

Review of: "Redefining borders in the contested territory between San Pedro and San Andres Cholula"

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Potential competing interests: No potential competing interests to declare.

The text discusses the conflict over territorial and social boundaries between two municipalities in Mexico's fourth-largest metropolitan area, Puebla: San Pedro Cholula and San Andrés Cholula. This conflict has historical roots dating back to the pre-Columbian era. The article focuses on defining new borders between these two municipalities and how these have affected the local inhabitants.

First, the text defines the concept of borders and then analyzes the socio-spatial characteristics and urban policies present in both municipalities. To do this, geospatial data, official documents, urban codes, and news reports are used, with the aim of identifying and understanding the diversity of these borders and their effects on San Pedro and San Andrés Cholula, as well as the consequences for their residents.

The article also discusses how San Pedro has maintained its traditional character and cultural heritage, while San Andrés has become synonymous with modern, high-end real estate development. Through mapping and overlaying results, critical areas were identified that have a significant impact on both territories.

Finally, the article concludes that the identified borders can be used as strategic tools for urban design and community planning.

Suggestions:

The article is interesting and seems to have a consistent and applicable methodology for the case study. It is fascinating to observe the phenomenon of urban development between two populations that have historically had cultural quarrels and different development paths. The major problems seem to have derived, especially in the case of San Andrés Cholula, by a rapid development of high-status commercial and residential areas, university campus, within its western municipal territorial boundaries, as well as the abrupt change in territorial planning, changes in land use, and recent historical immigration.

Although I cannot say much more on issues revolving modern conflicts and territorial issues, I do believe this article could be enhanced with recent studies that address the topics mentioned here. Fundamental aspects of the sociopolitical, cultural, urban, and socioeconomic development of the two or three Cholulas are not fully addressed, and the references used are not cited appropriately. This includes, for example, the history of indigenous groups in the region with the arrival of the Spanish and during the Novohispanic period, as well as the territorial dispute between San Andrés Cholula and Puebla de Los Ángeles. Another unmentioned issue is the excessive exploitation of aquifers for commercial purposes or

due to the high consumption of growing cities like Puebla, and also the annoying recreation areas, restaurants, and nightclubs associated with university complexes that are extremely bothersome in urban areas as they generate traffic chaos and problems of insecurity and youth alcoholism. Therefore, I would suggest that the authors take a deeper review of the literature including several useful studies that the authors could incorporate into their work. Below, I present some relevant examples:

Cuevas, R. G. 2017. Conflictos espaciales en Cholula, Puebla. *Mirada antropológica* 12:6-23.

González Jácome, A. 2008. *Humedales en el suroeste de Tlaxcala: agua y agricultura en el siglo XX* México, D.F.: Universidad Iberoamericana, A.C.

Hernández-Flores, J. A., y B. Martínez-Corona. 2011. Disputas del territorio rural: la Cholula prehispánica frente a la expansión de la Puebla colonial. *Agricultura, sociedad y desarrollo* 8:281-296.

Kirchhoff, P., L. Odena, y L. Reyes. 1976. *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca*. México, D.F: INAH-SEP.

López Cuenca, A., y F. L. Frausto Cárdenas. 2023. Complejidad y disputa territorial. Reensamblando el conflicto de Cholula, Puebla, México, 2014-2017. *Región y sociedad* 35.

Mendoza, X. F., y R. P. Avilés. 2023. Pensar el territorio desde y para la vida comunitaria: El proceso de ordenamiento territorial en San Andrés Cholula, Puebla. *HorizonTes Territoriales* 3:1-23.

Morales Arizmendi, M. 2015. "El ordenamiento territorial de los barrios indígenas en la parroquia de San Pedro Cholula, Puebla." *VII Seminario Internacional de Investigación en Urbanismo, Barcelona-Montevideo, junio 2015, 2015*

Nagoda, P. P., y G. U. L. de Guevara. 2019. *Cholula*. Ciudad de México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Palma Rivera, M. C. 2016. *La modernización de lo sagrado (patrimonio cultural): Parque de las Siete Culturas, conflicto espacial en la Zona Arqueológica de Cholula, Puebla*. Puebla: Tesis de Licenciatura en Sociología. Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

Valencia, E. L., y J. S. Mayora. 2016. Beber, bailar, ligar. La construcción social de la noche en San Andrés Cholula, Puebla. *Antropología Experimental*.

Velasco, P. 2017. *Ríos de contradicción. Contaminación, ecología política y sujetos rurales en Natívitás, Tlaxcala* Ciudad de México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas.

The work could also involve consulting and citing the new urban agenda of UN-Habitat.:

<https://onuhabitat.org.mx/index.php/la-nueva-agenda-urbana-en-espanol>