

URBAN ECONOMY CIRCUITS AND LATIN AMERICAN TERRITORIAL-HERITAGE¹

XOCHIMILCO MARKET, MEXICO CITY

CIRCUITOS DE LA ECONOMÍA URBANA Y PATRIMONIO-TERRITORIAL LATINOAMERICANO
MERCADO DE XOCHIMILCO, CIUDAD DE MÉXICO

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22320/07183607.2022.25.46.08>



Los mercados tradicionales en las metrópolis latinoamericanas pueden mitigar riesgos derivados de la urbanización y la comercialización en sitios históricos y pactar las interacciones campo-ciudad y ancestralidad-contemporaneidad. Considerando que el Mercado Xochimilco (Ciudad de México) genera fuerzas centrípetas y centrífugas activadoras de la economía local (formal e informal), el objetivo del artículo es analizar la indisolubilidad de sus espacios de comercio interior y exterior aledaño (zonas de productores, de chinampas y ambulante), constitutivos de un territorio de abasto, labor y supervivencia de la población empobrecida. Se adopta un diseño metodológico mixto, con observación participante, entrevistas semiestructuradas, codificación y análisis espacial cualitativo. El concepto decolonial “patrimonio-territorial” y la teoría de los “circuitos de la economía urbana” aplicada al Sur Global permiten comprobar las experiencias socioespaciales y permanencias que, desde el mercado, han mantenido sujetos y familias, en un escenario de modernización selectiva de los territorios metropolitanos y aumento de la informalidad en el continente.

Palabras clave: circuito inferior de la economía urbana, mercado tradicional, informalidad, abasto, patrimonio-territorial.

Traditional markets in Latin American metropolises may mitigate the risks of urbanization-commercialization in historical sites and mediate rural-city and ancestral-contemporary interactions. Considering that the Xochimilco Market (Mexico City) generates centripetal-centrifugal forces which activate the local economy (formal and informal), the goal of the article is to analyze the indissolubility of its neighboring internal and external trade spaces (producer zones, informal trade, chinampas), creating a territory of supply, labor, and subsistence of the impoverished population. A mixed methodological design is adopted, with participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and qualitative spatial analysis. The decolonial concept of “territorial-heritage” and the theory of “circuits of urban economy” applied to the Global South helps verify the socio-spatial experiences and permanence that, from the market, subjects and families have maintained, in a scenario of selective modernization of metropolitan territories and growth of informality onto the continent.

Keywords: lower circuit of the urban economy, traditional market, informality, supply, territorial-heritage

I. INTRODUCTION

Recent studies have explained the problems of obsolescence and the decline of traditional Latin American markets (Zazo & López, 2018), with their commercial gentrification (Salinas & Gómez, 2021; Lacarrieu, 2016), and the change of urban land use in their immediate surroundings (Briones, J. Heras & V. Heras, 2021; Costa, 2018). Likewise, there have been critical approaches to the political-technical content of unequal and selective territorial modernization (Santos, 2000) that impacts the continent's markets (Ávila, 2019; Delgado, 2016).

For Costa (2018), traditional markets mitigate risks⁵ of urbanization and commercialization in historical sites and agree upon countryside-city and ancestry-contemporaneity interactions in Latin American metropolises. Markets, although they are artifacts of colonialism and face an economic-cultural resignification, they have the social and cultural capital to favor the reconstruction of histories, concepts, and epistemes (silenced by an exclusivist Eurocentric vision and representation of universality, culture, and heritage [Hira, 2016; Shlossberg, 2018; Alvarado-Sizzo, 2021; Costa, 2021]), since they conserve products, knowledge, and deeds of subjects whose links are reproduced in their daily work and community. Everyday life under pressure, where the market is still home to products from native communities, for example, the Amazonian *Shuar* from Ecuador (Paños, 2020), Zapotecs in Oaxaca (Molina & Campos, 2017), and Mapuche in Temuco (Iturriaga, Rojo & Escalona, 2020).

The Xochimilco market, in the south of Mexico City (CDMX) –a heritage pre-Hispanic site of production and supply, and currently one of the most touristic areas of the capital (through new uses of the jetties, canals, and indigenous chinampas)-, is a continental example of a commercial establishment for survival and working-class cultural expressions. As integrating city equipment, it generates centripetal and centrifugal forces that activate the (formal and informal) local economy, and establish spatial links with the chinampas, the two producer zones (consolidated for/by Chinampa farmers), and street vending, paradoxically, in a detrimental urbanizing process for the lacustrine ecosystem and chinampa agriculture (Costa & Alvarado-Sizzo, 2019) that intensifies

inequality and population impoverishment. These conflicts justify the choice of this market for the study presented here.

This research, with a mixed methodological design, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, coding, and qualitative spatial analysis, reviews the indissolubility of the internal and external trading spaces alongside the Xochimilco market, considering (i) its role as a place of supply, work, and survival of the impoverished population; (ii) the subjects and families that, formally or informally use the territory, through it; and (iii) the identifying (and ancestral) products still sold, which prove the pressured relationship of merchants and producers with the local life and work, even the chinampa area. Thus, the concept of “territorial-heritage” with a Latin American decolonial approach (Costa, 2016; 2017; 2018; 2021)⁶, and the theory of the “circuits of the urban economy” applied to the countries of the south (Santos, 2018, 2000; Silveira, 2020), is adopted. Together, they explain the different socio-spatial experiences and permanences that, partially, sustain the market's role of working-class supply and survival, in a scenario of unequal and selective modernization of metropolitan territories and an increase of urban informality in Latin America.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The ‘circuits of the urban economy’ theory applied to the countries of the south

Milton Santos (2018) proposed the “circuits of the urban economy theory” on understanding that modernization forces are extremely selective, their technical variables are not received equally in time or intensity in each place, the territory is multi-polarized by the different levels of decision, the Global South maintains deep regional and local income inequalities (and individual consumption), and that the behavior of the territory is related to these geographical, individual situation, and spatial selectivity disparities.

“The city cannot be studied as a solid machine (...) We understand two subsystems, the upper or modern circuit, and the lower circuit” (Santos, 2018, p. 22), which work dialectically, constituting the urban system. The first

⁵ According to Costa, risk is a probable threat to the human dimension and the world, where the term projects and warns about the future of people and geographical objects, located, as is the case of heritage (and traditional markets); “it defines the coming social-natural tensions that can worsen a destructive event. The consummation of a threat announced as a risk, links a series of spatial policies and economies with the narratives of life, death, production, and technological consumption” (2018, p. 3).

⁶ In Ortega (1998) and Orozco (2020), the territorial-heritage debate (unscripted) is a systemic-monumental-European episteme that induces tourism intensification. In Costa (2016, 2017, 2018, 2021), the script refers to the existential connection between the subalternized-situated subject and the territory, as a vital and current link of ancestral socio-spatial experiences from the South.

		Accumulation	Work	Techniques/ Technologies	Territorial logic	Employment/Salary
Upper Circuit	pure	of capital	formal links/production cost	intensive use/ state-of-the-art technology	territorial fluidity/ verticality	reduced- qualified/ dominant
	marginal	of capital	formal links/super-exploitation of labor/ production cost	intensive use/obsolete technology; used equipment	knowledge of the place/use of local advantages	reduced- professionalized/ dominant
Lower circuit		population survival and social inequality	intensive use/ unstable and informal relationships	residual use of techniques and technologies	strong local ties, horizontal territorial relations	bulk-low qualification/ not mandatory

Table 1. Circuits of the urban economy. Source: Santos (2018), Silveira (2020), and Boscaroli (2020).

derives from technological modernization and vertical extraterritorial relations, and the second, from horizontal small-scale activities, focusing on the locally rooted impoverished population, as established by the markets. Each circuit has internal differences and interconnections.

According to Silveira (2020), current territorial modernizations (based on technoscience, information, and finance, capitalized on business centers, globalized markets, and modern sectors of metropolis and territories) coexist with subordinate dependent activities, involved with a diversity of means of survival and low technological capital labor divisions, susceptible to the hegemonic economy. For this reason, the two circuits constitute the unity of the urban phenomenon (Table 1), have autonomy of meaning, are interdependent, and result from the successive territorial modernizations associated with deep income inequality in Latin America. Thus, "When the degrees of technology, capital, and organization are high, we recognize an upper circuit, including its marginal portion, and, when they are low, we identify a lower circuit" (Silveira, 2020, p. 481).

This theory, in the perennial misery and impoverishment of Latin American countries, shows the importance of traditional markets for the working classes. In 2020, 51% of the continent's population worked in the informal sector. In Bogotá, Uruguay, Montevideo, and Mexico City [CDMX], between 40 and 45% of people of working age were unemployed (a situation aggravated by the Covid-19 pandemic), and 28% of the Mexican population was below the poverty line (ECLAC, 2022). CDMX has profound income differences, and most of the population works in intensive

services as low-skilled labor. It also expands and diversifies territorial uses (some with pre-Hispanic roots) through the lower circuit. For all this, it is relevant to identify the territorial-heritage that survives in the city.

Latin American territorial-heritage in the lower circuit of the urban economy

When Descartes defined the "universal" as eternal knowledge, substituting the "Christian God" for the "I" and disassociating the subject of a body, territory, or spatial determination - thereby inaugurating the ego-politics of knowledge where the subject of enunciation (and universal rationality) was erased and hidden - (Grosfoguel, 2008; Dussel, 2016), he influenced all Western thought, even on the current idea of heritage.

In contrast to this position, the territorial-heritage of the geographical existential and Latin American decolonial nuance reconnects the subject«territory, proposing a twist on the Western heritage conception (Costa, 2016; 2017; 2018; 2021)⁷. Its location lies in the "territories of exception" (spaces of revenge, impetus, and popular belonging, defying the historical modernizing conditioning). The concept/ act of "territorial-heritage" replaces the marginalizing sense attributed to the situated impoverished individual, denounces the peripheralization, and localizes popular culture (Costa, 2016, 2021; Santos, 2000). It is the identity, cultural and urban-rural permanence of subjects subjugated by the territorial modernization and unequal urbanization of Latin America, resisting supposedly universal powers and knowledge from their location (Costa, 2016; Dussel, 2016; Souza, 2019). The concept incorporates popular epistemes and oralities, which are powerful systems to preserve spatial memory, objects, places, rituals,

⁷ The concept has also been used by Rúbio-Schrage (2019), Rodríguez (2020), Alves (2020), Mesquita (2020), Hostensky (2020), Sousa (2020), Silva and Queiroz (2020), Maluly (2020), Andrade (2021), Araújo (2022), Fernandes and Fazito (2022), Silva Junior and Boscaroli (2022), and others.

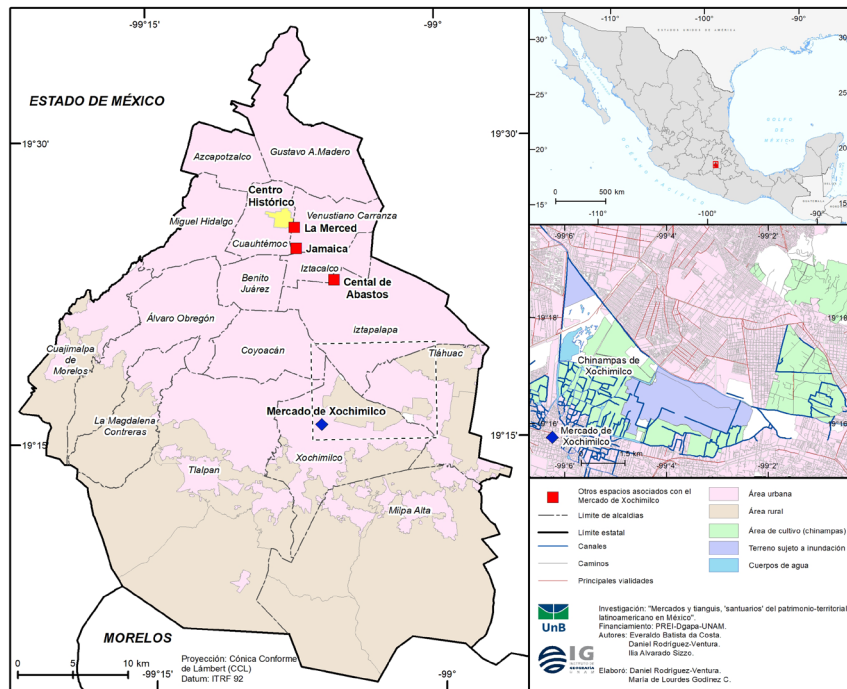


Figure 1. Xochimilco Market and chinampera zone in CDMX Source: Preparation by the authors.

productions, products, and their generational transmission, as occurs in Xochimilco.

Territorial-heritage is the material-immaterial expression of indigenous, Afro, or popular knowledge, located, independently from the state marketing institutionalization. It is a singularity (the making of and in the place) in the face of multiple particularities (regional and national political economies), confronting and, at the same time, assimilating work relationships, beliefs, and incoming customs (Costa, 2017; Hira, 2016). It is an element of popular mobilization and overcoming in Latin American urban-rural peripheries, where expressions involving the political, economic, or cultural autonomy of the impoverished tend to be socio-spatially stigmatized. The site and its popular ancestral reconstitution define the territorial-heritage. The Latin American unit contains the localized lasting mechanisms that the subalternate groups generated or appropriated to exist under pressure/oppression, such as the traditional market, *locus*, and materialization of the territorial-heritage.

For Santos (2000), globalization generated the necessary conditions for the emergence of the subjects denied by it, and the influence of a culture of masses that sought to homogenize and impose itself on popular culture, forcing it to react. In the "popular period of history", as the author defines,

popular culture exercises its quality of discourse of those "from below", emphasizing the everyday life of the impoverished, of the majority, through the exaltation of daily life. Territorial-heritage gains strength in this situated policy (Costa, 2021). If in the lower circuit, the impoverished are those who do not have regular access to current consumer goods, to the indispensable social minimum, they rarely have access to bank credit, being the essential customers of small businesses - they are non-employees, underemployed, and low-wage employees (Santos, 2018; Silveira, 2020)-, none of that completely eliminates the attribute of daily sustenance, endorsed by spatial links of their territorial-heritage.

The theory of circuits and territorial-heritage applied to the Xochimilco market indicates that the lower circuit of the urban economy is governed by attachment to the territory and the reduced use of capital, stimulating production, small-scale trade, survival, hope, and solidarity in the Latin American metropolis.

III. CASE STUDY

Xochimilco is one of Mexico City's southern municipalities (Figure 1). Its lacustrine system based on chinampas (artificial



Figure 2. Canal and productive chinampas of Xochimilco (horticultural and transport, 1930; flowers and tourism, 2019. Source: INAH-Mexico Photo library and collection of the authors.



Figure 3. Sections of the Xochimilco market. Source: Authors' collection (February 2022).

productive islets with native habitat, constituting an agri-food landscape) (Figure 2), the last relict of the pre-Hispanic use of the territory in the Valley of Mexico, justifies the titles of World Heritage (1987) and Historic Center (two sites connected by canals, today limited to Xochimilco and Tláhuac due to urban growth) (González-Pozo, 2016; Costa & Alvarado-Sizzo, 2019).

Xochimilco, and other places, would send their indigenous horticultural crops in canoes (pulque, corn smut, chili pepper, spinach, beans, fruits, vegetables, flowers, corn, and other seeds) (Figure 2) to supply markets, squares, and corners within central CDMX. This lacustrine circulation lasted until 1938 when the

Canal de la Viga was buried, but the supply has continued by other means, diversifying and oscillating in intensity (Moncada, 2010).

The explosion of informality in the squares and streets of Mexico City and the historic state attempt to control the ancestral indigenous street markets (as an indigenous site of exchanges in the public space) brought on the market program of Ernesto Uruchurtu (regent of the Federal District/1952-1964), which had reached a total of 219 establishments in the capital in 1970 (Costa & Alvarado-Sizzo, 2022). As a result of this policy, the Xochimilco market was

inaugurated in 1957 (Figure 3) in two sections: market 44 (447 stalls) and 377 (968 stalls). The objective of controlling the historical street vending of the piers and squares (Delgado, 2015) did not have the expected success, as the results of this study confirm.

The market resists in a context of conflicts of territorial uses derived from metropolization, which threaten its territorial-heritage: construction debris deposited in canals, the urbanization and tourism of chinampas and canals (Figure 2), water pollution and loss of fauna and flora, the introduction of new aquatic species (predators of young specimens of ancestral fish, frogs, freshwater shrimp, and axolotls) and agricultural pesticides.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This research has a mixed methodological design and applies participant observation techniques, semi-structured interviews, coding, and qualitative and spatial analysis (Hay and Cope, 2021; Sepúlveda, 2018).

In February 2022, the first visit to Xochimilco market was made, to observe specific and general, everyday commercial manifestations and the potential of its territorial-heritage. The connection between internal market trade, street vendors, and the producer area was identified, even with the presence of chinampas agriculture and the Central de Abastos (Supply Center) (Figure 1), components of the circuits of the metropolitan urban economy. The evidence led to the empirical-theoretical thesis here on the *conflictive indissolubility* between the market as an appropriate building and the peripheral street vendors.

In March of that year, the participant observation work was carried out on-site, to map/interpret the socio-spatial and economic interactions between the market's inside and outside. Using the "snowball" technique (Hay & Cope, 2021), eight semi-structured interviews were applied (four for saleswomen from inside the market and four for saleswomen from the producer area) to understand their perceptions and experiences about the market's trade and supply, agriculture in chinampas and its crops, as well as their objective and subjective attachments, and their values encoded in the territorial-heritage.

The third piece of fieldwork (March-April, 2022) allowed georeferencing, typifying, and qualifying the (formal and informal) elements of the lower circuit dynamics of

the urban economy of the Xochimilco market and its surroundings. Two tours were made. The first was to set up the GPS point and to make the description and analysis of each street stall identified around the market's two sections and in its surrounding streets. With the second route, the ordinary route of a family of merchants and producers was georeferenced, observed, and characterized, with its work nodes, movements (streets and canals), and their home, as a qualitative example of the daily practices that connect economic activities between the market, the producer area, and the chinampas.

The transcripts of the interviews were encoded and analyzed in Atlas.ti (Saldaña, 2013), to identify the patterns and build semantic networks of codes, as a synthesis of the empirical data that have qualified or endowed the reflections and cartography with experience and daily life. Using a Geographic Information System, the Kernel density calculation was applied ⁸ to the GPS points collected to map the concentrations and spread of the street stalls and reveal their interaction with inside the market.

V. RESULTS

The conflictive indissolubility between commercial sales spaces-survival and formality-informality

The Xochimilco market exerts a centripetal-centrifugal commercial force defined inside and outside its building (areas with producers, merchants with isolated stalls, and street vendors), as well as three goods supply areas: CDMX Central de Abastos (Supply Center), rural areas of the south (Municipalities of Xochimilco, Tláhuac. and Milpa Alta), and the chinampa zone of Xochimilco (Figure 1). Figure 4 clarifies the content or the popular uses of the territory and represents the centripetal-centrifugal force, of greater locational-commercial density in the two producer zones (spaces for the trade of chinampa crops), alongside the second section of the market. It also evidences the centripetal-centrifugal force of the market towards the structuring of peripheral street vendors (207 informal stalls were analyzed and located along the route). Through the distribution, distance relationships, types of business, and sales (Figure 4), it is clear that these businesses constitute a moving street market that penetrates the two buildings of the Xochimilco market (Figure 9).

The trade inside the market and the peripheralized vendors define territorial uses on the scale of the subject (and family areas), where the sale of food and other products sustains the surrounding low-income

⁸ Ethe spatial Kernel density calculation considers the distribution and clustering of georeferenced data for their clustering trends.

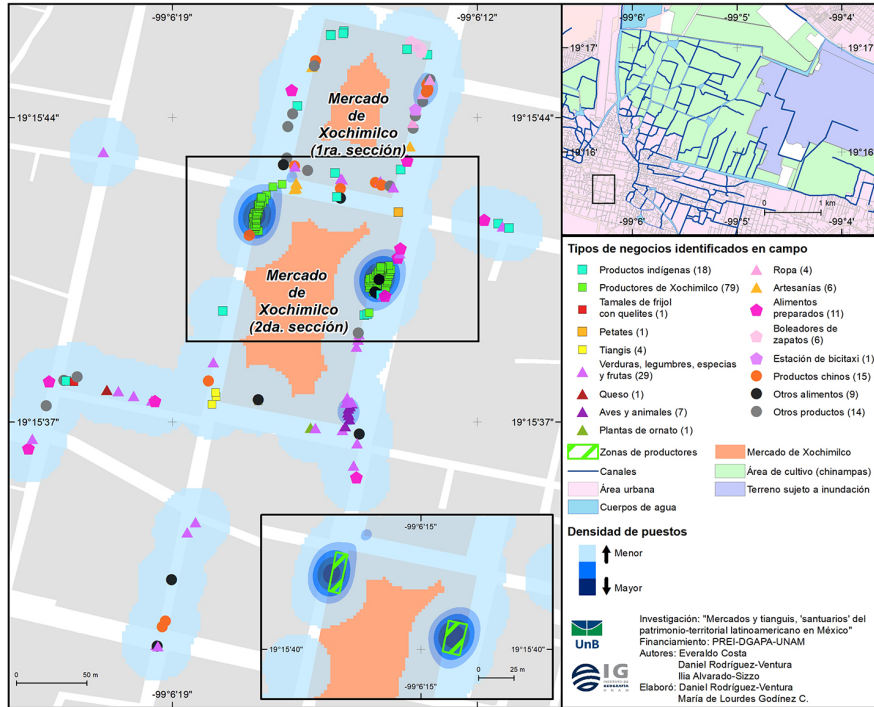


Figure 4. Territorial use by street vendors around two sections of the Xochimilco market. Source: Preparation by the authors.

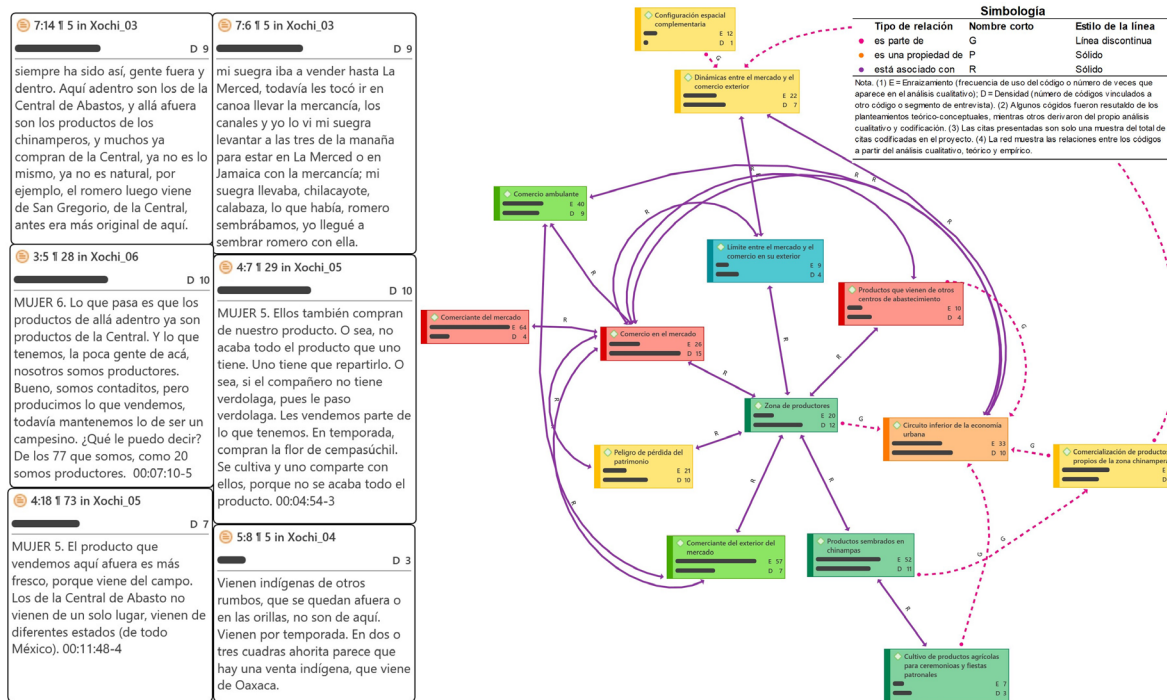


Figure 5. Xochimilco Market in the lower circuit of the urban economy. Source: Preparation by the authors.

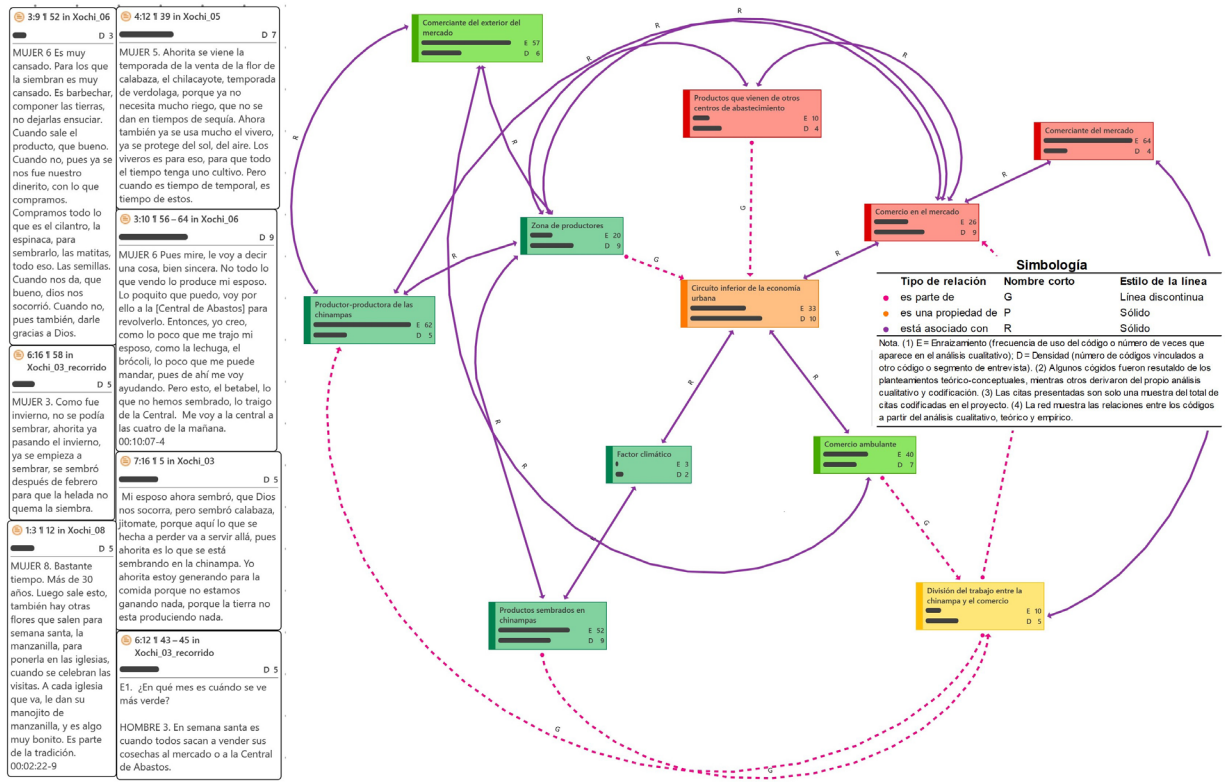


Figure 6. Chinampas and trade in the lower circuit of the urban economy. Source: Preparation by the authors.

inhabitants. Local consumers and tourists flock to the market and the chinampas. The offer of products is diverse, ranging from Chinese products, clothes, toys, handicrafts, flowers, and plants, to fresh or prepared foods (mixiotes, bean tamales with quelite, quesadillas, blue corn dough tortillas, etc.). Part of these products – offered by vendors in isolated stalls and passing street vendors – are indigenous, from other regions of Mexico (such as Puebla and Oaxaca), and even from the metropolis, materializing the territorial-heritage as a utopian of spatial basis and for survival.

The interviews prove that most of the fruits, vegetables, and legumes sold in this integrated territory come from the Central de Abastos CDMX, articulating formality/informality dialectically in the upper and lower circuits of the urban economy. Despite the problems related to the “urban colonization of the chinampas” and the consequent contamination of the canals, products grown in them are marketed inside and outside the market: radishes, spinach, cilantro, parsley, broccoli, purslane, cauliflowers, chilacayotes, chayote, quelites, amaranth, pumpkins, epazote, tomato, tomatillo, chilies, and buckbrush. Some of these are used in festivals and ceremonies: chamomile,

lemongrass flowers, and Christmas Eve (Figure 5, Figure 7, and Figure 10).

Both groups of traders recognize competencies, differences, and inequalities among themselves. Most of the products inside the building come from the Central de Abastos, while a large part of the goods in the producer area come from the chinampas and are valued by consumers as being fresher (Figure 5 and Figure 7). The merchants inside the market express solidarity (typical of the lower circuit) by recognizing the needs of street vendors and the producer area in general but consider that the sale is disloyal, when they offer the same products in nearby stalls, at a lower price, and without taxes. It was found that consumers make discretionary purchases inside and outside the market building to supplement their own needs.

Connection of the lower circuit of the urban economy and territorial-heritage

The sexual and territorial division of labor (and between producer/merchant families), the formal-informal territorial uses (which resignify the mutual assimilation between the



Figure 7. Female traders in the producer areas, inside the market, and street vendors of Xochimilco. Source: Authors' collection (March 2022).

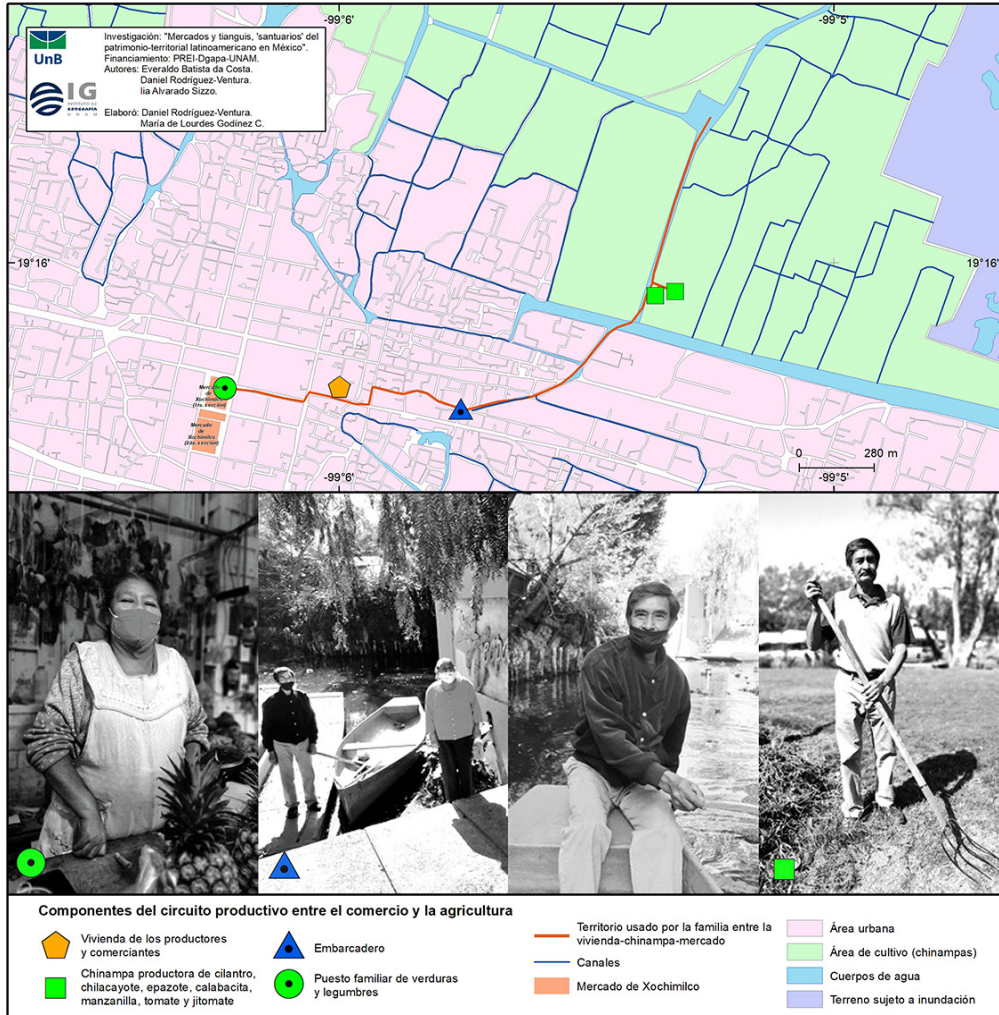


Figure 8. Everyday-familiar use of the territory in the lower circuit of the urban economy between la chinampa and the Xochimilco market. Source: Preparation by the authors.

Castilian form-content market and the street markets as an original site of pre-Hispanic indigenous exchanges, culminate in a historical struggle for space) and the products themselves (some ancestral) form existential particularities that express the lower circuit of the urban economy and the territorial-heritage. Men - mainly older adults - are responsible for the upkeep and preparation of the land in the chinampas, the cultivation, harvesting, and transportation of their products with canoes, along the canals, to the market or the producer area, where they are delivered to the women of the family for their sale (Figure 6, Figure 7, and Figure 8). The merchants, mainly from the producer area, sell their surpluses to the stalls inside the market, but in greater volume during the peak production

seasons of each crop (associated with the biological characteristics and climatic conditions of this area of CDMX). Both merchants from inside and outside the building buy and take products from the Supply Center to their stalls by private or public transport, connecting the two circuits of the urban economy.

The merchants' work experience and search for subsistence from inside and outside the Xochimilco market, maintain the socio-spatial processes where their forefathers were producers and merchants in neighboring street markets who, over time, managed to get a fixed stall (Figure 8 and Figure 9) through mutual and conflicting assimilation. Simultaneously,



Figura 9. Xochimilco: street markets in February 1920; old market in September 1957; inauguration of the new market in October 1957. Source: INAH-Mexico and MAF-Mexico.

Figura 10. Pre-Hispanic products mentioned in the interviews. Source: Preparation by the authors.

the loss of connection of new generations of merchants and their descendants with their cultivation practices, canals, chinampas, and the market was identified, which constitutes a risk of loss of the only chinampa activity in the world. The permanence and resistance to maintain this territorial-heritage fall on the “situated subjects”⁹: chinampa farmers and producers, merchants of pre-Hispanic indigenous Chinampa products (Figure 10), merchants with permanent stalls inside the market with roots in Xochimilco and, notably, metropolitan street vendors who continue offering their products around the market and condensing the lower circuit (with the activated territorial-heritage) (Figure 4 and Figure 7).

These subjects are characterized, above all, as older adult men (in the chinampa agriculture), older adult women (in the market trade and production areas), and inhabitants of the chinampas, neighborhoods, and towns around the

Xochimilco market. Male and female street vendors (of different ages in the centripetal-centrifugal attraction zone of the market) are also recorded. This agriculture and trade (formal-informal in the market or informal in the street) span ancestral knowledge, products, and feelings that reciprocally link the situated subject with the territory (Figure 8, Figure 9, and Figure 11).

The results of this qualitative spatial analysis show how the Xochimilco market favors the survival of the population most affected by the politically produced socio-spatial inequalities, with intensive, unstable, and informal work, the residual use of techniques and technologies, but also with a strong local link or horizontal territorial relations, typical of the lower circuit of the urban economy, which tends to be benefitted by the territorial fluidity of the upper circuit inherent to the metropolis.

⁹ See Costa (2016, 2017, 2021), on the debate of the situated subject and in an enduring space situation, characterized by the historical struggle for survival and the right to use the territory, conditioned vertically in Latin America.

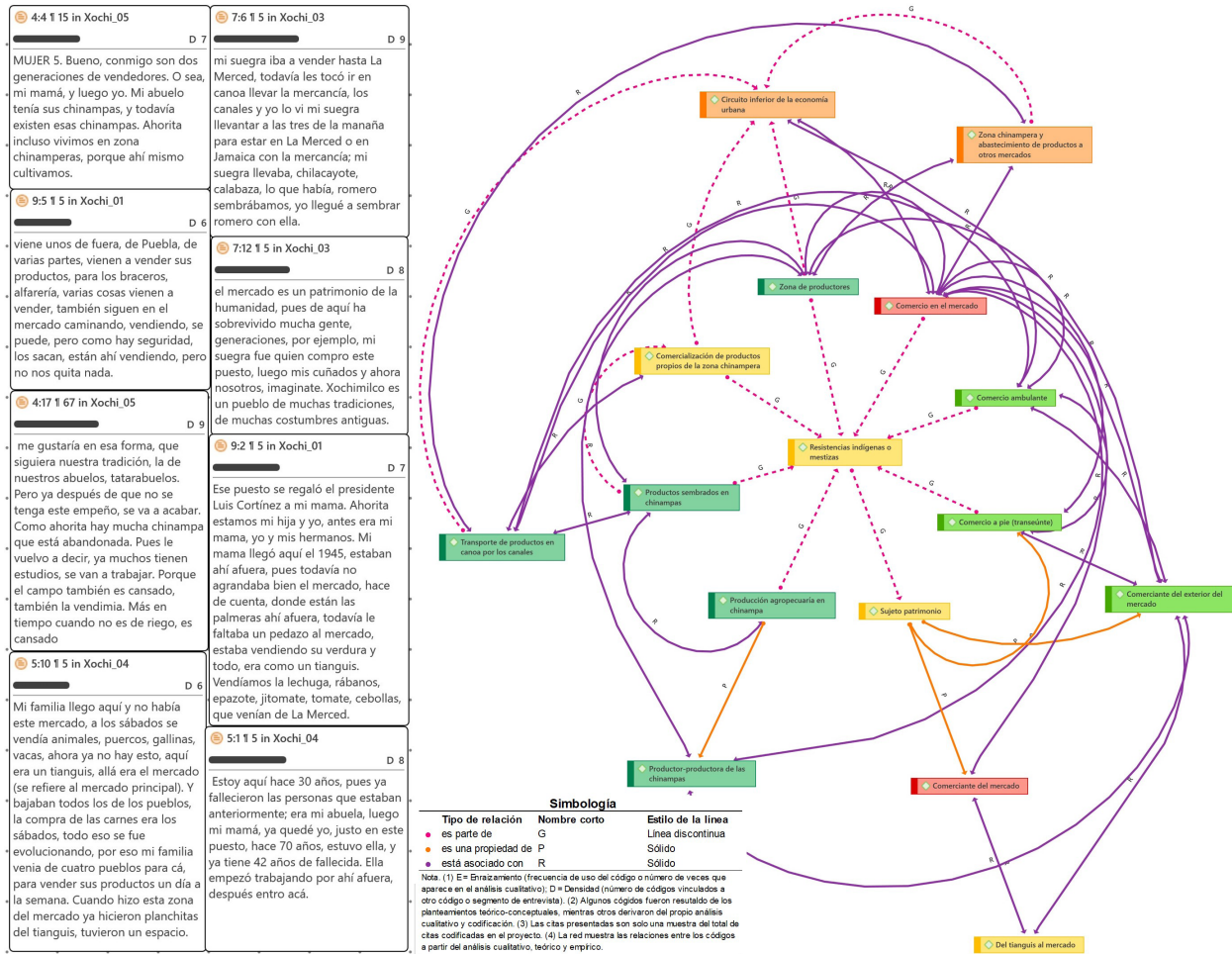


Figure 11. Situated subject, lower circuit of the urban economy and territorial-heritage. Source: Preparation by the authors.

VI. DISCUSSION

Most of the stand holders of the Xochimilco market, as well as the surrounding street vendors, buy products at the Central de Abastos (the commercial link between the products of the whole country and the markets and street markets of the metropolis) which, although it does not represent the upper circuit, is structuring the economy of the CDMX and determines, on a daily basis, the prices of retail products in the neighborhoods. In contrast, supermarkets of national and international chains have their productive and technical supply networks, components of the subsystem of the upper circuit of the urban economy (Santos, 2018; Silveira, 2020).

Despite the increase and expansion of supermarket chains in the metropolis, the markets, street markets, and neighborhood

street vendors remain as support of the lower circuit, since this is where the working classes sell and buy their food and products to survive (Santos, 2018). The particularities of the Xochimilco market show how trading activates both the productive chinampas and the daily and historical practices of its merchants and agricultural producers, forming existential meanings typical of a Latin American territorial-heritage (Costa, 2016; 2017; 2021).

Territorial uses and daily working life, activated, paradoxically, by the need for survival, but also by memory, pride, love, gratitude, and identity as chinamperos-producers of Xochimilco, are transtemporal and transscalar drivers of territorial-heritage (Costa, 2021). Nevertheless, the relocation processes of stalls in the producer area, the lack of promotion of territorial policies to recover and promote food agriculture in chinampas, the impoverishment of its producers, (which has led them to sell

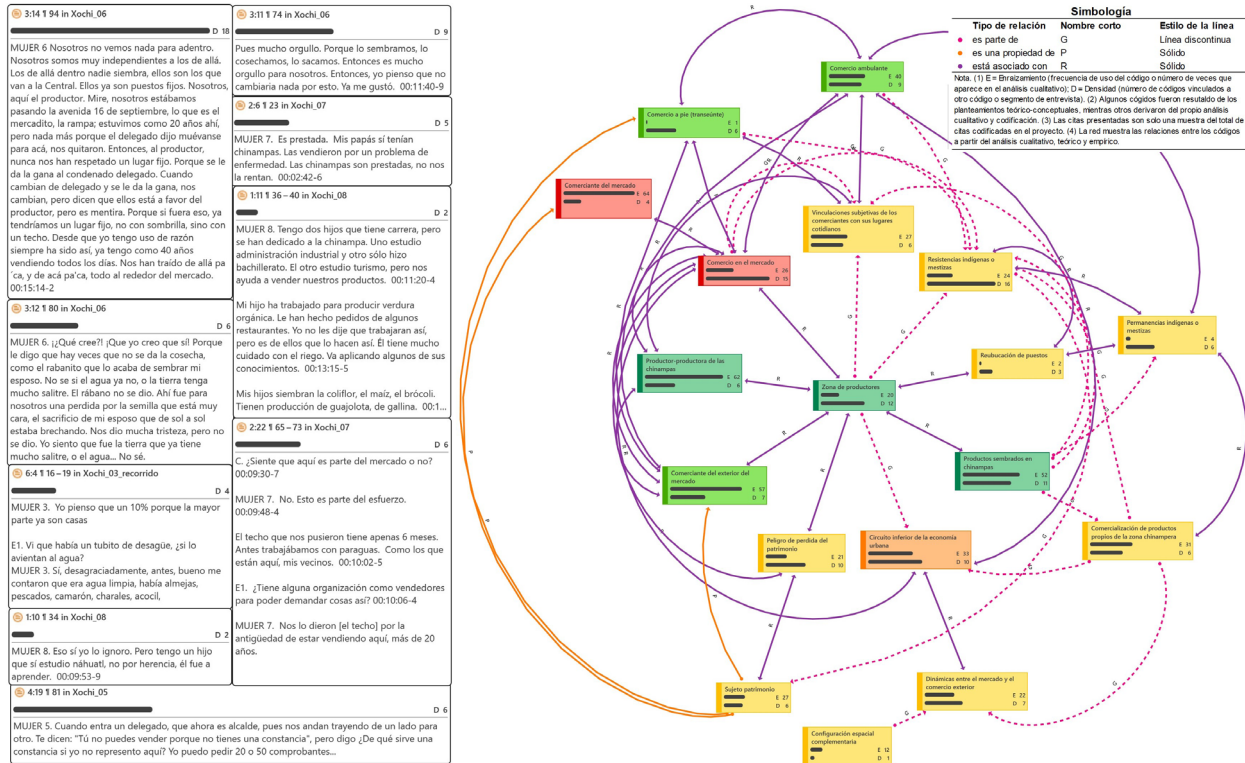


Figure 12. Existence and permanence of territorial-heritage. Source: Preparation by the authors.

up), water pollution due to the urbanization of the chinampas, and the stigma towards their vegetables (due to the pollution of the canals), indicate a lack of recognition and appreciation of these elements by the authorities as aspects with unique cultural/commercial value, while they promote tourism and the production of ornamental plants as souvenirs (Figure 2 and Figure 12). These events jeopardize the traditional relationship with the land and the survival of the people *in* and *of* the market. This is the justification behind this research, which reveals the territorial-heritage that still keeps it alive, in the “course of a traditional agricultural productive dimension of the chinampas (from meanings-permanences), to the lacustrine emphasis in a world governed by technique and finance (signifier-fluid)” (Costa & Alvarado-Sizzo, 2019, p. 14).

Despite this, the “situated subjects” (Costa, 2016, 2021) have (formally or informally) developed ways to preserve their agricultural-commercial tradition materialized in the market and the streets. The consolidation of two producer areas, after several relocations, gives them hope and an alternative to support their families and economy through chinampero and street trade. On the other hand, the merchants and producers point out the effort to generate affective bonds in their children

to preserve the territorial link or the commercial and agricultural tradition - from initiatives such as learning Nahuatl in formal schools - or by applying professional and university knowledge in their agriculture and tourism with greater local economic impact, regardless of whether their trade is inside or outside the market. The need to understand the role and complex content of the lower circuit of the economy and the urban scale itself in the commercial complementarity established between the architectural space of a market and the fabric in which it is inserted is clear (Zazo & López, 2018), to identify the strength of the territorial-heritage under the historical labor dynamics of impoverished and stigmatized subjects in Latin American metropolises (Costa, 2021; Shlossberg, 2018).

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This work tests the hypothesis about the indissolubility between different trading spaces and, at the same time, of survival: inside two buildings of the Xochimilco market and the surrounding stalls of street vendors (established or semi-established cartographed stalls), where the permanence and mitigating conflicts occur by force of a territorial-heritage that brings life to

the trade and agriculture of this hub of the lower circuit of the urban economy in CDMX.

The symbiosis between the ancestral indigenous street markets and the market (Castilian form-content of commercial exchange) resulted in a conflictive complementarity, where the peripheralized street vendors alongside the buildings (present like a wound of colonialism throughout Latin America) also contain the territorial-heritage. In the dialectic of the circuits of the urban economy, the impoverished "situated subject" is driven by the centripetal and centrifugal forces, stimulated and represented by trade, from the traditional market of the metropolis; survives in the lower circuit, crosses the market, locates themselves on the street, activates the ancestral chinampas and producers zone. This subject creates mechanisms to continue using the territory, seized from indigenous heritage - despite its systemic invisibilization -, between formality and informality, ancestral and globalized products, competition and solidarity, the stigmas of street vendors and the historical significance of the street markets and its products.

The territorial-heritage denounces, in its essence, the Latin American historical logic of the society-nature interaction based on expropriation, genocide, and ecocide, which have generated existential problems, mainly for indigenous and Afro-descendants (violence related to gender, ethnicity, culture, identity, religion, location, at work, linguistics, etc.); a scene that the existing traditional markets in Latin American cities enliven by constituting a form of violence against the reproductive *locus* and alternative of working-class life. If the territorial patrimony brings the utopia of benefiting - symbolically, affectively, and materially - the subaltern population on the continent, the Xochimilco market concretizes it, activated (the market), and activating it (the territorial patrimony) in the lower circuit of the urban economy, surprisingly, as a means of survival of impoverished and peripheral subjects in the global metropolis.

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IX. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks must be given to DGAPA-UNAM, for the PREI grant (2022) and to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development of Brazil (CNPq), for the PQ2 productivity exchange (2023). Also, to the authorities of the UNAM Institute of Geography, for receiving the first author as a guest researcher for the projects (2022-2023); Jorge Pérez de la Mora, for his attention in the processes with UNAM; Antonia Santos Ph.D. and Luis Iturbe Ph.D., for their support in the IGG-UNAM library. María de Lourdes Godínez C., for her collaboration in editing the maps that accompany this work.