

Strategies for Sustainable Territorial Development

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Published in the United States of America by
IGI Global Scientific Publishing
701 East Chocolate Avenue
Hershey, PA, 17033, USA
Tel: 717-533-8845
Fax: 717-533-8661
Website: <https://www.igi-global.com> E-mail: cust@igi-global.com

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: D'Auria, Anna, DATE- editor. | Sánchez-Rivas García, Javier, editor.

Title: Strategies for sustainable territorial development / edited by Anna D'Auria, Javier Sánchez-Rivas García.

Description: Hershey, PA : IGI Global Scientific Publishing, [2025] | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Summary: "This volume aims to contribute to raising awareness about the importance of local resources as a lever for sustainable development, which can support the territory both in terms of economic growth and social progress"-- Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024055452 (print) | LCCN 2024055453 (ebook) | ISBN 9798369370810 (hardcover) | ISBN 9798369370827 (paperback) | ISBN 9798369370834 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Sustainable development.

Classification: LCC HC79.E5 S768155 2025 (print) | LCC HC79.E5 (ebook) | DDC 338.9/27--dc23/eng/20250115

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024055452>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2024055453>

British Cataloguing in Publication Data

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book is available from the British Library.

All work contributed to this book is new, previously-unpublished material.

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors, but not necessarily of the publisher.

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Chapter 10


Urban Vitality and Sustainability of Heritage Manifestations: Interdisciplinary Analysis of the Andador 20 de Noviembre and the Pilgrimage of Zapopan, Jalisco

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ABSTRACT

Urban vitality is key to preserving and revitalizing heritage spaces, ensuring the history, culture, and identity of a place remain vibrant while promoting social integration and economic growth. The Andador 20 de Noviembre in Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico, exemplifies this as a central axis of the city's historical and cultural life, offering a hub for social interaction through its commercial, gastronomic, and cultural activities. The Pilgrimage of Zapopan, a UNESCO-recognized event, further enhances this vitality by attracting millions and boosting the local economy. The interplay between the urban vitality of Andador 20 de Noviembre and the pilgrimage underscores the necessity of keeping such heritage spaces active. These places serve not only as historical witnesses but also as catalysts for social, cultural, and economic development. The study highlights the importance of preserving and promoting these spaces as dynamic centers of urban life, enriching the experiences of both inhabitants and visitors.

1. INTRODUCTION

Already in 1961, Jane Jacobs, in her book *The Life and Death of Cities*, asked: “What is the first thing that comes to mind when thinking about a city? Its streets. When the streets of a city offer interest, the entire city offers interest; “When they look sad, the whole city looks sad.” (Jacobs 2011, 34).

DOI: 10.4018/979-8-3693-7081-0.ch010

Jacobs knew that the complexity of cities, as well as their understanding, cannot be reduced to simple buildings and roads to travel through them, since their materiality is not everything (Delclòs-Alió, X., & Miralles-Guasch, C. 2018). He knew that behind the vitality of some neighborhoods and cities, as well as the apathy and monotony of others, there is a series of elements, policies and intrinsic relationships that can be studied and explained. Urban vitality is the quality of those spaces in cities that are capable of attracting heterogeneous people for different types of activities during varied hours. (Mouratidis, 2020; Beltrán Rodríguez, 2016).

Why do some open public spaces such as plazas, walkways, boardwalks and promenades, manage to attract heterogeneous people and activities and remain with great urban vitality throughout the year and others do not? What type of spatial elements, architectural, environmental, historical and sociocultural, can we find in them that promote citizen use and appropriation? What are the benefits that these public spaces bring to the communities and cities where they are located? These and other questions guide and outline the present work, relating them specifically to the *Andador 20 de Noviembre* and its historical relationship with the Pilgrimage of the *Romería*, in the city of Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico (Kang, Fan, & Jiao, 2021) .

First of all, it must be considered that the *Andador 20 de noviembre* belongs to the type of open public and pedestrian spaces located in the historic center of its municipality. It is very notable that the *Andador 20 de noviembre*, since its pedestrianization, has gained urban vitality, manifested in a greater flow of people, influx of tourists, cultural activities, gastronomic offer and provision of better urban services; It can be argued that the rich cultural life it boasts results from the following fact: The spaces for cultural presentations are located in strategic areas with extensive symbolic, historical and economic capital. The historic centers, which have the aforementioned capitals in addition to a high architectural heritage, bring together a good part of the urban cultural offer. (Ramírez Kuri, 2016).

In addition to the importance linked to the aforementioned capitals, there is still an important reason to highlight; namely, that open pedestrian public spaces (closed to motorized traffic) in urban centrality are the primary setting for citizen interaction; They are spaces of coexistence and protest, of work and leisure, of demonstration and meeting; of socialization where ties are woven and interwoven between people who may or may not know each other previously, and which make it possible to carry out multiple commercial, recreational, political, artistic and cultural activities (Ayala García & Tami Cortés, 2020; Berroeta Torres, 2012).

And not only buildings are habitable, but also spaces, since habitability is a condition limited to the specific attributes of habitable spaces so that they are useful, functional, intelligible and significant (Organista 2021). However, not everything is perfect, since the “tourism” of urban space implies changes that are not necessarily well received by local inhabitants, who see their neighborhood continually saturated with people and activities that can be stressful. In addition, businessmen and government agents take advantage of these spaces to make questionable real estate investments, which are also not consulted with citizens and represent extra pressure for their inhabitants (Reyes, 2024; Sampaio de Almeida et al., 2024; Ecologistas en Acción, 2020).

Figure 1. Different views of the Andador 20 de noviembre (a)



Photos of the authors.

Figure 2. Different views of the Andador 20 de noviembre (b)



Photos of the authors.

Figure 3. Different views of the Andador 20 de noviembre (c)



Photos of the authors.

2. Urban Architectural Dimension

The *Andador 20 de noviembre* is the pedestrian route in the center of Zapopan, which ends in the Plaza de las Américas and this, in turn, in the Basilica Menor of Zapopan, the most emblematic and visited building of this municipality, since it is the destination of one of the largest religious pilgrimages in the state of Jalisco, the Zapopan Pilgrimage, which brings together, every October 12, almost two million people (Figure 5). In this way, the vector line or architectural spatial axis is integrated as follows: Andador 20 de noviembre > Plaza de las Américas > Basilica Menor, whose direction of movement remains from east to west, changing in amplitude and concentration, from a relatively narrow road (20 m), until its widening and width in the Plaza de las Américas (100 m).

Figure 4. Map of the historic center of Zapopan, Jalisco, where you can see 20 de Noviembre Street (Andador) that goes from Av. De los Laureles, in the East of the map, to Emiliano Zapata Street, where the Plaza de the Americas, to the West. Source: Guadalajara City Council, 2023. Taken from: <https://mapa.guadalajara.gob.mx/geomap>



Based on the previous map, the main buildings and spaces linked to the *Andador 20 de noviembre* are shown schematically below, which is its compositional axis, spatially speaking. As already mentioned, it has a mainly east-west direction because the most important visual culmination is the Basilica.

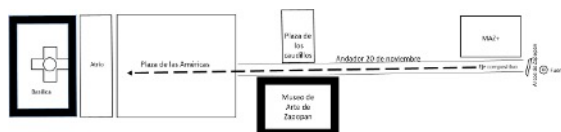
In the northern part, the most significant space is the Plaza de los Caudillos and in the southern part the Zapopan Art Museum, in the western part there are two: the Plaza de las Américas and the Basilica building and, in the east, the Arcos de Ingreso and its surrounding fountain, as well as the new Zapopan Art Museum, under construction, called MAZ+.

Figure 5. Plaza de las Américas and Basílica Menor de Zapopan during the Pilgrimage in 2023.



Taken from: <https://siker.com.mx/sin-categoria/romeria-de-zapopan-2023-convoca-a-2-2-millones-de-devotos/>

Figure 6. Schematic representation of the Andador November 20 with its main spaces and buildings. Outline by authors.



The *Andador 20 de noviembre* measures 260 meters in length, from the Monument of the Arches of Zapopan, to the beginning of the Plaza de las Américas; and has a width of 20 meters; Plaza de los Cau-dillos measures 54 m long by 30 m wide and Plaza de las Américas measures 140 m long by 100 m wide.

The most significant monuments are the Entrance Arch and its surrounding fountain. The entrance arch was built in 1981 and completed the following year. It was, both the project and its execution, the work of Guillermo González Ibarra, although the sculptures and reliefs are the work of his wife María del Carmen Rábago. At the foot of the monument there is a bronze plaque that, among other information, says that:

“Its decoration stages the history of Zapopan. The pre-Hispanic era appears on its left vertical face; the right side represents contemporary Zapopan; The rear faces recreate the arrival of the Spanish and the work carried out by the Franciscan missionaries. On the left side, on a plinth, is the sculpture that represents Topiltzintli, child god of corn, and on the right side, the goddess of corn.; At the top, a hunting target symbolizes triumph. At its top there stands an eagle like that of the national coat of arms.”

Likewise, octagonal in shape, entirely in quarry, and with four bodies, the fountain in front of the Entrance Arch is a sculptural element in perfect condition that provides freshness and luminosity at the beginning of the route of this walkway. Its first body is the superficial pool whose function is to receive the waters of the three upper bodies. The second body is a plate that is both a container and a source of jets in the form of arches that point to the center of the sculptural group.

Figure 7. Face of the Entrance Arch: Corresponding to the east face. Likewise, you can see the octagonal fountain in the foreground



Photos of the authors, 2023.

Figure 8. Face of the Entrance Arch: Next to the west face. You can see the octagonal fountain in the background



Photos of the authors, 2023.

It should be noted that on the vertical face of this body some bas-reliefs of aquatic leaves stand out. The third body is a carved quarry glass with figures of children in a lump that hold, kneeling, like small Atlases, the entire weight of the crown of the cup. Thin jets of water rise from this glass until they reach approximately two meters in height from its base. Finally, at the top there is a smaller cup, in the highest part of which we find a stone pine cone from which water gushes out without reaching great heights, being the zenithal finish of the sculpture.

Towards the west and following the schematic representation (Figure 5) we will find the Zapopan Art Museum, the work of architects María Emilia Orendain and Enrique Toussaint, inaugurated in 2002. It has three temporary exhibition rooms: the Juan Soriano room, the Juan Barragán room and the Manuel Álvarez Bravo room, and a multidisciplinary auditorium named after Juan José Arreola, as well as a bookstore and store.

It also has a main courtyard in the center of the museum that is used for various activities. The building is modern and functional; Its discreet main façade does not exceed the heights of the surrounding buildings excessively, so it is integrated into the street as a whole.

The structure of this façade is made of concrete in which four enormous red folding doors stand out, which also have the function of lattices. At the top there is a stylized circular glass pediment that rises from a metal beam, and whose roof is a thin reinforced concrete barrel vault.

The rooms are spacious, equipped and well lit. The experience that the viewer or user has is of finding themselves in a space of exquisite architectural workmanship. The curatorship also stands out for its search for new expressions, media and formats, with local, national and foreign artists; information

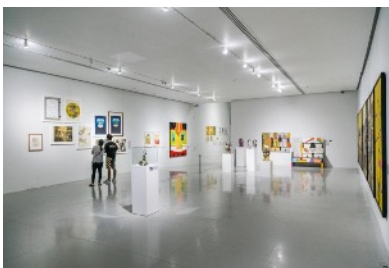
that is available on its official page <https://maz.zapopan.gob.mx/#> where you can consult the history of its exhibitions.

Figure 9. Facade of the Zapopan Museum of Art (MAZ).



Source: <https://guadalajaramidestino.com/el-maz-trae-de-vuelta-al-salon-independiente/>, 2022.

Figure 10. Interior of a room of the Zapopan Museum of Art.



Source: <https://guadalajaramidestino.com/el-maz-trae-de-vuelta-al-salon-independiente/>, 2022.

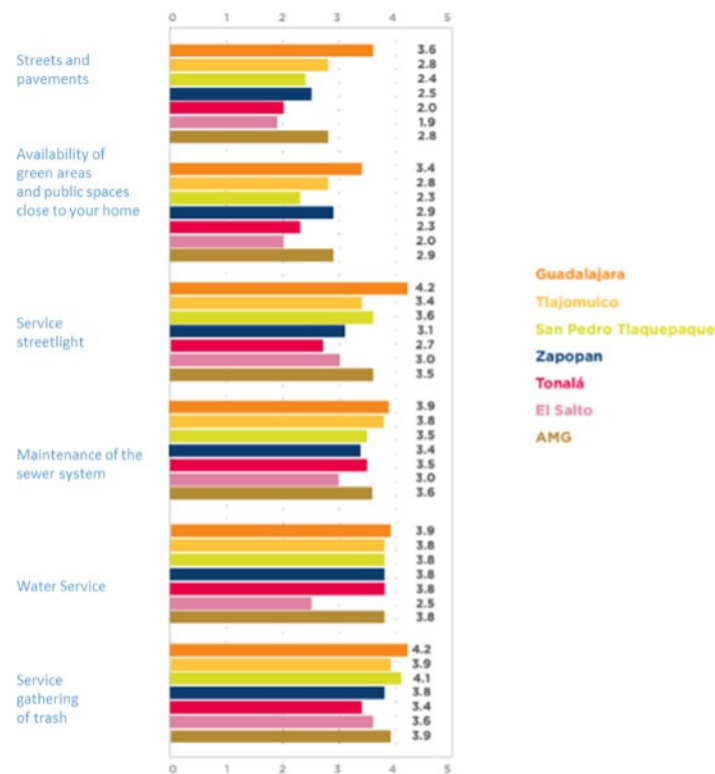
In front of this museum is the Plaza de los Caudillos; an esplanade that contains at its southern end a monument to Mexicanness: the eagle of the national coat of arms. This square is surrounded by two neo colonial-style porticoed buildings, where cafes and small food and beverage businesses, mainly, meet. The Plaza de los Caudillos is also a passage between the Andador 20 de Noviembre and Av. Hidalgo, the main motorized road in the center of Zapopan, where the Municipal Palace and other prominent buildings of the municipality are located. The esplanade has a stone plinth that rises one meter above the Andador.

Figure 11. Plaza de los Caudillos.



Partida, 2023.

Figure 12. Graph of Satisfaction with the quality of six public services in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. Scale from 1 to 5.



Source: Seventh citizen perception survey on quality of life 2020. Jalisco cómo Vamos. Citizen Observatory

According to official information from the Zapopan City Council, in 2017, with an investment of 19.8 million pesos, the Andador 20 de Noviembre was renovated. The actions carried out in this work include the equipment and LED lighting of the entrance fountain to the Andador 20 de Noviembre and the lighting of the Zapopan Arches, as well as the change of paving stone for semi-polished concrete tiling, and the construction of planter-bench, also made of polished concrete.

Likewise, public lighting was replaced with the use of LED lights, and the necessary adjustments were made for universal accessibility in this passage, so that all people can enjoy the local cultural and gastronomic offering. A 4-inch drinking water line was also constructed; Storm drains were built and the Irving-type grates were replaced, and the stormwater network was rehabilitated. The access steps to Plaza de los Caudillos were repaired and stages were built, in addition to placing platforms to promote cultural activities. The trees were transplanted and the existing trees were treated.

It is not unusual to observe, then, in this set of articulated and equipped spaces and buildings, citizens and visitors engaged in different and varied activities typical of the historical, commercial and sociocultural complexity of the site. There are pedestrians who are passing through and take advantage of the pedestrian path to “cut” the path or, on the contrary, to make it more interesting. There are diners, tourists, merchants, street artists and people who come for some good or service. The most important and significant thing about the Andador is, precisely, what its name indicates, that 20 de Noviembre Street

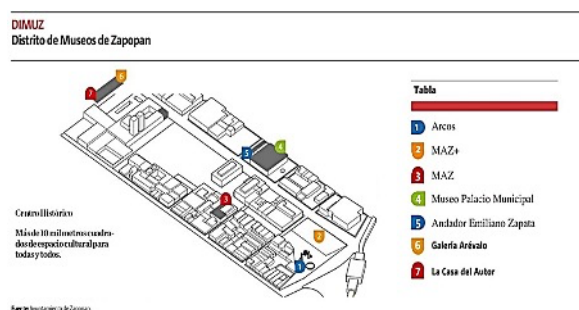
has been pedestrianized. From that decision, people appropriated it, and today what was yesterday just another street for cars overflowing with urban vitality.

Finally, it is worth mentioning in this section that, during the time of our fieldwork at the site, the new MAZ+ headquarters was being built, so this brief description and analysis of the urban-architectural dimension does not take into account this building. However, we can advance some data, taking into account the journalistic information alluding to this development. In this sense, according to a note by Sarah Ochoa, in *Diario Mural*, on June 13, 2021:

[...] the project, endorsed since 2020 by the Plenary of the Zapopan City Council, considers the construction of a museum, a gastronomic corridor and a housing development where the Zapopan Shopping Center square -Plaza Arcos- was previously located. File 199/2020 of the opinion, the land located at the intersection of Calle Hidalgo and Avenida Laureles, next to the Arcos de Zapopan, has the project approved since October 30, 2020 by the Cabildo. According to the document, of the 25,080 square meters of land, 14,630 square meters can be built. The developers plan to allocate 2,800 square meters to house a museum, 4,770 for mixed use and 5,376 for residential use. The Municipality approved the proposal by “Tierra y Armonía” to create a private trust that will be in charge of carrying out the civil works and management, where the municipal Government will participate with 86.33 percent of the land.

The journalist also warns of social discontent over this work, since neighborhood groups spoke out because the space previously occupied by Plaza Arcos was used as a public space, specifically for a park. In the end, the municipal government of Zapopan decided on the construction of the MAZ+, as part of a larger project called the Zapopan Center Museum District.

Figure 13. Isometric projection of the Zapopan Museum District project



Source: Zapopan City Council, 2021, <https://www.milenio.com/cultura/centro-zapopan-museos-palacio-municipal-plaza-arcos>

It is no secret that urban policies and projects respond to different public and private interests. A power such as private economic capital can, together with the government sector, make a vision for the development of cities prevail, timely presenting a series of benefits, accompanied by strong media socialization.

Museum or park? It is a question whose answer cannot be univocal, but in the current socio-urban reality, it is far from being just a healthy democratic exercise, such as citizen consultation. Each block, each neighborhood of the cities, is commonly a trench dispute, where the powers represented in individuals or groups, maintain a permanent struggle for their interests.

3. SOCIOECONOMIC DIMENSION

From the observation and registration of the buildings in the Andador 20 de Noviembre, the following uses and economic activities can be found:

Figure 14. Type and number of businesses on Andador November 20.

Tipo de espacio o servicios	Cantidad
Restaurants	15
Coffee shops	5
Ice Cream Vendors	3
Banks	2
Foreign Exchange Businesses	2
Parcel	1
Goods and Appliances Store	2
Preschool and Primary School	1
Nucleus of Dental Surgeons	1
"Miraculous Potions" Store	1
Bags and Backpacks Store	1
Contemporary Museum	2
Wixárrica Art Museum	1
Parishes	2
Stationery	2
Grocery stores	4
Law Firm	1
Pharmacy	2
Juice and Preparation Sales	3
Institute of Higher Studies	1
Aesthetics	2
Tlapaleria	1
Municipal Comptroller	1
Political Party House	1
Bookshop	1
Music Store	1
Handicraft shop	1
Municipal administrative unit	1
Optics	1
pubs	3
"Botaneros" Centers	3
Hotel	2
Parking lots	3

Source: Partida, 2023.

Due to the quality and quantity of its services, there is considerable recreational and commercial activity throughout the week in Andador 20 de Noviembre. The prices of dishes in restaurants, for example, vary between 80 and 300 pesos, so people from different sectors and socioeconomic possibilities gather at the place to taste a dish. There are restaurants serving Mexican snacks, seafood, roast meats, Italian, Greek, Japanese food... and a long list of fast food. As can be seen in the previous image, the predominant establishments on the Andador are commerce and services; This is consistent with the information published by the National Statistical Directory of Economic Units (DENUE) of INEGI, about the municipality, in Zapopan, Municipal Diagnosis, August 2022:

The municipality of Zapopan has 52,239 economic units as of May 2022 and its distribution by sectors reveals a predominance of establishments dedicated to services, these being 47.59% of the total in the municipality. It occupies position 2 of the total number of companies established in the state and number 2 in the regional ranking. (*Diagnóstico Municipal*, agosto 2022: p.38).

The 2019 economic censuses recorded that, in the municipality of Zapopan, the three most important subsectors in the generation of gross census added value were the Food Industry; Manufacture of computing, communication, measurement and other electronic equipment, components and accessories; and Retail trade of motor vehicles, spare parts, fuels and lubricants, which together generated 27.5% of the total gross census value added registered in 2019 in the municipality (Municipal Diagnosis, August 2022: p. 39) (*Diagnóstico Municipal*, agosto 2022: p. 39)

As in the rest of the world, derived from the COVID 19 pandemic, many of the economic activities linked to commerce and services, as well as leisure in public places decreased significantly in Zapopan. However, by June 2022 the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS) announced that there are a total of 442,958 insured workers in the municipality, that is, an annual increase of 37,657 workers compared to 2021. According to the records of the IMSS, the economic group with the most jobs registered within the municipality of Zapopan was that of professional and technical services, which in June 2022 registered a total of 63,836 workers, concentrating 14.41% of the total in the municipality. In this way, the economic recovery has been very firm since the official end of the COVID 19 Pandemic and the historic center of the municipality is proof of this. It is worth mentioning that Zapopan, currently, is the municipality with the highest GDP per capita and HDI in Jalisco, as well as one of the 50 municipalities with the highest HDI and GDP per capita in Mexico.¹.

Now that people can go out into the streets more calmly and safely, the bustle has returned to the Andador 20 de Noviembre, which, in the afternoons, is filled with people and sociocultural activities, thus corroborating what Fenochio and Dillingham assured about public spaces and the squares, in the sense that they are the place of commerce, the meeting place par excellence where people chat and live together, the place for a casual meeting or for flirting during the serenade; the agora for the concentration of protesters and complainants. The meeting point where community events are discussed, the place of memories, the space for solace and recreation, the mirror of the city. And I would add that it is the preferred place for tourists who are interested in knowing part of the historical and cultural aspects of the cities and an important point for the development of commercial and service socio economic activity. A very important part of the urban vitality of this studied space is the Zapopan Pilgrimage, which has been a World Cultural Heritage since 2018.

Figure 15. Dancers in the Pilgrimage of Zapopan



Source: Martínez, 2022.

4. INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The term heritage has experienced a significant change in its conceptualization over time, evolving from a paradigm that referred to the realm of the particular, in which parents inherit assets to their descendants, to a collective we, where assets They acquire a social dimension as a representation of events and cultural processes from previous times (Demanget, 2002).

The conception of heritage as social property is a product of the historical, social and political changes that humanity experienced in the 18th century, consisting of the disappearance of the King-State as a result of the triumph of the French Revolution. With the modification of the political-social regime, an enormous amount of property ceased to be the personal heritage of noble families and royalty, and became property of the republic; no link to a particular person. As a result of this inheritance received by the nascent State, and aware of the intrinsic value of the architectural and artistic heritage that the nobility had held, it was forced to assume responsibility for the safeguarding of all properties and collections seized as part of the new social contract.

Heritage, or concern for the past, is a modern Eurocentric concept, centered around the meta-narrative of nationalism as an ideology of belonging, legitimation and national identity. (Alvarado-Sizzo & López López, 2018, p. 31)

In the last quarter of the 20th century, concern for heritage conservation increased “the destruction caused to cities, civil buildings and population centers by the countries that participated in the Second World War, causing an important awareness about “the need to preserve not only peace, which for five long years was forgotten, but also the cultural manifestations of the afflicted nations.” (Torres Aguilar, 2015, p. 20)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) carried out the Convention on International Cooperation in the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Mankind in 1972, with the aim of protecting world heritage (UNESCO, 1972). Subsequently, in 2003, it created the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, conceiving it as follows:

[...]the uses, representations, expressions, knowledge and techniques - along with the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces that are inherent to them - that communities, groups and in some cases individuals recognize as an integral part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, which is transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups based on their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, instilling in them a sense of identity and continuity and thus contributing to promoting respect of cultural diversity and human creativity. (UNESCO, 2003)

The United Nations Organization has established clear criteria to value heritage and grant it the world heritage mark (UNESCO, 2006); However, this has not limited a debate regarding the determination of what should be called heritage and the use made of it. The current in favor of the declaration of heritage considers that it is a positive strategy, in which heritage has a neutral status and its only purpose is to transmit customs and cultural landscapes to future generations.

The negative view perceives heritage as a conscious manipulation of history, about what is good to remember and what should be forgotten, designed with the intention of generating visitors willing to spend money (Hubbard & Lilley, 2000). It does not try to separate heritage from its historical or cultural legacy (a link that will always keep the present and past together), it is precisely that quality that is considered to be used to generate a marketable product, turning heritage into a desirable object to be visited. (supply segment) interest that is commodified by the tourism sector (demand segment) (Bhardwaj, 1997; Cohen, 1988; Collins-Kreiner, 2016).

Religion is a relevant component of heritage. "Immovable sacred or religious heritage is a thematic sub-group that can be defined based on the destination or use that a community makes of said construction. The buildings destined for the abode of the gods are the sacred architecture par excellence" (Gudefin, 2006, pp. 96–97). An undoubted fact is that individuals come to sacred places for various motivations, from the faithful who congregate as part of the beliefs or obligations imposed on them by their religion, to those who arrive in search of experiencing a transcendental experience, and others. They arrive attracted by the cultural or natural value that is preserved in the sacred space.

Religious places are spaces of great cultural interest, since they allow us to encounter the symbolic and ontological value with which they were built, since they represent the mystical thought of a particular era. Which is shown in the different architectural elements, construction materials and dimensions with which the buildings were erected, as well as in the designs of the ornamental items, paintings and sculptures that they contain inside. However, "cultural heritage in religious matters is not kept only to protect it and, in any case, to show it on certain occasions. Rather, it must be recognized that it has a rich meaning and that therefore it is possible to use it" (José & Arancibia, 2015, p. 261). Sacred places, in addition to their identity function, are places where cult activities are carried out that include rituals and festivals, and combine elements of material and intangible heritage that represent the local culture.

"the importance of intangible cultural heritage, a crucible of cultural diversity and guarantor of sustainable development, as highlighted in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional and Popular Culture of 1989, as well as in the Universal Declaration of UNESCO on Cultural Diversity of 2001 and in the Istanbul Declaration of 2002, approved by the Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture, Considering the profound interdependence that exists between intangible cultural heritage and material cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO, n.d.)

This new vision of cultural heritage allowed the Latin American, African and Asian regions to have greater representation in the world heritage panorama, because they have a wide variety of traditions that remain alive after several centuries and are signs of their imaginary collective.

5. POPULAR RELIGIOSITY

Both anthropology and sociology of religion have debated the conceptual differentiation of the terms religion, spirituality and popular religiosity (Bobineau et al., 2000; Bourdieu, 1971; Bréchon, 2021; Grignon, 1977; Hervieu-Léger, 2002), however, in this work the idea proposed by Renée de la Torre (2013) will be used, so we will refer to popular religiosity as the space

“where even today a mixture is generated between various religious systems: indigenous worldviews familiar with magic, curanderismo, animism and “paganism”, Catholicism articulating devotion to saints and virgins, miracles and ritualism, but also new age spirituality and neo-esoteria”(Tower, 2013, p.

Table 1. Differences between religion, spirituality and religiosity

	Religion	Spirituality	Religiosity
System	Structured	Personal	Semi-structured
Composition	Group	Individual	Communal
Spatiality	Purpose-built public spaces (most of the time)	No specific place	Open public spaces (streets, squares, etc.)
Organization	Institutional	Individual	Group

Source: Martínez, 2024.

To speak of religiosity in the specifically Mexican case is to refer to a religious environment very different from the European or even Anglo-Saxon space. Even when the Mexican population was evangelized under the European Catholic tradition and particularly in the Spanish one, the inhabitants of the original communities managed to keep many of their festive customs alive, although with a different meaning, by managing to incorporate them as practices in the Catholicism that they evangelizing friars proclaimed.

In this way, a Catholic-pre-Columbian syncretism emerges and later also incorporates part of the imagination of the black population (Juárez Huet, 2009; Ricard, 1986; Saldivar Arellano, 2013) who was brought as slaves to work in the Spanish haciendas and mines that They were the most relevant economic activities during the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, many current religious expressions, especially in the Catholic religious festivities that take place in Mexico, are a mixture of manifestations that make them unique, even when they are solemnities that the Catholic religion celebrates *urbi et orbi*.

“We are a ritual people. And this trend benefits our imagination as much as our sensitivity, always tuned and awake. The art of the Festival, debased almost everywhere, is preserved intact among us. In few places in the world you can experience a spectacle similar to that of the great religious festivals of Mexico, with their violent, sour and pure colors, their dances, ceremonies, fireworks, unusual costumes and the inexhaustible cascade of surprises from the fruits, sweets and objects that are sold those days in squares and markets.

Our calendar is full of parties. On certain days, whether in the most remote places or in the big cities, the entire country prays, shouts, eats, gets drunk [...] time suspends its race, stops and instead of pushing us towards a tomorrow that is always unattainable and liar, offers us a round and perfect present, of dance and revelry, of communion and feasting with the most ancient and secret of Mexico.” (Paz, 1992, p. 18)

Thus, popular religiosity transforms public space, particularly streets and sidewalks, into non-institutionalized sacred spaces, through a mixture that includes the practice of ancestral rituals, the use of Catholic images and statuettes, candles, banners, and, above all, the music, both in melodies accompanied by lyrics that praise the Catholic imagination, and sometimes include words or prayers in Nahuatl. But above all with a rhythmic sound without vocal accompaniment that serves for the participants to dance as a way of venerating the image or images that occupy the main place on the altar that is set up for the occasion.

“Within their beliefs, the temple is not necessary to venerate God or the Virgin, since devotion and a lump figure, divine image or crucifix is enough before which to carry out your prayer materialized with the body” (Córdova Ortega, 2023, p.13)

The public space understood as the place inhabited by everyone and at the same time by no one ceases to be *terra nullius*, to temporarily be a communal space, where the neighborhood is revived based on the religious celebration; “[the] public space...could be defined as a space of and for public relations, that is, for those that occur between individuals who physically coincide and pass through places of transit and who have to carry out a series of accommodations and mutual adjustments to adapt to the ephemeral association they establish” (Delgado, 2011, p. 17)

It is not about individual people, popular religiosity is an act of group-type territorial appropriation, which can go even beyond the neighborhood, as well as cultural resistance that allows the tradition that has been modified day to day to be kept in force., where even new generations make ancestral practices their own and are integrated as a single whole that clearly marks the difference between the profane and the sacred.

6. LA ROMERÍA DE ZAPOPAN (THE ZAPOPAN PILGRIMAGE)

On October 12th of each year, the city of Guadalajara experiences a religious celebration that transforms its daily life. This is the pilgrimage of the Virgin of Zapopan, a centenary event, since its beginnings date back to the year 1734. Given the importance that this event has for the population of this city, it was recognized in 2018 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as intangible cultural heritage.

However, and UNESCO recognizes it in this way, in reality it is not an event that takes place only on one day, but rather it includes an entire ritual cycle that begins in the month of May and culminates every October 12. On this date, the journey made by the image of the Virgin takes place from the Guadalajara cathedral to the Sanctuary located in the municipality of Zapopan. During the months covered by the ritual cycle, different temples in the city become places to welcome this Virgin, so that her community of faithful can be close to her.

Throughout this period of time, different streets that make up part of the public space of the Guadalajara city become spaces of pilgrimage where faithful Catholics, dancers, religious people, musical groups, etc. converge in an orderly manner to accompany the Marian image. to the temple that receives the pilgrim image that day.

Due to the number of Catholic temples that the city of Guadalajara has, some temples may appear in one year and not the next. However, there are several temples that are always included as part of the tour. The number of temples visited during this period ranges between 175 and 180, with the list changing each year, which modifies the route that the pilgrim image follows throughout the city.

The data for the last two years are:

Table 2. Temples and Deaneries visited by the Virgin of Zapopan in Guadalajara in 2022 and 2023

	2022		2023	
Month	Temples visited	Deaneries	Temples visited	Deaneries
May	18	3	17	4
June	39	7	37	8
July	42	6	41	6
August	25	4	34	5
September	44	5	37	7
October	11	2	10	2
Total	179	27	176	32

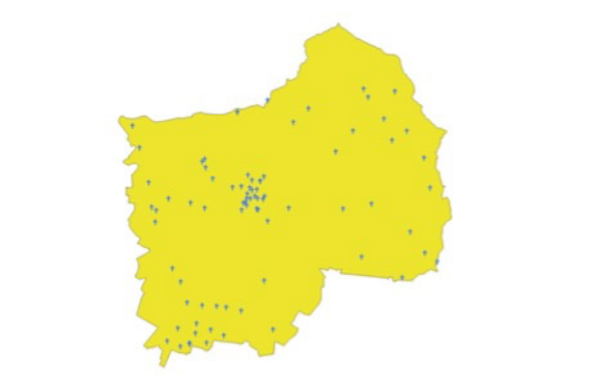
Source: Authors' elaboration based on the 2022 and 2023 programs of visits of the Virgin of Zapopan.

Figure 16. Spaces visited by the effigy of the virgin in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area



Source: Martínez, 2024.

Figure 17. Spaces not visited by the effigy of the virgin in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area



Source: Martínez, 2024.

7. THE PILGRIMAGE

The last stop on the annual tour that the virgin makes through the city of Guadalajara is always the Cathedral. Prior to the pilgrimage, a series of activities are carried out that begin on the afternoon of October 11. The first ritual event is what is known as the “Mass of Sponsorship”, with this religious act a renewal of the patronage that John Paul II granted in 1989 to the Virgin over the Archdiocese of Guadalajara is carried out. This liturgy is celebrated in Plaza Tapatía, an open-air esplanade that is located in an area near the cathedral at the back. Once this ceremony is over, the image returns in procession to be placed inside the cathedral building where it spends the night.

From the afternoon and throughout the night of the eleventh, groups of pilgrims begin to arrive to accompany the image along the nearly nine kilometers that separate the cathedral of Guadalajara from the Basilica of Zapopan. The commercial portals around the cathedral, normally empty during the nights, from the eleventh to the twelfth of October, are transformed into a verbena for the enjoyment of pilgrims and dancers waiting outside the cathedral building.

You can see food stalls where entire families eat and live together, along with pilgrims who calm their appetite while talking or enjoying the dances of the groups that arrive and make an “offering in movement” (as they call their dances) before starting the pilgrimage. You can also see stalls and sellers of souvenirs of various kinds. It seems curious that among food and souvenir stalls there are others selling footwear, specifically sandals, because it is a tradition that many pilgrims make the route barefoot. This phenomenon occurs more frequently in women, who often come accompanied by their babies to present them to the virgin and thank her for having had a successful birth. Under the portals of the buildings surrounding the cathedral, you can see people sleeping waiting for the Virgin to start the tour.

Figure 18. Images of the night of the Pilgrimage



Source: Martínez, 2022.

At the same time that the verbena is held in the surroundings of the cathedral, in different parts of the city, the different native dance groups that participated in the pilgrimage carried out their last rehearsal, which they called “real rehearsal”. Unlike the other rehearsals they carry out during the year, and mainly from July or August, this one is very formal. All the participants wear their complete attire, although most during the pilgrimage will use a new one ordered to be made especially for the occasion.

In the rehearsal, an altar is placed with flowers and candles that are offered by the participants of the group. On this altar is placed a replica of the image of the Virgin of Zapopan that at the end of the rehearsal will be transferred along with the flowers and candles, to the place where the dancers will rest upon their arrival in Zapopan, once the tour is over; because they will continue to dance throughout the twelfth day.

This rehearsal, depending on each group, begins between eleven at night and two in the morning, lasting two hours. The last rite prior to the pilgrimage takes place on the twelfth of October at five in the morning, when a mass is officiated in the Cathedral to bid farewell to the Virgin of the city of Guadalajara. At the end of this, at approximately 6 in the morning, the pilgrimage formally begins, a journey that will take the Virgin back to the Basilica of Zapopan, where she resides most of the year. However, the pilgrimage begins even before the image leaves the cathedral temple. Between three and four in the morning the contingent of people begins to walk along the route that will be traveled later by the image of the virgin. This beginning occurs naturally by the pilgrims who wish to receive it at the time of their arrival at the Basilica of Zapopan.

Although there is no regulation of the distance that pilgrims must travel to consider that they have made the pilgrimage, it can be observed that different contingents of both people who make the tour on foot, or on horseback, (the latter arrive around three in the morning), arrive in the surroundings of the cathedral to formally begin what for them is the route. The organized contingent, religious groups and dancers, begin to place themselves in the places arranged for each of them around four in the morning, to begin the tour the first contingent at approximately five in the morning. The places are previously assigned by the organizing committee of the pilgrimage, so each group is clear about the place from which it must depart. (Government of Zapopan, 2023) (Gobierno de Zapopan, 2023)

The barracks that always lead the pilgrimage is the *Cuartel de Danzas Autóctonas de Zapopan*, and the group of dancers that begins the tour is that of Apaches María de la O, since the invocation of the Virgin of Zapopan is that of La Expectación or de la O. 71 groups participated in this barracks, five of them guest dances that are not affiliated with the barracks. The second contingent was composed of the Royal Union of Native Dances of Jalisco Barracks.

The third contingent is made up of various religious groups that make up the official escort of the Virgin. Behind them, the Virgin is transported in a decorated vehicle that allows the image to be seen by the people who form the streets along the route. The fourth and last contingent is also made up of dancers, belonging to the Chimalhuacan Dance Barracks of the State of Jalisco, which contributed 62 groups.

Even when the first group of Apache María de la O begins the tour at five in the morning, the Zapopan Virgin arrives at the basilica shortly before 11 in the morning, because during the tour she makes different stops so that people can see the image up close, and even when the groups of dancers perform the entire tour performing their dances, at the moments when the carriage of the Virgin stops, they take the opportunity to revive their “prayer in movement” with more elaborate and complex steps. The tour concludes with the entrance of the Virgin to the walkway of November 20 that leads to the Plaza de la Américas, which ends in the atrium of the basilica. (Government of Zapopan, 2023) (Gobierno de Zapopan, 2023a).

8. CONCLUSION

As has been revealed in this multidimensional approach in socio-urban research, a comprehensive vision of public space better explains how some variables and elements of micro-spatial systems are related. A denser and more detailed understanding of public space and its phenomenology necessarily results in a life and urban reality that is better socialized, shared and appropriated by citizens.

In this sense, in Mexico religious expressions in public spaces are common and diverse. There is a deep-rooted Marian devotion, the Virgin of Guadalupe is considered the patron saint of Mexicans, however, devotion to the Virgin of Zapopan is the main one among the faithful of the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara, which is why so many manifestations of devotion are carried out. to this image.

The Andador 20 de Noviembre is a fundamental space in these activities, as it is one of the main access and transit routes for the various groups that arrive to celebrate the Virgin during the Zapopan Pilgrimage. This, combined with the great urban vitality of the historic center of this municipality, gives this space a unique multidimensional and syncretic character, where recreational, commercial, cultural, religious activities, among others, take place.

The public space that by definition belongs to everyone, at the time of the celebration, during the period of two hours, is a sacred space, of worship, which is respected by passers-by, both those who do so in vehicles and those who go walking Even those who do not profess the same belief maintain respect for the celebration, understanding that it is an important tradition in the city.

People are also increasingly aware that quality of life and respect for the environment and social and cultural diversity are the true wealth of human settlements. Therefore, the urban elements that citizens and visitors value are those related to urban and environmental services, cultural offerings, popular traditions, gastronomy, historic buildings and/or quality architecture, and timely and adequate mobility. All of this attracts people to public spaces, and this also constitutes their vitality.

All this is present in this small corner of the planet that is the centrality of Zapopan, where the Andador is a key urban piece; So people have taken advantage of it and today it is in good health.

For this reason, it can be stated that it is environmental health, social coexistence and the quality of citizen life, what this type of space contributes to cities and where we can observe a possible path forward for the sustainable development of our communities.

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ENDNOTE

¹ <https://www.undp.org/es/mexico/publicaciones/informe-de-desarrollo-humano-municipal-2010-2020-una-decada-de-transformaciones-locales-en-mexico-0>