MEXICO CITY GROWTH AT THE LIMIT?
Mexico City has had more than the explosive growth of the flight of the dispossessed from the countryside to contend with. It has a fractured government system to deal with, divided between the Federal District – a territory that was tightly controlled by the federal government in the same way that Washington, D.C. and many other national capitals were until they began acquiring locally elected mayors – and the surrounding municipalities of the State of Mexico. Yet very recently the two administrations have failed to come to a shared view of what the place needs to function properly. To comply matters further, the whole country is having to deal with a gradual reawakening of a national democratic politics.

Mexico City has within it the elements of a global city and the visible impacts of a globalised economy, both negative and positive. It has slick business parks and boutique hotels, and it is losing industrial jobs to both the NAFTA-boosted factories on the US border and more recently to China. An overvalued peso is not helping either. But it is also a city where what could be seen as pre-modern conditions still prevail in certain aspects of civic life. It displays the chronic symptoms of uneven development in its lurid global economy: illegal land development in some areas, and the informal economy is far more than the all pervasive street trade and the 120,000 taxis on the city’s busy roads. The Federal District in particular has seen the impact of competing power centres. The five year track record of the left leaning Mayor Andrés Manuel López Obrador says a lot about what happens when a democratic politician has to juggle constituencies with radically diverging ambitions for a city. Yet, recent agreements between the current mayor, Alejandro Encinas, and Enrique Peña Nieto, governor of the State of Mexico – both opposing parties – to collaborate across boundaries to solve the city’s structural problems does give rise to some optimism about Mexico City’s future.

Obrador, who has recently stepped down to run for president in the national elections to be held in the summer of 2006, was the second elected mayor since the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) relented its three generation grip on the country and its capital. The presidential candidate of the Party of Democratic Revolution (PRD), Obrador is now vying for the presidential palace with candidates from both the PRI and the National Action Party (PAN), the party of the current incumbent Vincente Fox. The PRD’s symbol is a highly charged Aztec sun, which might go some way to explain Obrador’s vigorous campaign as mayor against the national government’s imposition of daylight saving measures.

On the other hand, Mexico City is clearly also a part of the modern world. One of Obrador’s populist measures was to cancel Microsoft software licenses at city hall, and adopt Linux, a free operating system instead. As mayor, he kept a punishing personal schedule with a working day that started at 5.00 am and included 6.30 am press conferences. While there have been allegations against party members and city officials, Obrador stoutly defends his personal reputation for incorruptibility. His two most visible legacies to the city reflect the extremes of urban life in Mexico. On the one hand he has introduced dedicated bus lanes, modelled on the precedents of Curitiba and Bogotá, which have transformed public transport in the city and demonstrated that turning around a transport system does not have to entail crippling levels of expenditure. On the other, his personal grand projet, the massive and quixotic plan to transform the Peripheral Ring into a double-decker urban highway, asks more questions than it answers. It is enormously expensive but it appears to benefit only the relatively prosperous car owning residents of the wealthy areas through which it passes. Visually, the tangle of concrete columns thread on top of existing surface roads is already a lurid scar on the landscape of the city. Indeed it is a curious outcome for a project initiated by a left leaning mayor. But then this is already a city full of unintended outcomes. When the city tried to restrict car use by introducing odd and even number plate only days, the response of the rich was of course to buy a second car. And all of this in a city in which commutes of three hours are forced on the maids who work for the rich but live in far distant settlements.

It seems that many of Mexico City’s infrastructure systems have failed to address the implications of rapid growth and change. The city has a metro system that was its pride and joy when Mexico hosted the Olympics in 1968, an event that marked the country’s attempt to present itself as a modern state. The metro was state of the art when it was built, but has failed to adapt to what has been going on around it and the city has outgrown it. Mexico City has a historic centre that was losing population to more salubrious suburbs even before the impact of the earth quake. It has an urban development pattern that seems to recall that of Los Angeles: a downtown that at some point faced becoming irrelevant, a deprived east, and a rich west. The city has been growing chaotically for long enough to have already revealed the limits of modernisation.

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THE COMPLEXITIES OF CHANGE

The Metropolitan Zone of Mexico City (ZMCM) is the most valuable, monumental and complex work that the country has constructed in its entire history: in 2005, almost one third of the gross domestic product was concentrated in this area. Its urban sprawl covers approximately 2,000 km², home to 19.5 million residents. The ZMCM is currently the second most populated city on the planet, although its economic scope is that of a secondary global metropolis, the function of which is to link up Mexico’s urban system with the main super-cities worldwide.

Mexico City has always been the economic centre of the country, although this predominance has been diminishing in recent years. Having increased its share of the gross domestic product (GDP) from 35-38% between 1960 and 1980, the crisis of the 1980s had a greater effect on the city than on other parts of the country, and its share of the GDP fell to 32% in 1988. After Mexico’s inclusion in the global economy, this index has been unstable, recovering slightly, reaching 33% in 1998, and then falling once more to 30% in 2003.

The share of the ZMCM in the industrial GDP is higher and its decline even more marked, totalling between 44 and 47% between 1960 and 1980, reaching its highest ever level (48%) in 1970. Thereafter, this super-concentration declined, reaching 22% in 2003. Despite all this, like all large cities around the world, Mexico City has undergone indisputable de-industrialisation, although it produces over one fifth of national manufacturing.

At the same time, the relative significance of specialist services grew visibly. The ZMCM absorbed 39% of the GDP of the tertiary sector in 1960 (trade and services) and in 1970 this figure rose to its highest recorded level (47%). After that, it began its relative decline, falling to 35% in 2003. The capital concentrates 42% of producer services and 59% of the financial sector in Mexico. In 2003, its profile was as the only leading tertiary centre in the country.

The macroeconomic dynamics of the ZMCM explain its urban growth and the evolution of the labour market which, in the early 21st century, are facing one of the greatest challenges of their modern history. The intermittent crisis since the 1980s and economic opening-up have affected them significantly, dramatically reducing the real income of its population in the 1990s. In addition, the collapse of federal public investment in the city makes it impossible to modernise its infrastructural framework and it is therefore hard for the ZMCM to aspire to compete with European and Asiatic cities which are modernising themselves with the implementation of mega projects of worldwide importance. In a comparative classification of levels of productivity and competitiveness of 66 metropolitan regions from various countries according to the real GDP per capita, as the basic measure of productivity, the ZMCM comes 63rd. This situation is explained by the low levels of human capital, research, innovation and technology and by an insufficiently competitive market.

The urban sprawl of Mexico City is made up of a vibrant amalgam of 4.2 million homes (2000), a total of 529,000 commercial and services buildings and 53,000 industrial places of business (2003), all of which is joined together by a system of highways, facilities and infrastructure. All these elements constitute 1,826km² of urban area, presenting an average density of 9,300 residents/km² (2000). However, the magnitude and characteristics of its future urban growth will depend on the economic dynamics and the labour market of the ZMCM. The particularities of the labour structure are summarised below, to complement this vision of the city as a productive social force.

In 1960, the ZMCM contained 17% of the country’s economically active population (EAP), 22% of secondary sector workers and 34% of tertiary sector workers. Thereafter, its de-industrialisation meant that in 2003, secondary sector labour fell to 19% and tertiary sector labour to 25%. Within its labour structure, an increasing trend towards the tertiary sector can be seen; the proportion of the population working in services then rose from 54% in 1960 to 75% in 2003. In the last year, the EAP in the city totalled 7.7 million.

The major inequalities in the income from the various occupations are given concrete form in sharp socio-economic contrasts within the metropolitan area. According to the spatial disintegration of the ZMCM into more than three thousand Basic Geo-statistical Areas (BGA), 17% of the population are concentrated in the upper and upper-middle socio-economic classes, 39% in the middle classes and 44% in the lower classes.

It is estimated that within the ZMCM, there were 33 million journeys/person/day in 2005, with an average journey time of 47 minutes; this totals 26 million travel hours per day. These totals represent the equivalent of 3.2 million eight-hour working days, or one day’s work by 42% of the active population in 2003. This data exemplifies the economic impact of the inadequacy of the urban services. Improving them is vital in order to have more efficient and productive cities.

In a scenario of moderate economic growth, it would be hoped that the ZMCM will increase its population by 4.2 million between 2000 and 2020. To cope with this expansion, 37,000 hectares of new developed space will be required. The political and economic future of the country will depend on Mexico City being able to have the public and private investment necessary to achieve this urban expansion with the appropriate infrastructure and facilities in order to join in, on a competitive basis, with cities worldwide because if it does not, its future will be very uncertain.

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CONGESTION
AT THE LIMITS?

Behind the serious transport problem in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City (AMCM) lies the predominance of low-capacity vehicles both in collective and in private transport. Around 50,000 minibuses and microbuses handle the majority of journeys in the city. Added to these are over 103,000 taxis in the Federal District and probably over 160,000 throughout the city, along with approximately 450,000 vehicles carrying loads. These units use the highways intensive and their fragmented and "home-made" corporate structure is highly inefficient with low productivity, both for the users and for the carriers and for the city in general. Meanwhile, private transport handles only 19% of journeys but uses 95% of the vehicles, which exceeds the 4 million units in circulation and uses the highest proportion of road space in the city as a whole.

The result of the above is extreme congestion and journey stress, particularly serious along the main highway corridors and access roads of the city and during rush hour. One third of all journeys are made in the morning rush hour alone, and these journeys are taking longer and longer. In the second half of the 1990s, we saw the determining dominance of longer and longer journeys made in Low-Capacity vehicles; this rapid and negative transformation of the composition of the urban transport service was the result of the application of erroneous government policies, which, for example, decided on the freezing and subsequent removal of the service of 4,000 buses in Mexico City, known as Ruta-100 and the promotion, to offset this, of vans, taxis and minibuses as alternatives for saving public resources, for self-employment and for collective transport. In other words, there was a dismantling of a collective transport system based on government-owned high-capacity resources, promoting in return deregulation, privatisation and fragmentation, further reducing the efficiency and productivity of high-capacity collective transport.

THE PROMOTION OF PRIVATE MOTORISATION

During the 1970s and 1980s, the city saw accelerated demographic growth which, above all, was translated into territorial expansion. This led to the reinforcement of the "horizontal extensive growth" of the AMCM, which incorporated increasingly outlying areas with less access to infrastructure and services. This was translated into longer, delayed and costly journeys to get to work, schools and services, which make metropolitan journeys and the rise in motorisation one of the most significant aspects of this problem in the city. The oil "boom" of the mid-1980s promoted the purchase of cars. This trend deepened with the signature of the NAFTA, from the second half of the 1990s onwards, the growth in car assembly was explosive.

THE EXPLOSION OF THE CAR

The impressive dynamics of the car industry has been translated, for the AMCM, into an explosive growth of new vehicles which, at the end of the 1990s, was calculated at between 250,000 and 300,000 additional vehicles on average per year. Considering that during this period, the population growth index for the AMCM was reduced to just 1.5% per year on average, the growth rate of the total number of cars in the city is four times greater than the population rate. Under these conditions and after nearly fifteen years of non-construction of major roads, the current Federal District Government (GDF) decided to push forward a rapid road programme, given that the deficit calculated from the same totals 25%. This programme forms part of the sector’s Integral Programme and is complemented by various collective transport measures.

TRANSPORT AND HIGHWAY PROJECTS

As part of this Programme, the most impressive works are the road bridges located in the ravines on the west side, the “Two Tiers of the Ring Road”, the Eje Vial 5 Poniente, the San Antonio motorway exit, giving traffic alternatives in the strategic west zone of the city. We should also mention the progress of the other motorway exits of the Eje Trompólico Metropolitano Oriente. Alongside, in collective transport, we have seen renovation of the infrastructure of significant stretches of underground, lines 2, 5 and 9, and nine trains have been introduced on line 2. In addition, the transport capacity of the public bus company Red de Transportes de Pasajeros (RTP) has increased by 50% and 19.4 km of Metrobus have been introduced. Metrobus has 34 stations and runs 80 articulated buses running on low-emission engines along Insurgentes, one of the city’s main avenues. A Cycle Path Project has also been set up, to cover 90 km. In addition, a Suburban Train Project has been decided on, to the north-west, covering 25 km, using the existing railway line.

AND WHAT ABOUT MOBILITY?

Metrobus and the Cycle Paths are brand new initiatives that lack additional investment in facilities, stations, signs, posts, dissemination and maintenance in order to allow for their more efficient and optimum use. Also, and in contrast with other major cities, there has been no cultivation of a culture of the added value of collective transport, even less of alternative transport; only 5% of the users of Metrobus and the underground also own cars. Also, with the exception of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, none of the city’s universities has infrastructure or programmes that promote alternative transport. This is particularly serious when the city is expanding territorially in a greater proportion than the population, favouring dispersion and disintegration. As a result, there are elements that are indicative of the fact that metropolitan mobility is being organised along urban corridors that limit the possibility of enjoyment of the city by the citizens. A new type of segregation and confinement is being promoted, even for those who have the privilege of mobility in transport.

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HOW DO WE RECOVER THE LOSS OF HOUSING IN CENTRAL AREAS WITHOUT INCREASING SEGREGATION IN THE CITY? HOW DO WE RESPOND TO THE HOUSING NEEDS OF THE LOW-INCOME POPULATION? HOW DO PEOPLE LIVE?

The answers are increasingly complex, largely due to the lack of any co-ordination between the Federal District (FD) and the State of Mexico, patently clear in the housing sector. In addition to working with different town-planning programmes and norms, in the FD, measures have been adopted to regulate housing production and promote a more balanced urban development, without considering that the FD forms part of the metropolitan area, that the actions have repercussions outside its limits and that, at the same time, these actions have an effect thereupon.

An example of these measures: the ban on the development of middle-class housing estates in the central band of the FD, and on the living conditions of the average and low-income population. Tools need to be designed so that the FD can recover the added value that generates public investment in housing, in order to carry on producing it. Expanding, gradually, permission to build working-class and social housing in outlying neighbourhoods of the FD, and reducing the crowding out of its population to dormitory zones of the city.

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The Breathing Spaces of the City

Public open spaces are democratic city spaces par excellence; one place belonging to and for everyone. Streets, boulevards, cultural facilities, public gardens, squares, parks and nature reserves constitute a vacuum, a negative space that gives its form, organises, structures and embellishes the city, allows it to breathe and live. Public spaces generate balance between what is built and what is private, the opening that society, by consent and by norm, has given itself in order to co-exist. In general terms, we can say that it does not matter how large, extensive or dense a city is, if in return, it allows its residents to access a variety of quality public spaces. In so far as we are able to stroll through its streets, gardens, squares and parks, we will have a more equitable and democratic and, in short, more human city.

However, who is responsible for ensuring that the space that belongs to everyone is not violated, occupied, invaded, abandoned or ignored? How are marginal areas of the city treated, of which an enormous disparity and inequality in the distribution of public open spaces and cultural and leisure facilities. These absences are particularly marked in the north and east, areas that have already been inhabited, which we have transposed into a huge problem; these areas have been invaded and populated at a rapid rate.

Chapultepec is the largest public space in Mexico City, bringing together history, culture, nature and leisure in an exceptional way. This is my proposal for 111 urban, civic, natural, historic, accessible and cultural spaces that could, significantly, create a habitable democratic super-city.

Mario Schjetnan is a founding partner of the Grupo de Diseño Urbano

Ten (10) Metropolitan Spaces

The cycle track along the old Cuernavaca railway is to be completed, turning it into a linear metropolitan park (1) connecting up a chain of public spaces to the west. Starting at the lakes and wetlands in Tlahuac to the south (2) and passing via the important archaeological remains at El Cerro de la Estrella (3) and El Cerro Tetzcocingo (4), the linear park will extend to metropolitan parks to the north, in El Olivar de los Padres (5) and La Cañada de Contreras (6), finishing up in El Cerro del Ajuzeo (7). This vision of cultural and archaeological metropolitan parks is complemented by the zone of the Pirámides de Teotihuacan (8), where an extensive master-plan is required, for heritage protection and for urban parks that service visitors and residents. Proposals have also been made for Tepozotlán (9), to the north, for the configuration of a system of parks, open spaces and heritage sites. The old Arzapotzalco refinery (10) also constitutes a major reserve for the creation of a large park with metropolitan cultural and leisure facilities in the central-northern region of the Federal District, representing a significant offering that balances out over-use and concentration in Chapultepec.

100 Urban Spaces

However, an ordered system does exist within the context of all these problems, these inequalities and this chaos in Mexico City. Heritage is an equaliser of quality of urban life because of its history, its precedent. Mexico City is a huge galaxy or universe of chaos and construction (not necessarily architecture) with multiples oases. I refer to the fact that no matter how poor or extensive or outlying a zone of the city may be, we will always find wonderful oases in a small square, the historic part of the district, a little glimmer of history. That is to say, we live in a space that has already been inhabited, which we have transformed and combined in just one city, but which we will always come across and which is always here. This is not a conservationist or nostalgic vision, but a tool that initiates an ordered system of equality.

This is my proposal for 111 urban, civic, natural, historic, accessible and cultural spaces that could, significantly, create a habitable democratic super-city.

Maria Schjetnan is a founding partner of the Grupo de Diseño Urbano
GOVERNING THE
MEGA CITY

It is possible to govern the Mexican mega-metropolis? The initial response is yes, since it is obvious that this occurs on a daily basis. However, this process involves 79 executive bodies in 3 areas of government; they legislate for 63 legislative zones and at least 80 territorial plans and programmes exist, for “planning.” It is clear that fragmented and sectorised action prevails, and it is proving enormously difficult to define and execute a coherent plan.

And yet it is working? How is it working? Does it offer reasonable conditions for competitive economic development, in order to improve quality of life and security in a community, so that its organisation and environment are sustainable? The answer is no, because it is offering fewer positive conditions and the feeling is growing that basic problems are increasing disproportionately.

One in five Mexicans live in the metropolis, and in 2005, the population reached 19.5 million: 56% live in the 59 suburban districts of the State of Mexico (EM) the remaining 44% in the 16 neighbourhoods of the Federal District (FD). Although the unemployment rates of growth are falling (4.3% 1970-1980, and 0.9% 2000-2005) and the FD is not growing, the districts in the EM are demonstrating a process of extensive expansion rising to 1.6% (higher than the national average). However, in terms of super-cities (Central Region of Mexico or RCM), a circle of cities surrounds the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico (ZMVM). These cities are growing at rates of around 1.9% per year and the RCM comprises a macro-regional space which has 26.1 million residents, 11 metropolitan zones, 6 Federal entities and 158 districts. Even in the most enclosed area of the ZMVM, and notwithstanding the huge number of activities shared by the two main jurisdictions that govern it (EM vs FD), there is a lack of proactive co-ordination dealing with the needs of the metropolis. Hence, legislation, planning and urban taxation (tax on property), barely have any common ground, since neither body considers the other in its own institutional, governing and public policy decisions.

This metropolis also presents serious environmental problems. Can it keep consuming 62 m3 of water per second, dry out the Valley of Mexico and the river basins that export water to the city, without a plan for collecting water and for water processing and reuse? Can it keep adding to the number of cars at the rate of 280,000 per year until rush hours last five or ten hours, is a lack of metropolitan public transport project that deals with the 4.5 million plus cars already on the road? Is it possible to continue producing nearly 23,000 tons of waste per day, when the sites where it is dumped are almost at the end of their useful life?

The capacities of existing governments contain the power to resolve these mega-problems, as they have already assured the citizens they can. Once again, the answer is no. Many problems are irreversible, the limits have been reached. It is clear that an inter-metropolitan paradigm is required, for raising questions not raised up until now, courses of action not attempted in the past. The citizens, some intuitively, others in a more structured fashion, are wondering what should be done in order to govern and run this metropolis? It would seem clear that it is only possible to take positive steps within a jointly responsible action by the government and democratic statebuilders. Which brings us to governance.

This means firstly defining what “metropolitan” is and what it is not, in terms of the existing policies and services required for the functioning of the metropolis. It is also obvious that inter-governmental metropolitan co-ordination needs to be made compulsory (both between authorities as well as between sectors of government). To this end, it is clear that we need a greater political will than exists now. There are three alternatives: (1) to govern and run the metropolis as has been done until now, but with improvements – this in reality is happening; (2) to explore new forms of cooperation between and community involvement through non-profit organisations, particularly municipal, since this aspect of government has been lacking in metropolitan co-ordination decisions; (3) the best option, but one that involves exchanges of funds, is to turn towards a metropolitan government, via assemblies or parliaments that legislate strictly on metropolitan matters, and via executive and citizen Metropolitan Councils that take decisions concerning public policies of metropolitan interest along with the authorities.

It would seem that the current multitude of public institutions and their reduced capacity to deal with the requirements of the metropolis have reached a historic limit and that we need to think about new structures, so that we need to be jointly responsible with the state when it comes to decisions concerning the development of the metropolis. In order to do things differently and with better prospects of success, it is necessary to plan the metropolis, in an integrated, point of view perhaps with a Metropolitan Planning Institute. It would also be vital to “observe” the evolution of the phenomena, via, for example, a Metropolitan Supervision System.

In order to expand the overall economic space of the ZMVM, it would be necessary to focus investment policies and promote economic development using models such as economic development corporations. It is clear that it is also necessary to have appropriate resources for metropolitan projects and to institutionalise the existing Metropolitan Fund. Mexico City would benefit from the creation of public/private companies that guarantee the public interest and involve private actors. These structures would raise investment in services of metropolitan interest, in the economic market, on an integrated basis, requirements in terms of water, transport, solid waste, etc.

This is but a bare outline of the main themes that need to be tackled. All these problems have now gone beyond public action and require a new vision, structured within a strategy of urban reform for Mexico.

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THE INFORMAL ECONOMY
AS A WAY OF LIFE

o paraphrase Louis Wirth in his classic study of more than 60 years ago, we can affirm that the informal economy, in the context of Mexico City, has become a way of life. Mexico City is not the only city where this informal economy exists, nor the place where it is most exacerbated. However, it is perhaps where the density, scale and heterogeneity of the phenomenon most clearly show how this has altered the city both in its economic and social dynamics as well as in the production of urban space and everyday experience.

The informal is elusive, ambiguous, temporary and problematic. Today, it has become a kind of conceptual umbrella that covers forms and practices of production, consumption and social relations that make up the city. What is informal offers proof of what exists outside what is legal, regulated, taxed, controlled or lawful.

Both the definitions of informal and the attitudes to this have been changing, over time. In Mexico City. Forty years ago, the housing units built by Mario Pani were considered “proper Housing,” whilst the hundreds of thousands of houses built in outlying districts like Ciudad Nueva were considered “informal settlements” or “parachutist settlements.” Today, official housing policies are more focused on supporting what used to be considered marginal than on repeating what was, before, “normative.” Today, the judicious and negative stigma of the informal economy has diminished and it has been taken on more as a problem, as a fact.

The informal economy covers the whole spectrum of the urban economic cycle, from elemental forms of production, to recycling. It includes goods and services such as housing, transport, the infrastructure, credit and occupation of space, extending as far as political negotiation. The whole informal activity features techniques, decisions and strategies that, although not very orthodox, entail a form of planning and organisation. They may be sophisticated and effective in the way in which they allocate resources, organise space and deal with both social and economic requirements.

The informal economy appears to be linked with official and regulated processes but even more surprisingly, in some case, modifies these official processes and policies. The leading mobile telephone company, whose owner is the richest man in South America, employs sales and distribution techniques specific to the informal economy such as street selling on corners. Similarly, the mechanisms for financing, in the case of micro-credit, replicate the mutually-binding and guarantee networks that have existed for years in the world of informal credit.

Although some are rich and others poor, some pay taxes and others do not, the reality is that in Mexico City, we are all informal in that we benefit from it as much as we suffer.

The geography of the informal economy in Mexico City is both the historic centre and the outlying districts, both traditional public spaces – such as squares and parks – and transport interfaces. It occupies poor areas such as Iztapalapa or Chimalhuacán and privileges areas such as Santa Fe. The core of Mexico City has been turned into the desired space for the informal economy where products are sold (from telephone cards, sweets, food to pets), entertainment (mimes, cleaners, acrobats), exchange of information (surveys, distribution of political propaganda), and services (cleaning windscreen or whole cars).

It has been affirmed that the informal economy has its origins in the mobility of the State and of the market to supply goods, services and employment to its citizens, acting as an escape valve; also mentioned is tolerance of disorder and crime, the lack of any simple regulation and the lack of economic policy reforms. Amongst its effects, people mention exploitation and labour abuse, privatisation of public space, erosion of standards of coexistence and civility and the loss of economic democracy.

The question that should be asked is whether the informal economy and its effects are hindering or benefiting the urban economy as a whole.

The figures on the informal economy in Mexico City are elusive and statistically unspecified but to give an idea of the magnitude of the phenomenon, here are a few facts: – c. 60% of housing construction occurs informally; – over 60% of jobs are in the informal economy; – c. 25% of the 105,000 taxis are informal vehicles; – c. 25,000 street vendors operate in the Historic Centre alone, this number has increased by 40% in the last 5 years and doubles every December; – it is estimated that 65% of music sold in Mexico is pirate music.

The mantra of democracy and liberalism as prerequisites of development has been eroded by the informal economy, replacing this with the informal institution. In Mexico City, both the law and physical space are negotiated. It is not usual to see that informal leaders, whether street selling or invading land, move on to party structures and elected positions. Social negotiation networks that are being woven in the informal economy are being transformed into clientele networks useful in politics.

It has been argued that the informal economy is neither good nor bad, it is simply a fact. Some see it as a problem, others as an opportunity. However, it is hard to avoid preconceptions and generate new perceptions of this urban phenomenon. Are we conditioned to only making more or less intelligent, more or less marginal comments on the phenomenon? Is it possible only to work with the effects of the phenomenon, reducing its negative impacts and capitalising on its potential? Is it possible to lose the taxonomy of the informal economy that better diagnoses the origin of urban policies and more effective responses? Perhaps it is possible to imagine that a new knowledge of the city might emerge from a better understanding of the informal economy as a driving and determining force in major cities.

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The “corporate centre” of Lomas de Santa Fe, as locals know the area, is located in a hilly section of the sub-municipal district of Alvaro Obregón in the Federal District’s western edge. A new metropolitan centrality located 30 km from the Benito Juárez international airport and 40 km from Toluca airport in the State of Mexico, the redeveloped Santa Fe now has a completely different shape from what it did two decades ago: the area had first contained various sand mines and it subsequently became home to huge city dumps. The steep hills below the development, however, are still largely occupied by precarious popular settlements and low-income neighbourhoods.

As part of the policies for the rehabilitation of Mexico City, Santa Fe was reconfigured from 1989 onwards. Via the Urban Development Master Plan (ZEDEC), Santa Fe was transformed into an urban mega-project which, multi-functional in nature, includes: various corporate towers where multinational corporations have set up their offices in Mexico City; large-scale commercial facilities; the campus of one of Mexico’s most prestigious private universities; and an up-market housing stock. Road infrastructure has been provided and Santa Fe has good connectivity with other metropolitan centralities, in fact some see the node as an extension of the corporate corridor along the Reforma Boulevard and Chapultepec. Santa Fe may be seen as a symbol of a modernising Mexico City and of the city’s rising status in the global economy. On the other hand, detractors may point to the highly exclusionary character of the area that is reflected in its introverted urban fabric of single-point blocks, big-box mall typologies and gated residential complexes. The reality is that Santa Fe is still growing and it may still be in order to question both the shape the area is taking and how this nodality interacts with the rest of the city.

REVITALISING THE HISTORIC CENTRE

In the last 20 years, the historic centre of Mexico City has suffered serious economic, social and urban decay, chiefly after the earthquakes in 1985. Between 1970 and 1995, the central city zone lost approximately 40% of its population. In 1990, the Historic Centre Trust was set up with the mission of revitalising this central urban quarter and restoring its valuable yet rapidly decaying architectural heritage. The Trust’s board is made up of representatives of federal and city government, of private actors and of civil society organisations – critics argue, however, that the revitalisation process is now dominated by business elites and transnational real estate interests.

The restoration plan underway has various objectives: to attract private investment, reactivate its unutilised building stock, ensure the economic revitalisation of the zone and to generate formal employment. On the social dimension, the aim is to improve the liveability of the area, attract residents back and solve issues of insecurity and congestion caused by the overwhelmingly large presence of street vendors. Although the plan has already begun to show positive outcomes, and there is a visible movement of employers and residents returning to the centre, several questions remain unanswered. What will be the most desirable mix of industries and activities for the area? What type of employment will be created? How will the new economy solve issues of informality? Will a revitalised centre keep a percentage of social housing? Will the most important civic space in the city maintain its socially mixed character or will processes of gentrification and displacement take hold and purge its diversity and vibrancy?

REACHING FOR THE STARS: TWO-TIER MOTORWAYS

The Government of the City of Mexico has proposed the construction of two tiers over the Periférico (Ring Road) and the Viaducto (Miguel Aleman Viaduct) with the aim of expanding and improving the capacity of the main controlled access roads, improving journeys, reducing travel time and reducing contamination indicators.

The project has been controversial and citizens were even consulted for their approval. The year 2002 saw the beginning of the work which, planned over four separate stages, overall, totalled 35 km of road. An approximate total investment of 2,000 million pesos will be required. The first phase of the work is complete and measures 13.8 km in length. The construction of this stage has already required 1,500 million pesos, the equivalent of a significant percentage of the 2002 budget for transport and road programmes. The second, third and fourth phases consist of the design and construction of a second tier, in both directions, over other sections of the Periférico, the Viaducto and other urban main roads.

THE SUBURBAN TRAIN

In the Metropolitan area of Mexico City, around 35 million journeys are made daily, and those who travel from the suburbs spend between five and six hours commuting each day. The Suburban Train Project, which will connect the Federal District to the State of Mexico, is the first step towards dealing with...
the need to improve a metropolitan transport infrastructure. The project is being co-financed by three governments: the Federal government, the State of Mexico government and the Federal District government who are joining forces to start up the railway that will complete the old central railway station of Buenavista with suburbs in the State of Mexico. Its final destination will be Huehuetoca, covering 240 km. Construction of the first 25 km, from Buenavista to Cuautitlán, has already begun. The suburban train will carry 320,000 passengers a day, mostly workers and students who will save more than 2.5 hours daily on each round trip. The fare will be equivalent to what people are paying today on other means of transport. The train will also contribute to reducing the road problem and will have a positive impact on environmental conditions in the area.

**Metrobus: The Future of Collective Transport in Mexico City?**

It is estimated that in the Federal District, there are already 3.2 million registered vehicles, which are responsible for 70% of the air contamination. With the central objective of reducing road congestion and contaminating emissions, the Federal District has promoted the construction of a dedicated-lane system since 2002. This initiative follows the success of the BRT systems (Bus Rapid Transit) in South American cities such as Curitiba, Bogotá, Sao Paulo and Quito. With the advantage that they use the existing road infrastructure, the BRT systems have constituted an option that is economically more viable than other collective transport systems such as the underground, which requires approximately 10 times more investment. Inaugurated on 19 June 2005, Metrobus required an estimated investment of 48 million pesos in road works and approximately 212 million pesos in coaches. It has approxi mately 85 articulated buses that travel along the some 20 km of Avenida Insurgentes at an average speed of 21 km/h. It has 34 stops and 2 terminals (Dr. Gámez and Indios Verdes). On its busiest section, Metrobus carries around 5,500 passengers per hour.

**Urban Parks**

It seems almost unnecessary to mention the vital importance of parks, green and open spaces in dense urban areas. Urban cities beautify their surroundings and are fundamental as aquifer recharge zones, for producing oxygen and for reducing contaminants. Green spaces in the Federal District cover only 12,828 hectares. The green space average is 1.5 m2/resident if we take into consideration both private and public green spaces and this figure falls to only 0.2 m2/resident if limited to public green spaces. The density of green space in Mexico City therefore is not only much lower than that available in European cities but it also falls considerably below levels achieved in other high-density cities with comparably large populations such as Shanghai.

Because of these shortages, many green spaces have suffered serious damage due to overuse. A case in point is Chapultepec Park. With 688 hectares of woods and a natural regional park in Latin America is visited by 15 million people a year and up to 17,000 visitors each Sunday. Because this space had been invaded by street vendors, waste and contami nation, the Chapultepec Park Trust was set up for its restoration. The aim was to gather resources and draft a masterplan to restore every corner of this urban asset, which is also one of the few inclusive spaces in the city. Other ambitious initiatives include the proposal to recreate the dried-up lake in the Vaso de Texcoco zone; to produce a new ecological park on spaces that used to be the Azcapotzalco Refinery and join it to other parks along a green linear corridor; and to distribute pocket parks throughout the city. Mexico City seems to be rediscovering the importance of high-quality green open spaces and, in this respect, taking the same path shown in initiatives such as London’s Green Grid or the Mayor’s 100 Public Spaces, or the initiatives to revitalise the Los Angeles River and build an armature that could rearticulate the disjointed urban landscape of Southern California.

**The FARO (Lighthouse) to the East of the City**

In Mexico City, the supply of public space and cultural facilities has been concentrated in a narrow area bordering the centre and south-west of the city, where the most privileged social groups live. As a result, the eastern zone of the city suffers from both economic disadvantage and cultural neglect. With the intention of decentralising and democratising the access to culture, the city government decided to create a cultural centre in the east. In 1998 a project was approved to create a cultural centre in an abandoned property that had been built years ago by the architect Alberto Kalach, who was also commissioned to refurbish the site for its new purpose. Since its opening in the year 2000, the FARO (Factory of Arts and Crafts of the East) offers workshops to around 1,700 children, youngsters and adults; provides individual access; film screenings and other cultural activities—all free of charge. It also holds huge concerts and youth-oriented events for nearly 10,000 people at a time. These events are known for their safety. Nevertheless, community initiatives have been reported, even though the facilities sit in a high-crime area with several opposing gangs active. Middle-class young people are beginning to attend these events regularly.

The FARO is located in the borough of Iztapalapa, one of the poorest and toughest areas of the Federal District, just a few blocks from the city’s largest dump, in a popular neighbourhood built over the dried-up Texcoco Lake. The FARO has been described as a socially inclusive and culturally alternative space, and although its ability to respond to the lack of cultural facilities in the east of the city is limited, this initiative, now being replicated in other parts of the city, hints at the potential that social inclusion and cultural production offer to revitalise cities.

**The Re-Densification of the Urban Core: Bando Dos**

In December 2000, the then Mayor Andrés Manuel López Obrador issued Bando Dos (Informative Decree 2), a policy initiative to promote a dramatic densification of the Federal District’s four core boroughs of Cuauhtémoc, Miguel Hidalgo, Benito Juárez and Venustiano Carranza and to curtail development in peripheral zones, particularly those with the highest degree of environmental sensiti vity. The initiative responds to three main concerns: population losses at the urban core that generate conditions of underutilised infrastructure; urban sprawl over land to be populated by illegal green bands; and decreasing levels of local water supply from within the metropolis area. From the 1970s onwards, Mexico City experienced a gradual decline in the population living in central zones and a rapid expansion of peripheral neighbour hoods. Between 1970 and 2000, the four core boroughs lost over one million residents and their share of the city’s total population fell from 73% in 1950 to 20% in 2000. At the same time the city was progressively losing its capacity to retain rain water to replenish its aquifers due to the multiplication of impervious surfaces, increasing scarcity of potable water were being wasted because of leakages through the overextended pipe system.

Stricter growth controls in outer bor- rowers and a streamlined process to grant building permits at the two concrete policies announced by the Bando Dos. In the five-year period since the initiative was first implemented, the four core boroughs have witnessed both a construction boom and steep hikes in housing prices. They have also impacted on the rest of the metropolitan housing market. There has also been a prolif eration of low-density subdivisions and gated communities at the edges of the metropolitan zone in the State of Mexico, which are responsible for 70% of the air pollution. The initiative responses to three main concerns: population losses at the urban core; to rearticulate the disjointed urban landscape of Southern California.

**Housing Improvement Programme (Programa de Mejoramiento de Vivienda – PMV)**

The PMV dates back to 1998. It was jointly designed by the city government and representatives from the various NGOs from the Habitat Coalition-Mexico to address the acute housing problems of popular settle ments, which were originally informally developed and cover more than half of the metropolitan surface. The PMV grants loans to low-income families living in the Federal District (heads of household earning less than US$ 600 per month) and it provides technical assistance to programme participants concerning design issues and spatial arrange ments within the housing unit. It was first co-financed by the city’s administration and NGOs and it has now been put under the entire supervision of the Federal District’s Housing Institute.

The PMV’s main objectives are to create better living conditions for socially disadvan taged families; to deal with problems of over crowding and to improve precarious, damaged or at-risk housing units. The interven tions sponsored by the programme to reach these goals include: expansion; improvement; preventive, corrective or general main tenance; new progressive housing, designed for subsequent expansion; and new finished units. Since 2001, around 62,417 loans have been granted by this programme and it is envisaged that by the end of 2006, the programme will have organised almost 130,000 housing operations – while these figures fall far below existing needs, the PMV represents the largest public intervention to improve housing conditions in popular settlements to date. However, those who question the programme focus on the quality of its implementation rather than on the scale that it has achieved. The PMV has been critiqued for not following up with loans recipients on building details pertaining to their individual units and even less on the positive effects that the interventions could have on the physical shape of their neighbourhoods. Their bottom line is that the PMV has only accelerated self-help construction without really solving structural problems in the housing stock and conditions of overcrowding.
Urban Age is a worldwide series of conferences investigating the future of cities

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FRIDAY 24 FEBRUARY

National Museum of Art (MUNAL), Tacuba 8, Historic Centre

08.15 to 08.30 Opening Session

Welcome
Wolfgang Nowak, Speaker of the Executive Board, Alfred Herrhausen Society

Urban Age Project: The story so far
Ricky Buddendorf, Director, Urban Age, London School of Economics

18.30 to 00.30 The Urban Age context

CITIES: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE
Chair: Ricky Buddendorf, Director, Urban Age, London School of Economics

Sao Paulo: 10 mins
Jose Terra, Mayor of Sao Paulo

New York City: 10 min
Amanda Burden, Chair, Planning Commission, New York City

Barcelona: 10 min
Josep-Òscar Babilò, Chief Architect, City of Barcelona & CEO, Barcelona Regional

London: 10 min
Tony Travers, Director, Greater London Group, London School of Economics

09.30 to 10.30 Introducing Mexico City

MEXICO CITY: GROWTH AT THE LIMIT?
Chair: Jose Luis Cortés Delgado, Dipt. of Architecture, Berameresuana University

Mexico City: Economic Development: 10 min
Guadalupe Gárate Villarruel, Prof., El Colegio de México

Mexico City: Urban Form: 10 min
Enrique Nortén, Director, Ten-Arquitectos

Mexico City: Society and Culture: 10 min
Noelia García Canclini, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Open discussion: 10 min

10.30 to 11.00 Coffee break

11.00 to 12.30 Labour market and workplaces

URBAN CENTRALITIES, OLD AND NEW: THE HISTORIC CENTRE AND SANTA FE
Chair: Diana Diaz, Associate Dean, School of Architecture & Planning, MIT

The Santa Fe node: its beginnings 15 min
Jose Gamboa de Buen, Director General, Grupo Danhas

The regeneration of the historic Centre 15 min
Adrian Pandulu, Director General, Mexico City Historic Centre

Responses 5 minutes each

Dieter Läpple, Prof. of Regional and Urban Economics, TU-Hamburg

Jenny Salvati Cohon, Secretary, Economic Development, Government of the FD

Ricardo Lagarto, Director, Legorreta + Legorreta

Oscar Terrazas, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

José Cooling-Bosc, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Frank Duffy, Principal, DESIGNS, London

Open discussion: 30 min

12.30 to 12.45 Lunch break

12.45 to 14.30 Mobility and Transport

CREATING PROSPERITY: TOWARDS THE SUSTAINABLE METROPOLIS
Chair: Andy Altman, Partner, LeftBank Development Company, New York

Opening Statement
Guy Batta, founding partner, Batta-McCarthy, London

Presentations
The key transport projects 15 min
Bernardo Navarro Benítez, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Design and mobility 15 min
Felipe Leal, Coordinator Special Projects, National Autonomous University Mexico

Responses 5 minutes each

Hermann Knoflacher, Prof. of Transportation Planning, TU Vienna

Claudia Schembri-Pardo, Secretary, Environment, Government of the FD

Aaron Dychtwald, Sub-Secretary of Transport, Mexican Government

Clara Salaman Cruz, Prof., El Colegio de México

Oscar Eduardo Dias, Director, Port of Puebla Quay, Queretaro Foundation, Baja California

Geert Tijmans, TRIPP Chair & Associate Prof., Institute of Technology

Open discussion: 30 min

14.30 to 15.15 Lunch

15.15 to 16.00 Panel 01 – Metropolitan Governance

GOVERNING THE MEGA CITY
Chair: Manuel Pedro Cohen, Prof., National Autonomous University of Mexico

Opening Statement
Tony Travers, Director, Greater London Group, London School of Economics

Panel
Alejandro Encinas, Mayor, Federal District

Enrique Patsche, Governor, State of Mexico

José Luis Lángie Tamargo, Secretary, Environment, Mexican Government

Gerald Fagg, Louis D. Brandeis Prof. of Law, Harvard University

Allison Kassan Fruehan, Partner, Fruehan Arquitectos

Roberto Eibenschutz Hartman, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Open discussion: 30 min

16.30 to 17.30 Dinner hosted by Government of the Federal District

Tore Mayor, 52nd Floor, Paseo de la Reforma 505, Col. Cuauhtémoc

Welcome
Alejandro Encinas, Mayor, Federal District

Jose Ackermann, Chairman of the Management Board, Deutsche Bank

Ricky Buddendorf, Director, Urban Age, London School of Economics

SATURDAY 25 FEBRUARY

National Museum of Art (MUNAL), Tacuba 8, Historic Centre

09.00 to 10.45 Public life in an urban space

ACCESS TO OPEN SPACE and THE RIGHT TO THE CITY
Chair: Darren Walker, Director, Working Communities, Rockefeller Foundation

Opening Statements
Enrique Petruskas, former Mayor of Bogotá
Rafael Viñoly, Principal, Rafael Viñoly Architects

Presentations
Towards a parks strategy 15 min
Mário Schikanz, founding Partner, Grupo de Diseño Urbano

FARO de Oriente: Concept and programmes 10 min
Benjamin González, Director, Fábrica de Artes y Oficios de Oriente

Responses 5 minutes each

Sophie Becky Gendron, Director, Centre for Urban Studies, Sorbonne

Noelia Garcia Canclini, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Marina Servitje, President, Trust for the Chapultepec Park

Benjamin Ortega, President, National Autonomous University of Mexico

Javier Sordo Madaleno, President, Sordo Madaleno + Asociados

José Nordan, Dean, Faculty of Art, Design + Architecture, Kingston University

Gay Nordan, structural engineer, New York City & Prof., Princeton University

Open discussion: 30 min

10.45 to 11.00 Coffee break

11.00 to 12.30 Housing and urban neighborhoods

HOUSING FOR THE DENSIFYING CITY: THE POTENTIAL OF PLANNING AND DESIGN
Chair: Ed Soja, Prof., London School of Economics & University of California Los Angeles

Opening Statement
Alejandro Arzua Pollo, Joint Director, Foreign Office Architects

Presentations
Bando Duo 15 min
Felicity Bridgland, Vice Director, Urban Planning & Market Assessment, Development Metropolitana S.C.

Popular settlements: the Housing Improvement Programme 15 min
Hilario Gusman, Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University & former General Director, Federal District’s Housing Institute

Responses 5 minutes each

Arturo M. y E. Yáñez, Colegio de Arquitectos de la Ciudad de México

Georgina Sandvik, Director, Casa y Ciudad & Prof., Metropolitan Autonomous University

Enrique Ortiz, President, Habitat International Coalition

Javier Sánchez, Founding Partner, Higuera + Sánchez

Daron Walker, Director, Working Communities, Rockefeller Foundation, New York

Andy Altman, Partner, LeftBank Development Company, New York

Open discussion: 30 min

12.30 to 13.00 Coffee and snacks

13.00 to 14.15 Panel 02 – Informality

INFORMALITY: PROBLEM OR SIMPLY A REALITY
Chair: Saskia Sassen, Ralph Lewis Prof. of Sociology, University of Chicago & Centennial Visiting Prof., London School of Economics

Opening Statements
Dieter Läpple, Prof. of Regional & Urban Economics, TU Hamburg

José Manuel Castillo Oliva, Prof., Berameresuana University

Eva Edith Pacheco Geuna, Prof., El Colegio de México

Getum Tijmans, TRIPP Chair & Associate Prof., Institute of Technology

Teddy Cruz, Prof., University of California, San Diego

Gareth Jones, Senior Lecturer, Development Geography, London School of Economics

Open discussion: 30 min

14.15 to 16.00 Lunch

16.00 to 18.00 A vision for Mexico City

Opening Statement
Saskia Sassen, Ralph Lewis Prof. of Sociology, University of Chicago & Centennial Visiting Prof., London School of Economics

Daryn Street, Dean, Faculty of Art, Design + Architecture, Kingston University

Statements from Urban Age experts

Enrique Nortein, General Director, Ten-Arquitectos

Sophie Becky Gendron, Director, Centre for Urban Studies, Sorbonne

Casimir Lainelli Fernandez, Prof., Monterrey Institute of Technology, Mexico City

Hermann Knoflacher, Prof. of Transportation Planning, TU Vienna

Harry Davis, Founding Partner, Metropoli 2051

Dieter Läpple, Prof. of Regional & Urban Economics, TU Hamburg

Closing Remarks
Wolfgang Nowak, Speaker of the Executive Board, Alfred Herrhausen Society

19.30 to 21.00 Cocktails hosted by Enrique Nortein, Ten-Arquitectos

Parque España 47, Col. Condesa
ORGANISED BY
LSE Cities Programme
The LSE Cities Programme at the London School of Economics and Political Science is an interdisciplinary centre that links urban research to sociocultural, economic, political, and environmental needs.

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URBAN AGE MEXICO CITY LOCAL PARTNERS

Government of the Federal District
1997, the Government of Mexico City ceased being an administrative department of the federal government, where the president elected the local authorities. Since then, for the first time in the history of the city its authorities were democratically elected.

Government of the State of Mexico
The State of Mexico was formed in 1823. It is divided into 12 municipalities and it is above 15 million, mostly concentrated in the Mexico City Metropolitan area. It is the second in size of the country (Federal District) and the Toluca Valley. Main economic activities are industry and services, although rural areas represent almost 20% of its territory. The State generates more than 10% of the country’s GDP. The current Governor is Mr. Enrique Peña Nieto, elected for the period 2005-2011.

National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)
UNAM is the educational institution with the longest academic and cultural tradition in the country. Its dates back to 1551 and was officially founded in 1810. It has trained many of the most illustrious names in the sciences, humanities, and arts, and is from Mexico and Latin America. It is a pioneer in scientific research in field such as geomatics and ecology, and in the social sciences such as philosophy of science and regional studies.

School of Architecture and Urbanism
Iberoamerican University

Iberoamerican University was established in 1913, this is one of the foremost private universities in Mexico. With a strong emphasis on design, the school of architecture has 700 students in two programs: an undergraduate degree in architecture, and a master’s program in Urban Design. Its 170 professors, with a strong group of professors and young and practicing architects, is engaged in various forms of professional and academic work including private and public commissions, consultancy and research.

Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation
Deutsche Bank Americas Foundation is committed to the revitalization of downtown communities in the Greater New York City area, the United States, Canada and Latin America. Working in partnership with local non-profit organizations, the foundation seeks to enable poor communities to enter the economic mainstream through strategies that address housing, education, and health care.
PIEZAS DE TECHO, BARREÑOS Y EL CRECIMIENTO A LA BORDA
Ponentes: Juan Pablo, Directora de Políticas; Fundación Oportunidades
Discursos de Apertura
Ponentes: Francisco, Dirección de Impacto
Información y Comunicaciones
Ponentes: Fernando, Director de Desarrollo
Comunicación: Ray, Director de Comunicación
Información y Comunicaciones
Ponentes: Juan, Director de Comunicación

SÁBADO 25 FEBRERO

URBAN AGE CIUDAD DE MÉXICO PROGRAMA DE LA CONFERENCIA 23 AL 25 DE FEBRERO DE 2006

JUEVES 24 DE FEBRERO

URBAN AGE CIUDAD DE MÉXICO PROGRAMA DE LA CONFERENCIA 23 AL 25 DE FEBRERO DE 2006

VIERNES 24 DE FEBRERO

Sábado Nacional de Arte (MUNAL), Tacuba 8, Centro Histórico

URBAN AGE CIUDAD DE MÉXICO PROGRAMA DE LA CONFERENCIA 23 AL 25 DE FEBRERO DE 2006

URBAN AGE CIUDAD DE MEXICO PROGRAMA DE LA CONFERENCIA 23 AL 25 DE FEBRERO DE 2006
La vertiginosa sensación de contemplar el
relacionada con su accesibilidad y su
México parezcan más violentas y más
estas tres ciudades existen, por supuesto,
neblina tóxica se vio empeorada por la gran
decorados con rosetones barrocos, la
físicamente por los restos de su pasado azteca
la ciudad permanece constante, y la de algunas
la contaminación fotoquímica, causada por la emisión de gases y el calentamiento global, es un problema que persiste. En Ciudad de México, la ciudad más contaminada del mundo, el aire es un peligro constante. La alta humedad y el calor de la ciudad hacen que la contaminación sea aún más problemática. La contaminación no solo es un problema ambiental, sino también un problema de salud pública. Los niveles de contaminación en la ciudad son alta, lo que conduce a una alta tasa de enfermedades respiratorias y cardiovasculares. La contaminación también tiene un impacto económico, ya que reduce la calidad de vida de los habitantes y afecta la capacidad de la ciudad para atraer inversiones y turistas. La ciudad es un ejemplo de cómo el desarrollo urbano puede ser asimétrico y desigual, con áreas más ricas y más pobres que coexisten en la misma ciudad. La desigualdad económica y social es un problema importante en Ciudad de México, y es un desafío para los líderes de la ciudad. La ciudad es un reflejo de la realidad de México como un país donde la pobreza y la desigualdad son problemas graves. La ciudad es un lugar donde la contaminación, la desigualdad y el desarrollo urbano se encuentran en constante interacción. La ciudad es un reflejo de la realidad de México como un país donde la pobreza y la desigualdad son problemas graves. La ciudad es un lugar donde la contaminación, la desigualdad y el desarrollo urbano se encuentran en constante interacción. La ciudad es un reflejo de la realidad de México como un país donde la pobreza y la desigualdad son problemas graves. La ciudad es un lugar donde la contaminación, la desigualdad y el desarrollo urbano se encuentran en constante interacción. La ciudad es un reflejo de la realidad de México como un país donde la pobreza y la desigualdad son problemas graves. La ciudad es un lugar donde la contaminación, la desigualdad y el desarrollo urbano se encuentran en constante interacción.
La ciudad de México, que ha aumentado la vida en un nuevo espíritu, sin embargo, que podrían hacer que la ciudad parezca cancelar su costo de vida. El alto costo de vida y la densidad de la población, con una cuantía altamente densa, todavía es característica de la ciudad, pero para cambiar radicalmente un sistema de transporte se requiere aún más. La ciudad metropolitanó de México es una de las más grandes del mundo, con más de 20 millones de habitantes. Los habitantes de la ciudad tienen acceso a servicios de transporte, incluyendo el metro y el Metrobús, que cubren la mayor parte del área urbana de la ciudad. En 2010, la ciudad de México concentró el 16% de los viajes cotidianos en el país, lo que representa el 39% de la población en el área metropolitana. Para mejorar la calidad del transporte en la ciudad, se ha llevado a cabo un proyecto denominado "Metrobús". Este proyecto implica la construcción de nuevas líneas de transporte colectivo que funcionan como un sistema de paradas fijas y que ofrecen una alternativa más eficiente y cómoda a los viajes en coche. El proyecto "Metrobús" ha sido un éxito y ha sido ampliado para incluir otras áreas de la ciudad. De hecho, el sistema de transporte de la ciudad de México es considerado uno de los más avanzados del mundo, con una gran cantidad de nuevos servicios y mejoras en curso.

La ciudad de México es una ciudad metropolitana que se extiende a través de varios estados, incluyendo el Estado de México, el Distrito Federal y el Estado de Hidalgo. Como resultado, la ciudad de México es una de las más grandes y densas del mundo, con más de 20 millones de habitantes. La ciudad cuenta con una gran cantidad de servicios de transporte, incluyendo el metro y el Metrobús. El metro de la ciudad de México es uno de los más grandes del mundo, con más de 300 kilómetros de vías y más de 200 estaciones. El Metrobús es un sistema de transporte colectivo que funciona como un sistema de paradas fijas, que ofrece una alternativa más eficiente y cómoda a los viajes en coche. El proyecto "Metrobús" ha sido un éxito y ha sido ampliado para incluir otras áreas de la ciudad. En la ciudad de México, se han llevado a cabo muchos proyectos para mejorar la calidad del transporte, incluyendo la ampliación del sistema de transporte colectivo.

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El DENVI agota sus reservas de riego y vela por los pobres, los que no pueden pagar por el agua. Los campesinos y los obreros, que no tienen suficiente agua para sus necesidades, son los más afectados. El gobierno debe tomar medidas urgentes para garantizar el acceso a agua limpia para todos.

**MAPA REGIONAL**

**México Central, Norte Oeste, 1990-2020:**

- México Central, Norte Oeste es una región con altos índices de informalidad.
- La informalidad en México Central, Norte Oeste es más común en las áreas rurales y en las áreas urbanas periféricas.
- La formalidad en México Central, Norte Oeste es más común en las áreas urbanas centrales.

**Medios de comunicación:**

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**MAPAS COMPARATIVOS**

**RESUMEN: SERIE DE LOS CIEN PATIO**

- México Central, Norte Oeste es una región con altos índices de informalidad.
- La informalidad en México Central, Norte Oeste es más común en las áreas rurales y en las áreas urbanas periféricas.
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El ENVI desempeña un papel crucial en el desarrollo urbano. En el periodo de 2000 a más de 650 viviendas por hectárea en 2005 y aún así siguió aumentando la densidad. Los programas de subsidio en el ámbito urbano del Estado de México son esenciales para lograr una ciudad más habitable y se benefician de la presencia de la ciudad y el gobierno local. Las áreas de conservación han sido complementadas con nuevas zonas residenciales que han permitido una mejora sostenible y en el tiempo. Chapultepec es uno de los casos en donde mejor se ha evidenciado el potencial del desarrollo urbano. Chapultepec concentra un exceso de servicios culturales y se ha transformado en un centro de atracción turística. La gran oportunidad para la conformación de una ciudad sostenible y competente es el modelo de actuación urbana en Chapultepec y a través de este modelo se pueden lograr beneficios tanto a los actores públicos como privados. Las oportunidades para la conformación de un nuevo modelo de actuación urbana son enormes y pueden ser una fuente de cambio y desarrollo para la ciudad. La informalidad ha disminuido y se ha asumido como un hecho. Aproximadamente el 25% de los 105 mil habitantes de la Zona Metropolitana de Planificación se dedican a actividades de producción y otras actividades de alto valor agregado. Se ha argumentado que la informalidad se ha convertido en el espacio privilegiado de la economía informal en el mundo.

José Manuel Castillo Olea
La densidad demográfica general del municipio de Ciudad de México es de apenas 6 metros cuadrados. Esta cifra es comparable a las que se registran en algunas ciudades de Europa, como París o Londres, pero es notablemente menor que la densidad de población de ciudades como Tokio o Osaka en Japón.

El área densamente poblada se limita a los núcleos de pobreza en las zonas de la mitad del siglo, Ciudad de México. Esta densidad demográfica general del municipio de Ciudad de México es de apenas 6 metros cuadrados. Esta cifra es comparable a las que se registran en algunas ciudades de Europa, como París o Londres, pero es notablemente menor que la densidad de población de ciudades como Tokio o Osaka en Japón.

En comparación con otras ciudades del mundo, Londres tiene bajo índices de densidad urbana, con una densidad residencial de 46.6 kilómetros por habitante, y un índice de 26 kilómetros por habitante para áreas urbanas. En comparación, la ciudad de México tiene una densidad de 16.270 kilómetros por habitante.

Un estudio demográfico de la Ciudad de México en el siglo XIX mostró que la densidad demográfica general del municipio de Ciudad de México es de apenas 6 metros cuadrados. Esta cifra es comparable a las que se registran en algunas ciudades de Europa, como París o Londres, pero es notablemente menor que la densidad de población de ciudades como Tokio o Osaka en Japón.
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la ciudad de México, por ejemplo, es de unos cuantos kilómetros cuadrados y lejos de la densidad de algunas grandes ciudades del mundo, donde las densidades demográficas alcanzan cifras de 70 mil personas por kilómetro cuadrado.
la densidad promedio de la ciudad (27,000 personas por kilómetro cuadrado) es similar a la de algunos países como las Islas Caimán, Barbados, Las Bahamas y Paraguay.

La densidad demográfica de las ciudades metropolitanas del mundo, con sus 50 millones de habitantes, es de alrededor de 5 mil personas por kilómetro cuadrado.

La densidad demográfica de las ciudades metropolitana de los países desarrollados es de unos cuantos personas por kilómetro cuadrado.

El colesterol de la ciudad rural es más bajo que el de la ciudad urbana, lo que puede deberse a la mayor cantidad de actividad física que realizan las personas en la ciudad rural.

La densidad demográfica de una ciudad puede ser muy elevada y, a la vez, estar muy baja debido a la presencia de grandes espacios verdes.

La densidad demográfica de la ciudad de México es de unos cuantos personas por kilómetro cuadrado, lo que representa una densidad similar a la de ciudades como las Islas Caimán, Barbados, Las Bahamas y Paraguay.

Cuando se habla de la densidad demográfica de una ciudad, se refiere a la cantidad de personas que viven en un área geográfica determinada.

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La sociedad Alfred Herrhausen es un centro intelectual que promueve el diálogo entre los líderes de distintas disciplinas y sectores. Fue fundada en 1989 en Berlín y está dirigida por Javier Sordo Madaleno, Presidente del Fideicomiso Pro-Bosque de México. La sociedad cuenta con un sólido comité de dirección, que incluye a José Luis Cortés Delgado, Presidente Adjunto de la Junta Supervisora, y a Amanda Burden, Arquitecto Subsecretario de Desarrollo Urbano y Vivienda, Gobierno de Nueva York. El director general de la sociedad es Miquel Adria, Socio Fundador de Battle McCarthy, Londres. La sociedad también cuenta con varios miembros honorarios, como José Luis Luege Tamargo, Arquitecto Subsecretario de Desarrollo Urbano y Vivienda, Gobierno de Nueva York. La sociedad Alfred Herrhausen se enfoca en el desarrollo de la sociedad, el fortalecimiento de la democracia y el fomento de la cooperación internacional. La sociedad organiza seminarios, conferencias, talleres y otros eventos para promover el diálogo y el intercambio de ideas. La sociedad también colabora con otras instituciones, como la London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) y la Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF) de Barcelona, para promover la investigación y el estudio de temas de interés común. La sociedad Alfred Herrhausen busca promover el diálogo y el intercambio de ideas entre líderes de diferentes sectores, con el objetivo de fomentar la cooperación internacional y el desarrollo sostenible.