

SOCIAL AND URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE SURROUNDINGS OF STREET MARKETS LOCATED IN THE HISTORIC HUB OF CUENCA¹

“9 DE OCTUBRE” AND “ 10 DE AGOSTO” MARKETSO

TRANSFORMACIONES SOCIALES Y URBANAS DEL
ENTORNO DE LOS MERCADOS DEL CENTRO HISTÓRICO DE CUENCA
MERCADO 9 DE OCTUBRE Y MERCADO 10 DE AGOSTO

ADRIANA BRIONES ORELLANA 2
JESSICA HERAS OLALLA 3
VERÓNICA HERAS BARROS 4

1 Trabajo desarrollado en el marco de la tesis de pregrado titulada “Transformaciones urbanas y sociales de los últimos 50 años del entorno inmediato de los mercados del centro histórico de Cuenca. Mercado 9 de Octubre - Mercado 10 de Agosto”, desarrollada en la Universidad de Azuay, Ecuador.

2 Arquitecta
Universidad del Azuay, Cuenca, Ecuador.
Estudiante de Maestría Candidata Proyecto Urbano
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9686-998X>
adrianabriones.o@outlook.es

3 Arquitecta
Universidad del Azuay, Cuenca, Ecuador.
Estudiante de Maestría Candidata Proyectos Arquitectónicos
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9604-6297>
jessica.heras1997@gmail.com

4 Doctora en Ingeniería Conservación de Monumentos y Sitios
Universidad del Azuay, Cuenca, Ecuador.
Profesor asociado - investigación Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2569-0151>
vheras@uazuay.edu.ec

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22320/07183607.2021.24.44.02>



Los mercados son equipamientos públicos que vinculan actividades comerciales y de intercambio cultural, los cuales interactúan con el tejido urbano en el que se insertan. Sus valores históricos y simbólicos los vuelven lugares susceptibles a transformaciones que replantean la estructura urbana, tal como sucede en el entorno inmediato de los mercados 9 de Octubre y 10 de Agosto, ubicados en el centro histórico de Cuenca, Ecuador, donde se han desencadenado procesos de gentrificación, turistificación y gentrificación comercial. En este contexto, se propone aquí analizar las transformaciones urbanas y sociales de los últimos 50 años, utilizando una metodología mixta con un enfoque exploratorio, mediante la observación, encuestas y entrevistas. En ambos casos de estudio, los resultados evidenciaron que, tras el funcionamiento de los centros de abasto, se incrementó la actividad comercial en los respectivos sectores, lo cual, junto con otras problemáticas asociadas (inseguridad, insalubridad, comercio informal), constituye un detonante principal del desplazamiento paulatino de la población.

Palabras clave: Mercado histórico, uso de suelo, gentrificación, turistificación, gentrificación comercial.

Street markets are public facilities that link commercial activities and cultural exchange, which interact with the urban fabric that they are a part of. Their historical and symbolic values make them vulnerable to transformations that rethink the urban structure, as happens in the immediate surroundings of the “9 de Octubre” and “10 de Agosto” street markets, located in the historic hub of the city of Cuenca, Ecuador, where processes of gentrification, touristification, and commercial gentrification have taken place. In this context, the proposal here is to analyze the urban and social transformations of the last 50 years, using a mixed methodology with an exploratory approach, through observation, surveys, and interviews. In both case studies, the results showed that with the operation of these street markets, commercial activity increased in the respective areas which, together with other associated issues (insecurity, unhealthy conditions, informal trade), are the main triggers for the incremental displacement of the population.

Keywords: Historic street market, land use, gentrification, touristification, commercial gentrification.

I. INTRODUCTION

Scholars from the urban-architectural and social science areas highlight the importance of supply centers in the city, as these are public spaces where commercial activities and socio-cultural exchange take place (Medina, 2013). Street markets located in historic hubs give an identity to the neighborhood, given their high historic and symbolic value. However, their deterioration and decline are factors that have made them places of interest to make urban architectural interventions governed by neoliberal policies, that seek to re-qualify their facilities and their setting, triggering different social transformation processes that have led to demographic changes (Lacarrieu, 2016; Salinas, 2016; Delgadillo, 2016). This has been seen in the case studies in Europe and Latin America, which are described below.

In Madrid, Spain, the San Antón and La Boquería street markets experienced interventions that led to a restructuring of social classes and relations, which had repercussions on the commercial activities of the neighborhood, and meant the loss of the markets' traditional role, converting them into places for an upper class population, a process known as commercial gentrification (Salinas, 2016). In the case of La Boquería, Barcelona, the modernization of the market led to changes in land use after the implementation of services like hotels and restaurants, generating a touristification process (Hernández Cordero, 2017).

In the Latin American context, specifically in Argentina, the gentrification processes in the Abasto Market were analyzed, located in areas characterized by commercial activity, and by a lower-middle class population, which on being replaced by a mall, led to the socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation of the neighborhood (Boldrini & Malizia, 2014).

Unlike the previous examples, in Mexico, the Roma market was built, a building created under the "popular market" label, which, since it entered operation, caused gentrification in the sector (Cordero & Salinas, 2017). Likewise, the strong impact of supply centers can be seen in the Central Market in Concepción, Chile, where the lack of building maintenance, among other factors, displaced the storekeepers. However, the architectural intervention of this site could lead to gentrification processes (Zazo & López, 2018).

These cases show that the urban transformations carried out in these supply centers, mostly by private investors, satisfy the needs of the higher socioeconomic classes, and favor tourism. These processes of gentrification and touristification have been the causal agents of the restructuring of the social fabric. It is also shown that the markets change the dynamics of the sectors, including increasing the commercial activity around them.

The case of Cuenca is not far from this reality. Although studies have been made on the historic hub related to gentrification and touristification, these have not focused on popular amenities like supply markets. As such, this research takes, as case studies, the "9 de Octubre" (M90) and "10 de Agosto" (M10A) markets, on being the most representative and traditional of the city. In addition, these supply centers and their surroundings have gone through urban transformation processes because of their state of decline. However, in their surroundings, there are still problems associated to insecurity and crime (Citizen Security Council, 2017).

Based on this context, the urban transformations that have been triggers for the social mutations in the immediate surroundings of the markets of the historic hub of Cuenca are sought to be known, under the premise that markets are causing changes in land use, on favoring an increase in commercial activity. This is added to the urban transformation processes that have taken place in these facilities and their surroundings, which have led to different social dynamics related to demographic changes, touristification, and gentrification processes.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Markets are popular economic institutions that, more than just being supply centers, play an important role in the construction of the city. For this reason, they must not be understood as a unit that operates in isolation, but rather as a cell that interacts with the urban fabric they are inserted within (Zazo & López, 2018).

These supply centers are also susceptible to urban transformations that can be analyzed from two approaches. First, from the social setting, where the variation in activities of the users has repercussions on changes of land use, which mainly vary from housing to trade. The second approach is related to the physical-spatial changes of the city as a result of their obsolescence, which is why renewal or revitalization interventions are required (Triviño, 2010). It is important to point out that urban transformation entails interventions, restoration, rehabilitation, recovery, and renewal processes, generating important functional and social changes (Hernández, 2014).

On the other hand, the social transformations comprise several lines of research, such as globalization, gentrification, segregation; dynamics which often arise from urban transformation processes (Guevara, 2015). In the same way, social transformations have an impact on the living conditions of the people (habitat, housing, employment, services, safety, etc.) and change the power relationships among the social groups (Rebollo, 2012).



Figure 1. 9 de Octubre Market (M90). Source: Preparation by the Authors.

Hence, it is clear that urban and social transformations are closely tied to one another, which can be seen in the aforementioned case studies, that have experienced processes like gentrification, defined as the substitution of the original population for a new one, belonging to higher socioeconomic levels (Domínguez, 2017). Commercial gentrification, understood as a process that occurs within the market, is also patently clear. This has displaced the traditional merchants as a result of implementing the gourmet market model (Cordero & Salinas, 2017).

Meanwhile, touristification is defined as a type of gentrification that transfigures neighborhoods, replacing the traditional uses for places that are exclusively set up for tourists, with a corporate entertainment offer (Delgadillo, 2019). It is important to understand the focus of this type of transformations within the markets. In this sense, touristification is conceived as a transformation of the consumption patterns, where the tourist is the main consumer (Hernández Cordero, 2017).

III. CASE STUDY

There are three supply markets located in the historic hub of Cuenca, Ecuador: “9 de Octubre”, “10 de Agosto”, and “3 de Noviembre”. The first two were chosen for this

study, on being the oldest and most traditional ones of the city, as well as for being located in areas with the highest crime rates in the historic hub.

M90 (Figure 1), located in the El Sagrario parish, was the first supply center in the city, and was built in 1930 to satisfy the need of solving the health and supply issues in San Francisco Square (the first street market). The commercial activity of the market gradually changed the land use around it which, along with the growth of informal trade towards the Civic Square and the surrounding streets, caused health and safety problems. This panorama reflected the need for recovering the public space and returning vitality of the sector, which led to the retrofitting of the market and the nearby squares, to be reopened in 2009 (Illustrious Municipality of Cuenca, 2009).

Years later, in 1953, the M10A market was built (Figure 2), located in the Gil Ramírez Dávalos parish. Although it became the heart of the neighborhood, its deterioration led the area to become a troublesome and unsafe place. For this reason, in 2004 remodeling works took place, that created an interior patio and an atrium towards Calle Larga (Junta de Andalucía, 2007). It is worth highlighting that the market remodeling project was part of the New City urban regeneration policy, within the World Heritage declaration given to the city of Cuenca (Mancero, 2011).



Figure 2. 10 de Agosto Market (M10A). Source: Preparation by the Authors.



Figure 3. Location of the case studies (M90 and M10A) and architectural interventions. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

"9 DE OCTUBRE" MARKET		
Transformation	Place	Description
Intervention	Tranvia line (2017)	Pedestrianization of Gaspar Sanguirima, Mariscal Lamar, and Vargas Machuca streets. Treatment of the floors.
Restoration	"9 de Octubre" Market (2009)	Implementation of shopping stands. Creation of three levels, with centralized circulation and underground parking. Improvement of the roof. Conservation of the façade. (Arquitectura Panamericana, February 27th, 2018)
Rehabilitation	Civic Square (2009)	Recovery of public space. Incorporation of street furniture, lights, and vegetation in plant pots.
	Hermano Miguel Square (2010)	Implementation of street furniture. Treatment of the floors.
Renewal	Rotary Square (2009)	Redistribution of the square, optimizing the space. Implementation of 96 shopping stands, street furniture, and vegetation. Incorporation of 3 mini-squares, that connect with the Rotary passageway and the civic square. Treatment and leveling of the floors. (Arquitectura Panamericana, January 25th, 2018)
"10 DE AGOSTO" MARKET		
Rehabilitation	"10 de Agosto" Market (2004)	Extension of the market. Generation of public space. Changes in the market's façade (Junta de Andalucía, 2007)
	Bajada del Padrón (2007)	Generation of open, continuous spaces, without obstacles. Implementation of urban furniture, vegetation, lighting. (Boris Albornoz-Arquitectura, no date)
	Casas del Nogal (2017)	The use of the space was intensified with the building a housing block. Creation of gardens. Private project (ARQA, 2018)
Renewal	San Francisco Square (2018)	Recovery of the public space, freeing up the central area of the square. Reorganization and improvement of the shopping stands. Implementation of vegetation in plant pots. Treatment and leveling of floors.

Table 1. Physical-spatial transformations around M9O and M10A. Source: Preparation by the Authors. Concepts from the study, "Theoretically addressing urban renewal as a transformation process in the urban structure" (Hernández, 2014).

Urban transformation projects were also made in the immediate surroundings of these facilities, at different scales, aiming at handling the associated problems these had (Table 1). Here lies the importance of analyzing the impact these projects have had in these areas, which is why the study area is limited by the blocks that immediately surround M9O and M10A, as can be seen in Figure 3.

The table above shows the different physical-spatial transformations gradually made to the public spaces in the immediate surroundings of the M9O and M10 markets. It is also seen that there are private housing projects that affect the surroundings they are inserted within.

IV. METHODOLOGY

To study the urban and social transformations experienced by the blocks of the immediate surroundings of M90 and M10A, an exploratory and mixed approach methodology was used, that combines analysis of qualitative and quantitative data, collected through observation, interviews, and surveys.

The study of urban transformations, related to changes in land use, was done in three stages. First, through interviews with key players, the historic uses of the study area were determined, corresponding to 1970. Second, data was collected from 2010 by the University of Cuenca and the World Heritage City – WHC project. Third, in 2020, information on the land use was obtained through observation, by using maps made in the QGIS 4.10 program. The land use was categorized for this research, following the Municipal Ordinance of the Canton of Cuenca, 2003, where the following uses are set out: housing; commercial; mixed use; services; production; amenities ⁵ unoccupied property; unbuilt lot; and commercial-service.

To get to know the socioeconomic level of the current inhabitants, the qualification of parameters related to the characteristics of the dwelling, the level of finished studies, and the occupation of the head of household, as well as the income and possession of goods, were analyzed and interpreted, based on the Socioeconomic Level Stratification Survey of the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses [INEC, Spanish] (2011), to adapt these considering the information obtained in the surveys applied in this study. Thus, the current population was categorized into the following classes: high (A); high middle (B); middle (C+); low middle (C-); and low (D). The surveys were also applied to the consumers of the markets, in order to know their socioeconomic situation and the place they came from.

Sadly, on not having broken down the census information available, regarding the Socioeconomic Level Stratification Survey of 1990, 2001, and 2010, this could not be compared with the current data, but it was possible to infer trends related to this aspect through the information on the number of vulnerable and not vulnerable homes in each case study, provided by the INEC. This information was analyzed on two scales: first, at a block level in 2001 and 2010; and then, at an area level, taking the periods of 1990, 2001, and 2010 (bearing in mind that there was no broken down census information

available from 1990, either). It is worth highlighting that, although the data was collected at the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, these were not affected by the Covid-19 health emergency.

To define the sample of the surveys, a population projection was made for 2020, adding together the population of the blocks in the immediate surroundings of M90 and M10A, obtained from the censuses of 2001 and 2010 and, by using a Simple Random Sampling, a final size of 70 individuals was obtained. The surveys were distributed between both case studies, while for the users of the markets, tourists or local, a sampling by convenience method was applied, with a total of 31 surveys in each one of the markets.

In the case of the interviews, key players were chosen, who have greater affinity and a certain degree of power within the study area (Cimas, 2015). Among these, representatives of the markets, neighborhood presidents, and inhabitants who had lived for over 20 years in the neighborhood were chosen, to know the reasons for the displacement of the people, and the main conflicts in each case study. The number of interviews made was based on the saturation of categories, and a total of 14 interviewees was defined.

V. RESULTS

The qualitative data was analyzed inductively in the Atlas-ti program (test version), while the quantitative analysis was done in the SPSS Statistics Subscription program, version 25.0, to cross check the variables. The results related to the demographic analysis will be presented below, followed by the changes in land use, the main associated conflicts, and finally, the socioeconomic level of the inhabitants and consumers.

Population dimension

The decreasing population in the case studies, at a block level, shows a reduction of 39.40% in the adjoining areas of M90, and of 46.25% in M10A. However, these percentages increase when compared at an area level, with 51.85% in El Sagrario and 63.96% in Gil Ramírez Dávalos, as show in Figure 4.

Land use dimension

This research shows that the population decrease is related to the land use changes that have gradually taken place since 1970. According to the interviewees,

⁵ Facilities: considers uses of a cultural, educational, religious, health, social assistance, supply, public safety, administration and management, sports and leisure, and social organization nature.

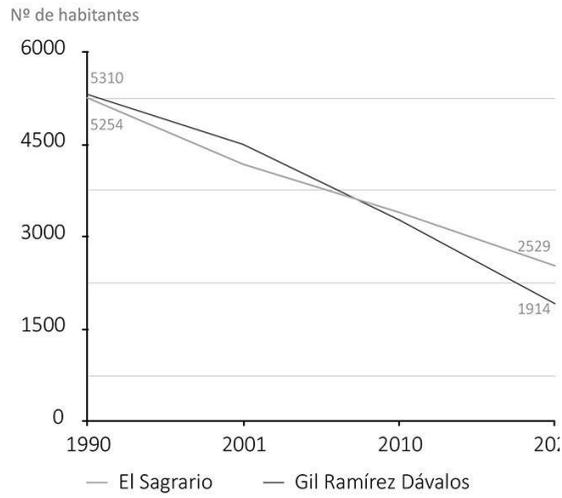


Figure 4. Population decrease at an area level (1990-2020). Source: Preparation by the authors based on the INEC Database.

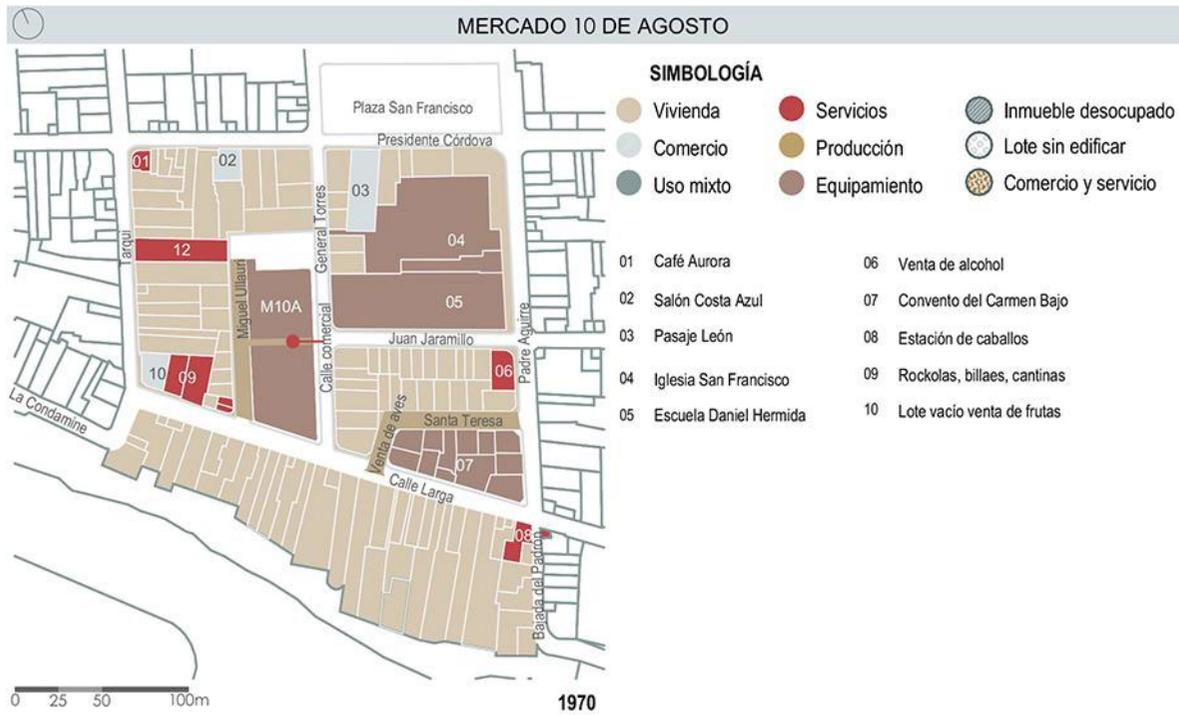


Figure 5. Land use, 1970. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

"10 DE AGOSTO" MARKET				
Land use	2010		2020	
	%	m2	%	m2
Housing	4.87	2,140.18	3.35	1,443.07
Commercial	7.58	3,329.31	29.27	12,605.20
Mixed use	50.38	22,126.30	39.32	16,927.12
Services (financial, food, professionals, and tourism)	7.54	3,312.19	6.76	2,912.15
Production	0.0	0	0.00	0
Facilities	23.88	10,489.71	18.67	8,041.62
Unoccupied property	5.75	2,523.20	2.63	1,132.79
Unbuilt lots	0,0	0	0.00	0.00
TOTAL	100	43,920.89	100	43,061.95

Table 2. Comparison in the percentages of land use (2010-2020). Source: Preparation by the Authors using the World Heritage City project (2015).

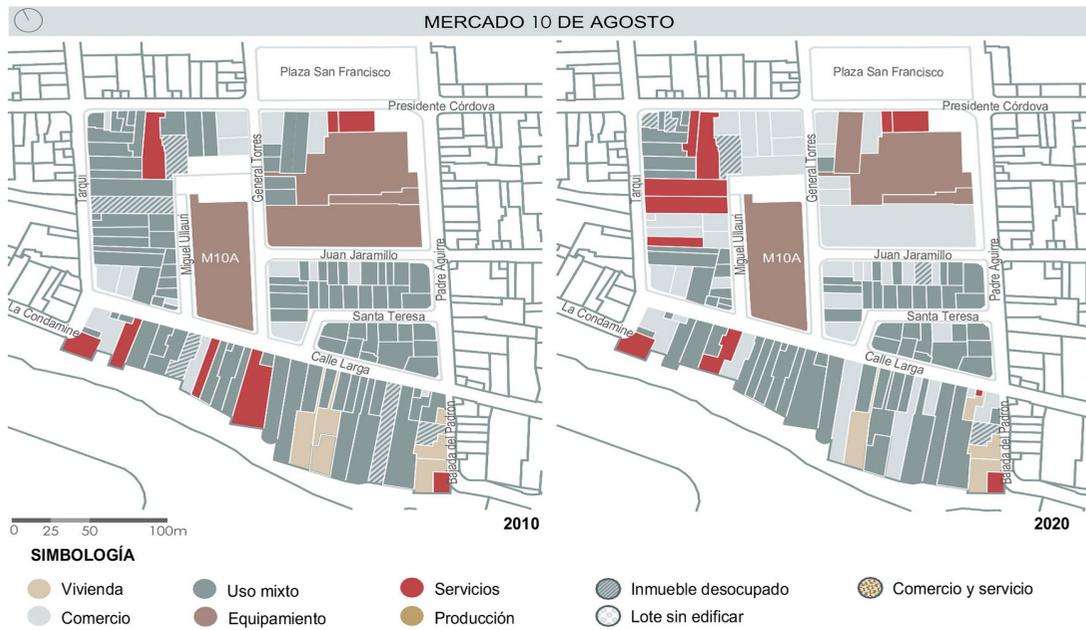


Figure 6. Land use 2010-2020. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

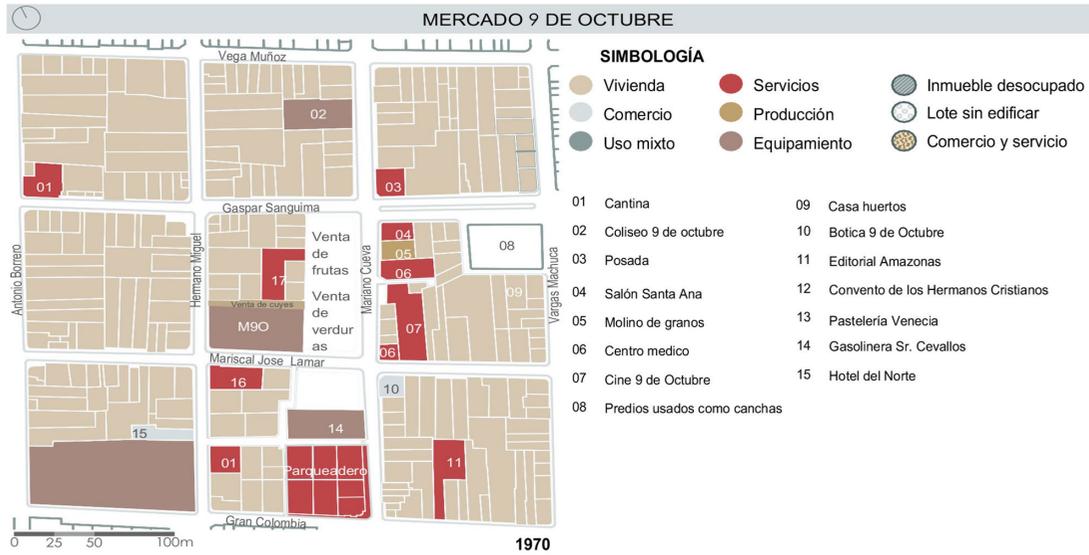


Figure 7. Land uses in 1970. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

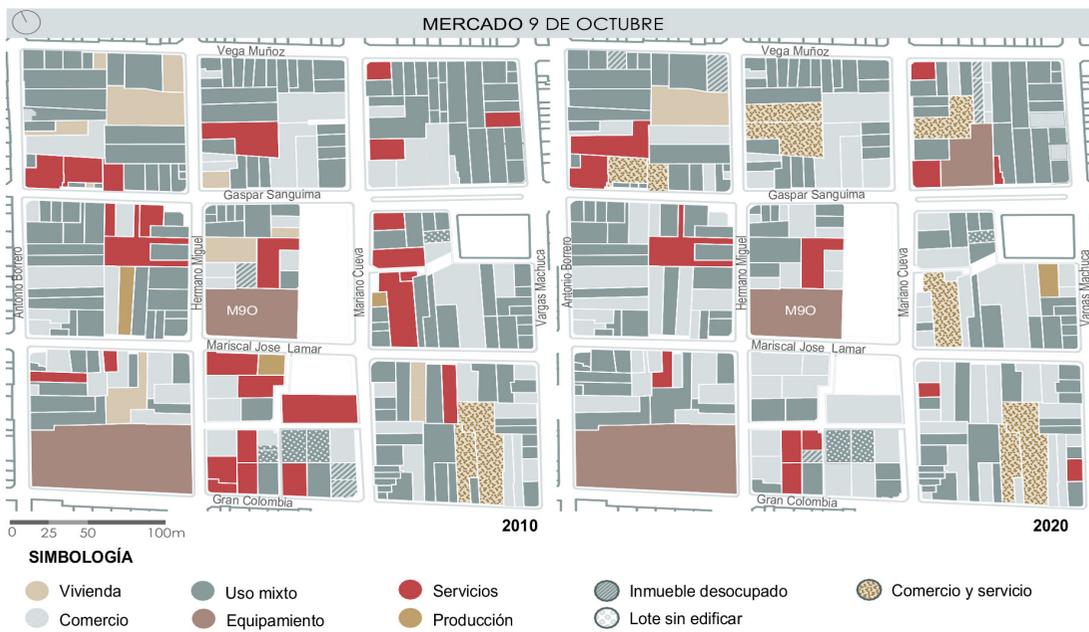


Figure 8. Land use – 2010-2020. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

"9 DE OCTUBRE" MARKET				
Land use	2010		2020	
	%	m2	%	m2
Housing	5.11	4,435.11	1.63	1,374.08
Commercial	25.11	21,807.31	39.18	33,129.16
Mixed use	44.32	38,488.79	39.96	33,787.80
Services (financial, food, professionals, and tourism)	13.91	12,076.17	6.30	5,330.99
Production	1.00	871.67	0.39	327.30
Facilities	8.44	7,326.33	10.22	8,634.15
Unoccupied property	0.81	699.18	1.19	1,009.13
Unbuilt lots	1.30	1,134.60	1.13	959.23
TOTAL	100	86,839.16	100	84,551.84

Table 3. Comparison of land use percentages (2010-2020). Source: Preparation by the Authors.

"9 DE OCTUBRE" MARKET			
Users	Rural Parish	Urban Parish	Tourists
Low Middle (C-)	9.68%	6.45%	3.23%
Middle (C+)	19.35%	32.26%	12.90%
High Middle (B)	3.23%	3.23%	6.45%
High (A)	0.00%	0.00%	3.23%
"10 DE AGOSTO" MARKET			
Users	Rural Parish	Urban Parish	Tourists
Low Middle (C-)	3.03%	6.06%	0.00%
Middle (C+)	12.12%	30.30%	6.06%
High Middle (B)	0.00%	3.03%	33.33%
High (A)	0.00%	0.00%	6.06%

Table 4. Socioeconomic level of the users of the markets. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

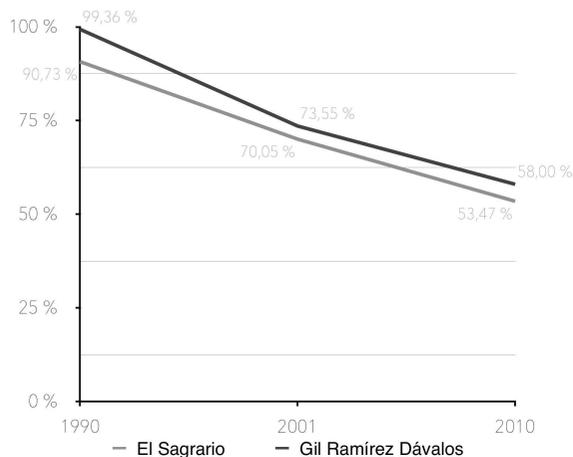


Figure 9. Poverty at an area level (1990-2010). Source: Preparation by the authors based on the INEC Database.

residential use dominated the area around M10A at that time, as can be seen in Figure 5.

On the other hand, in the last decade (Figure 6) a 1.52% decrease in housing, an 11.08% fall in mixed use, and a 21.69% rise in commercial use are seen, as shown in Table 2. These changes are perceived by the inhabitants, as some of those interviewed state that: "you'll see, it's practically a commercial street" (B.D.)

A similar panorama is also seen around M9O. Up until 1970, housing, traditional stores, and places for the inhabitants of the sector to meet prevailed. These uses have been mapped in Figure 7.

In the surroundings of this market, in the 2010-2020 period, commercial use has increased by 14.07%, showing a reduction in residential use (Table 3). These data are confirmed by several of the interviewees who, for example, comment that "this position has been consolidated on being more than a residential neighborhood, rather a commercial one" (M.C.), as shown in Figure 8.

A predominance of mixed used is seen in both cases, although many of the properties that preserve their infrastructure have been converted into stores and warehouses. These changes of land use are a consequence of the commercial dynamic arisen in the immediate surroundings of the facilities in question.

In particular, in the "9 de Octubre" neighborhood, the creation of the market with the same name led to a notorious increase in the commercial activity of the sector, leading to inter-provincial transport companies setting up around it, along with hotels and hostels (Illustrious Municipality of Cuenca, 2009). As the years

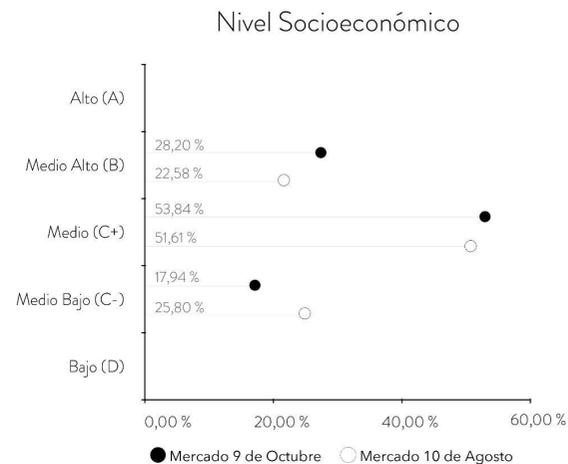


Figure 10. Socioeconomic level of the inhabitants at a block level. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

have gone by, these places have become brothels, leading to the proliferation of prostitution, a problem that persists today and that affects habitability conditions, as some of the inhabitants commented: "what you see now is full of sales, trash, full of junkies, drunks and all that" (R.M.) Likewise, the surveys show that 71.79% of the inhabitants and 63.33% of the consumers, both domestic and foreign, consider that the safety conditions must be improved in the sector.

Alongside this, in the surroundings of M10A, around 50 years ago, bars led to an insecure feeling in the area, which today has triggered conflicts like drug addiction, alcoholism, environmental contamination, and a high level of traffic. Despite the interventions made in the sector, there is discontent among the residents, like H. R. confirms: "the neighborhood is ugly, neglected, dirty [...] people are looking for quieter places to live, away from so much noise, traffic, that are safer [...], here there's drugs, alcoholism [...]; there's no space to meet up". In this aspect, the surveys revealed that 57.58% of the consumers, and 67.74% of the inhabitants, consider that insalubrity is the main conflict in this case study.

Socioeconomic dimension

Regarding the socioeconomic level, the analysis of the data showed that, at an area level, in the El Sagrario parish (M9O), the number of homes from 1990 to 2010 has fallen 58.00%, while in Gil Ramírez Dávalos (M10A), vulnerable homes have fallen 53.47%, as can be seen in Figure 9.

As was explained above, in the section dedicated to methodology, regarding vulnerable homes in the blocks around M9O and M10A, from 2001 to 2010, a fall of 5.23% and 27.05% respectively, is seen.

The surveys showed that more than half the inhabitants are from the middle class (C+), while no inhabitants are part of the high socioeconomic level (A), as shown in Figure 10.

On the other hand, the study shows that M10A has a greater flow of tourists and people from the urban parishes, compared with M9O, where the percentage of tourists is lower. Regarding the socioeconomic level, these tourists belong to the high (A) class, unlike the local consumers, who are from the middle (C+) and low middle (C-) classes (Table 4).

landscape, which has resulted in a city that has become attractive for cultural tourism (Cabrera & Bernal, 2020).

Changes like the incorporation of the Cuenca Tram System, and the pedestrianization of the streets around M9O, caused problems for the inhabitants and the closure of some businesses. However, the neighborhood representative considered this as an opportunity for the reactivation of trade through tourism, which is why a possible touristification of the sector is foreseen.

VI. DISCUSSION

From the analysis made to M9O (El Sagrario) and M10A (Gil Ramírez Dávalos), the impact that this type of facility generates on its surroundings could be seen, confirming the theory that markets are elements that do not work in isolation from their context, but that rather have an integrated relationship with the space (Zazo & López, 2018). From this perspective, it is also corroborated that the changes in land use, mainly from the increase in commercial activity, alongside the main conflicts (unhealthiness and insecurity) present in the facilities and their surroundings, have led to the gradual displacement of the inhabitants of both areas of Cuenca.

The aforementioned European and Latin American research projects show that the interventions were mainly focused on satisfying the needs of users with a greater purchasing power, unlike the remodeling projects in M9O and M10A, which were done under inclusive policies that have sought to guarantee the permanence of the popular sectors in the historic hub of Cuenca (Mancero, 2011). However, the idea of attracting a greater number of users, and of improving the purchasing experience, could change the consumption patterns of these facilities, triggering commercial gentrification processes. This is what one of the market administrators implies: "We are looking for the markets to have another ambiance, that the purchasing experience is different, that the citizen feels it is a safe place [...] we have all the facilities to become just another Shopping Center or Mall **6**" (F.G.)

There are places in the immediate surroundings of the case studies that have gone through physical-spatial transformations (Table 1) which, as has been mentioned, affect the living conditions of the inhabitants. In addition, on being located in the historic heritage area, these transformations have had a touristic approach. In this sense, there are studies in the city of Cuenca that confirm that the interventions have been done to improve the urban historic

Finally, the results obtained regarding the socioeconomic level of the sectors show that, in both case studies, the number of vulnerable homes has considerably dropped between 1990 and 2010. This has happened, in part, due to the implementation of housing projects that have exclusively targeted people with a higher purchasing power, alongside the large number of tourists who visit the markets, who come from higher socioeconomic levels than those of the local consumers (users). In this way, the start of gentrification and touristification processes is evidenced.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of markets in their historic contexts, and on the results obtained in this research, the importance of understanding social transformation processes like gentrification, touristification, and commercial gentrification from a multiscale perspective is undeniable. This can favor taking actions to face the significant changes around these facilities, from the urban transformation processes that involve the eviction of the original population. In fact, the research presented here reveals that the demographic changes in the immediate surroundings of M9O and M10A are directly related to the increase of commercial activity, and the main conflicts associated to these popular shops (insecurity, unhealthiness, informal trade).

In this way, the great problem seen in these case studies, which has become the fundamental trigger of the social transformations, has been left clear. Although urban transformations seeking to re-qualify the markets and their surroundings have taken place, under inclusive policies that do not clear the vulnerable sectors, these projects have focused on promoting commercial uses that benefit tourism, privileging the high-income socioeconomic classes.

This scenario reflects the close ties there are between the supply centers and their surroundings. The markets analyzed, on being located in the historic heritage hub of

Cuenca, are facing a setting that is undergoing gentrification and touristification processes that could lead to social transformations within these facilities, the opposite of the cases studied in the international context, where the market triggered these processes in their surroundings.

Ultimately, after seeing the social transformations caused by the urban changes in the markets and their surroundings, it is advisable to reevaluate and analyze the approach of projects that seek to revitalize popular commercial hubs and their adjoining areas, initiatives that, due to their commercial and economic nature, have displaced the traditional inhabitants and jeopardized the immaterial heritage these traditional supply centers embody.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

ARQA 2018. *El Nogal – ARQA*. Recuperado de <https://arqa.com/arquitectura/el-nogal.html>

Arquitectura Panamericana (25 de enero de 2018). Revitalización urbana Plaza Rotary. <http://www.arquitecturapanamericana.com/revitalizacion-urbana-plaza-rotary/>

Arquitectura Panamericana (27 de febrero de 2018). Rehabilitación del Mercado 9 de Octubre. Recuperado de <http://www.arquitecturapanamericana.com/rehabilitacion-del-mercado-9-de-octubre/>

Boldrini, P. L. y Malizia, M. (2014). Procesos de gentrificación y contragentrificación: Los mercados de Abasto y del Norte en el Gran San Miguel de Tucumán (noroeste argentino). *Revista INVI*, 29(81), 157-191. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-83582014000200005>

Boris Albornoz-Arquitectura (s.f.). Bajada del Padrón. Recuperado de <https://www.borisalbornoz.com/bajada-del-padron/>

Cabrera, N. y Bernal, E. (2020). Turismo, patrimonio urbano y justicia social. El caso de Cuenca (Ecuador). *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense*, 40(1), 11.

Cimas, R. (2015). *Metodologías participativas. Sociopraxis para la creatividad social*. Madrid: Dextra Editorial.

Consejo de Seguridad Ciudadana Cuenca (2017). *Cuenca en cifras 2017*. Recuperado de <http://csc.gob.ec/CSCWeb/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Bolet%C3%ADn-Cuenca-en-Cifras-2017.pdf>

Cordero, L. y Salinas, A. (2017). Gentrificación comercial. Espacios escenificados y el modelo de los mercados gourmet. *Revista de Urbanismo*, (37), 1-12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5354/0717-5051.2017.45735>

Delgadillo, V. (2010). Aburguesamiento de barrios centrales, un proceso en expansión y mutación. *Economía, Sociedad y Territorio*, 10(34), 835-846.

Delgadillo, V. (2016). La disputa por los mercados de La Merced. *Alteridades*, 26(51), 57-69.

Domínguez Aguilar, M. (2017). Las dimensiones espaciales de la segregación residencial en la ciudad de Mérida, Yucatán, a principios del siglo XXI. *Península*, 12(1), 147-188. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pnsla.2017.01.007>

Guevara, T. (2015). Abordajes teóricos sobre las transformaciones sociales, económicas y territoriales en las ciudades latinoamericanas contemporáneas. *EURE* (Santiago), 41(124), 5-24. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612015000400001>

Hernández, F. (2014). Abordaje teórico de la renovación urbana como proceso de transformación en la estructura urbana. Aplicación en el casco histórico de la ciudad de Mendoza, Argentina. *Cardinalis*, (2), 49-69. Recuperado de <https://revistas.psi.unc.edu.ar/index.php/cardinal/article/view/7381/8469>

Hernández Cordero, A. (2017). Los mercados públicos: espacios urbanos en disputa. Iztapalapa. *Revista de ciencias sociales y humanidades*, 38(83), 165-186. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.28928/revistaiztapalapa/832017/aot2/hernandezcorderoa>

Ilustre Municipalidad de Cuenca (2009). *Mercado, barrio y ciudad: historia de "La Nueve"*. Cuenca: Municipalidad de Cuenca.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos [INEC] (2011). Encuesta de Estratificación del Nivel Socioeconómico. Recuperado de <https://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/encuesta-de-estratificacion-del-nivel-socioeconomico>

Junta de Andalucía (2007). *Guía de arquitectura Cuenca*. Recuperado de http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/fomentoyvivienda/estaticas/sites/consejeria/areas/arquitectura/fomento/guias_arquitectura/adjuntos_ga/Cuenca_e.pdf

Lacarrière, M. (2016). "Mercados tradicionales" en los procesos de gentrificación/recualificación. Consensos, disputas y conflictos. *Alteridades*, 26(51), 29-41. Recuperado de http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0188-70172016000100029&lng=es&nrm=iso

Mancero, M. (2011). *Nobles y cholos: la disputa sobre un proyecto hegemónico regional. Cuenca 1995-2005*. Tesis de doctorado. FLACSO, Quito, Ecuador.

Medina Luque, F. X. (2013). Mercados y espacio público: transformación y renegociación de nuevas demandas urbanas: análisis comparativo de casos (Barcelona, Budapest, Buenos Aires). Zainak. *Cuadernos de Antropología-Etnografía*, (36), 183-200. Recuperado de <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5677663>

Rebollo, Ó. (2012). La transformación social urbana: La acción comunitaria en la ciudad globalizada. *Gestión y política pública*, 21(SPE), 159-186. Recuperado de http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1405-10792012000300005

Salinas Arreortúa, L. (2016). Transformación de mercados municipales de Madrid: De espacio de consumo a espacio de esparcimiento. *Revista INVI*, 31(86), 179-201. Recuperado de <http://revistainvi.uchile.cl/index.php/INVI/article/view/983/1222>

Triviño Rodríguez, M. I. (2010). Transformaciones urbanas en el Parkway del barrio La Soledad. *Revista de Arquitectura*, 12(1), 28-37. Recuperado de <http://hdl.handle.net/10983/14972>

Zazo, A. y López, M. (2018). El hábitat sustentable de los mercados urbanos históricos. Aplicación del concepto al mercado central de Concepción, Chile. *Revista Hábitat Sustentable*, 8(2), 8-19. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22320/07190700.2018.08.02.01>