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## **Popular culture and heritage in San Roque Market, Quito<sup>1</sup>**

Eduardo Kingman Garcés and Erika Bedón

### **Introduction**

This study aims to show the complexity of a 'popular'<sup>2</sup> economy and culture within different urban contexts (especially in commercial areas) and how this popular economy is increasingly entering in conflict with security policies and the police and well as with an exclusionary aesthetic associated with the notion of heritage. By popular economy we therefore refer to the relationships formed from exchange activities, that we call 'urban bustle'<sup>3</sup> or 'parallel forms of circulation characterised by constant urban-rural flows, the overlapping of formal and informal economies and a certain degree of autonomy in relation to capital and state action' (Kingman Garcés and Muratorio, 2014, p. 9). In order to capture this urban bustle we have developed a long term investigative strategy and in this chapter we present our research in the market and neighbourhood of San Roque in Quito. The empirical references used in this paper are based on an ethnography to study the social memory of this part of the city through interviews, formal and informal conversations and field observations conducted in order to understand the social architecture of this neighbourhood and its long-term composition. It is worth noting that the reflections on the dynamics of trade in Quito – referred to in this study as 'urban bustle' – are based on long-running historiographical work in interaction with the current urban renewal and population displacement processes. Part of our methodology consists in relating events that take place in different periods of time according to a single paradigmatic perspective. Likewise, we also seek to establish a relationship between apparently independent phenomena such as heritage and the police with the memory of these social sectors and different urban planning policies.

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This chapter explores three analytical areas that have already been discussed in the Introduction to this book, which interact with other chapters: 1. Processes of physical obsolescence and territorial, class and racial stigmatisation suffered by the Mercado de San Roque, a place which has been historically neglected by public authorities. More recently this area has been targeted by state intervention in the form of urban renewal strategies based on notions such as security, administration and population control. The study of such security measures and police actions allow us to identify the different socialisation and resistance practices of groups using the market and their relationship to the city. 2. The disputes among public interventions, heritage-led urban renewal and real estate speculation in relation to the San Roque neighbourhood and the Mercado de San Roque. 3. Additionally, this market is further analysed according to the views of indigenous and mestizo people, who associate this area with hospitality and daily life.

### **Mercado de San Roque and the San Roque neighbourhood: between abandonment and renovation**

San Roque is a neighbourhood located in the historic centre of Quito, the capital city of Ecuador. This area, which is yet to be fully integrated in the formal urban fabric of the city, is characterised by its market and the vast majority of its population is made up of indigenous and low income people.

The Mercado de San Roque offers both wholesale and retail products and it is also a space where the local social fabric of the neighbourhood is woven. According to the media, both the market and the neighbourhood are run-down, dirty and dangerous areas that require intervention. With time, such an opinion has entered into the 'common sense' of citizens of the wider Quito. In line with this thought, San Roque is both polluted and polluting, concentrating some of the most stigmatized areas of the city: the market, the local prison and sex work areas and a segment of the population that is regarded as a marginalised or 'pariah' community.

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Such stigmatisation has triggered concerns from local public authorities about the support and development of these areas. This is a growing issue shared by other Latin American cities (Caldeira, 2007, Delgado, 2016). What is noteworthy in these cases, is how this renewed attention is however placed within a longstanding neglect for low income settlements in the cities. In the case of San Roque, little attention has been given to the area's environmental, economic, social and security conditions. However, this area has suddenly drawn the attention of the local municipality, the state and its citizens. These largely ignored, abandoned and neglected spaces are now a matter of interest and concern. Our understanding is that the recent interest in these deprived neighbourhoods is a cynical concern associated with urban and security policies. In this sense, we seek to understand the factors that turn a specific place, such as a public market, into a vulnerable, violent and denuded space and why this space – unlike other ignored areas – is favoured by intervention and development measures. Likewise, attention is given to identifying the meaning of this new kind of concern.

This analysis suggests that the interest in sites like San Roque is also related to the proximity of these places to the areas of the city recently renewed, particularly those with a heritage value. Reflections on this issue not only shed light on the perceptions of citizens about popular neighbourhoods, but also help us to understand the organisation of the city: on the one hand, large popular zones are ignored as the result of divisions within the city. On the other hand, there is a specific concern about certain areas in terms of renovation, gentrification and heritage.

Some spaces of Quito and other Andean cities have historically been associated with the emergence of borders between the city, the countryside and the urban-rural periphery. We understand the concept of border to mean spaces of encounter, relationship as well as conflict (Kingman Garcés, 1992). San Roque has been regarded historically as the

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point of arrival and relationship with the city and also as the point where urban and rural spheres converged. In this sense we cannot speak about these border spaces in the *modern* sense of public spaces but as *frontier-spaces*. This frontier dimension was not only associated with trade but also with *shared customs*. Neighbourhoods in proximity to each other such as Santo Domingo, San Francisco, San Sebastián and San Roque played a key role in the development of a 'popular' economy, religion and culture that was in between the rural and the urban. By popular culture we understand a particular way to feel and perceive things that have emerged from the mixture of and relationship between different social classes and sectors over time. For example, Muratorio (2014) shows the role of the *Cajoneras* in Quito, women who sold hand-made produce (haberdashery, dolls, accessories) from chests of drawers in local squares, in the development of forms of popular consumption and in the reproduction of particular forms of aesthetics and taste.

The location of what has until recently been most important market of the city (near San Roque Church) gave a particular feel to the neighbourhood. During the 1950s and 1960s, this area became a large space that divided as well as connected the rural and indigenous world to the urban dynamic. The neighbourhood was home to the market, grocery businesses and stores focused on the selling of religious images and renting of costumes for the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Holy Innocents. It also hosted the former San Juan de Dios Hospital and the municipal prison and it was the final destination of interprovincial and inter-municipal transport routes, where it was possible to find accommodation, cheap restaurants, *chicherías*<sup>4</sup>, taverns, brothels, places for the sale and purchase of craft products, second-hand tools and used clothes. This space was also used for the recruitment of construction workers, carpenters, plumbers and workmen.

This neighbourhood gradually became a trading area and the residence of lower income groups in the context of a long term transformation of the historic centre of Quito during

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the first decades of the twentieth century, which also involved a gradual change in the use of land, buildings, public spaces and the progressive migration of the elite. By this we refer to a long and ongoing appropriation process led by low income groups in neighbourhoods such as San Roque which, from 1950 to 1980, was turned into a shared, though culturally- and ethnically-differentiated, space. Trade, informal jobs and the occupation of the old houses once inhabited by the elite played a key role in this process. Today, most of the local population is of indigenous or mestizo origin. However, a significant part of the residents come from other low income urban neighbourhoods and even from middle income backgrounds; this circumstance turns San Roque into a border area.

During the last decade, this appropriation process by low income and indigenous groups has persisted mainly around the market area of San Roque. This process runs counter and is in conflict with a general trend of 'recovery of the historic centre' by the middle and upper classes and by public policies on heritage and tourism implemented in neighbourhoods such as La Ronda – as analysed by Lucia Duran (2015) – and San Sebastián also in Quito. This process is also taking place in other Latin American cities (Janoschka and Sequera, 2016) and affecting markets as discussed by Delgadillo in chapter 2 of this book in the case of La Merced market in Mexico City, a stigmatised neighbourhood with an overwhelming popular trading culture that is threatened by renovation and tourist promotion in the historic centre of the city.

### **San Roque: A neighbourhood and market regarded as liminal, dangerous and stigmatised space.**

The Mercado de San Roque has been historically identified as a place where different populations converge and as a space that connects the urban and rural spheres (Minchom, 2007). The dynamics of popular life in Quito during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by popular commerce, which allowed a certain degree

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of liberality in terms of the relationships among different social groups. Chances for social hybridisation were mainly based on these trade dynamics. Although it did not erase ethnic differences, the market enabled the emergence of relatively open spaces for daily exchange activities – the so-called 'urban bustle'. These occasional encounters were moments in which people talked to each other even once the exchange process was over. We could even say, extrapolating from Negri's (2006) ideas, that this activity generated common elements through performative activities. One of the clearest examples of this performativity was associated with religious events and festivals, but also street trade and theatre, as well as moments of conflict and protest.

It is precisely this world of squares and streets open to multiple actors which began to crumble by the last third of the nineteenth and early twentieth century with the advent of modernity. The turn of the century witnessed the regulation of the market according to hygiene and *beautification* standards; however, these measures were not a technical order as much as a civilising initiative. *Beautification* meant the consolidation of the elites, contrary to the (bad) taste for baroque ornamentation common to popular traditional culture: motley altars, processions led by musicians and dancers and the clothes worn by the religious figures. Both beautification and taste were oriented towards social distinction, division and the construction of a model for progress. Within the context of a stratified society, modernity was particularly expressed through public representation. Events such as ceremonies and the honouring of awards, titles and ornamentation contributed to the reproduction of a hierarchical model in a secular context. However, this modernisation process was slow and did not reach the whole city but only operated in certain spaces.

This progressive spatial division and segregation has led to the current perception of low income neighbourhoods in Quito, which are regarded as dangerous spaces that should not be visited. The first indicators of this process emerged during the early twentieth century, at the dawn of modernity; however, such a phenomenon gained

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prominence towards the end of the century, when the southern area was stigmatised by security policies. It could be argued that these areas have been abandoned by the state, being neglected in terms of satisfying their basic needs and subject to 'low-level police' (in Rancière's (2006) terms) and arbitrary small mafias (Agamben, 2004). These spaces also represent the phenomenon of urban fragmentation common to postcolonial and late capitalist dynamics in which we see at the same time the rise of high-consumption areas fortified as safe zones (Caldeira, 2007) as well as areas with high levels of poverty. These fragmentations are a territorial expression of processes of economic deregulation and the rise of a supernumerary or superfluous population. The creation of these neighbourhoods of extreme marginality may be a factor in additional stigmatisation of groups of people, identified by Wacquant (2001) as being construed as 'urban pariahs'. The labelling of these neighbourhoods as dangerous places reinforces, in turn, the criminalisation of poor populations. This is a hegemonic imaginary partly created by the media, which is exacerbated in particular in those areas bordering regenerated or heritage zones. Our hypothesis is that the stigmatisation of specific places as dirty, dark and dangerous areas precedes the implementation of concrete security policies such as the deployment of petty police forces, 'neo-hygiene' and social cleansing.

The media constantly refers to high rates of insecurity and identified it as one of the most dangerous areas in the city. In 2003, the press reported that:

According to an anonymous dweller, San Roque experiences a steep increase in crime each Tuesday, Friday and Saturday, which is when the local street market takes place. [...] The Municipality installed a surveillance camera on the corner of San Roque Church. However, there is not much crime in that area, so we asked for increased security in the market area and the tunnels used by criminals.

(*Diario Hoy*, June 5 2003)

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The attention given to San Roque is a relatively new phenomenon that goes hand-in-hand with the intervention proposals made by recent municipal administrations. The exacerbation of fear is part of the initiative aimed at intervening in San Roque; this is conceived by the authorities and the media as a complex process given the strong social fabric built around the market but also an urgent process given the location of the neighbourhood, which is adjacent to areas that have received funds for heritage tourism purposes. For example, in the local newspaper the area was described in these terms:

The historic centre of Quito is 300 hectares, including the colonial area and neighbouring districts. Despite successfully overcoming issues such as the occupation of streets on the part of vendors, the area is still affected by the presence of small criminal bands or criminal networks such as 'Mama Lucha', as well as problems of extortion, drug consumption and smuggling.

*(Diario Hoy, June 5, 2003).*

It is important to highlight that the criteria for the intervention by the local municipality in San Roque are often led by security issues and not the need for basic services. For the National Police, crime in Quito is mostly based on the market area of San Roque. Therefore, efforts are focused on rooting out this illegal activity. Urban planning interventions are therefore conceived in terms of securitisation and social cleansing according to roughly four criteria: redevelopment and control of public space, the eradication of street vendors and 'urban bustle', the creation of organised and regulated markets without small and informal traders and even the gradual substitution of markets themselves by supermarkets, including in this retail model the so-called 'popular supermarkets'.

Paradoxically, the analysis of indicators of danger and georeferenced maps reveals that North of Quito is the most dangerous area in the city in terms of property crime and



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sexual violence. This area is also regarded as the most secure place in the city, even when the number of offences is three times higher than in the central area (Metropolitan Observatory for Citizen Security, 2013).

It is true that the historic centre is not free from being affected by violence and San Roque has to deal with everyday violence; however, these events occur much more frequently in other parts of the city. As Wacquant (2000, 2001) suggests, stigmatisation campaigns in certain areas also involve the criminalisation of poor populations and the instrumentalisation of security measures. As part of the security imaginary, the historic centre is seen as a place where stolen objects are traded, with San Roque being regarded as a crime hotspot. According to the institutional discourse, these illegal activities are supported by local vendors, who are associated with criminal networks or are relatives of those who trade stolen objects. Despite the rise of individualisation and the loss of social contacts common to late capitalism, the resilient social fabric is the focus of stigmatisation and criminalisation.

### **Urban renewal policies in San Roque**

This stigmatisation process has preceded a series of urban interventions intended for cleansing and hygiene purposes. The implementation of urban renewal policies has been based on advances into areas so far not regenerated akin to colonial methods of conquest and establishment of liberated or recovered spaces. In the case of the city of Quito, this is particularly clear in the neighbourhoods of Santo Domingo, San Francisco, la Ronda, la Veinticuatro de Mayo and San Roque.

Our analysis of the historic centre and its limits reveals the presence of invisible thresholds and frontiers between heritage-led renewed areas and spaces yet to be intervened on. The role of the municipality is to organise these areas and implement

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regulation on land use. Though these initiatives appear to be urban interventions, they hide a social engineering purpose that is, interventions on the local population.

In the case of Mercado de San Roque, local public authorities have proposed different intervention projects. One of the first intervention proposals was included within a comprehensive intervention plan for the historic centre of Quito (2010). But due to the succession of local governments and the resistance of local vendors and dwellers, this project has not yet been fully implemented, suffering a series of modifications. However, there have been some partial reforms, especially when it comes to the negotiations with traders about their future relocation and the reorganisation of trade inside the market; these measures have been regarded by the authorities as a notable step forward within the context of this process.

In the particular case of San Roque, different municipal governments have tried to eradicate the market (or its conversion into a smaller neighbourhood market) and the whole social environment. Negotiations have therefore not been focused on the elimination of this market – this has taken for granted- but on the conditions underlying such a process. For the last few years, the municipality has proposed different relocation possibilities; however, these proposals have been rejected by the local population. One of these ideas consists in creating two markets – both in North and South Quito – to unite the wholesale markets based on San Roque, La Ofelia and Mercado Mayorista del Sur. This project also includes a series of traffic and mobility regulations so as to prevent heavy vehicles from entering Quito. Such a measure would interrupt the flow of products into San Roque, thus altering the commercial dynamics of the area – which is today regarded as a wholesale market – and controlling informal trade. According to a local municipal official:

[...] turning to the subject of the negotiation process, the Municipality seeks to relocate this market; first of all because it is located in the historic centre and there is the heritage discourse, there is no space for marginality in the centre of the city. Negotiations started in 2006, this relocation is part of a much larger process based on the relocation of the trading system of perishable goods; the problem is the presence of different markets and everything is a chaos, there is no control. Mercado de San Roque is planned to be turned into a neighbourhood market, but they do not want that because this is a profitable business for them, they do not need to invest any sum of money and use the public space for free. This space will be recovered for the implementation of the urban project and the creation of an international Craft Centre; relevant actors are expected to become true artisan experts, the pieces of furniture made here [at the moment] cannot be regarded as craft items, they should have a series of unique characteristics.

(Interview with a local municipal official, August 2008)

Previous experiences of displacing informal trade from the historic centre over the last two decades suggest that the negotiation processes failed at an unexpected time, when the municipality took quick and irreversible actions. All of these *recovery* measures, as the authorities refer to them, have been combined with negotiations with traders and dwellers and then followed by unilateral interventions; this reveals that decisions were already made by authorities before consultations.

The case of Mercado de San Roque has been preceded by stigmatisation campaigns and discourses on public assets that have gradually permeated the common sense of citizens – especially those in charge of intervention measures. These urban actions also involve the implementation of State-led policies on social cleansing and the displacement of specific social sectors from urban renovation areas.

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## **San Roque: a hospitable space**

San Roque has been regarded as a dangerous place; however, our research suggests this area offers rich street-based relational spaces and urban hospitality (Azogue, 2012).

Following Levinas (2001), we can understand this as a hospitable space, a meeting point for indigenous migrants within the context of a city where the presence of 'other' individuals is hardly accepted. The description provided by one of our interviewees could not be more eloquent: 'This is an indigenous space, a space that is home to indigenous migrant populations ... This is a space you are familiar with despite all the opinions against this area; in the end, this is a meeting space' (Interview with JC, Heifer-Flacso research group, July 2008). Here we are discussing a hospitable space that allows the development particular forms of relationship in which indigenous people are main actors; such a situation is strengthened by the presence of the market as illustrated by one of our interviewees:

I think this occurs because of the presence of the market, this is a populated area, this is like a community space where we see each other every day, if you go to San Roque you will always be able to see an indigenous individual, someone walking around, people doing business over there... the indigenous settlement located in the area may explain this situation.

(Interview with JC, Heifer-Flacso research group July 2008)

This space enables the emergence of different forms of aid and reciprocity that go beyond the individual sphere. In other words, these are collective forms of assistance and care, where the 'obligation to welcome newcomers is a moral standard' (Azogue, 2012, p. 23). These relationships also enable the generation of family and cooperative networks, which are essential for the survival and thriving of these families at any point in their migratory processes. The latter has a critical influence on the consolidation and maintenance of these networks. The senses and forms of appropriation that emerge in

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these spaces are diverse in nature and depend largely on the characteristics of human groups.

It is worth mentioning the appropriations and meanings given to these spaces by the indigenous women who are temporarily or permanently living in the city. Historically, there has been a strong presence of indigenous women who moved to the city to sell different products in streets and squares. Clorinda Cuminao (2012), in her research on Mercado de San Roque (and Manuela Camus (2002) – who focuses on the Guatemalan case) discusses how the spaces within the market –which are mainly regarded as female spaces – became consolidated as the result of a gender-based division of labour. For indigenous women, this space is a place where they can maintain and reproduce certain identity elements such as the way of dressing, their language and the care of children in the workplace. This has enabled them to develop a sense of pride and belonging, which is reflected and reinforced in the everyday spaces associated with religious and cultural activities that transcend the physical location of the market. Examples of these spaces are certain meeting points such as ballrooms or cheap restaurants, which are currently disappearing as the result of the implementation of heritage policies.

These life experiences allow us to regard San Roque as a space that favours the emergence of relationships that do not frequently occur in the rest of the city. Therefore this place should not be referred to in terms of anonymity – though many, especially young people, prefer to remain unseen – but in terms of a relational space where it is common to see face-to-face contact among equals or those who pretend to be in the same situation of their peers, even when economic and social differences and power relationships are evident. Likewise, San Roque is not an unidentifiable or blank place, but an important and meaningful space. The latter is valid for indigenous newcomers and people from low income backgrounds who – despite not having indigenous roots – live in different parts of the city and identify themselves with San Roque. We are, then, observing a rich and clearly characterised space defined by the flow and circulation of predominantly indigenous people. This does not occur in other parts of the city, where

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relationships have become more extensive, diffuse and impersonal. This was expressed by one of our interviewees

We lived in this sector along San Roque, la Magdalena and Cima de la Libertad [...] my sisters moved not too far away, to la Magdalena and la Mena but since their children are enrolled in a nursery school in San Roque, the whole family moved there [...] since they have to do business and sell things, they go to San Roque, which were all indigenous people are. It could be said that San Roque is a space where families, divided into groups and distributed over different places, converge every morning. For instance, we used to have a space where we unloaded goods every morning and the whole family and the migrant community gathered there.

(Interview with JC. Heifer-Flacso research group, July 2008).

The market is not only the workplace of the indigenous population based in San Roque but also the space where these individuals establish their relationships with the city. They set up their businesses with effort, 'in an honest manner' [according to some testimonies], thus earning the respect of their counterparts. If the city excludes these new dwellers, they will redefine the sense of community within the urban space. This occurs in an everyday basis in the organisation of market activities, the construction of collective dwelling and especially when it comes to resisting and fighting eviction attempts. For example,

[V]endors are fighting to stay here, if they fought through demonstrations, spending nights on the streets in order to protect their businesses because if they were not there, their workplaces would be taken away from them, it would be difficult to evict them. Did you see how they defended their businesses? The municipal police came here and prevented people from going to their stores ....

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(Interview fish stallholder at the market, Mr. Alfonso R. José A. Heifer-Flacso  
research group. July 2008)

Though it is true that vendor associations have played a pivotal role in resisting regeneration and evictions, it is out of the question for the municipality that the area will be 'recovered' i.e. the market will be eradicated; such an objective will be achieved even by fragmenting local associations and establishing alliances with certain groups within the market in return for stores in the new market, or by convincing them that enjoying some benefits is better than losing all.

Religious celebrations also provide important spaces or moments for the generation of a sense of community inside the market area; these are significant events in the reproduction of culture as a *common place*, something that transcends the city and the symbolic occupation of the urban space. The organisation of these celebrations involves traditional knowledge and forms of representation; according to Mr. Andrango, trader, 'you have to know how to celebrate this feast' (R. Andrango, personal communication, May 2012). This implies the participation of local dwellers in the preparation of the event, the appointment of leaders, designate who is going to be in charge of preparing food, the elaboration of decorations, souvenirs, etc. The leaders of the event are responsible for elaborating the costume that will be used by the saint during the annual celebration. For instance, in Mercado de Iñaquito, women created a special space to keep the costumes and clothes used during the 'Divine Jesus' and 'Jesus of the Great Power' (patron saints of the market) celebrations; it is worth mentioning that such a room dates back to the foundation of the market. These costumes vividly preserve a popular aesthetic; likewise, this space is also used to keep the altar and other significant objects used during the event. These are occasions in which local dwellers use urban spaces as stages for the enactment of religious situations, where spiritual representations show us that the market is alive and full of senses and meanings. This space reproduces

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a series of *common customs* that enable the creation and exchange of economy and religious activities, thus revealing the urban-rural nature of popular culture.

The market parade, a traditional procession of the various markets to start off the annual Quito festivals, is another opportunity for the reproduction of social practices. The organisational level of this event transcends every market in the city and involves the presence of a series of family, commercial and work networks organised under the Market Federation or the Market Union. This organisational forms are testimony not only to the agency and degree of independence but also to their political nature. The different markets of the city should not be regarded as individual or unorganised spaces; on the contrary, their interconnection and forms of organisation are examples of their complex network of relations.

## **Conclusions**

The purpose of this chapter was to show the relationships that exist between Mercado de San Roque and its neighbouring areas (San Roque neighbourhood) and the disputes over security, urban renewal and heritage policies in relation to this space. San Roque has historically been regarded as a relational space where job activities and popular commerce converge within the context of the so-called 'urban bustle'. While formerly composed of a mostly middle-class population, this neighbourhood is today home to indigenous and mestizo populations whose economic and social activities are directly associated with the market.

San Roque could be defined as an interstitial zone located between the urban and rural spheres, a space that enables the emergence of multiple socio-ethnic relationships and expressions of popular culture associated with urban requirements and communities.



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When seen as a frontier space, this area acts both as a meeting-dividing and an exclusionary-inclusionary point.

This market is characterised by the reproduction of different forms of everyday violence perpetrated by the police, criminals or even by exchange activities. These dynamics have been stigmatised as an excuse to justify the implementation of intervention policies. At the same time, for the 'popular' sectors that depend on the market for their daily subsistence – and especially for the indigenous individuals who live and work in San Roque –, this area is regarded as an interstitial space where everyone 'speaks the same language' and where different housing, education and security policies are being implemented from a bottom-up approach. For many people from rural and indigenous backgrounds, San Roque is a hospitable place that offers new life opportunities and self-protection within the context of an inhospitable 'urban order', even if this situation involves subordination.

We have seen that heritage policies are not aimed at improving the habitat of low income groups located in the so-called historic areas; on the contrary, they neglect, degrade and stigmatise these spaces, justifying intervention on security, planning and urban renewal grounds. This should be associated with concepts such as population governance and management (Foucault, 2009).

This research has sought to reveal the hidden relationships that exist between heritage, the police and real estate investment. The stigmatisation of the market – orchestrated by the media – goes hand in hand with the conversion of this place into an object of desire by the heritage-related economic interests. However, despite multiple intervention attempts, municipal negotiations have met with failure.

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<sup>1</sup> Original in Spanish translated by Juan Pablo Henríquez Prieto

<sup>2</sup> Editorial note: In original 'popular' in Spanish is a difficult concept to translate to English. Here it means an economy and a culture associated with low income groups. It can also refer to informal practices, those belonging to the 'people' in a way that differentiates them to groups in position of power, with economic wealth and part of the 'establishment'

<sup>3</sup> Editorial note: in Spanish in the original *trajines*.

<sup>4</sup> Places were *Chicha* (maize liquor) is sold. These used to be meeting spaces for indigenous people.