For instance, a larger number of guns and weapons in Guatemala from the civil war have likely impacted the availability of tools of violence. Moreover, one must consider the psychological effects of the militarization of society,

specifically the fear of violence from authority figures such as the police and the military. Finally, one must also take into account corruption. His points are supported by the literature that links continued government repression against citizens, military authority, and impunity to the population's mistrust of the government.⁸⁷

The professor also believed that the new forms of crime and violence related to gangs and drugs are an important part of the current security situation in Guatemala and the broader region. These factors must be considered when looking at the gated communities that have developed in relation to security concerns. New gated communities are constructed to appease both security requirements and the economic elitism wanted by the clientele. While he agreed that there was little research on this topic in Guatemala, he noted that neighbouring Belize has suffered perhaps more from the lack of attention from the international community because it did not have the 'benefit' of a three and a half decade long war to attract attention.

Gated Community Development

The research in this thesis supports the prevailing academic discourse on the encroachment on public space as well as the pervasiveness of weak governance. In order to contribute to a better understanding of urbanization, social segregation, violence and the loss of public spaces in Guatemala as a result of this process, Mario Alfonso Bravo Soto reviewed theory and statistics between 1944 and 2002 and discussed his findings with a working group at the Centre of Urban and Regional Studies at the San Carlos University in Guatemala City.⁸⁸ While his study lacks qualitative field research, Bravo Soto lists seven reasons that explain the growth gated communities in Guatemala:

⁸⁷ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 42.

⁸⁸ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, p. 46.

- “a) segregation tendencies (derived from historic, economic, socio-political and cultural factors in the case of Guatemala);
- b) In the last four decades, the increase in insecurity and urban violence and the incapacity of the State to assure certain services considered basic, such as citizen security;
- c) The progressive disappearance in the city of the feeling of community;
- d) The increase in social inequalities and the increase in the disparity between poor and rich, coupled with the desire for status and a certain homogeneity on the part of some social groups;
- e) The desire and ability to have more contact with nature or that of a ‘different lifestyle’;
- f) Momentum, on the part of urban developers, for a new residential ‘mode’, influenced by the ‘American way of life’, which they find highly profitable, and;
- g) In the specific case of Guatemala, the isolation of vehicle traffic...”⁸⁹

Bravo Soto outlines a broad array of reasons for the growth of gated communities in Guatemala and argues that the primary motivation in many cases is either a fear of being a victim of violence or relates to the rise of social inequalities due to neoliberal processes and globalization.⁹⁰ Bravo Soto postulates that gated communities are a cause of segregation in Guatemala: they impede and change patterns of movement, creating dangerous circumstances in new circulation patterns for both pedestrians and vehicles, which also creates more congestion.⁹¹ When this occurs, gated communities “represent an extreme manifestation of the social segregation process and fragmentation of the traditional city.”⁹²

The three most evident negative effects of gated communities in Guatemala are the fragmentation of urban space, the restriction and re-allocation of previously public space, and the radical modification in the use of land for real estate in order to make profitable urban

⁸⁹ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, pp. 179-180. There is also a graphic depicting these factors on page 182.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁹² *Ibid.*

development.⁹³ While Bravo Soto acknowledges three positive effects of gated communities in city peripheries as identified by Roitman⁹⁴ –the facilitation of infrastructure, job creation, and the development of the construction industry –he maintains that the majority of the benefits of gated communities are reserved for their residents, urban developers, and those who use poorer city residents as a labour source.⁹⁵

While his research lack specificity, and more important, field research, Bravo Soto provides an important starting point (even if it is a decade old) to examine the development of wealthier gated communities. This research is a much needed follow-up to Bravo Soto. While it supports many of Bravo Soto’s conclusions, it also eliminates other factors as primary reasons in the nature of gated community development in Guatemala City.

Cities represent a concentrated demand for basic services related to water and energy.⁹⁶ Within the first few interviews, it was apparent that interviewees agreed that virtually all residents of Guatemala City have access to running water and electricity. Furthermore, their rates for payment are based on their specific neighbourhood and zone in the city. As such, access to these two basic services is likely not a primary reason in the choice of where to live, even if it does play a small part in financial considerations. This calls into question academic sources that claim over half of the population in metropolitan Guatemala is poor and approximately one third of them live in unstable settlements without basic amenities, such as

⁹³ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, p. 202.

⁹⁴ Roitman, “Who Segregates Whom?,” p. 306. Roitman states: “There is a debate in the literature about whether urban social segregation is a positive or negative phenomenon or whether it has advantages or disadvantages. According to some scholars (Blauw, 1991; Greenstein et al., 2000), it might be considered a good phenomenon as it preserves customs and lifestyles and strengthens social and identity ties through the development of nets of reciprocity and help. Furthermore, in the case of minority groups, spatial concentration can provide a better position to defend their interests and have more power, electoral influence being one obvious example.”

⁹⁵ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, p. 206.

⁹⁶ Graham and Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism*, p. 13.

running water and sewage systems.⁹⁷ More extensive research, however, is needed to substantiate this.

Since no interviews took place in the city slums, it is possible that interviewees were not aware of the living conditions present in all neighbourhoods of the city. The obvious exception identified in interviews is *La Limonada*, which is not only the largest slum in Central America, but it is the largest in Latin America outside of Brazil. Located in the centre of the city, it primarily straddles zones one and five. The extreme difference in living conditions can also be seen along the steep cliffs dividing zone five and neighbouring wealthy zones fifteen and seventeen.⁹⁸

New public transport systems have had a profound impact on urbanization patterns. In many cases, planned or recently constructed developments envisioned by entrepreneurs have influenced the routes of public bus systems. Transit routes are constructed or rerouted towards gated communities instead of other neighbourhoods. This, in turn, has become an important force in housing trends.⁹⁹ When this occurs, private real estate interests and not public interests lead the decision-making process for public transit routes, which takes this decision-making power away from the government.

Security Measures and Crime

Many gated communities are big, old and not homogeneous in the income and preferences of the residents. Therefore, while a neighbourhood committee may form and take care of upkeep and security, there is no way to force all members of the community to contribute

⁹⁷ Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," p. 32.

⁹⁸ While the connection of zones may sound odd at first, it actually corresponds to the circular layout of the city.

⁹⁹ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 221.

financially to these costs. It is very common to see gated communities within gated communities or apartment complexes and individual homes that have their own security measures within gated communities. Common security measures to both homes inside and outside of gated communities include gates and walls, barbed and razor wire, broken glass on top of the walls, electronic alarm systems, guard dogs (which are simply pets in many cases) and even natural cover, such as plants. While lower-income gated communities did not have security offered through technology, such as cameras for surveillance, this was a common feature of middle and high-income gated communities.

Within gated communities, those choosing to pay for private security systems and patrols put stickers on their homes to let potential invaders know that they have paid for this extra service (while their neighbours may not have). Many gated communities have armed guards at the entrances as well as armed patrols on the premises. Although such features support the security argument of gated communities, it takes it to a new level: people are not only choosing to live in gated communities, but also fortifying their own homes, creating layer upon layer of physical barriers between themselves and their neighbours.

While I did not witness any crimes during my visits to Guatemala City, between two interviews when I was leaving a coffee shop in zone eleven, a well-dressed man wearing a clean white dress shirt and jeans approached me in the parking lot. It was dusk. He stated that he had been robbed at gun point and they took everything he had. He asked for 15 quetzales so he could get home. If it was a scam, the fact that pretending to be robbed is a way for panhandlers to get money shows the prevalence of robbery in Guatemala City. I gave him the money and then walked quickly to the next interview location.

One interview included four sisters who had moved to Guatemala City from San Marcos in search of work. They had all found employment in various service industries as cooks and cleaners. When asked about gated communities, they said that they had not really thought about them before, that they were just part of life, and that they were neither good nor bad. Comparing their urban and rural lives, they said that there were fewer security features on the houses in rural areas: most people in the country only choose to have a dog and a small fence around the yard. The big electric and barbed wire fences were not needed because all of the neighbours knew each other and a profound feeling of community existed. Another interviewee who did not live inside a gated community said that she knew everyone in her neighbourhood and that there is a real sense of community. She follows local news via word of mouth and knows who does what, who has which dog. She said that she knew “everything about everyone,” including who was the victim of crime.

Vigilantism, on the other hand, thrived in the country because the police “have forgotten” about people who live in rural areas so the residents have to take care of themselves. According to the sisters, “the police do not care about our poor area where we lived and would not come even if we called.” When a crime takes place, such as a robbery, the community will find the person who did it and burn him. This type of vigilante response is common. They also commented that the roads are in bad condition and that the mayor does very little except keep the tax money and spend it himself.

Most interviewees agreed that crimes take place both inside and outside of gated communities. However, almost all of them believed that crimes are more common outside of gated communities so the residents of gated communities feel that they have a security

advantage. Whether true or not, they also had a distinct impression of a less secure world outside of their walls.

When asked about specific incidences of crime, everyone living outside of gated communities was able to list recent crimes. The most common crimes are robberies of goods, such as cell phones and cars, and extortion where people call a house or slip papers under doors with threats and demand money. Many interviewees had firsthand experience with more violent crimes, such as robberies at gunpoint and assaults on public transport. The son of one resident who did not live in a gated community was actually shot in the street in their neighbourhood as part of a robbery.

While one resident of a gated community had recently suffered an armed home robbery while she was at home, most residents of gated communities at times were not aware of any crimes that took place in their gated community. They only knew of crimes that occurred outside the walls and, unlike non-gated community residents, these people did not know their neighbours. One gated community resident admitted to not knowing any of his neighbours and another said that she only knew a few neighbours that she had met in church. In gated communities, the lack of neighbourly interactions leads to a lack of communication. A lack of knowledge of crime, however, is not necessarily an accurate measure of crime inside of gated communities.

This chapter explored the history of Guatemala City's development and migration, including the potential indirect influences from the civil war on gated communities. The issue of encroachment into public space was also introduced. From this information, it is clear that the security argument should continue to be applied to the development of gated communities in this

region. Yet it is only part of the explanation. Based on evidence of fear, segregation, traffic patterns, social inequalities, desires for wealth and social status as well as the influence from private real estate, one must also consider other explanations found in the neo-liberal and elitist arguments of gated community development.

Chapter 2: Security and Fear

Gated communities present a multifaceted problem that requires the examination of numerous different factors in order to understand their development. This chapter situates urban and security discourses alongside each other, combining urban theories treating urbanization, development, and fear¹⁰⁰ in order to explore how gated communities encroach on public spaces and how they are developed due to fear and the desires for wealth and social status. Due to these factors, people with financial means segregate themselves. Fear can be a factor in each of the three arguments, security, neo-liberal and elite, and links them together in the context of gated communities. The examination of gated communities through theoretical perspectives, in turn, aids in the understanding of social spaces within urban settings.

If we begin by framing the development of gated communities in the context of security discourse, we can readily see that gated communities are believed to provide residents with protection from crime and violence, which serves to ease their fears and perceived security threats.¹⁰¹ Indeed, residents of gated communities see the city beyond their gates as a threat to their basic survival.¹⁰² In this sense, gated communities are believed to be a safe haven against all of the world's ills beyond their barriers.¹⁰³ Security in this context, however, only provides protection for *one* group of people: the residents. Moreover, this protection is accomplished at the expense of non-residents.

There is a consistent debate about whether fears connected to the development of gated communities relate to actual crime rates, or whether they are largely unfounded fears that are

¹⁰⁰ Notably, this section draws from the authors Nigel Thrift, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Leonie Sandercock, Teresa Caldeira, and Henri Lefebvre.

¹⁰¹ Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom," p. 305.

¹⁰² Giglia, "Gated Communities in Mexico City," p. 80.

¹⁰³ Durlington, "Suburban Fear," p. 76.

compounded by local discourse and media attention.¹⁰⁴ In the case of Guatemala City, everyone interviewed knew someone who had been a victim of a crime, while those who did not live in gated communities had either been a victim themselves or had an immediate family member who was. Many of those in the elite communities had never been victimized before. While it may be difficult to assess whether the level of fear in Guatemala City is proportional to the level of crime, the research from this thesis has confirmed that crime is a reality of daily life in Guatemala City and it seems to affect those in gated communities less than others.

Affect and Advertising

A challenge to studying gated communities is that there is little literature to draw from. When one looks to a theoretical framework to start from, it is quickly evident that a comprehensive framework has not yet been developed.¹⁰⁵ It has been argued that fear plays a role in the spatial construction of violence: certainly forms of affect, such as fear, are believed to produce certain types of spaces that are conducive to violence due to an absence of social interaction and communication.¹⁰⁶ In fact, affect is a basic component of understanding the impact of city spaces on its residents, along with physical surroundings, changes, and politics.¹⁰⁷

The physical spaces of the city are a crucial component of affect in urban environments¹⁰⁸ and new developments in cities can change practices of human behaviour. For example, one can look at the incorporation of automobiles on mass scale where one finds the human experience of possession of the vehicle, modes of control and emotional attachment to these newly

¹⁰⁴ Durlington, "Suburban Fear," p. 73.

¹⁰⁵ Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom?," p. 305.

¹⁰⁶ Nigel Thrift, "Immaculate Warfare? The Spatial Politics of Extreme Violence," in D. Gregory and A. Pred *Violent Geographies: Fear, terror and Political Violence* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 275. Note: Thrift argues against any simple summary of the phenomenon of city growth. Nigel Thrift, "Transurbanism," *Urban Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 8 (200), p. 724.

¹⁰⁷ Thrift, "Transurbanism," p. 726.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 730.

incorporated features in daily urban life.¹⁰⁹ In the case of Guatemala City, only residents with private transportation are able to access the most elite, isolated gated communities.

Modern media can be employed to advertise new developments and has an important role in increasing their impact.¹¹⁰ In Guatemala City, advertising is used to present gated communities as safe havens in an otherwise violent environment. Billboards advertising gated community lifestyles in Guatemala City shout slogans such as: “*La vida es bella en el Prado* (life is beautiful in the Prado)” and “*VIVA EN UN COUNTRY CLUB*” (live in a country club).¹¹¹ One also sees many billboards for firearms. Advertising is a central component of the elite argument, catering to the desires of wealthy residents. Media also has a role in relaying fear-based stories to residents, from which media corporations benefit financially.¹¹² The solutions for staying safe may be perceived in the advertisements for gated communities or for firearms.

Since advertisements must appeal to commonly held desires within a society in order to be successful, they are a good source of information about the lifestyle preferences and values of individuals living in that society.¹¹³ Guatemala City is a strip mall of billboards and advertising for new commodities and comfortable living. There are no billboards, however, for low-income housing. Indeed, advertisements appealing only to middle and high-income residents are common in many cities.¹¹⁴ In relation to gated communities, they offer a way of creating a “private order” where residents can avoid stresses outside of their walls and revel in an alternative lifestyle within a more homogeneous social group.¹¹⁵ Advertisements do not,

¹⁰⁹ Nigel Thrift, “Driving in the City,” *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 21, No. 4-5 (2004), p. 41.

¹¹⁰ Thrift, “Transurbanism,” p. 727.

¹¹¹ To view a few photos of a few sample billboards, refer to Appendix 5.

¹¹² Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. 70.

¹¹³ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 263.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

however, reference community belonging or interactions.¹¹⁶ For instance, in Guatemala City they did not show images such as children playing together in a park or families socializing together in common areas. Instead, they portrayed individual houses and isolated living.

Fear and Effects

The structure of an urban environment can affect the actions of individuals and vice versa.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the living conditions of a society will influence the movements of individuals. For instance, if crime rises, or is perceived to have risen, this could impact one's choice to move to a gated community.¹¹⁸ Notably, an individual's financial means are also a key factor in determining whether this type of move would be possible.¹¹⁹ In Guatemala City security concerns may be founded, yet not everyone can afford to appease their fears.

Gated communities, though, do not have consequences purely for their residents. A ripple effect continues into the members of the surrounding city, including changes in the location and availability of basic amenities.¹²⁰ Poorer residents are also victimized by crime and police, who target them.¹²¹ The consequence is a physical separation in housing, which becomes entangled with societal practices of social exclusion.¹²² Residents of gated communities often seek to limit their encounters with non-residents, minimizing their movements and daily activities, such as work and leisure, to areas that are closed or inaccessible to others.¹²³ Justified

¹¹⁶ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 274,

¹¹⁷ Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom?," p. 304.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Durlington, "Suburban Fear," p. 75.

¹²¹ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 182.

¹²² Rodgers, p. 114 in: Lemanski, "Residential Responses to Fear," p. 398.

¹²³ Giglia, "Gated Communities in Mexico City," p. 67.

by fears of insecurity and differences in income, these changes in mobility reinforce segregation between residents and non-residents.¹²⁴

Because urban residents tend to exhibit higher levels of fear than their rural neighbours,¹²⁵ these fears influence their urban lives in areas such as confidence in police, demands for public safety, social solidarity, overall health and happiness, and, to a degree, feelings of satisfaction towards government.¹²⁶ It should be noted that fear as described above is ascribed to the rich or privileged members of society. This coincides with upper class residents who generally occupy elite gated communities.¹²⁷ Urban practices and discourses caused by fear and leading to societal changes, such as the development of gated communities, tend to favour a city's rich population, without taking into account the interests or fears of the poor.¹²⁸

To illustrate this segregation, in all of the gated communities where I conducted interviews, the service workers such as construction workers, housekeepers, gardeners, pool and other maintenance workers travelled from communities outside the gated community each day for work. In the case of the gated community El Carmen in zone twelve, the surrounding zones are middle class areas so the workers often come from much poorer areas. For instance, the housekeeper of one of the interviewees from El Carmen travelled from outside the city limits and travels several zones to work every day. The gated community Hacienda Real in zone sixteen is so isolated that there are no communities directly surrounding it and transport vehicles belonging to the community operate to bring in the labourers each day.

Many interviewees, however, did not know where the workers travelled from each day. This demonstrates that those living in very rich gated communities showed a lack of knowledge

¹²⁴ Giglia, "Gated Communities in Mexico City," p. 67; Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom?," p. 306.

¹²⁵ Roberts, "Age of Hope or Anxiety?," p. 7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²⁷ Roitman, "Who Segregates Whom?," p. 304.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

and interest in the personal circumstances of the labourers in their communities. This form of interaction, employer-employee, then does not necessarily serve as a means of creating strong community ties.¹²⁹ .

In addition to gated communities developing as a consequence of fear, fear of crime itself has powerful negative impacts on individuals and communities, sometimes stemming from a basis in racial stereotypes, effectively reducing trust and solidarity, and leading to restricted mobility and reduced movement within public spaces.¹³⁰ In interviews, however, racism was not identified as a motivation to live in gated communities. In older communities that were simply gated shut, there is a large diversity among the residents. In the newly constructed communities, it was not possible to view many residents since they were not present in common areas during the interview visits. Furthermore, the residents of these communities themselves did not know who their neighbours were, so they could not comment on any general characteristics of their communities. Some interviewees thought that the labour and service providers in gated communities may have a larger indigenous make up, although this could not be verified.¹³¹

Habitus

In discussing fear and urban environments, Pierre Bourdieu provides some further insights through the concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu defines the concept of habitus as a:

¹²⁹ It does, however, highlight the continuing necessity for connections between gated community residents and those who live outside their walls. While wealthy residents do not know about their workers, they do require their services to enjoy their lifestyle. Graham and Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism*, p. 390.

¹³⁰ Roberts, "Age of Hope or Anxiety?," p. 3.

¹³¹ Workers from the countryside who immigrate illegally to Guatemala City – Guatemalans from other areas of the country must officially register to move to the city and pay associated fees, which many cannot afford – cannot access medical or dental care or education, and they work for very low wages in manual labour related or menial jobs.

set of acquired characteristics which are the product of social conditions and which, for that reason, may be totally or partially common to people who have been the product of similar social conditions.¹³²

In other words, there will be common elements of behavior exhibited by people occupying the same social spaces. Bourdieu stresses that habitus is not innate or deterministic, but that it is a “product of history, that is of social experience and education,” and it therefore changes with the introduction of “new experiences.”¹³³ Changes, however, must take place within the confines of the existing social structure.¹³⁴

For Bourdieu, habitus is more than simply habit and repetition; it is a cumulative product of shared social experiences that produces similar behaviours, thus lending itself for use as a tool of social analysis,¹³⁵ such as in the examination of the development of gated communities in Guatemala. Bourdieu’s work has been applied to the study of violence in Guatemala before, such as in studies on post-war violence.¹³⁶ Just as residents share a common social experience through violence in the city, they too share the impacts of gated community development.

Habitus is used in this thesis to underscore the importance of the common social experience of living in a shared space, whether that shared space is the space within or outside of gated communities or other areas of the city. Habitus also has important implications in power relations, which is used to map space, particularly between wealthy and poor residents. Unfortunately, due to a lack of access to information on private companies and the distribution of gated communities in Guatemala City, it was not possible to explore this important facet of habitus during the course of this research.

¹³² Bourdieu, Pierre *Habitus* in Hillier and Rooksby *Habitus* (2002), p. 29.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹³⁶ McNeish and Rivera, “Ugly Poetics of Violence,” pp. 49-77

It could be used, however, in future research. For instance, where information is available on the contractual decisions by local governments in the development of gated communities, from the location choice and tendering process (or lack thereof), to obligations related to public infrastructure or aspects of public-private partnerships, the power relations outlined by habitus would be very analytically useful. Given the links made in this thesis to weak governance, this type of analysis would assist in deciphering to what degree governments are influenced by private interests or are making the choice to privatize certain industries to cut spending or increase efficiency. The inability to fully apply habitus is a limit of this thesis.

Habitus has been linked to gated community development on other cities, such as Sao Paulo. In reference to Sao Paulo's *favelas*, authors have discussed "sociological/social psychological" and political economic factors of fear that contribute to the destruction of city spaces and reshape the city: fear "is at the core of how most people think about the physical design of public space and neighbourhoods...consequently it influences not only how planners think about the city but the projects they are assigned."¹³⁷ This fear could be a fear of violence, change, loss or fear of the poor. Fear of the poor and of "others" has also been cited as a reason for choosing to live in gated communities in other areas of the world, such as in Poland and Chile.¹³⁸

Fear of the poor is applicable in Guatemala due to the high rates of social inequality, as indicated by the Gini coefficient.¹³⁹ Guatemala has higher rates of societal inequality than its

¹³⁷ Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus*, p. 203.

¹³⁸ Dominika V. Polanska, "Gated Communities and the Construction of Social Class Markers in Postsocialist societies: The Case of Poland," *Space and Culture*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2010), p. 431 and Francisca B. Marquez and Francisca P. Perez, "Spatial Frontiers and Neo-Communitarianism Identities in the City: The Case of Santiago de Chile," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 7 (2008), p. 1461.

¹³⁹ Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. 7. Another inequality is found in access to legal institutions. Most government and social services are located in city centres, such as Guatemala City. Godoy-Paiz, "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area," pp. 38, 41. Godoy-Paiz cites: Elson, 2002; Nussbaum, 2002.

neighbour El Salvador, and one of the peaks in the western hemisphere at a rate of 55.1.¹⁴⁰ It is estimated that 80 per cent of Guatemalans are “poor or at risk of poverty.”¹⁴¹ Guatemala also has human development indicators with “health, education and income...below the regional average...at a rank of 133 out of 187 countries.”¹⁴²

Urban discourses involved in city planning changes caused by fear have a tendency to privilege the rich, upper class members of society and legitimize their fears, while the fears of the underprivileged, such as hunger or police violence, are not generally taken into account.¹⁴³ One difference in the case of Guatemala City is that all members of society fear, or at least try to avoid, the police; it is not exclusive to underprivileged individuals. It has been postulated that

portraying certain groups as fear-inducing surely serves to some extent to produce the very behaviours that are dreaded, while also increasing the likelihood that such groups will be victimised (through hate crimes and/or official brutality) with relative impunity.¹⁴⁴

To add to this targeted victimization, “governance processes of classification, surveillance and disciplinary interventions have always been targeted at particular groups and places.”¹⁴⁵

Gated communities in Sao Paulo demonstrate the manner in which the pervasive role of fear exhibited by the privileged members of society has not only changed the physical

¹⁴⁰ Richani, “State Capacity in Postconflict Settings,” p. 444.

¹⁴¹ Isaacs, “Guatemala on the Brink,” p. 112.

¹⁴² United Nations Development Program. International Human Development Indicators. Guatemala Country Profile.

¹⁴³ Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus*, p. 216. Kitchen and Schneider also touch on this, stating that the nature of city planning itself is concerned with manipulating the physical building blocks of a city, as are other public policy based initiatives, which are subsequently carried out for the benefit of the “haves” and at the detriment of the “have nots”, based on a policy of fear. Ted Kitchen and Richard H. Schneider, *Crime and the Design of the Build Environment: Anglo-American Comparisons of Policy and Practice*, in Hillier and Rooksby *Habitus*, (2002), p. 249.

¹⁴⁴ Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus*, p. 216.

¹⁴⁵ John Flint (ed), *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-Social Behaviour: Perspectives, policy and practice*, (Great Britain: The Policy Press, University of Bristol, 2006), p. 326. While Flint’s arguments pertain to residents of government assisted social housing, he advances concepts of segregation, stigmatization, and punishment, which are complimentary to this argument.

environment of the city, but also impacted societal and community interactions. In Sao Paulo, increasing land prices caused the movement of Sao Paulo's poor residents into *favelas* within the city.¹⁴⁶ With this movement, coupled with a rising fear of crime as well as movement of the city's rich into gated communities, the city's basic amenities also moved towards richer areas of the city. This led to mobility changes because the rich no longer had to travel into the poorer areas of the city to obtain basic services and necessities.¹⁴⁷ When public spaces are viewed as too dangerous to travel through, the concepts of open access and civic culture are essentially destroyed.¹⁴⁸ Conversely, it became more difficult for the poor to access those same amenities, due to the change of location and the construction of physical barriers.¹⁴⁹

Daily Life

In addition to the link between social spaces and common practices such as violence, as supported by habitus, the impacts of 'daily life' in a capitalist society are also relevant.¹⁵⁰ At a very basic level,

capital and capitalism 'influence' practical matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labour.¹⁵¹

The wealthy dominate through influence and the "permanent use of repressive violence" over all aspects of society, from culture and political institutions to basic knowledge production.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus*, p. 210.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁵⁰ Amin and Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, (Oxford, OX, UK; Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell, 1991), p. 10. Note: Lefebvre draws heavily from Marx. In addition, David Harvey states that the production of space is key to the survival of capitalism. David Harvey, "The New Imperialism," in L. Panitch, C. Leys, *The Socialist Register*, (London: Verso, 2004), p. 63.

¹⁵² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 10.

There exists, therefore, those who benefit from space, and those who are deprived of it, which is itself a form of violence.¹⁵³

To understand the production of this space, three components have been identified: perceived space or “spatial practices”, conceived space or “representations of space” and lived space or “representational spaces.”¹⁵⁴ Perceived space includes the daily routines of inhabitants, including their transit via highways and other routes from one location to another. Conceived space is how the city is planned and engineered, and lived space refers to the experience of inhabitants, specifically with reference to their relation with “images and symbols.”¹⁵⁵

Another related concept is dominated space, whereby “technology introduces a new form into a pre-existing space – generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a meshwork or chequerwork.”¹⁵⁶ Roads and highways exemplify dominated space, which are also linked to the control of property, and networks used for exchange and communication.¹⁵⁷

Apart from the driving force based in fear noted above, other motivations for moving to gated communities also exist. These include lifestyle improvements, evading poor people, and desires for status or economic homogeneity.¹⁵⁸ In this respect, residents often emulate the behaviours of their like-minded neighbours and share motivations leading them to live in gated communities.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Thrift, “Immaculate Warfare?” p.289.

¹⁵⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, pp 38-39.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39. This can be linked to the discussion of advertising and gated community development, which is also discussed by Sandercock, *Difference, Fear and Habitus*, pp. 203-218.

¹⁵⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 165.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 266. Since the representations and relative perceptions of space are a product of knowledge, and are thus always changing.

¹⁵⁸ Roitman, “Who Segregates Whom?,” p. 305.

¹⁵⁹ McKenzie, “Constructing the *Pomerian* in Las Vegas,” p. 201. Note: The structural arguments surrounding the formation of cities and gated communities, specifically related to economics and politics, are also important factors to note. These factors could easily be considered either together with security or apart from it in the

Although gated communities serve as clear physical demarcations within cities, it is necessary to remember that there are other sources of division, such as those created by the increase of industries and manufacturing.¹⁶⁰ Cities with a greater degree of industrial development also experience a wide social division between upper and lower labour force classes, which is a trend that has recently picked up speed.¹⁶¹ Because gated communities are also commonly built in poorer areas of the inner city to capitalize on lower land costs, they encourage segmentation between local residents and neighbouring richer gated communities, while also reinforcing a continual polarization between residents in these areas.¹⁶² Larger gated communities requiring more land and green spaces also capitalize on lower land costs through locations in the city peripheries. Here segregation is also manifest through the physical space separating residents of differing economic classes. If the area was previously a park, then other city residents lose access to nature in this area when it is privatized and walled in. In addition, “[c]ities are places where massive inequalities, breakdowns, social conflicts and inefficient forms of lock-in appear incessantly on the horizon”.¹⁶³ Although gated communities may not be the sole cause of inequalities, they serve to reinforce these devastating divisions in civil society, thus causing a security problem on a wider scale.

It is clear that the infrastructure and construction of the city itself must be acknowledged in any study of urban trends. The infrastructure of a city is not passive; it is an integral part of military urbanism and neo-liberal urbanism.¹⁶⁴ Military urbanism describes the influence of

discussion of gated communities. Allen J. Scott, “Inside the City: On Urbanization, Public Policy and Planning,” *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2008), pp755-772; or Bodnar and Molnar, “Reconfiguring Private and Public,” pp. 789-812; or Rosen and Razin, “The Rise of Gated Communities in Israel,” pp. 1702-1722

¹⁶⁰ Scott, “Inside the City,” p. 769.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Libertun de Duren, “Planning a la Carte”, p. 308.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. xxvi.

military ideologies, practice and technologies in today's cities and its influence on public policy.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, the “new military urbanism” involves the permeation, permanence and normalization of military ideologies into urban living.¹⁶⁶ For instance, surveillance equipment that was designed for military applications is now part of the regular services offered by private companies.

Neo-liberal urbanism describes the application of market and economic preferences to the restructuring of societies.¹⁶⁷ In relation to gated communities, it is best described through its role, as it, “seeks to expand the role of market forces in the housing and real estate sectors, privatise the provision of urban and social services, and increase the role of elites in shaping urban landscapes.”¹⁶⁸ Neo-liberal urbanism shows how market forces and elite preferences have dominated the city, thereby taking control of city planning away from government decision makers. For instance, government planners undertake market-based strategies and introduce privatization of public services, which reform social government programs, such as those related to security, city development, health and welfare.¹⁶⁹ Under this model, governments invite private investments to build housing and infrastructure projects, often with poor regulation and at the whims of companies, at a rapid pace.¹⁷⁰

Latin America has experienced a rapid growth in privatization in the reformation of public spaces.¹⁷¹ Coupled with a prioritization of consumerism and a redefinition of

¹⁶⁵ Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. 60.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁶⁸ Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 772.

¹⁶⁹ Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ María Cristina Bayón and Gonzalo A. Saraví (Trans: Mariana Ortega Breña), “The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Fragmentation: Segregation, Sociability, and Inequality in Mexico City,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2013), p 36.

relationships between individuals and the community, this has led to increased segregation and urban fragmentation.¹⁷² The phenomenon of privatization moves past housing to work environments, schools and regions of the city. A person's residence is therefore only one part of the social experience that has been privatized under the neoliberal model.¹⁷³

Due to challenges in accessing information on a corporate level, concrete examples of specific corporations and their role dominating the market were not possible to obtain. For instance, information on which corporations are involved in gated community development was denied by Guatemalan authorities. While company logos are available on billboards and pamphlets, they do not typically provide information on who owns the company. Research has shown, however, that Guatemala's tiny group of economic elites has been the main beneficiary of infrastructure contracts,¹⁷⁴ an area that is likely linked to gated community development as well.

An examination of fear in the development of gated communities shows that the elite, neo-liberal and security arguments are connected. Neo-liberalism as outlined above can shape the way that security is understood. In this case, it is understood through the protection offered by gated communities, namely walls and technological advances, such as cameras. Gated community residents' fears can be eased by having these means of protection. At the same time, the elite argument dictates that these features become desirable and part of a higher level of social status. An examination of gated communities, therefore, aids in understanding the relationship between security, status and neo-liberalism.

¹⁷² Bayón and Saraví, "The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Fragmentation," p 36.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p 42.

¹⁷⁴ Isaacs, "Guatemala on the Brink," p. 117.

The interconnection between these arguments also links back to weak governance. If the state cannot assure adequate security for its residents and is swayed by private interests in the development of gated communities and other infrastructure, then the elite and neo-liberal arguments influence state decisions related to security. As the media and private interests continue to use the security argument to make new developments, the cycle continues. A mutually reinforcing link between these arguments is revealed through an examination of weak governance in the development of gated communities.

Through examples from literature and interviews, this chapter demonstrated the interconnections between residents' fears, segregation, the loss of private spaces and the development of gated communities. Examples from this chapter support both the application of the security argument to gated communities, and an extension of this perspective to include other arguments in order to fully appreciate gated community development in Guatemala City. It also explained the relationship between the three arguments, weak governance and how gated communities aid in their examination.

Chapter 3: The Public-Private Divide

How does the relationship between policing and private security in gated communities help us understand the public-private divide in Guatemala? This chapter explores this question by examining police access to gated communities and the role of private security in responding to crimes. Overall, gated communities increase the loss of public space and services by contracting out to private security, highlighting the role of weak governance.

At a basic level, public space is that which is accessible to all citizens. It contains social services and is commonly associated with the following:

openness of streets; free circulation; the impersonal and anonymous encounters of pedestrians; spontaneous public enjoyment and congregation in streets and squares; and the presence of people from different social background strolling and gazing at others, looking at store windows, shopping, sitting in cafes, joining political demonstrations, appropriating the streets for their festivals and celebrations, and using spaces especially designed for the entertainment of the masses.¹⁷⁵

By their very nature, gated communities remove public space. In low-income gated communities in Guatemala City, non-residents can still obtain access to local businesses and schools. In wealthier gated communities, however, this is not possible. Non-residents can only access the premises if they have electronic identity cards that residents purchase and provide to visitors at high monthly costs. These cards cost between 200 and 600 Quetzales per month, which is approximately 25 to 75 Canadian dollars. Visitors must also provide all of the details of the visit to private security guards at the front gate. One interviewee, who lived outside of a gated community but had family within one, said that he could only access the gated community for a visit. He could never use that permission to simply cross the gated community to shorten his transit time.

¹⁷⁵ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 299.

Removing public spaces infringes on the rights of citizens to access their city. It also highlights how an act that restricts access impacts the common good. Gated communities are spaces of exceptionality, but within gated communities, the exception becomes the rule. As gated community developments are built in the city, they encroach upon public spaces and create unequal access to that space by all citizens. For instance, one interviewee recounted a story in which a road to a frequent market where all city residents, regardless of their financial means, can travel along was closed off to create a new gated community. Because this new community had sufficient funds to ensure police cooperation and government complacency, public cries for access to their previous transit route were ignored. To buy basic daily necessities, surrounding poorer neighbours must now travel greater distances to shop or find a new market, whereas the gated community residents retain the road and can travel to the market easily.

Gated communities try to make up for the removal of public space by creating their own communal spaces for residents. One wealthy gated community known as La Montana in zone 16 contained the following common areas: gardens, a library and a social meeting room. Yet I found these areas empty, and the interviewee from the community confessed that he did not use these areas. Similarly, I noticed that the pool and a children's playground in a gated condominium complex called La Barranca, which itself is located in a larger gated community in zone 16, were both empty.

The Creation of Private Security

While private security has a detrimental effect on the citizens of Guatemala City as well as on its governance, it is not clear whether private security is a citizen response to weak governance, a product of legislative changes, or a combination of these, or other, factors. It has been argued that institutional weakness and high crime rates are not the only causes of increases

in the presence of private security in Guatemala. Rather, the influence of the civil war is once again apparent. During the conflict, the government of Guatemala contracted out security services to private security. After the civil war, the government reinforced these policies, which has laid the framework for the existence of private security in Guatemala today.¹⁷⁶

Starting in 1955, the Guatemalan government created and paid for commercialized private security to assist with a gap in public security, which was then enforced through the creation of self-defence organizations, such as the PACs, which were supported by the United States during the civil war.¹⁷⁷ The existence of private security companies then grew dramatically during Guatemala's transition to peace, due to reforms led by the peace accord's Security Sector Reform. These reforms created security policies that lacked accountability and reinforced the need for private security.¹⁷⁸ Most security companies in Guatemala were founded in country,¹⁷⁹ so Guatemala seems to maintain jobs for its citizens in this sector. Public security, nevertheless, is now in strong competition with the broad reach of private security companies.¹⁸⁰

Police Presence in Gated Communities

One of the most noticeable examples of how gated communities further the public-private divide is witnessed in police presence. An examination of individuals who do not live in gated communities and individuals who live in low, medium and high-income gated communities shows that the level of police and public access to an area negatively corresponds to income

¹⁷⁶ Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala," p. 320.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

level: as income goes up, access diminishes.¹⁸¹ In addition, the role of private services and security within the gated community also increases, further reducing the role of the state.

The police represent the government's right to enter gated communities as well as their obligation to provide security to its citizens. Interview responses pointed to a trend in which police had little access to rich and elite gated communities. For these gated communities with extensive private security, police rarely if ever enter.

Many residents outside of gated communities stated that they would contact the police if a crime was committed. While they did not think that the police force was perfect, they believed that it was the only option they had. This is consistent with available crime reporting. From 2011 to 2012, reports of cell phone robberies increased forty percent, which included 142,745 stolen phones,¹⁸² while reports of sexual assaults rose sixty-three percent.¹⁸³ While we cannot be certain that this points to an increase in reporting as opposed to an increase in crime, it does prove that people more are contacting the police.

This perspective, however, was not shared by all interviewees. One interviewee, who was not a resident of a gated community, said that police cars are visible in the city but do not do anything. He thought that most people, regardless of where they live, would not call the police if there were a robbery. If they did, he claimed, the police would not arrive for at least an hour or two. According to him, "there is no confidence in public security." He stated that it would probably be safe to take public transport seventy percent of the time and pointed to the frequent robberies on buses where, at times, the entire bus is robbed. In these cases, people readily hand

¹⁸¹ As noted earlier, however, just because the police have access to a poorer area of the city does not necessarily mean that they frequent it.

¹⁸² United States Department of State, Bureau on Diplomatic Security: OSAC. Guatemala 2013 Crime and Statistics Report.

¹⁸³ United States Department of State: Guatemala 2013 Crime Report.

over their money and cell phones for fear of being killed. This has become routine and people do not call the police: “it is just part of life. You continue with your day.” This man showed me how he kept his money divided between his socks and only had less than ten Quetzales in each pocket in case of robbery.

Another interviewee who did not live inside of a gated community recounted a story of how she took charge of the security around her own home. One day, her electronic security system called her cell phone to indicate that a window had been opened. She rushed home to find a car outside of her house, and parked behind it to block it from driving away. She then yelled to one of her neighbours who came out with a shotgun. When the robbers exited her house with various possessions in their hands, the neighbour threatened to shoot them. With her neighbour’s help, she tied up the robbers and called the police, who arrived an hour later.

While her community is not gated, many neighbours have come together to form a neighbourhood watch group for their homes. Neighbourhood watch groups are apparently common in Guatemala City for people who live in and outside of gated communities. One gated community resident from La Montana, commenting on the role of government, stated that there is no strong agency to enforce the laws within Guatemala, and in addition, with each election, all bills or projects to change laws are grounded, and the new government starts from scratch. The belief the one must take security into their own hands is widespread.

In gated communities with little financial means, police generally have access. These communities likely contain an outside gate but few other communal private security measures. Individual homes are secured with barbed wire, broken glass and guard dogs as the general public easily passes through the gates to enter the businesses such as dental offices and schools

within the community. Security cameras and other technological features were absent from these gated communities. The police also readily access the gated community and might be called by residents if a crime took place. The job of the security guards is just to control the access into the community for residents, visitors, and for customers of businesses located inside.

One interviewee who was a resident of a low-income gated community stated that the police are sometimes the cause of crimes. She actually believed that they rob people too. She stated that police officers do not enrol for the love of the job, to serve their country, or to provide security. They do so only because they need a job. The job, however, comes with low wages and few benefits. This means that the police are slow in their response time and look for other ways to make money. These findings are in line with other research on gated communities that states people often describe criminals and police officers in the same negative manner.¹⁸⁴ For residents of low-income gated communities, the common practice is to determine whether or not to call the police based on the severity of the crime.

In medium to high-income gated communities, it is the private security companies with the assistance of their security cameras that are in charge of the initial investigations and they, not the residents, make the determination of whether or not to call the police. Again, their decision depends on the gravity of the crime. The normal procedure for residents upon experiencing a crime, therefore, is not to call the police, but to call their private security forces. Some interviewees said that contacting the police would most likely cause more problems than the crime itself, so even the private security would not contact the police unless it were a very serious crime, such as a homicide. Interviewees also stated that they would not go outside if

¹⁸⁴ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, pp. 184-187. Generalizations, however, should be used with caution since people are more likely to hold on to negative opinions than recognize when an officer performs his job properly. See Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 189.

they heard screaming. They would contact either their private security or the police instead. This is consistent with the prevailing fear of crime that keeps people from answering their phone if they do not know the number and from answering the door if they are not expecting someone.

In extremely rich gated communities, interviewees believed that the private security would not call the police if a crime occurred. In such places, there are a plethora of security features instead. Alongside extensive security around the perimeter, security guards make rounds through the community and constantly monitor the streets through security technology such as cameras. With such security, interviewees felt safe. When asked if they would call the police if a murder were to take place, most simply stated that such a crime had never taken place within their walls. One interviewee said that the private security would not call the police if a crime was to take place in his wealthy gated community. He said that people are scared of the police due to problems with corruption, and that the police do not do anything for free. He also said that he did not believe people living outside of gated communities would call the police either. Another interviewee from a wealthy gated community concurred: “security is a necessary expense because the police do not provide it.”

This, however, is not the sole opinion. Another resident of a wealthy gated community stated that if a crime were to take place, the private security would call the police. Yet they would only do so apparently to report “*una denuncia*”. The private security, not the police, would then carry out the investigation within the gated community if they determined that an investigation was required.

In short, those with sufficient resources are able to live in elite communities with private security services who take over the role of the police. If police really cannot access gated

communities, one wonders whether there is a guarantee that Guatemala's laws are being adhered to. If this is true, residents are effectively above the law; they are tapping into a level of impunity. Those interviewed did not have confidence that government of Guatemala could secure their safety on a daily basis and instead, if funds permitted, contracted out to a private service to fill this role.

One interviewee from zone ten stated that she hoped living in a gated community would divert crime away from her. Moreover if a crime were committed, she hoped that it would happen to someone who lived closer to the gate than she did. This points to an interesting hierarchy inside of the actual gated community in which people believed crime will affect most likely those who lived closest to the gate. In this gated community, there is a stark divide between the residents within the community. She said the private security must call the police if a crime is committed. If a crime is committed directly outside of their gates, however, private security does not assist.

In addition to responding to citizens' calls for assistance when a crime takes place, police also have other responsibilities. These include recording crimes for statistics, record keeping and making arrests. By not entering the elite gated communities, police cannot guarantee equal services for all citizens. It is noteworthy that when asked about crimes, most interviewees did not reference the justice system. Instead, the discussion centred on personal security, the committal of crimes and police responses, or lack thereof. In effect, the justice system may not be linked to residents' perceptions of the state's efforts to control crime. If the justice system is not seen as a reliable part of crime control, this too is a reflection on weak governance.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Note: Caldeira found similar findings in her study of Sao Paulo. Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 190.

The privatization of policing also means that a company, not the government, decides on the training, working conditions, weapons of use, salaries, and hiring and firing procedures in gated communities. Jobs previously guaranteed for public servants are lost, and the state loses control of its territory. In addition, if police do not enter the gated communities, they do not have the opportunity to issue fines for any number of traffic or other city violations, removing this income from the government as well. Not only is weak governance implicit in the choice to privatize, but also it causes further deterioration in this circular trend because funds are kept out of the public sphere.

Police Capacity and Private Security Services

The information obtained in interviews supports research on police capacity in Guatemala. Not only are private security services taking over the role of police in gated communities, but also they suffer from a lack of government regulation and operate without licences, thus falling into clandestine operations.

Guatemala's police force numbers approximately 19,000, which is a police-civilian ratio of 170 per 100,000. This is "among the lowest in the world" and is even lower than neighbouring El Salvador, which has a rate of 238 per 100,000.¹⁸⁶ In the United States the rate is 250 per 100,000.¹⁸⁷ It is estimated that forty per cent of Guatemala, including parts of Guatemala City, are entirely outside of the control of the Guatemalan state and police forces.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings," p. 442, 445. Hal Brands offers a slightly higher estimate at 21,000 police officers and 15,000 soldiers, but agrees that the number is inadequate in Guatemala. Hal Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare, and International Failure in Latin America: Guatemala as a Case Study," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 34 (2010), p. 238.

¹⁸⁷ United States Bureau of Justice Statistics. The International Association of Chiefs of Police. "Research Centre Directorate Perspective: Police Officer to Population Ratios."

¹⁸⁸ Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare," p. 231.

In addition, only two percent of murder cases are solved.¹⁸⁹ The small size of Guatemala's police force coupled with corruption affects police efficiency and morale as well as the public's perception and reactions to police and the government.¹⁹⁰

For those who can afford it, they react by hiring private security and moving to a gated community. There are roughly 400 legal and illegal private security companies in Guatemala with a work force estimated at 60,000 to 80,000 employees (although some estimates are over 100,000). This number is higher than the national police force and army combined.¹⁹¹ It is estimated that almost fifty percent of private security companies operate without permission from the Guatemalan Ministry of the Interior.¹⁹² Private security outnumbers public police officers on a ratio of greater than seven to one.¹⁹³ The result is:

a bifurcated system of security: a private system that caters for those who can afford it and a public one characterized by incompetence and corruption, which, in turn, reinforces the demand for (private) security. As the lower class cannot afford such a service, yet wish to guarantee some level of normalcy in their neighbourhoods, they are forced to pay protection rents to organized criminal groups...As a result, criminal violence (real or perceived) contributes and reinforces a duality of security providers (state-private security companies and organized crime), which demonstrates an existing power structure between these actors.¹⁹⁴

Despite these numbers, information on private security in Guatemala is extremely difficult to obtain because personal security services do not fall under Guatemalan laws regulating the private sector. Most numbers are thus obtained through estimates resulting from qualitative research, such as interviews.¹⁹⁵ Existing laws also fail to regulate training

¹⁸⁹ Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare," p. 238.

¹⁹⁰ Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings," p. 446.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.; the estimate of over 100,000 is from: Otto Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala: Pathway to its Proliferation," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2012), p. 320.

¹⁹² Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala," p. 320.

¹⁹³ Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare," p. 239.

¹⁹⁴ Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings," p. 446.

¹⁹⁵ Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala," p. 322.

requirements, hiring processes, and qualifications for private security companies. For those who do choose to obtain legal permission to operate, the process is extremely long, bureaucratic and costly.¹⁹⁶

Private security companies therefore have an interest in the continuation of the current policing system in Guatemala, the deficits of which create the need for their services. Many of these companies have strong lobbying power given their ties with businesses, politicians and police groups.¹⁹⁷ One interviewee who lived in a middle income gated community confirmed that his private security had direct lines of communication with the national police. Due to these connections, private security companies have effectively lobbied government decision makers and avoided regulations in their sector, thus entering into a level of both impunity and influence.¹⁹⁸ As such, impunity exists for both the residents of gated communities and their private security forces.

Many of Guatemala's current policing challenges stem from reforms following the end of the civil war. During this process of reform, which was supported by the international community,¹⁹⁹ the Guatemalan government retained control. This means that a new organizational structure or doctrine was not implemented. Instead, military patrols continued to patrol the territory alongside the national police force.²⁰⁰ The result is an extreme example of

¹⁹⁶ Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala," p. 322.

¹⁹⁷ Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings," p. 449.

¹⁹⁸ Argueta, "Private Security in Guatemala," p. 323.

¹⁹⁹ Fruhling, "Research on Latin American Police," pp.465-481. Fruhling summarizes the findings of various studies on reform Latin American police forces beginning in the 1990's.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-468.

how the coercive structures from the civil war regime work alongside current police and military officers. Many officers from both groups have been accused of committing crimes.²⁰¹

When state institutions fail to protect their citizens through legitimate security and justice measures, citizens take control into their own hands.²⁰² In Guatemala, there has been a rise in the number of lynchings in response to crimes. Citizens have begun to choose to investigate, convict and sentence individuals to death for perceived crimes themselves. Extrajudicial killings increased sixty to seventy percent in the early 2000's.²⁰³ Sadly, much of this violence is directed at poorer city residents, which is reminiscent of violence during the civil war.²⁰⁴ In addition, many forms of violence and criminal activities often take place in poorer areas of the city.²⁰⁵ The increase in private security and lynchings show that the state "has lost its monopoly on the legitimate use of war...and Guatemala is descending into vigilantism and impunity."²⁰⁶

Interviewees in other studies on gated communities have questioned police competence. In Sao Paulo, residents viewed police actions as arbitrary, describing mistaken murders and police cover-ups. According to them, police conflate those who are poor and those who are criminal into a single category.²⁰⁷ This points to a lack of residents' confidence in police as well as a desire to live a life apart from this public service. Interviews clearly connect the dearth of confidence in policing services with their choice to live in gated communities. While public confidence in public policing and the effectiveness of police forces is an important aspect in the

²⁰¹ Richani, "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings," p. 445. An example that Richani provides of the civil war structures is the paramilitary patrol groups, or PACS, which now form part of organized crime.

²⁰² Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p.209

²⁰³ Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare," p. 239.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Foreign Affairs Canada, "Freedom from Fear in Urban Spaces: Discussion Paper," *Human Security Research and Outreach Program* (2006), p. 7.

²⁰⁶ Brands, "Crime, Irregular Warfare," p. 239. Also see: Anita Isaacs, "Guatemala on the Brink," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), p. 111: "Justice is for the rich."

²⁰⁷ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p.183

development of gated communities in Guatemala City, the phenomena is more complex than simply a policing problem.

In sum, gated communities increase the loss of public space by removing access from both citizens and the police. Moreover, gated communities contract out services including private security who take over the role of public servants. This highlights how weak governance is implicit in the loss of public space. Not only is the state failing to provide security services for its residents, but also it is not controlling the contracting process for private security and not taking advantage of the opportunity to collect monies from fines. The weak governance feedback loop thus continues.

Chapter 4: Wealth and Elitism

This chapter explores how wealth and elitism have affected the development of gated communities in Guatemala City. Framing this discussion within the context of governance, neo-liberal and elite arguments highlight the role that wealth and elitism have played in terms of the rising inequalities due to increasing levels of fear, crime, violence, and militarization.²⁰⁸ The neo-liberal governance model has helped to increase societal inequalities by reducing access to public services and demonizing the poor population at the same time that it has made life more comfortable for wealthier citizens.²⁰⁹ The result is an urban landscape that has a broad array of poor citizens, a teetering middle class, and few wealthy citizens.²¹⁰ Gated communities are an example of elite living preferences in cities that have “generated fear and hatred among political ... elites.”²¹¹

Fear and security concerns are the main reasons for people’s choice of living in gated communities. Indeed, all interviewees shared that security concerns played a role in determining where to live in the city. Fourteen interviewees specifically acknowledged that security-related concerns were the most important factor while six interviewees indicated that other factors were more important, such as a central location, green spaces and distance from relatives. Interviews therefore support the security argument of gated community development, which acknowledges the overarching influences of security concerns people’s decision to live in gated communities.

The prevalence of other responses related to lifestyle preferences, wealth and elitism, however, point to the important role of an interplay of factors at work that must also be

²⁰⁸ Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, p. 4.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

considered to provide a holistic framework and complicate this otherwise over simplistic explanation. The Guatemalan business professor who had always lived in gated communities, previously in zone fifteen and now outside the city limits, acknowledged that security is an important part of the growth of gated communities in Guatemala City. In fact, while he said that it is likely the first factor that one considers when choosing accommodations, he noted that proximity to services, work, and transportation are also important. Furthermore, he stated that living in a gated community is one of the ways that people choose to show off their economic elitism.

Social Status

While public and government access are important elements to consider in an analysis of gated communities, social status also plays a role. It is no secret that a small handful of families in Guatemala have stakeholder control in government and economic forces. For instance, the majority of agriculture land remains in the ownership of two percent of the population.²¹² This situation continues despite the signing of the Socio-Economic Accord along with the Peace Accord in 1996, which sought to address inequality in the agriculture sector through a market-based strategy.²¹³

The implementation of the Socio-Economic Accord, however, has been weak. While it has facilitated agricultural sales and acquisitions, large landowners have been the primary beneficiaries. It has not alleviated poverty.²¹⁴ City Hall stated that this information was confidential and no interviewee would comment on the concentrated ownership and control in

²¹² Susana Gauster and S. Ryan Isakson, "Eliminating Market Distortions, Perpetuating Rural Inequality: an evaluation of market-assisted land reform in Guatemala," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 8 (2007), p 1519.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p 1520.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Guatemala. It is a subject more taboo than the civil war or government corruption. In addition, there is a new economic elite that now exists alongside the traditional oligarchs.²¹⁵

Diversification of state contracts remains restrained, now between these two groups of elites.

In Guatemala City, those with money are able to buy their way into the most elite and secure gated communities. In these gated communities, increased security is accompanied by isolated and elite living conditions. The gated communities that are farther away from the city centre have no public transportation, but they do have certain common features of modern apartment complexes, such as gyms and pools. They also have employees on hand to carry out all manual labour.

Because gated communities were designed by the elite, it is not surprising that elitism plays a role in their development. In fact, one wonders whether security or privacy have a greater impact in people's choice to live in gated communities. It is clear, however, that both security and social status are factors, co-habiting in these gated communities. Despite the existence of security measures to prevent crime, such as walls, barbed wire, security cameras and armed guards, their existence in wealthy communities can take many forms and become desirable elements of any elite living. These elements, along with the enclosure itself, become valued by residents.²¹⁶ One interviewee from a gated community in zone ten stated that even individuals who live outside of gated communities often hire their own security guards, both for their safety and because it is a status symbol.

²¹⁵ Isaacs, "Guatemala on the Brink," p. 118. For more on oligarchy, see William N. Holden and Daniel R. Jacobson, "Ecclesial opposition to nonferrous mining in Guatemala: neoliberalism meets the church of the poor in a shattered society," *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2009), p. 151.

²¹⁶ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 296.

References to gated communities as indicators of high social status are found in discussions across the globe. This is not surprising given that changes in housing practices are directly linked to transformations in “social status and cultural values.”²¹⁷ It is also linked to the formation of individual and community identity.²¹⁸ Exploring the link between gated communities and social status in other geographic examples will aid in understanding its importance in Guatemala City.

In the United States, gated communities are often associated with the middle and upper class and the residents are all “members of a ‘club.’”²¹⁹ While they can be originally constructed under the guise of protection from crime, many gated communities are referred to as “Common Interest Developments” and aim to protect property values through “Covenants, conditions and Restrictions” therefore providing residents with more than security.²²⁰ They also have modern infrastructure (avoiding ‘urban decay’), reduced and controlled traffic, private amenities, private governance to a degree, and maintain higher property values.²²¹

In Guatemala City, gated communities also had rules to make living more enjoyable for residents. These rules included: no children permitted on the premises, no pets, no noise that would disturb neighbours after ten o’clock at night and one cannot do laundry on Sundays. These rules do not seem to be connected to security concerns.

Residents may choose to live in a gated community for higher social status and distinction, including living near people in a similar socio-economic position. This also has the effect of producing social homogeneity, as documented in the United States and other

²¹⁷ Genis, “Producing Elite Localities,” p. 777.

²¹⁸ Marquez and Perez, “Spatial Frontiers and Neo-Communitarian Identities,” p. 1479.

²¹⁹ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 324.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

countries.²²² So frequent in the United States, gated communities are now considered common in the urban landscape.²²³ A decade ago, gated communities already represented almost 12 per cent of housing in Los Angeles.²²⁴ This growing popularity has led to associations with the “international and modern elite” for those living in gated communities in developing countries.²²⁵

Moving across the Atlantic, with the formation of gated communities in Poland, where the number went from zero in 1997 to 200 in 2007, four main factors are cited for this growth: the new dominance of the free market coupled with a lack of government resources, an increasing fear of crime, an increasing fragmentation of urban space and new class structures and identifications linked to capitalism following communism’s fall.²²⁶

Gated communities represent a new kind of elite living that was not previously available and they provide a signal of higher social status. While Guatemala did not undergo a transformation from communism to capitalism as in Poland, it did experience a brutal civil war. In both cases, a regime change coincided with a rise in gated community construction, which may be an area of future comparative research, even though interviewees in this study believed that gated community development was only associated on a secondary, indirect level with the civil war.

The latter category above –new class structure following the fall of communism –is strengthened by media discourse linking newly obtainable wealth to a new social status.²²⁷

²²² Roitman, “Gated communities: definitions,” p. 35.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²²⁴ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 326.

²²⁵ Roitman, “Gated communities: definitions,” p. 33.

²²⁶ Polanska, “The Case of Poland,” p. 422.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

Wealth in Poland in the media is portrayed through a central housing location (as opposed to the poor who are pushed to the suburbs) and to voluntarily restricted lifestyles within private city spaces.²²⁸ Residents of gated communities therefore have the power to isolate their lifestyle, a power that non-residents do not have.²²⁹ In order to identify what class one belongs to, a gate is now one of the most crucial tools.²³⁰

The physical barrier is key to the mental concept of class and wealth and the more wealthy a community, the more elite status it offers. For instance, in Singapore, one gated community for the “super-elite” is completely segregated, private and offers “the charm of the French Riviera and Southern California suburbia.”²³¹ It thus “articulates new spatialities of wealth, privilege and power in a neoliberalizing world.”²³²

Gated communities also offer other qualities that are associated with status. “Gated communities are simply portrayed as the homes of people of ‘good taste.’”²³³ Developers promote high standards, privacy and lifestyle conveniences to provide a more comfortable life to gated community residents who can afford the bill.²³⁴ Living in a gated community is clearly a marker for social status.²³⁵

²²⁸ Polanska, “The Case of Poland,” p. 431.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ Choon-Piew, Pow, “Living it up: Super-rich enclave and transnational elite urbanism in Singapore,” *Geoforum*, Vol. 42 (2011), p. 382.

²³² Pow, “Living it up,” p. 392.

²³³ Polanska, “The Case of Poland,” p. 431.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

Developers also have a role in dictating changes in the social environment through a process of gentrification.²³⁶ Through the location choice, physical development and advertising to a specific clientele, they are able to repopulate an area with wealthier residents. As a part of neoliberal urbanism development, this tactic is used to attract investment from the middle or upper class and break up clusters of poor populations to make them less visible. This makes areas more desirable for residents and visitors.²³⁷

While public spaces may fall into a degraded state, gated communities offer a meticulously maintained environment for its residents. The image of these spaces is therefore an important aspect linking desirable perceptions of private spaces.²³⁸ In addition to maintaining the community grounds, gated communities can also provide green spaces. Providing closeness to nature inside the city through the provision of green spaces allows residents to escape city life also provide residents with attractive surroundings.²³⁹ The social status acquired in this case is associated with access to something that not all residents can easily obtain.

While gates may have created a “new type of physical imagery”²⁴⁰ for class and lifestyles in a city, it may send different signals in different contexts. In Puerto Rico, as in Guatemala, both rich and poor gated communities exist. In Puerto Rico, however, the poor gated communities are publically controlled in the form of public housing.²⁴¹ While gated communities originally surfaced in Puerto Rico in the 1980’s to protect residents from crime, in

²³⁶ Tore Sager, “Neo-Liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990-2010,” *Progress in Planning*, Vol.76 (2011), p. 176.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

²³⁸ Polanska, “The Case of Poland,” p. 428.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

²⁴⁰ Zaire Aenit Dinzey-Flores, “Islands of Prestige, Gated Ghettos, and Nonurban Lifestyles in Puerto Rico,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2013), p. 95.

²⁴¹ Dinzey-Flores, “Islands of Prestige,” p. 96.

1993 a new policy adapted gated communities so they could also be used as a model for public housing.²⁴² In Puerto Rico, a gate signals social status, but it may be that of wealth or poverty.

In the private gated communities, cameras serve to keep residents safe and are pointed at potential intruders, while in public housing, it is a state institution and the cameras are turned on its residents creating a prison climate, one that is to be avoided.²⁴³ Public housing, however, can be contracted to private companies, meaning that they could easily be subject to the same lack of consistency and control as was previously underscored.

For wealthy communities, the gate portrays prestige and exclusion, whereas in public housing it portrays an undesirable ghetto.²⁴⁴ This distinction is described as: “free versus controlled...safe versus insecure...public versus private...poor versus rich based on the condition of the gates.”²⁴⁵ The type of gate is actually branding the residents so that it is not only used as a way to signal your social status, but also it marques its residents.

In Guatemala City, poorer gated communities had very basic metal gates with peeling paint while richer gated communities had technologically advanced gates in mint condition coupled with security cameras and guards in matching uniforms. This may indicate that security is a more important factor in the choice to close these previously open spaces occupied by poorer residents. On the other hand, the literature and findings noted above point to the dominance of elite preferences and social status in richer gated communities. The arguments leading to the development of gated communities may therefore be weighed differently depending on the income of its residents.

²⁴² Dinzey-Flores, “Islands of Prestige,” p. 96.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

These cases of gated communities in other countries illustrate the link between gated community residents in Guatemala City and the social status that they can provide. Images from United States models have had an international reach, which has impacted Central American nations. Furthermore, with the association between these two elements found in examples globally, its indication is supported in interviews with Guatemala City.

New, Elitist Gated Communities

Unlike the old colonias that were closed off by residents due to security concerns, there are many new gated community developments in Guatemala City which do not fit this mold. Construction of this type of gated community comes with new infrastructure, including roads, electricity, water and other city services.²⁴⁶ Many of these new gated communities, which are original constructions, are found in the richer and more isolated zones, such as zones fifteen to seventeen. One interviewee stated that she believed President Otto Pérez Molina lived in zone fifteen. The trend of constructing gated communities for elite groups on city peripheries is common. It is found in various cities in the United States and other cities internationally, in places such as Jakarta, Istanbul, Manila, and Johannesburg.²⁴⁷

This highlights the importance of the physical location in the desirability to live in a gated community and adds to the formation of social status within a city. As noted earlier, in Poland one finds higher social status in the city centre, whereas the poor are pushed to the suburbs. In Brazil, while an elite gated community can be in the centre or the periphery, the poor are pushed into undesirable areas of the city, which have become favelas. In Guatemala, gated communities of varying economic means are scattered around the city, however, the most elite

²⁴⁶ Graham and Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism*, p. 276.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

ones cover vast expansive areas in newly developed areas of the city in the peripheries. These areas are far away from the slum La Limonada, from poorer city residents and even from lower end gated communities.

These high-class gated communities offer their residents many perks. They have a more secure neighbourhood as well as a more elevated social status.²⁴⁸ Not only do the standard perimeter walls act as symbols of security, status and distinction,²⁴⁹ but in the cases of high-class gated communities, there tends to be more homogeneity among the residents, similar to what one might find upon entering a country club. They are also located in areas where rapid transport, such as a highway, is nearby, or where natural barriers assist in their distinction.²⁵⁰ Public services are replaced by contracted private services, which inaugurate a new style of governance and new forms of control within daily life that do not originate from municipal or federal government.²⁵¹

An example may help to highlight this distinction: La Montana, in zone sixteen, is a new gated apartment inside of a gated community. The community is isolated by physical barriers (a ravine on one side and a large forest on the other). It is difficult to access the area unless one has a vehicle –there is no public transportation. The apartments were very modern, with an open kitchen-living room concept, tile floors, and a balcony overlooking the river. The interviewee who lived here was a single man who worked as an auditor in a French company, travelled frequently outside the city, and chose to live in this apartment building because it is an ‘adult’s only’ residence where no pets are allowed, the management takes care of all maintenance, and he

²⁴⁸ Bravo Soto, *Proceso de urbanización*, p. 199.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

can live close to nature. He himself said: “I love the natural greenery. There’s a river, and it smells wonderful when it rains”. The apartment building also uses solar panels as part of its electricity sources. Perhaps most telling is his statement that living here reminds him of his former apartment in the United States.

This man has lived in other upscale apartment buildings in Guatemala City and does not believe that security concerns are part of the decision to live in these types of modern developments. It is instead a lifestyle choice. When asked, he stated that he did not know any of his neighbours. He was happy with his solitude. He also believes that people move within the city for privacy, security and for peace and quiet. He said that if someone lives outside of a gated community, it is simply because they cannot afford to live inside of one.

Another interviewee from a gated community in zone ten agreed. She stated that the reasons to live in a gated community related to a desire for comfort, green spaces, peace and quiet. She thought that wealth, status and security all played equal roles in a choice to live in a gated community. For her, gated communities were popular because they served as a symbol of these all of characteristics.

A new development may highlight an emerging trend in gated communities in Guatemala City. La Montana is close by to a new development called Paseo Cayala. While this area is still under construction, it already has many apartment buildings and a shopping complex that includes restaurants and services. While it is not yet gated, there are security personnel at all of the entrances who verify the nature of your business while on the premises. The property was full of new cars and housed a high-tech parkade with green and red sensor lights to indicate the location of available parking spots. According to interviewees, the plan for this development is

continued expansion into a completely self-sufficient gated community. It will have desired amenities and services so that residents can stay in zone sixteen and obtain everything they need in a high class area of the city.

This type of gated community has been referred to as a “gated enclave.” The reasons for their development extend beyond secured, enclosed living areas to include a broader array of spaces related to leisure, social services and employment.²⁵² They may even include schools, hospitals and shopping centres within their walls and offer these services only to those who can afford them, operating independently from the surrounding city.²⁵³ One might draw parallels between the development of this form of gated community and wealthy American suburbs.²⁵⁴ It is true that the rise of gated communities in Guatemala City first followed the American model, and if gated enclaves become popular, an American model will once again be adopted. This should not be surprising: using first-world models to sell commodities is common in developing countries.²⁵⁵

The location of gated communities is usually based on three main criteria. First, the location needs to “maximize location rents,” such as ocean front properties and properties offering views and privacy.²⁵⁶ A central location may also serve this purpose. Second, one must consider land availability. For wealthy gated communities, residents may not only desire large green spaces, but also facilities for leisure activities and other amenities, which take up a lot of space.²⁵⁷ In these locations, scenic views, open spaces and isolation may be important attractive features for the residents. If wealthy residents desire a convenient location closer to the city

²⁵² Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 213.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

²⁵⁶ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 327.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

centre, these gated communities tend to be smaller because available land is limited.²⁵⁸ These gated communities may also be pre-existing wealthier areas of the city that are gated shut.

Finally, the social environment is important in determining the location of a gated community.²⁵⁹ When a gated community is developed from scratch, the developer tailors it to fit a specific clientele, with the financial means of the buyer at heart.²⁶⁰ For those living in the more elite gated communities farther away from the city centre, not only do they obtain privacy, greenery and isolation, but new infrastructure, services, amenities and expensive shopping centres are built just a short drive away. Residents are able to confine their movements to their wealthier area or zone.

When completed, Paseo Cayala may represent yet another phase in this trend. Not only will residents not have to leave their city zone, but also they will be able to stay within their gated community. The convenience that this offers to a small group of elites is mirrored with inconvenience on the other side of the walls. More noticeably within the city, those who do not live in gated communities face challenges in their daily commutes and activities as shopping centres are built in areas where they cannot easily access and physical barriers are built to cut off their transit routes.

The “Others”

It is important to study in more depth how changing the special configuration of a city through the construction gated communities impacts those who live outside of their walls. In the

²⁵⁸ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” p. 327.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Palestinian Territories, walls and security checkpoints have become part of daily practices.²⁶¹ Not only do these segregation measures separate and control people, but also they indicate an imbalance of power between Israel and Palestine.²⁶² As with Guatemala, the walls prevent people from travelling freely on previously used routes and alter their routines.

In addition, when walls are built to privilege one group of people, what is left is a disorganization of space that imposes new mobility constraints and artificial transit routes on those who are left outside.²⁶³ It essentially deprives people of their right to freedom of movement.²⁶⁴ This has also been seen over the past two years in Egypt, where a myriad of walls, barbed wire and security checkpoints have been constructed due to the escalating security situation. The military has undertaken an exercise in zoning, dividing the city into either war zones or normal spaces in order to contain and segregate protesters, effectively making movement and daily activities more challenging for all residents.²⁶⁵ In Israel, Egypt and Guatemala the walls segregate populations on either side, negatively effecting one group of people.

Unlike in Egypt, Guatemala's exercise in zoning is permanent in their numbered city zones. The zones are labelled and stigmatized according to their level of perceived affluence and crime. For instance, poorer residents in zone five neighbour wealthy residents in zones fifteen and seventeen. In addition, some zones are viewed as bloody and to be avoided, such as zone

²⁶¹ Helga Tawil-Souri, "Qualandia Checkpoint as Space and Nonplace," *Space and Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2011), p. 22.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁶⁵ Mona Abaza, "Walls, Segregating Downtown Cairo and the Mohammad Mahmud Street Graffiti," *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2013), pp. 127-128. Note: Graffiti has been an observable part of discontent towards segregation through walls in Israel and Egypt. While some graffiti was noticed during research in Guatemala, it was not documented and this could be an interesting area for future research.

one, which is the former central business district and remains the historical centre. Zone ten is now considered the new downtown, the economic business centre and is one of the lively night locations. Interviewees stated that these perceptions influenced whether they would enter a specific zone and whether they would be out past dark.

Many non-residents view gated communities as a constant reminder of the relationship between the “haves” and the “have-nots” in society –a physical blockade reinforcing a socio-economic barrier.²⁶⁶ One interviewee, who lived outside of a gated community and made his living as a driver, said that whenever he saw gated communities it reminded him that he could no longer access previous transit routes and now had to waste excess gas and time to do the same job. He did not understand, “why some people get to do this without respecting the laws. It is a luxury. People in gated communities only think of themselves”.

He also thought that gated community residents blamed those outside of their walls for the committal of crimes, but that often the residents were the cause of the crimes. He stated that those who live in gated communities are often involved in dirty businesses and are involved in narco-trafficking. For this non-gated community resident, the ‘others’ are those who segregate themselves and hide from everyone else.

A housekeeper who works in El Carmen and commutes each day from Villa Nueva (outside the city limits) disagreed. She stated that the new gated communities have not changed her commute. The main roads and access points have remained the same and many gated communities have not been given permission to close their gates on public roads. She also said that there were not many public areas within the gated communities prior to their construction

²⁶⁶ Durlington, “Suburban Fear,” p. 76.

because they were residential areas with rows of houses but not necessarily other public green spaces or facilities.

While the housekeeper said that she did not have a different opinion of people who choose to live in gated communities compared to those who live outside when asked directly, she responded to a follow-up question to the contrary. She stated that she thought people who have the financial means to privatize their community think that they are better and know more than those who live on the outside. She also said that she would never choose to live in a gated community. For her, living in a gated community would feel like being in a prison, and she had not committed any crimes. Why would someone choose to live in a place where they do not know their neighbours and have cold relations with each other? In her non-gated community she knows everyone in her neighbourhood; she has a real sense of community. She knows when someone moves, who does what, who has what dog, and all of the details in between. On the subject of crimes, she had a fatalist attitude. She did not believe that those living in gated communities blamed crimes on those living on the outside, stating, “when something happens, it is because it happens.”

One interviewee who lived directly outside of the gated community El Carmen in zone 12 stated that living outside of a closed, private area is normal in Guatemala City. On the other hand, he believed that residents of gated communities blamed those outside of the gates for crimes committed inside their secure walls, although it was more likely due to individuals who had been permitted entry to the gated community. This statement could signify bitterness towards his neighbours in the gated community.

The four girls from San Marcos also said that they had no different opinion of people who live in gated communities. Further discussion, however, revealed that they too thought residents of gated communities not only considered themselves privileged, but they also blamed crimes on those who live outside of their walls. For them, family and community trumped security. The girls would not want to live in a gated community unless their whole family could move there together, which they thought would be too expensive. This counters the views expressed by many gated community residents who said that living in a gated community was essential and thought that everyone who could afford to live in one would do so for the security and lifestyle benefits for themselves and their families.²⁶⁷

As illustrated, gated community residents often attributed the occurrence and cause of crime to those outside their walls and residents who lived outside of communities believed that they were being blamed for crimes. Individuals who did not live in gated communities also had more diverse opinions about the cause of criminal activities, often citing poverty and a lack of employment options, which leaves people few options but to steal in order to survive and support their families. This shows that while gated communities had a one-dimensional view of crime, residents who did not live in gated communities had a greater awareness of the social issues affecting the city, including those living in poverty.

²⁶⁷ In the discussion of interactions between residents within and outside of gated communities, it is important to acknowledge the debate surrounding what constitutes urban communities. While one may first think of face-to-face connections, modern urban communities are connected through the existence of a “planned” and constructed community, common technologies, such as computers, and through new forms of social interactions, such as groups of individuals who may get together just for a specific event and then disperse. [Amin and Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, pp. 43-45.] While the construction of gated communities was possible to view, technological forms of interaction were not, and there were no group activities visible when I visited the gated communities. It is possible that residents of gated communities have a feeling of community with other groups of people that are not necessarily in their immediate neighbours. The gated community, then, may not be a community of interactions or serve to generate a feeling of community, but rather it is a common area of living without the use of common spaces.

Research observations and perceptions by non-gated community residents portraying wealthy gated communities as lacking community life can be called an alienation of neo-liberalism. In the United States, scholars have stated that residents of elite enclaves do not take an interest in what is taking place on neighbourhood streets.²⁶⁸ In Mexico, the most segregated groups are the elites that live in wealthy gated communities.²⁶⁹ Mexico has experienced an increase in microsegregation in different “urban pockets,” while poverty stricken areas have become denser.²⁷⁰

For instance, elite universities also have many characteristics akin to gated communities: walls and physical barriers such as gardens and parking lots, security controls, and limited public transport.²⁷¹ In addition, they are more than just places for education. They also have restaurants, libraries, stores, movie theatres and banks.²⁷² Students do not need to venture outside of the university and their daily activities have limited reach and thus a minimal “urban experience.” They do not use public transportation, walk through parks or even shop in local markets.²⁷³ The effect of microsegregation is that elites are withdrawing into small spaces, which “generates a progressive ignorance in relation to the city itself and even a loss of urbanity.”²⁷⁴ This has been a general trend in Latin America where common experiences

²⁶⁸ Richard Lloyd, “East Nashville Skyline,” *Ethnography*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2011), pp. 141-142.

²⁶⁹ Bayón and Saraví, “The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Fragmentation,” p. 40.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Note: Alienation between isolated groups has been found in other examples where communities are separated by physical barriers and distance. In India following riots in 2002, Muslims were displaced into poorer areas lacking infrastructure, schools and transport in certain provinces while Hindus were provided with subsidized “Economically Weaker Section” colonies. “This socio-spatial engineering through urban development projects will have a far-reaching impact on future alienation between the two communities.” This illustrates how neo-liberal urban policies can cause displacement within a city. Ipsita Chatterjee, “Social conflict and the neoliberal city: a case of Hindu–Muslim violence in India,” *Royal Geographical Society*, (2009), pp. 155-156.

through shared practices and institutions that determinate social solidarity, recognition and empathy have declined.²⁷⁵

Another example of decreased social cohesion in gated communities is seen in a previously mentioned interview from a gated community resident in zone ten. The interviewee stated that she hoped living away from the main gate would keep her safe and that her neighbours living closer would be targeted first if a crime occurred. This is a clear indication that she does not have close connections, at least with her neighbours who live by the entrance. It could also indicate ranks of social classes and status levels within gated communities.

A breakdown in social interactions is also found in lower-income gated communities. One interviewee from the gated community Colonia Jardines de San Juan stated that before the gates went up people would go shopping in the neighbouring market and then sit in the community. It was a time when everyone knew their neighbours and if a stranger wandered in from the market, they would be immediately recognized by people in the streets. He stated that the neighbours became family. There were seventeen children and he knew and played with all of them. Today, post gating, he only knows five of his neighbours. Families moved for various reasons and now he feels like he does not know his neighbours and he certainly has less confidence in them. After all, they are “from all over Guatemala City and everywhere.”

A resident from another gated community, El Carmen, also knew very few of her neighbours. She was familiar, however, with the neighbourhood dogs because she met them on her daily walks. This in itself is telling. In gated communities residents do not greet each other because they do not interact frequently with their neighbours. Instead, they greet their neighbours' dogs who they are more familiar with.

²⁷⁵ Bayón and Saraví, “The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Fragmentation,” p. 45.

She also stated that the elite are very private do not talk about their lives, their wealth, or how they live. They are fearful of others. She thought that people are friendly in Guatemala City, but only to a point. They have to know a person in order to share details of their lives with him and this is difficult to develop when people do not get to know their neighbours are constantly afraid of being robbed. She thought that she knew more of her neighbours, albeit few, than residents of really elite communities did.

City residents who do not live in gated communities seemed to have the most interactions and know more of their neighbours. In examining residents of gated communities of differing incomes, interviews showed that as income increased, interactions with neighbours decreased. In addition, as the income of a gated community increased, the use of public spaces decreased. These gradations of gated communities, therefore, suggest an influence on social interactions between residents.

It is also important to acknowledge that interactions between neighbours are taking place in a post-modern world. The application of neo-liberal and elite arguments is therefore also important in the examination of social relations beyond gated communities. Reviewing these arguments with globalization and post-modernity in mind is an important area for future research.

This chapter has moved beyond security by exploring the connections between wealth and elitism in the development of gated communities in Guatemala City. Interview responses from residents of extremely wealthy gated communities were used to underscore the importance of lifestyle over security concerns in their daily routines, which points to the need to consider the neo-liberal and elite arguments in our analysis of gated community development. Market forces

in the development of these gated communities were also important, especially in the development of potentially new and completely segregated living. Finally, this chapter has discussed opinions from those who do not live in gated communities about those who do, debunking the idea that everyone who could afford live in a gated community to would choose to.

Conclusion

Through interviews and a review and analysis of the literature, this thesis addressed the following questions: How can one describe the development of gated communities in Guatemala City? To what extent is the growth of gated communities in Guatemala City simply tied to security concerns –an argument that has been postulated for their development in Latin America? What role, if any, do weak governance, wealth and status play in this process?

This thesis verified the hypothesis that the development of gated communities does not fit the mutually exclusive security argument. Since most research has focused on security issues in Guatemala, however, it is not surprising that security has been cited as the main cause in their development. Research findings concluded, rather, that socio-economic factors, elitism, fear, and private real estate interests are important factors in the development of gated communities, alongside the perceived requirement for private security. Moreover, history, the development of the city, migration and increasing population density must be considered. This multitude of factors points to a multifaceted understanding of gated communities, within which the security, neo-liberal, elite arguments are mutually reinforcing. While this research revealed how these arguments interact in Guatemala City, they probably interact in different ways in different places. This research, therefore, provides an important foundation on which future research can build.

At the base of these arguments, this research explored the relationship between weak governance, the loss of public space and creation of spatial disorganization due to the privatization of public spaces. As observed during research, while common spaces are created within gated communities, they do not appear to be widely used. Individual houses in gated communities are closed off in addition to security around the perimeter. Gated communities not

only remove areas that were formerly public spaces, but the spaces that are created are not conducive to daily face-to-face interactions between residents. Living space is isolated and, for those who do not live in the gated community, access is difficult. There are fixed boundaries and access is controlled.²⁷⁶

The voluntary loss of public space serves as a key example of weak governance in Guatemala City. The relationship between policing and private security highlights the changing public-private divide. Wealthier gated communities have more extensive private security and limited police access. In these communities, private security also plays a role in criminal investigations. The expansion of private security in Guatemala is not only a response to crime levels, but also to a lack of government legislation.

This thesis draws from various theoretical concepts to explain the connections between weak governance, the loss of public space, and fear in people's choice to live in gated communities. The principal authors it cites are Nigel Thrift, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, Leonie Sandercock, Teresa Caldeira and Henri Lefebvre. It also used Bourdieu's concept of habitus to emphasize the importance of common social experiences in the shared spaces of urban environments, although it did not apply its implications as related to power relations. This is an important area for future research.

This thesis described how weak governance contributes to conditions that support the development of gated communities and is also a product of their development. A feedback loop of weak governance is therefore present in gated communities. This academic finding is likely the most generalizable of this thesis. While specific historic and socio-economic factors make

²⁷⁶ Caldeira, *City of Walls*, p. 304.

Guatemala a unique case study, many of its neighbours as well as countries beyond its borders also suffer from governance issues. An analysis of governance, thus, should be applied to future studies on gated community development, specifically pertaining to the loss of public spaces and the process for issuing private contracts for new developments.

This research also illustrated challenges arising between gated community and non-gated community neighbours through specific examples, such as assigning blame on non-gated community residents for criminal activities and blaming gated community residents for the loss of access to public spaces or roadways in the city. Resulting segregation and the persistence of fear also served as examples. Despite these challenges, gated communities are so common that many interviewees had not considered them prior to the interview; they now represent a degree of normalcy in residential living.

This research found that the segregation between residents and non-residents of gated communities can take many forms. First, gated communities can be formed by gating off a previously existing community. This gated community can be composed of low, medium or higher income residents. Based on their income, access to the gated community can be easy or fairly challenging. Depending on the residents who originally lived around the newly gated community, neighbours outside the walls may be of low or medium income. These gated communities, then, will impose a varying degree of segregation through challenges in access and income disparities on either side of the walls.

Second, gated communities can be newly constructed. This can also take multiple forms. A new gated condominium can be built within an existing gated community or an entirely new gated community can be built in a green area of the city. In the latter category, segregation is

more prevalent given that the city's poor residents are far from the view of the gated community and natural barriers and a lack of public transit may make it challenging for those without financial means to travel to the gated community. The future of gated communities in Guatemala City may extend to yet another level of segregation, fortified enclaves, wherein residents have access to all amenities and social services so they never have to leave. Paseo Cayala may be one such gated community in the future.

The identification of low, middle and high-income gated communities, as well as a new level of exclusive living present in future elite enclaves, is applicable to other studies of gated communities. It is arguably generalizable most immediately to Guatemala's neighbours who are encountering similar security challenges alongside influences from modern media, international business and other international participation as well as wealthy citizens who parachute in and out of the country as international travellers. It likely continues to be applicable to case studies in many other Latin American countries, particularly those with large disparities in wealth.

All of these factors are inherent in weak governance: no guarantee of equal access or public services for all citizens; private security taking over the role of public police forces; economic abilities and personal preferences dictating when and how new gated communities will be built. In addition, people living outside of gated communities experience a lower quality of security provision due to police force deficiencies.

People living within gated communities, while enjoying a higher degree of personal security, or at least easing their fear of crime, do not appear to use the common areas within gated communities and have little communal life except for sharing security and living proximity.

This thesis adds value to various areas of research. Since most post-war research in Guatemala has taken place in rural areas, this thesis adds to post-war research in urban Guatemala. It also adds to the growing literature on gated communities in an understudied geographic area. This thesis, therefore, helps bring attention to neglected area of research. Guatemala City, however, is just one area, and much more research is needed elsewhere in Central America on the development and impacts of gated communities.

This thesis reviewed the three arguments of gated community development and applied them to the case of Guatemala City. It debated the merits of the security argument of gated communities in Guatemala City and showed how the elite and neo-liberal models also have merit. In addition, the three arguments are mutually reinforcing in the development of gated communities. This information will be useful for future studies looking to review these arguments and create standard definitions for what constitutes modern gated communities in the developing world. A standard definition and terminology is still needed to allow for comparisons. Indeed, understanding today's cities entails, "the invention of new sociospatial vocabularies that can unlock new insights."²⁷⁷ Given that Guatemala's gated communities vary so greatly, it is challenging to properly describe them.

Due to the level of privacy afforded to commercial actors in Guatemala, it was not possible to obtain information on specific companies. This information would be valuable for research into the lack of commercial activity regulations and its role in the development of gated communities. From interviews and research, however, it was apparent that closing off public spaces, such as roads, was possible if a community had sufficient funding. Determining the number, size, and housing composition of gated communities in Guatemala City is an important

²⁷⁷ Amin and Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*, p. 77.

area for future research. In addition, new forms of public-private partnerships for the development of gated communities are appearing in other areas of the world, such as the United States, where the developer is required to finance new “infrastructure, landscaping and improvements”, transferring this cost from the state and from taxpayers to the developer and eventually to the buyer.²⁷⁸ This would be interesting to explore in future research in Guatemala. This information will also assist in the future application of habitus in the examination of power relations within city spaces.

The development of gated communities in Guatemala City represents an important case study. It allows for the exploration of governance, developments in real estate and private security, failures in the equal provision of public security for all residents, and flourishing segregation and fears between residents of differing financial means. It is clear that one perspective, such as the security argument, cannot comprehensively explain such a complex phenomenon on its own. In order to fully appreciate these areas, much more analysis is needed in this neglected region.

²⁷⁸ Le Goix, “Social Segregation in Southern California,” pp. 329-330.

References

- Abaza, Mona. "Walls, Segregating Downtown Cairo and the Mohammed Mahmud Street Graffiti," *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2013), pp. 122-139.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel. *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002.
- Amin, Ash and Thrift, Nigel. "Cultural Economy and Cities," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2007), pp. 143-161.
- Arana, Ana. "How the Street Gangs Took Central America," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (2005), pp. 98-110.
- Argueta, Otto. "Private Security in Guatemala: Pathway to its Proliferation," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2012), pp. 320-335.
- Arias, Enrique Desmond. "The Myth of Personal Security: Criminal Gangs, Dispute Resolution, and Identity in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas," *Latin American Politics & Society*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (2006), pp. 53-81.
- Arias, Enrique Desmond. "Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 38 (2006) pp. 293-325.
- Ballard, Richard, and Jones, Gareth. "Natural Neighbours: Indigenous Landscapes and Eco-estates in Durban, South Africa," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (2010), pp. 131-148.
- Bayón, María Cristina and Saraví Gonzalo A. (Trans: Mariana Ortega Breña). "The Cultural Dimensions of Urban Fragmentation: Segregation, Sociability, and Inequality in Mexico City," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2013), pp. 35-52.
- Benson, Peter, Fischer, Edward F and Thomas, Kedron. "Resocializing Suffering : Neoliberalism, Accusation, and the Sociopolitical Context of Guatemala's New Violence," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 35, No 38 (2008), pp. 38-58.
- Berger, Mark. "The Reconquest of Central America: Latin American Studies and the Transition to Democracy," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (1997) pp. 7-72.
- Bodnar, Judit and Molnar, Virag. "Reconfiguring Private and Public: State, Capital and New Housing Developments Berlin and Budapest," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, (2009), pp. 789-812.
- Booth, John A., "Socioeconomic and Political Roots of National Revolts in Central America," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1991), pp. 33-73.
- Brands, Hal. "Crime, Irregular Warfare, and International Failure in Latin America: Guatemala as a Case Study," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 34 (2010), 228-247.
- Bravo Soto, Mario Alfonso. *Proceso de urbanización segregación social violencia urbana y barrios cerrados en Guatemala, 1944-2002*. Guatemala City: Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, 2007.
- Caldeira, Teresa P.R. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.
- Carey, David. "Shades of Peace and Democracy: Social Discontent and Reconciliation in Central America," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2005), pp. 251-267.
- Chase, Jacquelyn. "Their Space: Security and Service Workers in a Brazilian Gated Community," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (2008), pp. 476-495.
- Chatterjee, Ipsita. "Social conflict and the neoliberal city: a case of Hindu-Muslim violence in India," *Royal Geographical Society*, (2009), pp. 143-160. Csefalvay, Zoltan. "Searching for Economic Rationale behind Gated Communities: A Public Choice Approach," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (2011), p. 752.

- Davis, Mike. *City of quartz: excavating the future of Los Angeles*, London, New York: Verso, 2006.
- Davis, Mike. "How Eden Lost its Garden: A Political History of the L.A. Landscape," *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (1995), pp. 1-29.
- Diaz, Tom. *No Boundaries: Transnational Latino Gangs and American Law Enforcement*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- Dinzey-Flores, Zaire Zenit. "Islands of Prestige, Gated Ghettos, and Nonurban Lifestyles in Puerto Rico," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (2013), pp. 95-104.
- Doyle, David. "The Legitimacy of Political Institutions: Explaining Contemporary Populism in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 11 (2011), pp. 1447-1473.
- Durington, Matthew. "Suburban Fear, Media and Gated Communities in Durban, South Africa," *Home Cultures*, Vol. 6 (2009), pp. 71-88.
- Ferreira, Francisco H. G. and Gignoux, Jérémie. "The Measurement of Inequality of Opportunity: Theory and an Application to Latin America," *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper Series*, Paper 4659 (2008), pp. 1-55.
- Fruhling, Hugo, Tulchin, Joseph S., and Golding, Heather A (eds). *Crime and Violence in Latin America: Citizen Security, Democracy and the State*. Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Centre Press, 2003.
- Fruhling, Hugo. "Research on Latin American Police: where do we go from here?" *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 10, Nos 5-6 (2009), pp. 465-481.
- Gauster, Susana and Isakson, S Ryan. "Eliminating Market Distortions, Perpetuating Rural Inequality: an evaluation of market-assisted land reform in Guatemala," *Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 8 (2007) pp 1519 – 1536.
- Geneva Declaration. *The Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Geneva: Geneva Declaration and Small Arms Survey, 2011. Accessed March 4, 2012. [Available at: <http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/global-burden-of-armed-violence/global-burden-of-armed-violence-2011.html>]
- Genis, Serife. "Producing Elite Localities: The Rise of Gated Communities in Istanbul," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2007), pp. 771-798.
- Giglia, Angela. "Gated Communities in Mexico City," *Home Cultures*, Vol. 5 (2008), pp. 65-84.
- Godoy, Angelina Snodgrass. "Lynchings and Democratization of Terror in Postwar Guatemala: Implications for Human rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2002), pp. 640-661.
- Godoy-Paiz, Paula. "Women in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area: Violence, Law, and Social Justice," *Studies in Social Justice*, Vol. 2 (2008), pp 27-47.
- Government of Canada. *Guatemala Security Report*. Accessed June 2, 2013. [Available at: <http://travel.gc.ca/destinations/guatemala>]
- Graham, Stephen. *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2010.
- Graham, Stephen and Marvin, Simon. *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Holden, William N. and Jacobson, Daniel R. "Ecclesial opposition to nonferrous mining in Guatemala: neoliberalism meets the church of the poor in a shattered society," *The Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2009), pp. 145-164.
- Hurrell, Andrew. "Security in Latin America," *International Affairs (Royal Institute for International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol 74, No. 3 (1998), pp. 529-546.

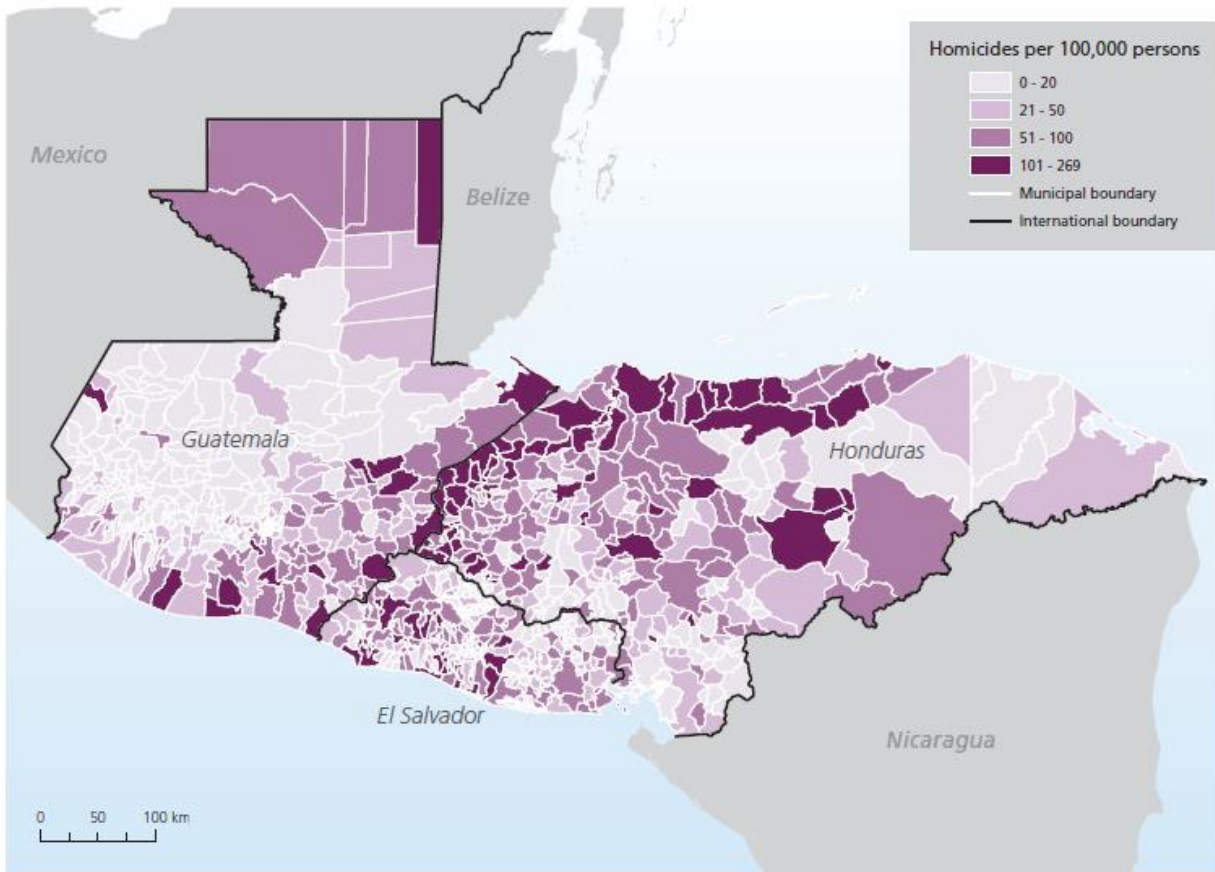
- Isaacs, Anita. "Guatemala on the Brink," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010), pp. 108-122.
- Jutersonke, Oliver, Muggah, Robert and Rodgers, Dennis. "Gangs, Urban Violence and Security Interventions in Central America," *Security Dialogue, Special Edition on Urban Insecurities*, Vol 40, No. 4-5 (2009), pp. 373-397.
- Kenna, Theresa. "Fortress Australia? (In)security and private governance in a gated residential estate," *Australian Geographer*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2010), pp. 431-446.
- Kincaid, David. "Demilitarization and Security in El Salvador and Guatemala: Convergences of Success and Crisis," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2000), pp 39-58.
- Kitchen, Ted and Schneider, Richard H. *Crime and the Design of the Build Environment: Anglo-American Comparisons of Policy and Practice*, in J. Hillier and E. Rooksby *Habitus : A sense of Place*, London: Ashgate, 2002, pp. 241-265.
- Klaufus, Christien. "Watching the city grow: remittances and sprawl in intermediate Central American cities," *Environment & Urbanization, International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)*, Vol 22, No.1 (2010), p. 135.
- Le Goix, Renaud. "Gated Communities: Sprawl and Social Segregation in Southern California," *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), pp. 323-343
- Lemanski, Charlotte. "Residential Responses to Fear (of Crime Plus) in Two Cape Town Suburbs: Implications for the Post-Apartheid City," *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 18 (2006), pp. 787-802.
- Lemanski, Charlotte. "Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection? Linkages between a Gated Community and its Poorer Neighbour in a Cape Town Master Plan Development," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43 (2006), pp. 397-420.
- Lemanski, Charlotte, Landman, Karina and Durlington, Matthew. "Divergent and Similar Experiences of 'Gating' in South Africa: Johannesburg, Durban and Capetown," *Urban Forum*, Vol. 19. *Springer Science and Business Media*, (2008), pp. 133-158.
- Libertun de Duren, Nora. "Planning a la Carte: The Location Patterns of Gated Communities around Buenos Aires in a Decentralized Planning Context," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2006), pp. 308-327.
- Lloyd, Richard. "East Nashville Skyline," *Ethnography*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2011), pp. 114-145.
- Lofving, Staffan. "Paramilitaries of the Empire: Guatemala, Colombia, and Israel," *Social Analysis*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2004), pp. 156-161.
- Low, Setha M. "The Edge and the Center: Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear," *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 103, No. 1 (2001), pp. 45-58.
- Low 2003, p. 391, in Durlington, Matthew. "Suburban Fear, Media and Gated Communities in Durban, South Africa," *Home Cultures*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (2009), pp. 84-85
- Lucchi, Elena. "Between war and peace: humanitarian assistance in violent urban settings," *Disasters*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2010), pp. 973-995.
- Marquez, Francisca B. and Perez, Francisca P. "Spatial Frontiers and Neo-Communitarism Identieies in the City: The Case of Santiago de Chile," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 7 (2008), pp. 1461-1483.
- Marroquin, Hermes. "City Profile: Guatemala City," *CITIES*, (1987), pp. 203-206.
- Manz, Beatriz. "The Continuum of Violence in Post-War Guatemala," *Social Analysis*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2008), pp. 151-164.

- Mason, David T. "The Civil War in El Salvador: A Retrospective Analysis," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1999), pp. 179-196.
- McKenzie, Evan. "Constructing the *Pomerian* in Las Vegas: A Case Study in Emerging Trends in Gated communities," *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), pp. 187-203.
- McNeish, John-Andrew and Rivera, Oscar Lopez. "The Ugly Poetics of Violence in Post-Accord Guatemala," *Forum for Development Studies* Vol. 36, No. 1 (2009), pp. 49-77.
- Moses, Jonathon W. and Knutsen, Torbjorn. *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Paris, Roland. "Peacebuilding in Central America: Reproducing the Sources of Conflict?" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2002), pp. 39-68.
- Polanska, Dominika V. "Gated Communities and the Construction of Social Class Markers in Postsocialist societies: The Case of Poland," *Space and Culture*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2010), pp. 421-435.
- Pow, Choon-Piew. "Living it up: Super-rich enclave and transnational elite urbanism in Singapore," *Geoforum*, Vol. 42 (2011), pp. 382-393.
- Richani, Nazih. "State Capacity in Postconflict Settings: Explaining Criminal Violence in El Salvador and Guatemala," *Civil Wars*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2010), pp. 431-455.
- Roberts, Benjamin. "Age of Hope or Anxiety? Dynamics of the fear of crime in South Africa," *HSRC Policy Brief, Human Sciences Research Council*, (2008), pp. 1-12
- Roberts, Bryan R. "Moving On and Moving Back: Rethinking Inequality and Migration in the Latin American City," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 42 (2010), p. 603.
- Rodgers, Dennis. "'Disembedding' the city: crime, insecurity and spatial organization in Managua, Nicaragua," *Environment & Urbanization*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2004) pp. 113-124.
- Rodgers, Dennis and Muggah, Robert. "Gangs as non-state armed groups," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2009), pp. 301- 317.
- Roitman, Sonia and Phelps, Nicholas. "'Do Gated Negate the City? Gated Communities' Contribution to the Urbanisation of Suburbia in Pilar, Argentina," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 16 (2011), pp. 3487-3509.
- Roitman, Sonia. "Gated communities: definitions, causes and consequences," *Urban Design and Planning*, Vol. 163 (2010), pp. 31-38.
- Roitman, Sonia. "Who Segregates Whom? The Analysis of a Gated Community in Mendoza, Argentina," *Housing Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2005), pp. 303-321.
- Rosen, Gillad and Razin, Eran. "The Rise of Gated Communities in Israel: Reflections on Changing Urban Governance in a Neo-Liberal Era," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 8 (2009), pp. 1702-1722.
- Sager, Tore. "Neo-Liberal Urban Planning Policies: A Literature Survey 1990-2010," *Progress in Planning*, Vol.76 (2011), pp. 147-199.
- Sandercock, Leonie. *Difference, Fear and Habitus: A Political Economy of Urban Fears* in J. Hillier and E. Rooksby. *Habitus: A sense of Place*. London: Ashgate, 2002, pp. 203-218.
- Scott, Allen J. "Globalization and the Rise of City-regions," *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (2001), pp. 813-826.
- Scott, Allen J. "Inside the City: On Urbanization, Public Policy and Planning," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2008), pp. 755-772.
- Steinberg, Michael K, Height, Carrie, Rosemary, Mosher, and Bampton, Mathew. "Mapping massacres: GIS and state terror in Guatemala," *Geoforum*, Vol. 37 (2006), pp. 62-68.

- Tawil-Souri, Helga. "Qualandia Checkpoint as Space and Nonplace," *Space and Culture*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2011), pp. 4-26.
- Thrift, Nigel. "Driving in the City," *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 21, Vol. 4-5 (2004), pp. 41-59.
- Thrift, Nigel. "Immaculate Warfare? The Spatial Politics of Extreme Violence" in D. Gregory and A. Pred *Violent Geographies: Fear, terror and Political Violence*. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 273-294.
- Torres, Gabriela. "Imagining Social Justice amidst Guatemala's Post-Conflict Violence," *Studies in Social Justice*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2008), pp. 1-11.
- Tracey, Sarah J. "Qualitative Quality: Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 16, No. 10 (2010), pp. 837-851.
- Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean: A Threat Assessment. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012, pp 1-80. Accessed May 1, 2013. [Available at: http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/TOC_Central_America_and_the_Caribbean_english.pdf]
- United States Department of State, Bureau on Diplomatic Security: OSAC. Guatemala 2013 Crime and Statistics Report. Accessed June 2, 2013. [Available at: <https://www.osac.gov/Pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=13878>]
- United Nations Development Program. International Human Development Indicators. Guatemala Country Profile. Accessed June 6, 2013. [Available at: <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/GTM.html>]
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: 2011 Global Study on Homicide. Homicide Statistics. Accessed May 1, 2013. [Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/homicide.html>]
- United States Bureau of Justice Statistics. The International Association of Chiefs of Police. "Research Centre Directorate Perspective: Police Officer to Population Ratios." Accessed August 22, 2013. [Available online at: <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71> and <http://www.theiacp.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=LF7xdW1tPk=>]
- Winton, Ailsa. "Young people's views on how to tackle gang violence in "post-conflict" Guatemala," *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol.16, No. 2 (2004), pp.83-99.
- World Bank Report. "Crime and Violence in Central America, a Development Challenge," Sustainable Development Department and Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, Latin America and the Caribbean Region, 2011, pp. 1-45. Accessed March 4, 2012. [Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLAC/Resources/FINAL_VOLUME_I_ENGLISH_CrimeAndViolence.pdf]
- World Health Organization, Violence and Statistics Databases. Accessed March 4, 2012. [Available online at: <http://www.who.int/topics/violence/en/>]

Appendix 1: Map of Homicide Rates in Central America²⁷⁹

Homicide rates by municipal areas in 2011



Source: UNODC, elaborated from data from national police (Guatemala, El Salvador) and *Observatorio de la Violencia* (Honduras)

²⁷⁹ Transnational Organized Crime in Central America and the Caribbean: A Threat Assessment September, (2012). United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p 12.

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

Residents of gated communities

Personal History

- 1) What is your profession?
- 2) How big is your family?
- 3) Who lives with you?
- 4) Are you originally from this city, or are you from another region in this country?
- 5) Before living here, had you lived in other gated communities?
- 6) How long have you lived here?
- 7) Why did you choose to live here?
 - a) security: i) personal or family (children) related security concerns; ii) security concerns for your property, home or goods;*
 - b) desired life style, such as: i) the quality of drinking water; ii) running water; iii) waste water management; iv) better protection from natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes, floods); v) garbage collection; vi) electricity; vii) access to domestic help*
 - c) location of the community in the city (close to work, school, family, highway, services (medical, grocery stores))*
 - d) (cost)*
 - e) it is a popular option in Guatemala to live in gated communities*
- 8) Do you own or rent your home?
- 9) I understand that details such as costs and budgets are personal, and if you would prefer not to discuss them, I won't ask any questions; i) what are your monthly costs (for

services or rent) ii) what is your monthly salary?; iii) is cost/budget also a reason you live here?

Development of the Gated Community

1) When was this community built?

2) In what way?

(meaning, were there already houses here and it was expanded upon and/or gates were added or the community was conceived in this way from the start?)

3) Who conceived, financed and built this community?

(a business, municipal or state government, international organization?)

4) Why do you think it was built?

a) security: i) personal or family related security concerns; ii) security of your property, home or goods;

b) economic opportunity;

c) desired life style, such as: i) for the quality of drinking water; ii) running water;

iii) waste water management; iv) better protection from natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes, floods); v) garbage collection; vi) electricity provision

5) Do you why this area of the city was chosen to develop the gated community?

a) low cost of land

b) availability of space

c) government regulations

d) response to the need for homes in this area

The Gated Community

- 1) What services are included?
 - i) security; ii) garbage collection; iii) electricity; iv) telephone/internet; v) running water; vi) maintenance ; vii) gardener; viii) waste water management;*
- 2) What are the security measures provided?
 - i) walls; ii)barbed wire; iii)broken glass on the top of the walls ; iv) armed guards (where, how many, armed with what); v) electronic security system;*
- 3) If a crime were committed, what would happen?
 - i) who would lead the investigation?; ii) what would be the roles of the private security and the police?; iii)would the reaction depend on the type of crime? (assault, homicide, rape, threats, robbery)*
- 4) What do the police normally do when a crime takes place outside of the gated community?
- 5) What are the requirements for accepting new residents into the community?
 - i) is there a list of requirements?; ii)is there a fee? what is the cost?; iii)is there a minimum salary required to be a resident?; iv) recommendations required?*
- 6) What types of public space are available in the community?
 - i) pool; ii)parks for children; iii)community gardens; iv)parking;*
- 7) How does one access the community?

Experience

- 1) Has a crime ever been committed within or outside of the community? What type of crime?
- 2) Do you think that crime rates have risen over the past few years? Is there more crime inside of or outside of the community?

- 3) What is your opinion of people who lives outside of the community?
- 4) Does being a resident here have an impact on what people who live outside of the community think of you?
- 5) Do you feel comfortable when you need to leave the community?
- 6) What are your interactions with people who live outside of the community?
- 7) Do many people who live outside of the community work within it?
- 8) What is your opinion of gated communities?

Residents who live outside of gated communities

Personal History

- 10) What is your profession?
- 11) How big is your family?
- 12) Who lives with you?
- 13) Are you originally from this city, or are you from another region in this country?
- 14) Have you ever lived in a gated community?
- 15) How long have you lived here?
- 16) Why did you choose to live here?

a) security: i) personal or family related security concerns; ii) security concerns for your property, home or goods;

b) desired life style, such as: i) the quality of drinking water; ii) running water; iii) waste water management; iv) better protection from natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes, floods); v) garbage collection; vi) electricity; vii) access to domestic help

c) location of the community in the city (close to work, school, family, highway, services (medical, grocery stores))

d) (cost)

e) it is a popular option in Guatemala to live in this way

17) Do you own or rent your home?

18) I understand that details such as costs and budgets are personal, and if you would prefer not to discuss them, I won't ask any questions; i) what are your monthly costs (for public services or rent) ii) what is your monthly salary? iii) is cost/budget also a reason you live here?

Development of the Gated Community

6) When was this community built?

7) In what way?

(meaning, were there already houses here and it was expanded upon and/or gates were added or the community was conceived in this way from the start?)

8) Who conceived, financed and built this community?

(a business, municipal or state government, international organization?)

9) Why do you think it was built?

a) security: i) personal or family related security concerns; ii) security of your property, home or goods;

b) economic opportunity;

c) desired life style, such as: i) for the quality of drinking water; ii) running water;

iii) waste water management; iv) better protection from natural disasters (hurricanes, earthquakes, floods); v) garbage collection; vi) electricity provision

10) Do you why this area of the city was chosen to develop the gated community?

a) low cost of land

- b) availability of space*
- c) government regulations*
- d) response to the need for homes in this area*

The Gated Community

- 8) Has the development of the gated community caused any changes in your life? Has your access to public services or access to the rest of the city changed?
- 9) Before the development of this gated community, were there public spaces here?
- 10) Is it possible for you to access the gated community?
- 11) Is it possible for you to pass through the gated community to access other parts of the city?
- 12) Do many people from your neighbourhood work in the gated community?
- 13) What security measures does your house have?
 - i) walls; ii)barbed wire; iii)broken glass on the top of the walls ; iv) armed guards (where, how many, armed with what); v) electronic security system;*
- 14) If a crime were committed in the gated community, what would happen?
 - i) who would lead the investigation?; ii) what would be the roles of the private security and the police?; iii)would the reaction depend on the type of crime? (assault, homicide, rape, threats, robbery)*
- 15) If a crime were committed in your neighbourhood, what would the police normally do?
- 16) Are there any circumstances under which you would choose to live in a gated community?

Experience

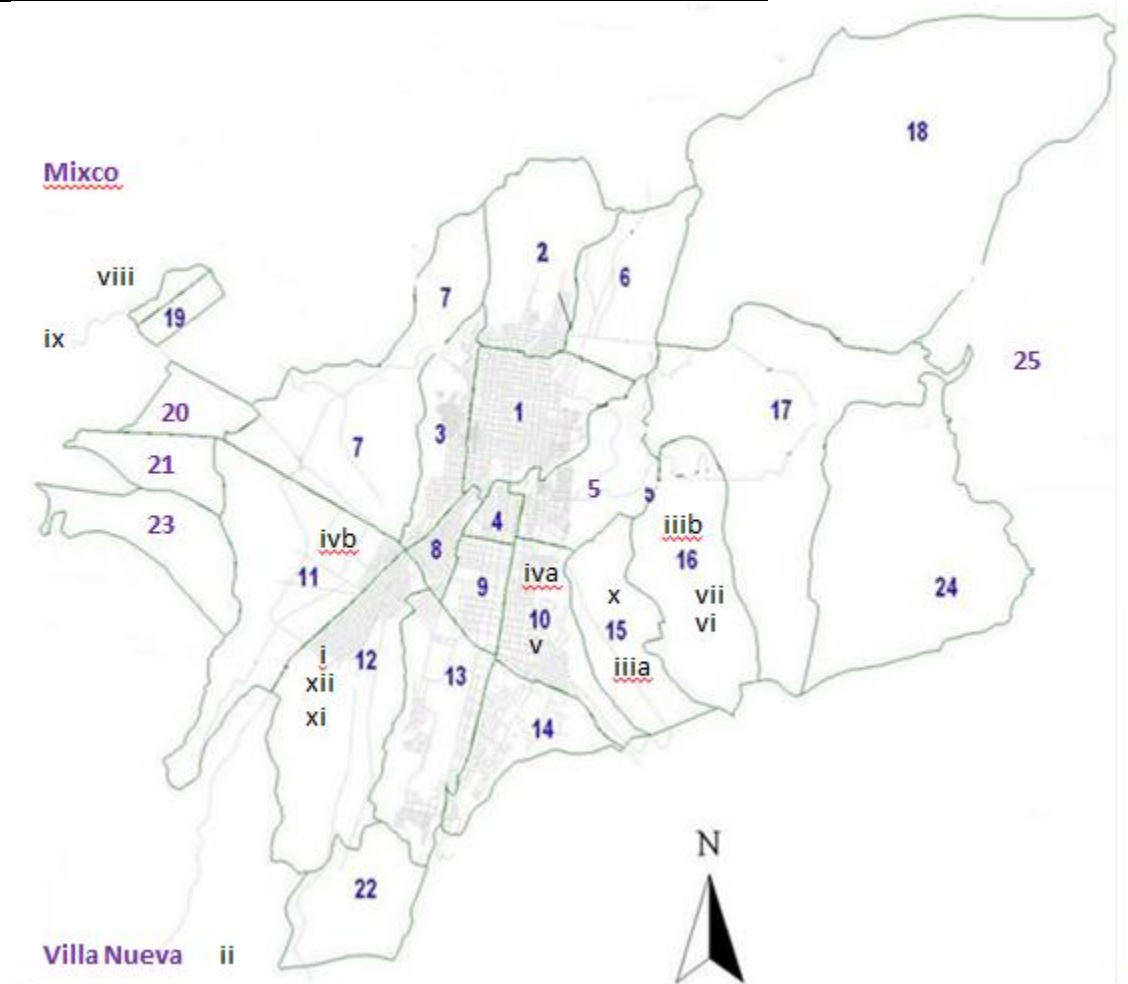
- 9) Has a crime ever been committed within or outside of the community? What type of crime?
- 10) Do you think that crime rates have risen over the past few years? Is there more crime inside of or outside of the community?
- 11) What is your opinion of people who live in the gated community?
- 12) What is your opinion of gated communities?
- 13) What do people who live inside of gated communities think of the people who live outside of them?
- 14) Do you think residents of gated communities blame those that live on the outside for crimes that take place in the city?

Appendix 3: Map of Interview Locations

Maps of Guatemala City, both current road maps and archival, containing all zones are difficult to obtain. All maps obtained encompassed only the inner zones of the city. The map below was chosen as it contains a more complete representation of the zones.²⁸⁰

Map 1: Zones and Interview Locations

Legend	
Purple Numbers	Zone
Black Roman Numerals	Interview Location*
Mixco and Villa Nueva	Suburbs of Guatemala City



²⁸⁰ This map was acquired from the following website: [accessed May 1, 2012 and May 27, 2013: <http://www.gauss.estudios.50megs.com/catalog.html>]. It included the purple numbers present. The numbers 20, 21, 23 and 25 were then added and the map and zone numbers were verified with the Canadian embassy in Guatemala City to ensure accuracy. Legend and further details were added afterwards.

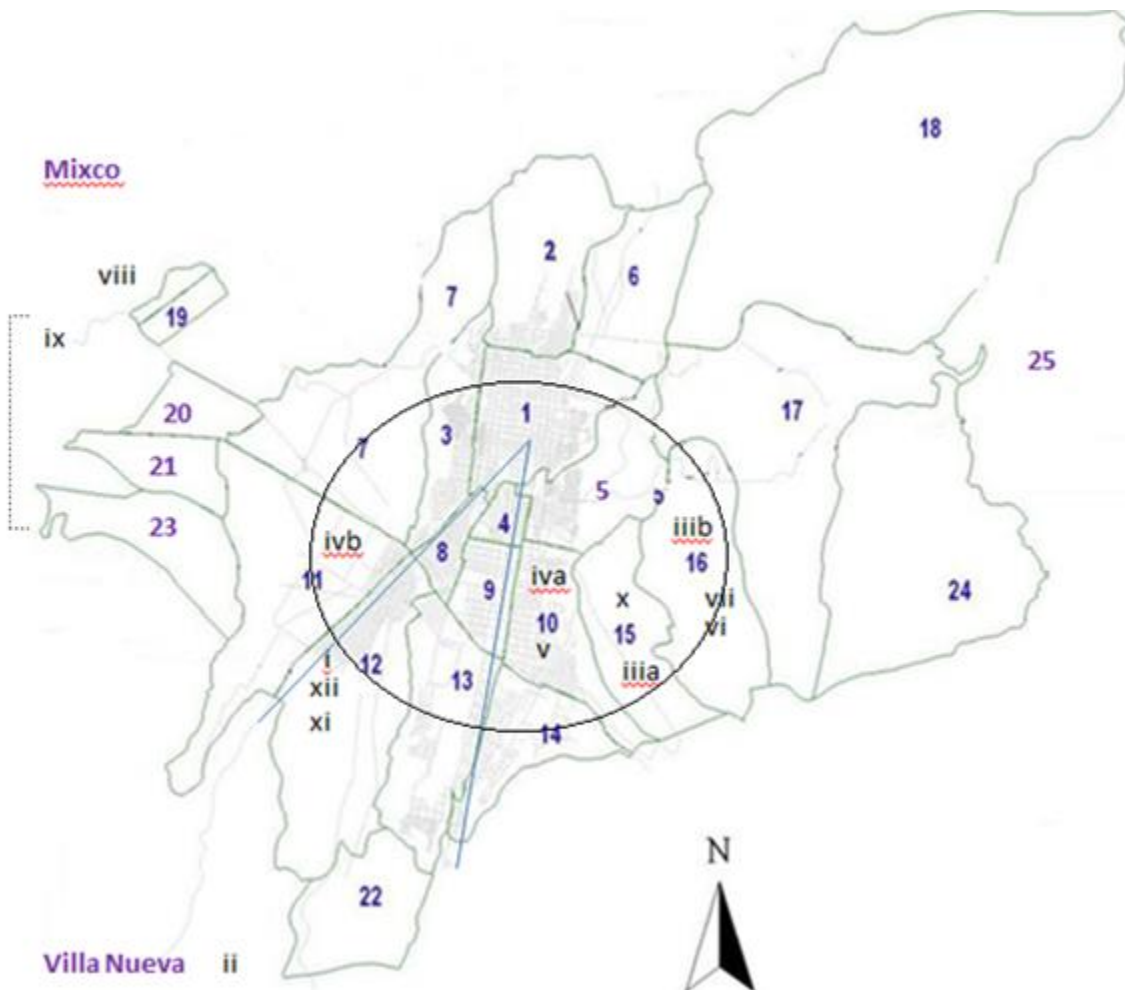
Map 2: Transit Routes

Legend	
Purple Numbers	Zone
Black Roman Numerals	Interview Location*
Mixco and Villa Nueva	Suburbs of Guatemala City
Blue Lines (“^” shape)	Transmetro Lines**
Black Circle	Anillo Periférico***

**Based on Transmetro Map [Accessed May 29, 2013:

<http://transmetro.muniguate.com/index.php/e>]

***Estimate of new highway, Anillo Periférico, upon completion based on interviews.



*Interview location details. House numbers and address details left out to preserve anonymity of interviewees.

- i. Address: 29 calle, zone 12, outside of the Gated Community El Carmen. Interviewees:
Two university students, male and female.
- ii. Address: zone 9, 4 calle, Villa Nueva (works in Gated Community El Carmen).
Interviewee: Middle aged woman.
- iii. (iiia) Addresses: Gated Community Vista Hermosa in zone 15, 19 avenida. Interviewee:
Elderly woman.
(iiib) Address: zone 16, outside of a gated community. Interviewee: Middle aged woman.
- iv. (iva) Address: 6ta Avenida, zone 10. Interviewee: Three sisters in their 20's.
(ivb) Address: Gated Community in zone 11 called Colonia de Zompopero. Interviewee:
the fourth sister, also in her 20's.
- v. Address: in zone 10, gated condominium complex within a gated community on 6th and
13th. Interviewee: A women, student.
- vi. Address: gated condominium Bosque Real within the gated community La Montana in
zone 16. Interviewee: Single male in his early 30's.
- vii. Address: House inside the Gated Community Hacienda Real in zone 16. Interviewee:
student, male in his early twenties
- viii. Address: zone 5 Mixco (works in hostel in zone 10 of Guatemala City). Interviewee:
Middle aged man.
- ix. Address: Gated Community Colonia Jardines de San Juan of zone 7 of Mixco.
Interviewees: Four people their twenties, three males and one female. One is a student
and the other three are just starting jobs and living with their parents.
- x. Address: gated condominium, La Garranca, inside of a gated community in zone 15.
Interviewee: Student, female, in her 20's.

- xi. Address: lives near gated community El Carmer in Zone 12. Interviewee: Middle aged woman.
- xii. Address: 3a. Avenida, Zone 12, Gated Community Colonia El Carmen. Interviewee: Middle aged woman.

Appendix 4: Map of Guatemala City in 1965²⁸¹

Photograph 1: Full Map



²⁸¹ The photographs were taken with special permission from the Central American General Archives in Guatemala City. Photographs indicate existence of communities (colonias) that were later gated off to form gated communities.

Appendix 5: Photographs of Guatemala City [June 2012]

Advertisements





Gated Community El Carmen





Paseo Cayala





Gated Community zone sixteen





Gated Community Colonia Jardines de San Juan, Mixco





Between zone sixteen and zone five: Make shifthouses along the cliff



Guatemala City from the air: Ravine and housing

