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Neighbourhoods and markets in Madrid: An uneven process of selective transformation[1]

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Introduction

This paper addresses the process of transformation experienced by markets in Madrid over the last decade. Such an evolution is framed within an urban context where global economy and the impacts of the selective action of public policies (sometimes intervening and other times ignoring markets) are regarded as key forces of change. This study focuses on the municipal network of markets of Madrid paying specific attention to three markets. Using empirical methodology, observation and qualitative and quantitative analysis, this chapter presents the transformation of markets in Madrid not as one single process but as an array of possibilities. According to our perspective, these transformations are closely related to the urban context in which markets are located, i.e. their population, economic and social contexts. In recent years, markets have lost their function of being local and neighbourhood-based food suppliers to become specialised spaces and this has fragmented them into different categories that we will explore later: the traditional market, the gourmet, the organic and the service-oriented market. We refer to this variegated process as a *selective* transformation. In order to further illustrate these changes, this research focuses on three paradigmatic cases of markets located in downtown Madrid: Mercado de San Antón (in the Chueca district), Mercado de los Mostenses (in Maravillas), and Mercado de San Fernando (in Lavapiés). The objective of our research is both to highlight the close relationship that exists between urban and commercial dynamics in spaces where gentrification activities converge at the same time and at different levels and to identify the current renovation of markets as a *retail gentrification* phenomenon. The conclusions of this chapter present markets as new *border* spaces that strengthen and allow the development of gentrification dynamics which, ultimately, can lead to the displacement of lower-income groups – traders and consumers – and the coexistence of different lifestyles and social classes.

Theoretical background on commercial gentrification

While studies on gentrification are mainly focused on the analysis of residential transformations, there are some authors that establish a relationship between commercial changes and population and class restructuring processes that take place in cities of the Global North such as San Francisco, Toronto, Portland, Sydney, Paris, Lyon, Amsterdam and Porto. In these studies, the classic approaches used in economic and urban geography meet with consumption sociology (Lemarchand, 2011). In this way, the traditional studies that linked retail activities directly to forms of production and consumption and associated them with urban systems have been broadened by studying the new ways of life and consumption habits of urban citizens. The symbolic aspects of consumption are also gaining importance when it comes to describing the gentrification phenomenon (Lees et al., 2008, Hernández Cordero, 2014). In the case of markets, previous studies analysed them in terms of the consumption of symbolic goods (Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998). This goes in the same direction as other research which described consumption as an *experience* in itself (González and Waley, 2013; Smithers et al., 2008), where the social practice of purchasing food has a symbolic meaning that adds extra value to products.

Most of the current research on commercial gentrification focuses on the study of streets (Fleury, 2003; Lehman-Frisch, 2002; Roth and Grant, 2015) or neighbourhoods (Authier, 1989; Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Hackworth and Rekers, 2005; Omhovère, 2014; Varanda, 2005; Zukin et. al, 2009) where trade has a significant presence and there is proof this activity is undergoing a reorganisation process. In many occasions, this commercial restructuration is closely related to urban renovation initiatives (Rankin and

McLean, 2015) and in most of these cases there is a decrease in neighbourhood trade activities in central areas (Authier, 1989; Lehman-Frisch, 2002; Varanda, 2005). Our research focuses on the way that markets, despite their architectural particularities and indoor nature, are incorporated into these urban dynamics of commercial gentrification (González and Waley, 2013).

The current literature on commercial gentrification intersects with several different issues. Firstly, there is the role of trade, traders and users as key actors in urban transformation processes (Berroir et al., 2015) as well as the intermediary role of new investors and entrepreneurs (Dias, 2011; Zukin, 2009) in public places where economic activities take place. Likewise, it is worth mentioning the importance of public policies in determining and steering these changes, either by protecting traditional trade, pushing it to become more entrepreneurial or creating business improvement areas or districts (Hackworth and Rekers, 2005) or by treating actors in very different ways, as in the case of migrant street vendors (Martin, 2014). These issues are also related in terms of the control or promotion of gentrification (Viana, 2014).

There are other studies that see the value of neighbourhood trade as an essential resource for the low-income and working class groups (Chabrol, 2011; Omhovère, 2014). Watson (2009) refers to markets as useful and vibrant spaces where social inclusion and the recreation of social relationships turn them into socially-rich and interesting places. According to Spanish authors Guàrdia and Oyón (2007, 2010), trade is an element that builds social relationships. As the result of retail transformations, the reactions of traders and the population may range from survival and adaptation strategies to resistance (Authier, 1989; Sullivan and Shaw, 2011; Varanda, 2005).

Likewise, some studies suggest that trade is an identity sign that defines urban culture (Bridge and Dowling, 2001); in this sense, attention should be given to two aspects: distinction (Shkuda, 2013) and multiculturalism (Semi, 2005). These elements may be involved in a contradictory relationship that refers to values such as authenticity (Van Criekingen and Fleury, 2006) and commodification (Hackworth and Rekers, 2005). The democratisation of luxury and the increase in values triggered by consumption (Michaud, 2015) clearly explains the occurrence of gentrification processes, the use of culture and arts as distinction mechanisms in certain neighbourhoods and the gourmetisation of food trade in different markets around the globe. Lastly, the displacement issue has been directly related to ethnicity and class (González and Waley, 2013; Sullivan and Shaw, 2011;Zukin, 2009).

The above allows us to highlight the main role of trade within the context of cities. In this sense it is worth mentioning structural aspects, since trade has historically been a key element in capital reproduction processes, as pointed out by Harvey (2008) in the case of nineteenth century Paris. Today global changes have significant influenced the new production and provision models controlled by large oligopolies (Schwntesius and Gómez, 2006), thus critically affecting traditional models of provision and consumption. Both issues take place within an urban neoliberal context (Brenner and Peck, 2010) where the international mobility of public policies contributes to the import of models considered successful and closely associated with city branding strategies (González, 2011). If during the 1990s, leisure and consumption landscapes were dominated by malls today, however, the emergence of new aesthetic and spatial dimensions is redefining shopping experiences. New formats (such as boutiques, farmers markets and food fairs) add extra value to the recovery of certain aspects of traditional trade – with a focus on the provision of high-quality products, expertise and warm relationships – within a culturally redefined landscape (Mermet, 2011).

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As for the Spanish case, Barcelona – with its successes and failures – is a clear example of market renewal policies (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015). Within a context marked by unequal geographies, these transformations have given rise to new urban renovation and profitability opportunities derived from commercial rent gaps (Smith, 1987 and 1996).

In the case of Madrid, a commercial overview of the 1990s (Checa and Lora-Tamayo, 1993) reveals the spatial and sectoral structure of local trade activities. The importance acquired by the commercial function of the urban centre since the beginning of the nineteenth century is associated with non-homogeneous spatial patterns, whose distribution coincides with the predominance of food and/or popular trade in the neighbourhoods that we are investigating. Today, these neighbourhoods show evidence of ongoing gentrification activities (García Perez, 2014).

A genealogy of markets and public policies in Madrid

Decline and re-emergence of markets in Madrid

Madrid has a large network of retail markets built in successive stages over the twentieth century. The initial phase, which lasted from the second half of the nineteenth century to the 1920s, was characterised by the emergence of the first municipal policies on the sale of food and the construction of the first cast-iron market buildings; this period was also marked by the presence of different types of markets (indoor, private, public, open-air and granted in concession). This was the starting point of a series of public policies concerning markets that transcended different historical and political moments. The year 1929 saw the elaboration of the first plans for the rationalisation and expansion of markets and then, in 1943, the *Programme for the Construction of New Markets* was launched, with the goal of establishing a network composed of 26 neighbourhood markets, including new and already existing spaces. The following decades witnessed the extension of this network, which grew hand in hand with the city until the 1980s; as of today, this network is composed of 46 municipal markets with a presence in 17 out of the 21 districts of the city. During this period, markets in Madrid operated as non-exclusionary 'cross-class' spaces that ensured the provision of essential goods. Given their price-setting role and the promotion of competition, markets were privileged spaces where lower-middle and lower classes did their grocery shopping. Likewise, low-cost rents enabled the emergence of family-based and neighbourhood-oriented small businesses (Bahamonde and Fernández, 2008; López de Lucio, 1998, 2007; Montoliú Camps, 1988). As will be discussed below, the current transformation is affecting these traditional forms.

The first signs of a crisis for markets were detected in the early 1990s. Since then, markets have been constantly blamed for their inability to adapt themselves to the new habits of consumers. In the official narrative, the emergence of new tastes and social trends is regarded as the result of natural and spontaneous decisions andmarkets are blamed for their mismanagement and inability to modernise themselves due to the 'obsolescence of structures in relation to modern commercial distribution trends' (Madrid City Council, 2007: p. 3). This situation has led to the neglect by local authorities and the consequent deterioration of buildings. These aspects framed a discourse that focuses on the decline of traditional methods of food and service provision.

It was in this context that there were the first talks of crisis and the need to renovate retail markets – even though markets were the leading channel for the distribution of fresh food. The response of public authorities was the elaboration of an action plan to 'reactivate' markets. This initiative involved the selling of stalls to their own shopkeepers for direct administration purposes. This strategy concealed a purely economistic and short-term approach that initiated the redefinition of markets as commercial and profitability assets. Madrid City Council has presented the changes in consumption patterns in the city and the decline of public markets as a natural evolution in retail processes. And although in their publications they display a rhetoric of markets as a 'public service embedded in the customs of the Madrid citizens' (Madrid City Council, 2010, p. 1) a careful and critical analysis of their policies reveals that they have sought to distance themselves from the direct management of markets leading to the weakening of the traditional and affordable market model (Mateos, 2017)

The local authority's plan to sell market stalls directly to the traders was only applied on one occasion, and so this situation begs the development of different hypotheses. It could have been too soon for investors to take part in renovation processes and see markets as new and profitable sources of investment; or that there was still a need to reach what Neil Smith describes as a 'rent-potential gap' (Smith, 1996) to ensure returns from reinvestment for renovation purposes. As for the key factor that would enable the achievement of this initiative, there would be a need of an 'interventionist' policy and the definition of proper regulatory frameworks for the reinvestment of capital in the form of subsidies for urban renovation projects or the entry of new investors into municipal markets. In other words, there was a need to define public-private partnerships capable of absorbing intervention risks within the context of the so-called 'entrepreneurial urbanism' (Harvey, 1989).

These conditions or 'latent potentialities' were gradually defined by urban regulation (Madrid City Council, 1997) and the agreements signed among different public entities (the central state, the regional authorities and the City Council), thus giving rise to a series of urban renewal policies designed to intervene in the historical centre of Madrid. During the 1980s, most environmental, economic and social improvement strategies focused on the local sphere, the neighbourhood and its dwellers; such an approach, however, progressively evolved into the adoption of a 'systematic and deliberate policy that favoured the global dimension over the local domain' (Justo, 2011, p. 74). This action meant the commodification of the urban space and its residential, cultural, recreational and commercial elements and the renovation/expulsion of local dwellers. Perhaps the clearest example of this issue is the Malasaña-Chueca-Hortaleza-Gran Vía area (including the 'new' Mercado de San Antón and Mercado de Barceló and the now-threatened Mercado de los Mostenses).

This environment led to the emergence of a new municipal policy on markets, which was based on the redefinition of strategic and regulatory frameworks. All recently-launched initiatives were presented by the authorities as an opportunity for markets to adapt themselves to the current retail trends in Madrid, which are dominated by large and corporate players and shopping centres. In order to promote competiveness, three strategies were designed: the renovation and modernisation of markets, the professionalisation of managerial activities and the improvement and promotion of a common image through urban marketing campaigns. Since supermarkets were regarded as 'commercial formats perfectly adapted to the new pace of life', markets in Madrid had to introduce themselves as 'new, original and different commercial formats that maintain the spirit and characteristics that make markets into unique commercial elements because of their neighbourly and familiar atmosphere' (Madrid City Council, 2011, p. 1).

Finally, despite the fact markets and supermarkets are described as differentiated formats, municipal plans aim at incorporating the latter into the former for two purposes: they want supermarkets to attract customers and they want to make them bear some of the transformation costs. Parallel to this, the new municipal markets policy aims to provide market managers with greater management autonomy and redefine land use through a considerable decrease in the minimum percentage that needs to be designated for the selling of fresh food (from 65% to 35%). It did not take long for the first measure – which conceals within it a privatisation measure – to take effect; In 2013, new private commercial entities (owned by construction or real estate companies) were awarded contracts to manage some markets, thus assuming a role once played by the Association of Traders. In their search for profit, these new management companies applied measures to sharply increase the rents for market stalls (Maiello, 2014). On the other hand, the new flexible rules on the types of trade allowed in markets has enabled the establishment of supermarkets and other types of commercial activities (such as bars, restaurants or offices).

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Inequality and uneven developments within the context of markets in Madrid.

Fragmentation and inequalities in the types of markets

As we have been stressing in this book, the contested nature in cities is also reflected in markets. . On the one hand, there is a neoliberal-oriented model that seeks to make private gains from markets and, on the other hand, there are some community action and self-management initiatives that provide new approaches to food sovereignty, local economies, etc. In the case of Madrid, there is also a tension between these diverse trends affecting the already heterogeneous network of markets and thus it is impossible to talk about the emergence of a single market 'model'.

We have conducted an analysis with data across markets in Madrid of the number and type of stalls, renovation status of markets and the type of offer they have and we have been able to identify four types of trends of markets, which are described below:

- Traditional markets, characterised by the provision of essential, fresh food products.
- Gourmet markets, where 10% of stores are engaged in the sale of *delicatessen* products, which are targeted at the restaurant business.
- Organic markets, where 10% of stores are engaged in the sale of healthy, fair-trade organic products.
- Service-oriented markets, where there are no traditional stall where to acquire fresh produce and where more than 75% of stores are engaged in the provision of non-food services (hairdressers, clothing and shoe shops, etc.);

Understanding the heterogeneity of models: relationships between geographical location and typologies

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When we translate this information into a map, this shows how the different types of markets are distributed according to well-defined geographic patterns that reveal a conflict between the two socio-spatial realities of Madrid: the centre vs the periphery. This contrast is revealed in the fact that the central districts of Madrid (Centro, Retiro, Salamanca, and Chamberí) have a per capita income one and a half times higher than the districts located in the southern periphery area (Latina, Carabanchel, Usera, Villaverde and Puente de Vallecas) (Madrid City Council, 2009) – not to mention that these districts are separated by the M30 ring road. It is not therefore surprising that gourmet and eco-markets are exclusively located in the central area of the city (Fig. 1a and 1b). On the other hand, service-oriented markets are scattered throughout peripheral areas and traditional markets are distributed all over the city (Fig. 1c and 1d). In any case, it is difficult to find unique models, since in both central and peripheral areas markets are showing hybridisation trends.

07_Figure 7.1 GOES HERE

Title: Different typologies of markets. Top left: Gourmet; Top right: organic; Bottom left: Service; Bottom right: traditional. Source: Alejandro Rodríguez

Markets and the double gentrification frontier

The analysis of Madrid shows that the presence of markets involves the emergence of a double gentrification border. The first of these boundaries affects markets, where shopping activities are altered to the point of turning shopping into an exclusive experience that can only be accessed by those who can afford the gourmet products found in specialised markets. The segregation generated by these commercial gentrification processes, which are based on the consumption of exclusive goods, is not only derived from the unequal access to the goods and practices offered by markets. There is also a type of segregation associated with culture, which operates in the same way as the exclusionary practice described above, and is an essential part of it. In this sense, gourmet consumption practices are reflective processes based on the controlled development of taste and judgment (Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Featherstone, 1991; Lash and Urry, 1994) that cannot be equally accessed by people. Therefore, the targeting of an increasing 'food elite' (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000; Hurst, 1998) has become one of the pillars of segregation and one of the reasons through which markets start to lose their public service functions.

The second border is not as abstract as the previous one; this is a physical frontier. Since the central districts of Madrid are mainly focused on commercial specialisation, peripheral areas are not included in the transformation processes that take place in the centre of the city. In this sense, investors know where to allocate their capital; this can be seen in the different levels of renovation experienced by markets in Madrid. The only renewal initiatives implemented in peripheral markets are associated with minor structural adjustments; however, the central area of the city has undergone comprehensive renovation processes and seen the emergence of new markets (in this case projects were funded 50% by the local administration and 50% by the private sector).

In line with this research framework of frontiers, in the next sections we analyse three case studies on markets which, despite being located in the same area (Centro district), show different realities and situations within the heterogeneous context of markets in Madrid

Mercado de San Antón: the triumph and exhaustion of a role model

Mercado de San Antón is located in the Chueca neighbourhood of central Madrid, along Gran Vía. This was a low and middle income neighborhood during the first half of the twentieth century; however, the 1970s witnessed the beginning of a progressive deterioration process that led to the loss of population, abandonment of dwellings and social issues. During the early 1980s, this area was the epicentre of 'la Movida', a countercultural movement that took place in Madrid since the late 1970s, then emerging as a gay neighbourhood in the 1990s. Chueca is a clear example of gentrification and today is one of the most expensive neighbourhoods in Madrid, with a focus on recreation and leisure activities (García, 2014).

This area is home to Mercado de San Antón, whose first building was built in 1945. With no architectural aspirations, this space operated for decades as a neighbourhood market for the dwellers of the popular Chueca neighbourhood until the 1980s and 1990s, a period of time marked by great social change. At the end of the twentieth century, the old Mercado de San Antón had about 50 stores that offered traditional everyday food products.

In 2002, with the goal of modernising the building and its facilities, the Association of Traders decided to take part in the Modernisation Plan promoted by the City Council. Though 35% of the renewal project was funded by the local administration, traders were not able to afford such expenditure. Throughout the comprehensive renovation process (the most expensive intervention within the municipal programme) more than half of traders relinquished their concession rights in exchange for compensation (funded by El Corte Inglés, a national chain of department stores), while others rented their shops to food and restaurant franchises.

The new Mercado de San Antón opened in May, 2011, and became the leading gourmet space in the city, following in the footsteps of the renowned Mercado de San Miguel (an old private market built in the XIX century that was transformed into the pinnacle of delicatessen cuisine). The original market had 48 stores; today this space has been divided into 12 'traditional' shops, 10 bar-restaurants, a terrace-restaurant area, an exhibition space, a supermarket and an underground car park. Mercado de San Antón has clearly followed the gentrification trends of its home neighbourhood, where the purchasing experience, bars and restaurants and gourmet products are key elements.

07 Figure 7.2 GOES HERE

Title: Gourmet mushrooms on offer at San Anton Market (Source: Rodríguez, 2012)

However, from our perspective, the model used by Mercado de San Antón – a prime example of neoliberalism – has shown signs both of victory and of exhaustion. Victory because it has set a local and international trend and attracted new customers and exhaustion because despite the aspiration many other markets have not adopted this gourmet model. In any case, the existence of this type of market has put in question the viability of the more traditional types of markets and their nature as public services.

Mercado de los Mostenses: a non-articulated resistance

Mercado de los Mostenses is located in one of the main streets of the capital: Gran Vía. This is a rather undefined area without a clear function either residential or service-related, historically characterised by a certain level of marginalisation, this space has welcomed the arrival of a migrant population. Since the 1990s, the area has been the target of speculative pressure as the result of the comprehensive renewals processes experienced by adjacent neighbourhoods – particularly in the case of Malasaña – and the private commercial project 'Triball S.L.'.

The old Mercado de los Mostenses (a beautiful building made of glass and iron) was inaugurated in 1875 and torn down in 1925 as the result of the construction of Gran Vía. The current building, which is made of brick, was completed in 1946 and operated as a local market for decades. During the 1990s, the crisis of this retail format in the city prompted Mercado de los Mostenses to focus on the new migrant communities (mostly from Latin America and Asia) that inhabited this area of Madrid. With its 100 stores specialised on the provision of traditional food items, the market became an 'emblem of social and commercial intercultural exchange in the city of Madrid' (Robles, 2012, p. 111).

However, despite this commercial success, Los Mostenses was not included in the Modernisation Plan promoted by the City Council. According to this authority, the market had to be demolished. In 2010, an architectural proposal for the construction of a multipurpose building was issued; however, such a project was never carried out. Then, in 2013, the private real estate developers Triball Group submitted a proposal for the renewal of the market that included the construction of two additional stories and a green roof. The firm would invest €6m in exchange for the administration of the new spaces.

As of today, Mercado de los Mostenses has not undergone significant intervention processes; this may be due either to the current economic situation, which has affected the financing of major investment projects, or to what we have called a 'non-articulated resistance' by the traders themselves which has emerged as a result of the mismanagement of the potential renovation project and passivity on the part of relevant actors. However, the market is still open and is deeply rooted within the neighbourhood; it operates at almost full capacity and offers a wide array of products targeted at users with low purchasing power.

Mercado de San Fernando: an experimental alternative

Surrounded by the Embajadores and Lavapiés neighborhoods, the Mercado de San Fernando is located in the historical centre of the city. Initially, this popular district received migrants from rural zones in Spain and then during the 1980s the area experienced the arrival of newcomers from countries such as China, Morocco, Ecuador, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The multicultural nature of this area and the affordability of dwellings have attracted a diverse population of young students, activists and professionals, thus turning the Lavapiés neighbourhood into one of the most affordable housing options in central Madrid.

Mercado de San Fernando opened its doors in 1945 in an area once used by an open-air market. This monumental building, common in the Franco dictatorship era, contrasted with the very dense housing type of Lavapiés and operated as a neighbourhood market for decades. It was not until the 1990s that this market failed to properly respond to the demographic changes experienced by the neighbourhood. In this sense, while new migrants and young professionals prefer to buy their goods from small grocery stores or supermarkets, local and more elderly neighbours remained as the only users of this market.

In 1998, this space experienced an external and internal renewal process; however, such a measure failed to improve the economic activity of the market. Then, in 2005, the Association of Traders promoted an ambitious municipal renovation project that was never carried out as the result of funding issues on the part of local traders. 2007 saw the publicly-funded construction of a primary healthcare centre on the second floor of the market. This led to the idea of a series of possibilities for the construction of a supermarket; however, none of these ideas has met with success. By 2009, 40% of the 50 shops that make up the market were closed.

At the end of that year, the market decided to take an alternative approach to that proposed by the City Council and large private operators. A group of traders opened talks with alternative collectives in the neighbourhood, experts and activists in order to embark on a bottom-up renovation of the market. In 2012, the rental cost of shops was published in an effort to recruit new traders and the 25 previously empty stalls were rented out at affordable prices, thus allowing the emergence of young and local-oriented initiatives. By the beginning of 2013, the market operated at full capacity and it was possible to find new activities such as organic food, crafts, professional services, a bookshop and home-cooked food. These businesses deal with local producers and aim to attract local middle class customers.

However, the incorporation of new restaurant and specialised food businesses suggests the need to seek the delicate balance between these activities and the traditional provision of fresh, everyday food products. This situation has become even more unstable in places such as Lavapiés, which has been closely observed by gentrification agents for years. At the moment, Mercado de San Fernando can be regarded as an alternative retail proposition (to big supermarkets and shopping malls) that regenerates the socio-commercial structure of the neighbourhood. However if it ends up providing only bar and restaurant services, it could be assumed that the alternative model proposed by this market has failed to deliver the expected results. Therefore, the entry of businesses focusing on services other than the provision of fresh, essential food products can involuntarily encourage the proliferation of restaurant-oriented activities. Both types of these activities (service related and bars and restaurants) are complementary to each other as they operate under the same leisure-based consumption model, thus sharing the same opening hours – including late working hours and weekends. If this model continues to consolidate, the trade in essential goods may be seriously affected.

Conclusions

This research provides an overview of the transformations experienced by markets in Madrid. Within a context marked by the structural socioeconomic changes triggered by globalisation and the general decline in neighbourhood trade activities, we have paid special attention to the role played by municipal public policies in the renewal of markets.

Public policies have given priority to the power and interests of some actors and ignored the presence of other relevant players. Modernisation has not therefore always ensured the survival of small-scale businesses.

As a result, these transformations have given rise to heterogeneous patterns associated with the specialisation and geographic location of markets (centre vs periphery). These aspects are explained by the close relationship that exists between markets and their respective local socioeconomic environments. Therefore, the current processes have led to the emergence of a selective and uneven transformation phenomenon framed within trends of commercial gentrification patterns. This is where the double gentrification border appears: the transformation of the shopping activity into a selective and unique experience and the real estate opportunities involved in the renewal of these central spaces.

These three case studies have enabled us to describe the main challenges arising from the transformation trends of markets, which are marked by tensions between neoliberal and grassroots/alternative visions for the city. In this context, at least three situations have been identified: the stagnation and passive resistance of the traditional model, which allow it to survive in areas where investment opportunities for urban operators may not yield the expected economic results; the progressive gentrification of markets through the gourmetisation of an already-gentrified residential environment; and the emergence of models that propose new forms of management and an alternative offer to traders and users. In conclusion, while markets are facing a renovation-or-die situation, their evolution may affect the coexistence of different lifestyles and social classes which, through consumption, ensure the right to the city.

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