

<https://doi.org/10.23913/ride.v14i27.1544>

Artículos científicos

La administración local y los megaproyectos. La percepción de la construcción del Aeropuerto Internacional Felipe Ángeles en México

Local administration and megaprojects. The perception of the construction of the Felipe Angeles International Airport in Mexico

Administração local e megaprojetos. A percepção da construção do Aeroporto Internacional Felipe Ángeles no México

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Resumen

El objetivo del trabajo fue conocer la percepción que género, desde el ámbito de lo local, la construcción del aeropuerto Internacional Felipe Ángeles ubicado en el municipio de Zumpango de Ocampo, Estado de México, a través del análisis inductivo de las respuestas obtenidas en encuesta aplicada a 210 habitantes mayores de diez y ocho años de edad en adelante, con un criterio de investigación determinístico en los meses de noviembre y diciembre de 2020. Los resultados muestran las principales problemáticas urbanas asociadas a la construcción de la citada obra y los posibles impactos urbanos en la construcción de viviendas en la región ante la ausencia de una política pública que la oriente. Se concluyó planteando que hay obras públicas como la construcción del aeropuerto Felipe Ángeles que generan polémica a favor (56%) y en contra (44%) por su antecedente y construcción, ya que



se perciben efectos urbanos, sociales, económicos y ambientales en el ámbito local, regional y metropolitano más allá de su propia comprensión.

Palabras clave: territorio, megaproyectos, administración local, urbanización

Abstract

The objective of the work was to know the perception that gender, from the local sphere, the construction of the Felipe Angeles International Airport located in the municipality of Zumpango de Ocampo, State of Mexico, through the inductive analysis of the responses obtained in an applied survey to 210 inhabitants aged eighteen years and over, with a deterministic research criterion in the months of November and December 2020. The results show the main urban problems associated with the construction of the aforementioned work and the possible urban impacts in housing construction in the region in the absence of a public policy to guide it. It was concluded by stating that there are public works such as the construction of the Felipe Ángeles airport that generate controversy in favor (56%) and against (44%) due to its antecedent and construction, since urban, social, economic and environmental effects were perceived in the local, regional and metropolitan level beyond their own comprehension.

Keywords: territory, megaprojects, local administration, urbanization.

Resumo

O objetivo do trabalho foi conhecer a percepção de gênero, desde a esfera local, a construção do Aeroporto Internacional Felipe Ángeles localizado no município de Zumpango de Ocampo, Estado do México, através da análise indutiva das respostas obtidas em um a 210 habitantes com idade igual ou superior a dezoito anos, com critério de pesquisa determinístico nos meses de novembro e dezembro de 2020. Os resultados mostram os principais problemas urbanos associados à construção da referida obra e os possíveis impactos urbanos na construção habitacional na região na ausência de uma política pública para orientá-la. Concluiu-se afirmando que existem obras públicas como a construção do aeroporto Felipe Ángeles que geram polêmicas a favor (56%) e contra (44%) devido ao seu histórico e construção, pois efeitos urbanísticos, sociais, econômicos e ambientais são percebidos em nível local, regional e metropolitano além de sua própria compreensão.

Palavras-chave: território, megaprojetos, administração local, urbanização.



Fecha Recepción: Enero 2023

Fecha Aceptación: Julio 2023

Introduction

The decisions made regarding the construction of a new airport were taken up at the beginning of the new millennium and, due to the great political change that took place in the country. President Vicente Fox Quesada (2000-2006), from the National Action Party (PAN), determined two options for this construction: the first was in the municipality of Texcoco, in the State of Mexico, and the second option was Tizayuca, in the state of Hidalgo. The size of the property, in the federal zone of the former Lake Texcoco, and its proximity to Mexico City (CDMX), were the arguments that were presented to tip the balance in favor of Texcoco. However, the opposition and resistance of residents, peasants, ejidatarios and political actors from the municipalities of Texcoco and Atenco managed to stop said construction, for which reason in 2002 the suspension of said airport was announced.

By September 2014, with the return of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) to the presidency (after twelve years of PAN government) headed by Enrique Peña Nieto, its main megaproject was announced: the New Mexico City International Airport (NAICM) in Texcoco. The construction of this airport would be in what was part of the land of the former Lake Texcoco, and it would be built due to the saturation and limitation suffered by the Benito Juárez International Airport (AICM). This implied high levels of risk for the crew, the transportation of passengers, and the safety of neighbors in the surrounding areas. However, a controversy similar to that of the year 2000 would resurface. The environmental, economic cost and its social effects were part of the local, regional and national debate, but, despite this, in September 2015 construction works formally began with ground preparation work.

In October 2018, the new federal government headed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), for the National Regeneration Movement (MORENA), promoted a constitutional reform so that citizens could request the implementation of a consultation for matters of public interest. In this way, the Citizen Consultation on the New Airport was carried out from October 25 to 28. Given the saturation of the Mexico City International Airport (AICM), the question was: which option do you think is best for the country? Citizens could choose two options: recondition the current Mexico City and Toluca Airports, and build two runways at the Santa Lucía airbase, or continue with the construction of the New Airport in Texcoco and stop using the current Airport. Mexico City International.



The citizen consultation was favorable to AMLO's argument to cancel the NAICM project in Texcoco. In such a way that, in that same month, in a press conference, the construction of two runways and a civil terminal was announced at the Santa Lucía military air base, in the municipality of Zumpango, State of Mexico, and the modernization of the airports in Mexico City and Toluca. The businessmen involved in the NAICM were offered that the contracts would be respected and that the new airport system would be ready in three years. One year later, on October 17, 2019, the President of the Republic, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, gave the starting signal for the works of the airport in Santa Lucía, today known as Felipe Ángeles, which would be in charge of the Secretariat of the National Defense (SEDENA).

Specific research works that encompass the urban and the local in the case of the Felipe Ángeles International Airport are still limited; therefore, this study aims to make a contribution to the generation of knowledge in this type of study. It also contributes to better understand the opinion and perception of its inhabitants and its most immediate effects or impacts in the urban and local spheres, which are explained in the methodology, in the objective and in the results obtained. (Espinosa, et al., 2023).

State of the art: The urban and megaprojects

Since the 1970s, Ostrom (2022) has dealt with metropolitan reforms and their implications; it observes the problems that arise in urban areas and agrees with the need for these to be addressed with a metropolitan reform. The problem is to define what type of reform will lead to the solution of these problems. The alternative that he suggests is to initiate an empirical investigation to examine the guarantee of the propositions contained in it and to propose an alternative theoretical structure derived from his own works. Mazzucato (2022) suggests that the State is the main agent in guiding the reform processes, even if new actors or markets appear. The State is responsible for directing development objectives clearly and specifically. The generation of public value through the incorporation of public agencies guarantees that urban projects lead to urban planning.

The processes of urbanization and globalization (Gago and Martínez, 2021) allow new policies of economic opening where large conglomerates create conditions to expand the extensions of land built for urban purposes, and thus create new real estate and financial investment services. In the case of Zumpango, this decision was made at the federal level and expresses an important economic issue for the country, the state of Mexico, the municipality

and the region that involves AIFA. The new centers of production of well-being and progress cannot be understood without considering the large urban projects that exist in the globalized world. The economic, social and environmental aspects continue to be part of the study for sustainability both locally and globally.

However, the pattern of territorial occupation followed by Mexican cities seriously threatens the achievement of the great objectives of the country. Our cities grow according to a model of territorial occupation in three Distant-Dispersed and Disconnected-characterized by the disproportionate, fragmented and unplanned expansion of the urban sprawl. Thus, while the urban population in Mexico has doubled in the last 30 years, the urbanized area has multiplied by six. A resolutely unproductive land occupation model deepens inequality and generates high levels of pollution and Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions. In turn, this situation increases the urban risk of climate change, boosted by the occupation of territories susceptible to extreme weather events. (IMCO/CTSEMBARQ MÉXICO y Fundación Mario Molina, 2013, p.13)

Garza and Schteingart (2012) explains how the urban is more important for economic and social competitiveness and the most consolidated or large cities will be in charge of offering better life opportunities, and says the following in this regard:

The most complex issues facing the country, therefore, are above all urban and, more specifically, metropolitan. This process is accentuated in the foreseeable future and the large cities will be the fundamental spaces where the growing labor force will have to be absorbed, as well as offer infrastructure services for the population in terms of electricity, telecommunications, water and drainage, housing, roads, education, health, public safety, among the most substantial. (Garza y Schteingart, 2012, p. 32)

In another moment (Garza, 2007) explains how the metropolis requires large economic investments, infrastructure, equipment and services that concentrate the secondary and tertiary activities of the economy, which contribute to the development of the nation.

Urban planning helps to understand the urban and how a new way of life is planned that integrates the economic, social, and environmental space in the territory, and says: Urban planning must comply with four premises: have the political will of the government to be the unique mechanism of development of urban areas; focus on comprehensive development (social-economic-territorial-environmental

development plans); propose a long-term vision of the city and the legal and fiscal conditions so that it is respected and executed from now on and, finally, have the effective support of society through community participation in its preparation, application and evaluation. (Iracheta, 2012, p. 147)

On the other hand, in the urban there is a legal dimension that gives it another treatment and in large urban works or megaprojects they are accompanied by social, economic, legal variables that change depending on urban and metropolitan processes, as the case may be.

Azuela (2012) studies the new legal changes in the urban area and considers:

This new phase began with two processes that laid the foundations for the development of urban regulations in the following decades: the additions and reforms to articles 27, 73 and 115 of the Constitution and the issuance of the General Law of Human Settlements (LGAH) in force since 1976. Going through some minor deficiencies, the new constitutional provisions very intelligently incorporated the urban question into a constitutional text that was marked by the predominantly rural character of Mexican society at the beginning of the 20th century. (Azuela, 2012, p.58)

Pradilla (2013) analyzes the urban question differently from the legal one and focuses it on a critical analysis of global and neoliberal urban policies and reflects on the following:

A similar phenomenon has occurred in the realm of politics: politicians across the spectrum of political geometry, real or formal, have adopted the same neoliberal language: globalization without a name, the dominance of the world market, competitiveness on a world scale. as a condition of urban growth, world development, the construction of urban icons, technological change, and informational connectivity as engines of growth, the priority to connectivity and urban mobility and in general an undifferentiated language - asexual we would say - in terms of social and urban projects and class interests. (Pradilla, 2013, p. 368-369)

Schteingart, (2012) considers perception as an element for the analysis and study of urban space and the process of urban change in the social structure from:

Reflecting on the importance of the perception of social groups in the design of urban space, of the production of urban frames and in general of the way in which the State is designed is fundamental, to a certain extent it is determined by a long process, by

the complex interaction of the social structure and by kinship ties. (Schteingart, 2012, p. 349)

The urban and its processes associated with large urban constructions, in this specific case associated with the AIFA, face in prospective, a form of transformation of part of the municipal territory in Zumpango, which is related to the urban and with an infrastructure that did not exist before. it existed in such a way; Although it is true that the Santa Lucía air base, which was administered by the Mexican Army, already existed where the aforementioned international airport is being built, and will now continue to carry out this task for civilian users and the armed forces and with another modified spatial-territorial extension.

It is considered that the urban and large constructions such as the Felipe Ángeles International Airport are part of the infrastructures that are integrated into transport: airports, railway stations, ports, which are frequent urban interventions.

In any case, it is necessary to determine more accurately the extent to which these projects may be responsible for greater inequality and possible processes of "gentrification". It is not an easy task since the analysis must incorporate the socio-territorial impact of other decisive factors (such as policies and the fight against poverty, the extension of the network of collective equipment and its operating patterns, housing and mobility policies), which can cushion or deepen socio-spatial imbalances. (Díaz, 2009, p. 213-214)

In another moment of analysis of large urban projects and/or urban megaprojects, Kozak and Jajamovich (2020) explain the definition and difference between these and their implications:

The term “megaproject” was coined in the 1970s as part of a series of public and private initiatives in Canada. However, its retrospective application for the conceptualization of urban projects prior to the appearance of the neologism is usual. In Latin America and Europe, the name for these initiatives is that of large urban projects or GPU. The cut that delimits these initiatives emphasizes the spatial scale of the operation, the management models and the valuation of the land they produce. Outside of this cut are works such as highways, large social housing complexes or airports. (Kozak y Jajamovich 2020, p. 50)

The urban issue continues to be one of the dimensions of study that has an immediate effect on land use in the municipality of Zumpango and the northeast region of the State of Mexico. Its effects due to the construction of an international airport locally are still

unknown, but there is no doubt that it will have an impact on the urban, territorial, environmental, economic and social aspects, among other dimensions to consider.

Objective

The objective of the work is to know the perception generated by the construction of the Felipe Ángeles airport located in the municipality of Zumpango de Ocampo, State of Mexico.

Methodology

The work is based on the inductive method, which consists of obtaining knowledge from the particular to the general. The available information is analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively, supported by an expressed objective that serves as a guide in the investigation. The type of research used is a case study that covers descriptive and explanatory aspects, and is based on both qualitative and quantitative aspects (Bernal, 2010). "The most used techniques for the case study are structured observation, interviews and questionnaires" (Bernal, 2010, p. 116), which enriches the research process. The case study is the Felipe Ángeles Airport, located in the municipality of Zumpango de Ocampo. The research technique used was the questionnaire, which was delivered both electronically through Forms and printed in the selected study area. The case study also contributes to collect information from the inhabitants who live near the object of investigation, which allows obtaining quantitative and qualitative results expressed in the work. In addition, documentary and printed information available on the website related to the subject and objective of the study was collected. The following table shows the neighborhoods, neighborhoods and subdivisions where the surveys were applied and were selected for the study due to their proximity to AIFA.

Table 1. Selected neighborhoods and/or neighborhoods and subdivisions

Colonia Santa Lucía
Fraccionamiento de Paseos de San Juan
Barrio de San Sebastián
Barrio San Juan
Barrio San Marcos
Barrio San Pedro
Barrio de Santiago

Source: Own elaboration with information from field work.

In these neighborhoods, neighborhoods and subdivisions, it was possible to apply printed and electronic surveys to find out the opinion and perception of the inhabitants on the problems associated with the issue of the "Felipe Ángeles" airport and its impact on the urban area of the municipal territory. The research technique included a specific documentary review of the case study, backed by 210 surveys carried out in the neighborhoods, neighborhoods and subdivisions mentioned in Table 1. Since it is a deterministic investigation (Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2014), 30 printed questionnaires were applied in each of the following communities: Colonia Santa Lucía, Fraccionamiento Paseos San Juan, Barrio de San Sebastián, Barrio San Juan, Barrio San Marcos, Barrio San Pedro and Barrio de Santiago. Forms-type surveys were used in 48 cases, being the San Marcos neighborhood with 20 and the Santiago neighborhood with 28 questionnaires. The objective of these methodological tools was to know the perception of the citizens and the urban impact caused by the construction and installation of the AIFA in the municipality of Zumpango. However, it is recognized that the study is not limited solely to the urban dimension, since this construction has environmental, social, economic, cultural, administrative and governmental effects that must also be analyzed in their various dimensions and implications in the territory of the municipality of Zumpango and the region.

It was decided to carry out a study in these neighborhoods, subdivisions and neighborhoods based on their proximity to AIFA, thus establishing a deterministic criterion to carry out the investigation with the support of the deductive method, which allowed obtaining close and first-hand information from the inhabitants who are the ones who, ultimately, are benefited or affected.

"Non-probabilistic samples, also known as directed samples, imply an informal selection procedure. They are used in many investigations and their value lies in the study of a particular group or community" (Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, 2007, p. 167). This allowed the study territory to be delimited to a part of Zumpango, since it has 41 communities, including towns, neighborhoods and neighborhoods (H. Ayuntamiento de Zumpango, 2019). The complexity of the study would have required a different approach to address the object of study.

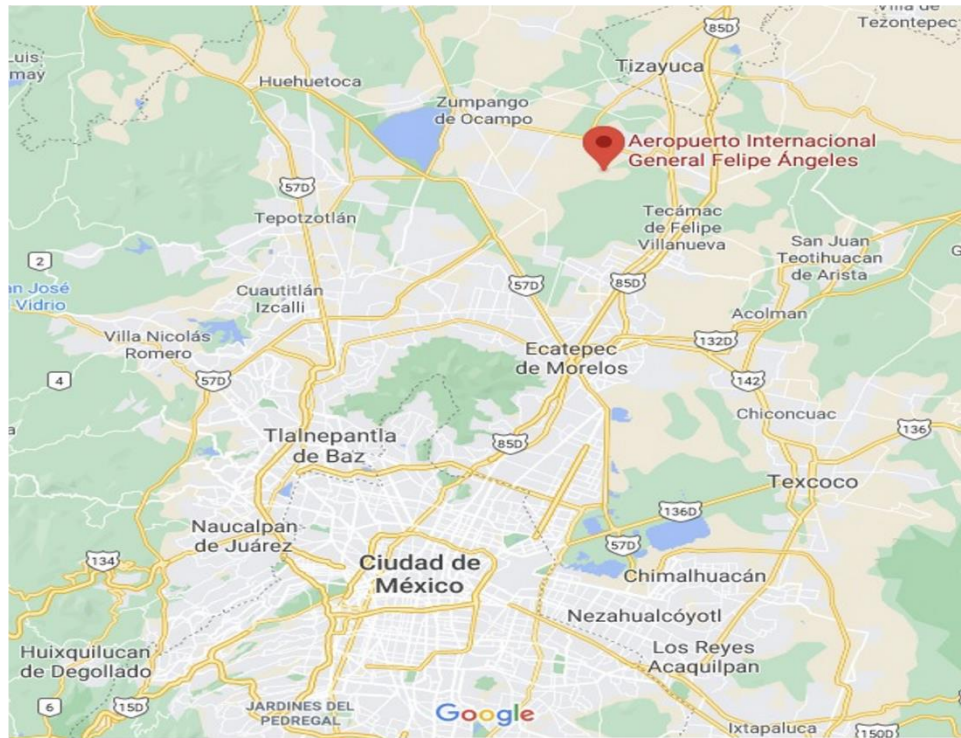
The neighborhoods, neighborhoods and subdivisions mentioned in Table 1 have undergone changes that are transforming the territory, especially in terms of access to homes, the increase in the number of vehicles that hinders traffic and the roads near both the municipality of Zumpango and the municipality of Tecámac due to the construction of the AIFA. A change

is also perceived in the social, economic and urban life of the municipality, since these activities have an impact on land use. According to the perception collected in several visits (four in total) carried out during the months of March and April 2022, as well as in the surveys carried out, there is greater pressure to change the use of the land in these localities.

Study area

The study area is located in the municipality of Zumpango, in the northeastern part of the State of Mexico. It limits to the north with the municipalities of Tequixquiac and Hueyoxtlá; to the south with Teoloyucan, Cuautitlán, Nextlalpan, Jaltengo and Tecámac; to the east with Tizayuca (Hidalgo) and Tecámac; and to the west with Cuautitlán, Teoloyucan, Coyotepec and Huehuetoca (H. Zumpango City Hall, 2019). The following map shows the location of AIFA.

Figure 1. Ubication map of AIFA



Source: Publimetro (2022)

This work is organized into four sections or parts: the first presents the problem, then reflects on the urban and the megaprojects, then the results obtained from the surveys and the problems associated with the subject are presented, and finally the conclusions of the study are presented Developed work.

The problem

The so-called urban and local phenomena are dimensions of study that contribute to a better analysis of large-scale urban projects, since they exceed the impact on the territory that is being built. In this case, part of the physical-territorial space that already existed with the Santa Lucía military air base, in the municipality of Zumpango, today known as AIFA, is modified.

Relating the urban in the case of the AIFA in the municipality of Zumpango allows us to propose research questions: Are they related to the type of urban development that is desired for the municipality of Zumpango and for the region, based on the decision of the federal executive? Or do they have a direct relationship with the public policies, in urban

matters, of the federal government in this case? These are questions that contribute to the research guide and also help the analysis of the urban, the local, the regional and its possible impacts at the local, regional and/or national level. The experience in the last four decades shows that large urban projects tend to be decisions of the federal executive.

On April 29, 2019, it was decided to start the construction of the AIFA; It was announced by the President of the Republic, Andrés Manuel López Obrador. "The work would be built as a civil airport, where a military airport already existed, and with an extension of 3,000 hectares, which exceeds the 700 hectares of the current airport in Mexico City" (López, 2019). It should be noted that not all of the three thousand hectares were built for AIFA, that is the space that was allocated and would house the aforementioned airport, where there are also Mexican Army flights.

It is not forgotten that this project arises from the cancellation of the airport in Texcoco, which generated controversy due to its authorization and then cancellation in 2018, which involved two former presidents and an active president, first Vicente Fox, in the decision-making process. Quesada, of the National Action Party (PAN) period (2000-2006), then in another six-year term Enrique Peña Nieto, of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) period (2012-2018) and then Andrés Manuel López Obrador, of the Regeneration Movement National (MORENA) period (2018-2024); In addition, it involved three governors of the State of Mexico and three Secretaries of State (communications and transport and environment in a period of more than eighteen years), as well as three municipal presidents of Texcoco, of the region and various social and political actors who they got involved. The issue is still under debate and discussion, derived from the cancellation in Texcoco and now the construction and inauguration of AIFA by the federal executive on March 21, 2022.

That is to say, the AIFA was not considered to be a civil airport when the one in Santa Lucía was built; it was not planned to be a civil and military airport at the same time. In 2019, the federal executive, derived from a citizen consultation that did not exceed 1% of the population, chose to build in the municipality of Zumpango as opposed to the already existing progress of the Mexico City International Airport (AICM) that would be located in Texcoco; it is estimated that there was more than 25% progress and with an investment of more than 50 billion pesos (Velázquez, Rivero, and Moreno, 2019).

The construction of AIFA was commissioned by the federal executive to the Secretary of National Defense (SEDENA), and it is the first time in the last four decades that it has

been commissioned to build an urban mega-project of an international airport in Valle de Mexico to the armed forces. This gives another meaning to a new airport and the desire of President AMLO to entrust various tasks to the armed forces, such as this case, is well known in Mexico.

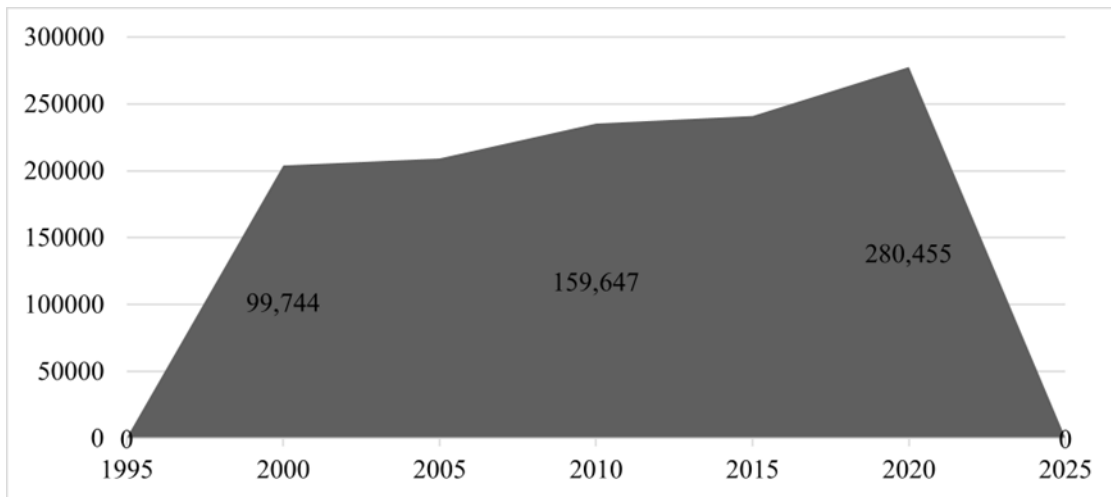
In this regard, the president said: "I also want to take the opportunity to tell people that we made the decision to deliver these assets in custody to SEDENA, for example, the Mayan Train, the Felipe Ángeles airport, the Palenque airport, Chetumal, the one in Tulum, they will be part of a company managed by SEDENA" (Forbes, 2021).

Moreno (2017) explains that, compared to the New Mexico City International Airport (NAICM) located in Texcoco, it would be managed by the Ministry of Communications and Transportation (SCT) and the Mexico City Airport Group (GACM).) in the supervision and control of the aforementioned airport, which gives it another social, political, economic and public administration meaning, thus opening a new dimension of study for this type of urban works.

Results

The municipality of Zumpango registered a population of 99,744 inhabitants in the year 2000, according to official data from the Population and Housing Census of the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (INEGI, 2000). Then, in 2010, a total of 159,647 inhabitants were registered, which means an increase of 59,903 inhabitants in a period of ten years. Subsequently, in 2020, the population reached 280,455 inhabitants, according to INEGI, in a territorial extension of 223.95 km², according to the National Institute for Federalism and Municipal Development (INAFED, 2022). This represents an increase of 120,808 inhabitants, which has generated an unprecedented social, urban, economic and environmental transformation in the history of this municipality. The following graph shows the evolution of the population in the municipality of Zumpango.

Figure 3. Population of Zumpango



Source: Own elaboration with INEGI data (2020)

Zumpango went from having less than 100,000 inhabitants in 2000 to more than 280,000 in 2020 (INEGI, 2000 and 2020). This brought with it new urban problems that did not exist before, such as the provision of drinking water, waste management, the need for new educational and health infrastructures, and the generation of new jobs, which do not exist in the municipality. Now the impact of AIFA in said municipality and the problems that will become known over time are added.

This increase is equivalent to the entire population of neighboring municipalities such as Apaxco, Jaltenco and Nextlalpan. This demographic growth is due to population migration, since it is estimated that more than 35% of its inhabitants are not from the municipality and the greatest migration occurred in the last fifteen years, from 2005 to 2020 (INEGI, 2020). What is observed is significant growth from 2005 to date, derived from the construction of social housing by real estate agencies dedicated to the construction of high-impact housing in the municipality, such as ARA, SARE, HIR, among others, which established in the municipality in the last two decades.

The changes in the urban process show a relationship with the constructions generated and the changes in land uses: what were cultivated lands dedicated to agriculture and livestock twenty-one years ago, are now human settlements, not necessarily with adequate urban infrastructures. This is notorious in the municipal seat and its periphery, where high-impact homes were built.

The answers obtained in the field research and through the surveys, in the localities explained in the methodology, including its five neighborhoods, a subdivision and a neighborhood, express the following:

The first question was: Are you for or against the airport? The answer was that 56% were in favor and 44% against, which explains a favorable trend towards the construction of the airport and the urban implications that it entails.

Figure 3. ¿In favor or opposing about AIFA?



Source: Own elaboration with information obtained from the survey.

The previous response expresses the social perception of its inhabitants. It is information generated by the same population on the site and does not necessarily express the official condition or any order of government, whether municipal, state or federal. In other words, in the communities surveyed there is a tendency in favor of AIFA in Zumpango.

Urban projects, such as international airports, have impacts beyond the local. They transform the territory and their effects are empirically observed in the new socio-urban and territorial organization that involves the municipality in territorial, environmental and economic aspects derived from the new infrastructures. It is recognized that these urban projects bring with them a new type of development associated with urban facilities such as trains, highways, shopping centers and new housing centers, among others. In other words, new urban conditions are created that did not exist in the municipal territory before the construction of the international airport. This has transformed social, urban, territorial, and environmental life, as well as the management of the municipal government in its assigned functions, such as public water, drainage, and garbage services, among others.

Asud (2012) explains the importance of an adequate regional and urban policy and says: It is obvious that space influences economic activity due to natural resources and factor endowments, that is, the spatial distribution of resources and production factors is heterogeneous. On the other hand, the location and proximity of the economic activity to the markets and means of transport is another fundamental element that generates advantages and disadvantages, which conditions its behavior. (Asuad, 2012, p.154)

It is considered that within the construction of the AIFA in Zumpango, roads and access will be the most important to reach the airport. In the municipality's Development Plan, at the regional and state level, it is not specified until 2023 if new roads (streets and avenues) and new accesses will be built within the communities of the municipality. The question is: Who will be in charge of investing in these infrastructures, the federal, state or municipal order? These are questions that require local analysis and study.

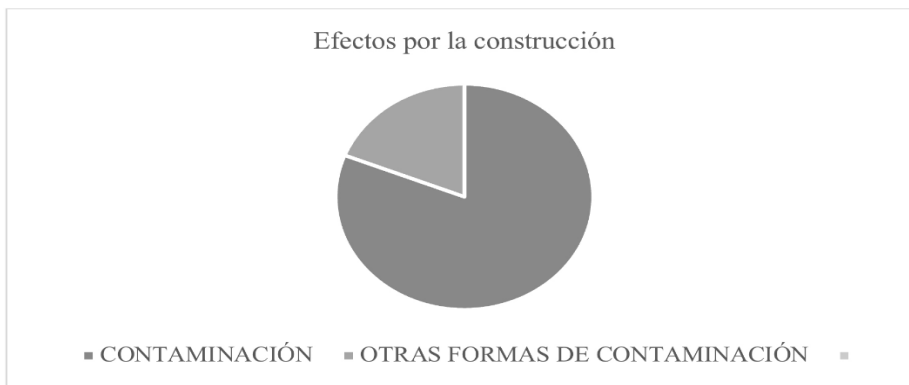
The Government of Mexico plans a system of interconnected roads for the connection to AIFA, which includes three highways and a main road of six kilometers. The San Jerónimo highway comprises three works: the modernization of the San Jerónimo road to four lanes, the connection with the Mexico - Pachuca highway, and the construction of the access junctions to the cargo area and the military zone. The total investment of this project is 690 million pesos, and its target length is 14.17 kilometers. The Tonanitla highway consists of six works: The Iron Bridge, Elevated Viaduct, free junction to Tonanitla, free road to Tonanitla in its two sections and the junction from Tonanitla to AIFA. The total investment of this project is 647 million pesos. The construction of a suburban train that will connect Buenavista with the air terminal is also contemplated, at an approximate cost of 23 billion pesos and it is estimated that it will be completed in the second half of 2023 (Government of Mexico, 2022).

The question arises: Why is the airport built first and then the roads that will connect it? This is a problem that remains to be known and whose effects will be seen after the second semester of 2022 and following. The transfer time, the traffic during peak hours and the complexity of the accesses to leave Mexico City towards the AIFA are issues that in 2022 and early 2023 have not yet been resolved and it is unknown when they will be resolved.

The lack of connectivity is one of the fundamental reasons for the problem. The AIFA was not conceived to make connections. It is a local airport, perhaps with the possibility of growth, but only that (Sarmiento, 2022).

The second question refers to the effects that the construction of the AIFA will have on the urban environment. The recurring response, in 81% of the cases, was pollution in its different forms: noise pollution, air pollution, soil pollution, and pollution derived from the increase in vehicles and transport. 19% considered other effects, such as the loss of flora, fauna and water scarcity. The following graph shows this situation.

Figure 4. Construction effects



Source: Own elaboration with information obtained from the survey.

With the different forms of pollution, the auditory one stands out more frequently in those surveyed, then pollution; Third, the increased use of fossil fuels (gasoline and diesel) due to the excessive use of vehicles, as well as concern for the quality and quantity of water (shortage) and erosion and/or damage to flora and fauna in those areas communities near the airport.

Researchers such as Martínez and Roca (2000), analyze the cost-benefit and pollution from production processes and in this case the urban effect of these large works and say:

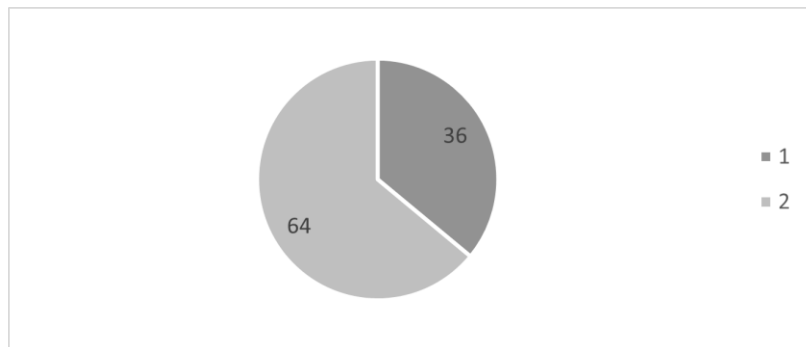
It is obvious that to add and subtract benefits and costs (although not necessarily to compare) everything has to be reduced to the same unit: money. This is clear when

considering -as we have seen- the optimal contamination model, and it is even more so when talking about cost-benefit analysis as a decision-making technique. Although the idea is simple, the theoretical and practical problems that arise are enormous and, in our opinion, insurmountable without a strong dose of arbitrariness. (Martínez y Roca, 2000, p. 194)

There will undoubtedly be environmental costs for the construction of the AIFA, urban decisions have long-term environmental effects, and it is not forgotten that they are controversial decisions in most cases in this type of megaprojects.

Another question refers to the economic benefit of this new infrastructure and that it is linked to urban processes, and the answer was: 36% consider that there will be no tangible economic benefits from this work, and 64% consider that there will be economic benefit from different ways. The following graph shows this trend.

Figure 5. Economic benefits



Source: Own elaboration with information obtained from the survey.

In general, there is a tendency to accept the possible positive effects derived from the construction of the AIFA. Various answers were presented to the possible benefits, and in the following order they were: a) increase in formal and informal employment (generation of more income); b) increase in the value of neighborhoods or neighborhoods near the airport, generating greater capital gains in land and homes; c) improvement of the economic situation for Zumpango and the region due to the services that will be offered. On the other hand, 36% of those surveyed do not expect great benefits and foresee more land speculation, an increase in the cost of property and an increase in insecurity in the area.

According to data from the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL, 2015), 46.9% of the population of Zumpango lives in poverty, equivalent to 99,241 inhabitants. Within this figure, 4.6% live in extreme poverty,

which is equivalent to 9,801 people, and 42.3% live in moderate poverty, equivalent to 89,440 inhabitants. However, the federal government hopes that this type of urban project will help reduce poverty in the municipality and the region, largely due to the generation of more employment and better income for the workers of Zumpango and the region. "In addition, the economic concentration in space is a fundamental element of the generation of economies of scale, technological development and spillover of knowledge from companies and their reduction of transportation costs due to the proximity and diversification of markets" (Asuad, 2012, p. 154).

The above are indicators of the moment that are generated in the place where the area considered for the installation will be, and then the operation of the AIFA. It represents citizen perception, information for decisions for society and rulers about future changes that will exist for the airport in the municipality. There is no doubt that urban processes will have an impact, through the generation of jobs and the change of roads in the first instance in nearby towns; then the municipalities located in the region, such as Tecámac, Tonanitla, Jaltenco and Nextlalpan, located south of Zumpango. Another municipality, Tizayuca, which is not from the State of Mexico but belongs to the State of Hidalgo, is a neighbor and is located to the northeast of the municipality that is the object of this investigation. It is recognized that its effect will also be felt in other places further away, but with a greater degree of urban consolidation, such as Coacalco de Berriozábal, Cuautitlán, Tultepec, Cuautitlán Izcalli, Tultitlán, Atizapán de Zaragoza, Ecatepec de Morelos, located in the State of Mexico. Then there are the mayors of Mexico City, Cuauhtémoc, Azcapotzalco, Gustavo A. Madero, among those considered.

Another of the results obtained is to know the type of property possession that one has: 88% stated that they had private property, whether it be a house-room or rent, while 5% stated that they were in communal lands or property. The Ministry of Agrarian, Territorial and Urban Development (SEDATU) reports that Zumpango has the largest land reserve for private property and real estate developments with 1,263 hectares, followed by the municipality of Tecámac with 974 hectares and Tizayuca with 549 hectares. The latter belongs to the State of Hidalgo, another entity with different land uses and different administrative and management processes in the urban area. Likewise, Zumpango has 1,102 ejido hectares, which represent 4.94% of its territory. (SEDATU, 2020).

In terms of urban land, the municipalities that are closest to AIFA and with the largest extension dedicated to this activity are Zumpango and Tecámac, since there are large

territorial extensions dedicated to high-impact housing. Those dwellings that, on average, house more than four people, lack adequate infrastructure to commute to their jobs and have to travel an average of more than 3 hours round trip are considered. This generates a permanent urban conflict: poorly located homes, without adequate public services and lacking in social identity with the community. They are cities within communities that are little or barely integrated into the social and cultural life of the municipalities and their neighborhoods and neighborhoods, known as those of social interest. The following table expresses the land uses in the municipality of Zumpango.

Table 2. Land uses in Zumpango

Land Use	Hectares extension
Agricultural	7,427
Urban Center	874
Equipment	270
Housing	7,957
Industrial	1,650
Natural	116

Source: Own elaboration with SEDATU information, 2020.

As observed in Table 2, the largest land area is for residential use, followed by agricultural land, which tends to lose size each year, according to SEDATU data. There are no aquifer recharge areas or mitigation zones, as was the case of the airport in Texcoco. There are also no Protected Natural Areas, Territorial Reserves, Industrial Reserves or irregular Settlements.

Another result is the affectation of communal areas, such as Santiago Atocan, San Lucas Xolox and Jaltocan, with an extension of 109 hectares, 66 areas and 87 centiares of privately owned land, in favor of the federation destined for the Secretariat of the National Defense (SEDENA), for the construction of the General Felipe Ángeles Civil and Military International Airport (Forbes, 2022). Who decided to expropriate? According to the Official Gazette of the Federation (Secretaría de Gobernación, 2021), he was the president of Mexico, whose acronym is AMLO. Said decree was published on June 28, 2021. The document establishes that SEDENA complied with the Expropriation Law. The most affected ejidos were Santiago Atocan, in Nextlalpan, and then the ejido of San Lucas Xolox, in Zumpango, with an area of 26,462,502 square meters of land called "Plot 554 Z-1 P2/3". The ejidos of Xaltocan, located in Tecámac, and more than 90% in Nextlalpan were also affected. In other

words, the greatest impact was in Nextlalpan and then in Zumpango. In Tecámac the affectation of the territory was much less, since they are neighbors and adjoin the AIFA (Secretaría de Gobernación, 2021). The SEDENA will pay the owners the value of their lands according to the appraisal of the Institute of Administration and Appraisals of National Assets (INPAABIN). It is estimated that an average of 3 million pesos was paid for each ejidal hectare, that is, with an average cost of 300 pesos per square meter. (Hernández, 2022).

Research limits

One of the main limitations of the research was the time to carry out the field work (two months), the application of the survey and the deterministic way of carrying it out. It was not possible to expand the study sample to other neighborhoods, neighborhoods, or towns due, in part, to the lack of personal, economic, and technological support to locate a group of people who could be susceptible to being surveyed and expand the study sample. However, the objective of the research was achieved according to the methodology already expressed. Another limitation is the scarcity of official information from both the federal and state governments in relation to contracts for urban infrastructure that are in progress and current contracts. It is known that the Army will be the administrator of the most relevant information from AIFA, but this information is insufficient on the web and in the available documents. At the municipal level, there is not enough public information disseminated in electronic media or on the municipality's website about AIFA and its urban impact, and the same occurs in nearby municipalities.

Originality of the work

The results of this work are the product of field research and contribute to generating knowledge about the local, urban and regional aspects, with results expressed and perceived by the inhabitants at the scene of the events. It also helps to understand the effects that occur with the construction of urban projects that transcend the territorial borders of the local or municipal sphere, since its effects are also known at the regional and national level. The administration of a new airport will now be in charge of the Mexican Army, which gives it a different perspective that did not exist in the international airfields previously managed by civilians in Mexico. It will now be the responsibility of the Mexican Army to organize and manage this case study. In addition, the federal government has expressed its desire that urban megaprojects such as the Mayan Train and the Tulum and Chetumal airports, located in the Mexican southeast, also be managed and coordinated in their construction and

operation by the national army. This opens a new dimension of study and analysis of the urban, the local and its social, urban and environmental impact in the various localities and regions of the country.

Discussion

The local administration becomes one of the first referents that generates the perception of megaprojects. Metropolitan phenomena call for the knowledge and analysis of protagonists who are outside the local space and who guide development. The approval and disqualification of citizens towards megaprojects play a fundamental role in legitimizing the government and its management. The perception of the so-called metropolitan government and the challenges of its innovation are topics for reflection that can guarantee proper functioning, beginning with its acceptance in the perception of citizens (Díaz, 2022).

The work developed helps to understand how a part of the urban extension of Mexico City will now extend to the northeast of the State of Mexico, which is estimated to result in greater population growth, more housing, more road and lodging infrastructures, as well as a greater production of goods and services associated with the tertiary sector of the economy and urban processes. However, a loss of biodiversity and a greater complexity in the proper management of solid waste by the local government are also expected, as well as a possible scarcity of water in the nearby area. There are no nearby springs or aquifer recharge areas, so most of the vital liquid is extracted from the subsoil.

In the last four decades, Mexico City has expanded towards municipalities in the eastern part of the State of Mexico, such as Nezahualcóyotl, Ecatepec, Chimalhuacán, Chicoloapan, Los Reyes la Paz and Chalco, which have experienced significant population growth. A large part of this population is dedicated to offering services with low income or is in a situation of poverty in terms of income, since on average they receive a minimum wage (INEGI, 2020).

This type of research will help to find out if large urban projects in the municipality of Zumpango have long-term positive effects (more than five years) in terms of employment, income, poverty reduction, improvement of municipal public services (water, drainage, garbage), greater security, better land roads and better mobility of people and goods. It also seeks to determine if, on the contrary, insecurity will worsen, poverty and marginalization will worsen, and public services will be more deficient both locally and regionally.

In addition, this type of work contributes to discover whether urban projects as important as an international airport contribute to new forms of social, political and economic organization

in a municipality and a region that in the past had less ties to Mexico City. Now a greater interaction and dependence with the country's capital is expected, as well as possible improvements in the quality of life in urban and local terms, and its effect on the region.

Conclusion

In Mexico, the great metropolitan reforms only imply modifications in the urban infrastructure. The case study of the AIFA in the so-called Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico suggests that these reforms will always be accompanied by controversy and discussion, as well as the evaluation of the possible benefits or damages. In addition, these projects do not present adequate urban evaluations at the local and regional level, which consider the effects on the change in land use, the environmental impact, the physical-territorial transformation and the possible economic benefits. They are part of the debate about modernity and the changes generated by globalization, as well as the new economic restructuring at the local and regional level, as is the case in the municipality of Zumpango where the new Valley of Mexico airport is located.

Another fact to consider is that both the Texcoco airport, known at the time as the NAICM, and the Zumpango airport, called Felipe Ángeles, are the result of a type of urban development decided by the federal government and not contemplated in the Plans of Municipal Development, Municipal Urban Development, Regional Development Plan or State Development Plan in neither of the two cases. This trend has existed since 2001, when it was considered to build the urban megaproject in Texcoco and Atenco, municipalities that, like Zumpango, are located in the State of Mexico. This acquires another dimension different from Mexico City in terms of land uses, construction permits and what is established by the legislation and the state Constitution or of each entity of the country.

The territorial, geographic, environmental, administrative, economic, and political aspects acquire another meaning by being located in a different entity from where the most important international airport in Mexico is located, known as Benito Juárez or Mexico City.

However, this type of development at the local level does not mean that economic conditions will immediately improve or that the quality of life of its inhabitants will improve, as occurs in the area where the aforementioned airport was built. Opportunities for development and improvement from an urban work such as the case of AIFA imply urban changes, mainly in the order of local government. The question arises: is the municipal government order strengthened and improved or is it surpassed by the federal government, which assumes and

makes decisions for this type of urban infrastructure works, barely analyzing the effects or changes at the local and regional level?

The results of the investigation allow us to infer, based on the information collected, that the majority of those interviewed were in favor of the airport, representing 56%, while the rest were against it. This allows us to understand the perception of an urban work of this type, which will affect a new urban-territorial-environmental order in the municipality and the region. These projects will affect the people who live in nearby areas, since their mobility will be one of the most important effects that will be experienced at the local level. In addition, its impact will be felt at the regional level, especially in those closest municipalities such as Tecámac, Jaltenco, Nextlalpan, Tonatitla, and those that belong to another entity such as Tizayuca (Hidalgo), among the closest. This region will change its relationship with Mexico City and its metropolitan area over time, becoming an expansion of the metropolis that will inevitably modify its urban appearance at the local level. Previously it had a semi-urban vocation and now the tertiarization of its economy associated with urban processes will be further consolidated.

Among the results obtained, it stands out that more than 81% of the inhabitants express concern about pollution, either in terms of noise due to the increase in air and vehicular traffic, the decrease in air quality, the modification or change of uses of land, which used to be agricultural or cattle ranchers and are now used for housing or industries, as well as water scarcity, given that at the local and regional level there is a decrease in water resources. There is a constant concern and perception that the existence of aquifer recharge zones in the municipality and in the aforementioned neighboring municipalities has not been considered. This type of project does not present proposals to generate urban sustainability in the municipality. In environmental terms, it does not express how the environmental imbalances caused by the construction of the airport will be compensated. While it is true that the cost-benefit relationship is taken into account, the lost natural heritage that is never recovered is not understood or addressed. In addition, there is greater pressure on non-renewable and renewable natural resources. These are important dimensions for analysis, debate and discussion, which are compared with the New Airport project in Texcoco, which was canceled in 2019. In that case, there is more evidence from studies carried out in this regard.

Another of the results that were generated was the possible economic benefits, and the surveys show that 64% consider that they will have benefits, first due to the construction and then the start-up of the AIFA. It is perceived that there will be more formal and informal

employment, without knowing exactly the number of jobs that will be created with the airport. The people surveyed did not know the scope or benefit of the jobs, the salaries and legal benefits that formal jobs would have. In the case of informal employment, more jobs derived from airport services are expected, such as transportation for people and goods, shops dedicated to the sale of food, the sale of various products required by travelers and associated products and services to air transport.

Within the economic considerations and according to the results obtained, the perception of a greater value or surplus value of the properties stands out, which includes land, houses, apartments and everything that derives from the infrastructures associated with housing in general. In contrast, 36% of those surveyed do not expect the economic situation to improve, and greater property speculation is expected, as well as a greater demand for urban land use compared to agricultural-livestock land. It is also considered that there will be greater insecurity in the municipality.

CONEVAL data indicates that there is 50% poverty in the municipality, and 4.6% extreme poverty, which reflects the local reality. AIFA is expected to help reduce poverty in the municipality, since the majority of the population has incomes considered poor. The majority of the working population has an average income between 1 and 1.5 minimum wages.

The federal government, through SEDATU, considers that Zumpango is one of the municipalities in the region that has the largest land reserve for housing construction. However, this does not necessarily mean that the natural resources to inhabit are adequate, as is the case of the water resource, which every year presents conflicts due to the notorious scarcity. It is considered that with the houses that are built the quantity and quality of available water will decrease.

The expropriation that occurred in the affected ejidos in Zumpango and in those nearby municipalities such as Tecámac and Nextlalpan did not mean that a major conflict was created due to the affectation of the ejidos, as was the case of the municipality of Atenco, known nationally and internationally for the expropriation of land for the construction of the international airport in Texcoco and Atenco. It is not the same problem as in 2001 and 2006, when the expropriation of land occurred, which did generate conflicts due to the sale of communal land in those municipalities, which are more than 40 kilometers away. In the case of Zumpango and the affected municipalities, SEDATU proposed to negotiate and resolve the problem with the landowners. In addition, there were no notable conflicts reported in the

media (radio and television) subsequently, as happened in Atenco in 2006, which resulted in arrests, human rights violations, and other conflicts.

There is no social organization similar to the Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra (FPDT) that arose in the municipality of Atenco, and that transcended national borders, with the use of the machete as a symbol of social resistance. In Zumpango, the social organization that fights to protect the region's aquifer is recognized, and although there was a mobilization of peasants in the municipality, it cannot be compared with the social movement that took place in the municipality of Atenco, located more than 40 kilometers away from AIFA. The social conflict was diminishing with the payment of almost 300 pesos per square meter to the owners of the land, which would come under the administration of SEDENA. This gives another dimension to the management and operation of the international airport, unlike the Mexico City International Airport (Sociedad Concesionaria), which is managed by Grupo Aeroportuario de la Ciudad de México S.A. de C.V. (Holding Company) with civil personnel in its management and administration during a determined period. The question arises as to whether the social conflict that may have arisen in Zumpango influenced the decision for the Army to be in charge of managing and operating the new airport. The military air base called Santa Lucía already existed on this land, which is now larger and has the characteristics of a civil airport known as Felipe Ángeles International Airport, whose acronym is AIFA.

The perceptions and responses derived from the research are a sample of the opinion of the inhabitants of Zumpango, which do not necessarily reflect all the possible urban impacts that will exist at the local level. However, it can be said that they are an indicator that indicates how these urban works are not adequately analyzed in the planning and management of governments, whether they are federal, state or municipal. In addition, it highlights the importance of a new urban development that today cannot be separated from sustainable development, which involves social, environmental and economic dimensions at both local and regional levels.

Future lines of research

In future studies it is suggested to carry out empirical research on the implications of metropolitan reforms and analyze the problems present in urban areas. These problems must be addressed after defining what type of reform is appropriate to solve them. The challenge will be to develop an alternative theoretical framework derived from such research.

It will be necessary to consider that the processes of urbanization and globalization have allowed the implementation of new economic policies that promote the opening of markets. This has led large business conglomerates to expand land areas for urban projects and create new services related to real estate investment. As a result, there has been an increase in the construction of buildings and homes in urban areas, as well as the creation of new investment opportunities and services for investors. However, these processes have also generated problems such as the increase in housing prices and the social exclusion of certain population groups.

Studies on large-scale urban projects, such as an international airport, also contribute to understanding how these projects affect the social, political and economic organization of a municipality and a region. These projects can have a significant impact on relations between cities and regions, especially if a municipality or region had little connection to Mexico City and is now expected to have greater interaction and dependence on the country's capital. In addition, these studies can also help to assess whether urban projects contribute to improving living conditions in the urban, local and their effect on the regional.

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Escritura - Revisión y edición	Enrique Moreno Sánchez «igual» Jaime Espejel Mena
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