30
STREET VENDORS

Kate Swanson

Introduction

In cities across Latin America, street vendors are an ever-present part of urban life. At busy intersections, drivers receive competing sales pitches from newspaper vendors, fruit sellers, window washers, and more. In public parks and plazas, boys and men ply their trades as shoe shiners. On buses, young people pitch sad stories of both hardship and resilience in order to secure donations from captive audiences. In popular tourist districts, children sell flowers, arts, candies, and more to travellers who appear to have cash to spare. While street vendors have a long history in Latin American cities, their presence is also connected to high rates of poverty and inequality across the region. In fact, more often than not, those who work on the streets hail from the poorest *favelas* and urban *barrios*. Moreover, many are from marginalized and racialized groups, since those on the margins often have limited opportunities to get ahead in the more formalized urban economy.

In this chapter, I review current literature on the urban informal sector and street vendors in Latin America. I begin by outlining key characteristics of the urban informal sector, before exploring the lives of those who work on the streets. I then explore rising conflicts over access to public space in the region. While some cities have adopted a punitive approach to regulating city streets, other have embraced a more inclusive "right to the city" approach. I conclude by urging planners and scholars to explore alternative futures for truly inclusive Latin American cities.

The informal economy

Street commerce has a long history in Latin America. Before supermarkets and shopping malls took hold, urban shoppers purchased the majority of their perishable goods and petty commodities in public markets, or from *ambulantes* – mobile street vendors carrying their supplies in hand. This form of commerce isn't unique to Latin America. In fact, around the world street vendors and public markets have long been the urban norm. For instance, in Victorian-era London, street commerce was a regular feature of everyday life, as evocatively captured in the writings of Charles Dickens. As cities in industrialized nations developed, street commerce gradually lost ground to formal markets as city planners worked to modernize and regulate public spaces.

In poorer nations where gaps between the rich and poor remain high, street commerce remains a regular feature of urban life. In the 1970s scholars adopted a new term to describe this unregulated form of entrepreneurial capitalism. The International Labour Organization (ILO) popularized the term "informal economy" to describe an unregulated labour sector operating outside the control of the state. Work in the urban informal economy was characterized as small-scale and family-based, with low entry barriers in terms of skill, capital, and organization (Portes and Haller, 2005). While the informal economy describes work that operates outside of waged, formal labour (such as microenterprises, small unregulated industries, as well as more hidden forms of labour including domestic work, day labourers, illegal trade, among others), the most visible manifestation of the urban informal sector is the ubiquitous street vendor.

Many perceive the urban informal sector in a largely negative light and as a sector in need of municipal and state regulation. Some argue that it as a form of underemployment where workers lack labour protections and are at risk of exploitation (ILO, 2018). Others argue that the informal sector presents an income-earning alternative for the poor in an otherwise over-regulated state economy (de Soto, 1989). Feminist scholars have argued that the urban informal sector offers women the freedom to combine entrepreneurial work with childcare responsibilities. As self-employed labourers, women can bring their young children with them to their place of work, particularly if they work on the streets or in public markets (Swanson, 2010). It also gives women a chance to earn much needed income and gain more power in both their households and communities (Hays-Mitchell, 1999; Radcliffe, 1999). In a region shaped by profound racial hierarchies, the urban informal sector also offers income-earning opportunities for racialized groups, including Indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants. Given high levels of racism barring entry into the formal market economy, street commerce is often one of the most viable options for marginalized workers (Swanson, 2013).

Today, estimates suggest that close to 50% of Latin Americans participate in the informal labour economy. Participation rates are highest in Central America. For instance, informal labour participation rates in both Guatemala and Honduras are above 70% (Gonzalez, 2015). Perhaps not surprisingly, these nations also have some of the highest inequality indices in the region (World Bank, 2018). In these regions, the informal economy remains the norm and the vast majority of day-to-day business transactions pass under the radar of state and municipal regulations. Yet, while the unregulated informal and regulated formal sector are often constructed in opposition to one another, in reality these sectors are much more fluid. As noted by Goldstein (2016: 21), there is "perpetual slippage between the formal and the informal" as workers and consumers move between so-called "under the table" opportunities and those subject to taxation and regulation.

Street workers

Many of those who work on the streets are first or second generation rural migrants. This is especially the case in nations with high Indigenous populations, such as Bolivia, Ecuador, and Guatemala. As described elsewhere (see Rutternburgh, Enríquez, and Page, this volume), in the 1980s much of Latin America underwent profound change through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). Across the region, nations accepted IMF financial aid in exchange for sweeping cuts to education, social spending, health care, infrastructure, agricultural subsidies, and removal of trade barriers. While this increased wealth for some, many experienced rising inequality and declining opportunities. Small-scale rural farmers were no exception. A shift to export-led agriculture, rising competition from outside markets, and an increasingly cash-driven consumer economy meant that small-scale farmers began struggling to make ends meet (Popke

and Torres, 2013). As a result, many were forced to migrate to cities in order to find income, most often in the informal sector. In the city, they joined thousands of other new migrants, many of whom began building makeshift homes in the urban periphery. As a result, barrios and favelas swelled as former rural dwellers sought better opportunities in rapidly growing cities (Davis, 2006). This resulted in a dramatic rural-urban shift: in 1960, 50% of Latin America's population lived in cities (Fay, 2005). Today, 75% of Latin Americans live in cities (Carr, Lopez, and Bilsborrow, 2009), making it the most urbanized region in the developing world (UN, 2016).

These mass rural-urban migrations are complicated by regional racial-spatial divides. Much of the region is dominated by the ideology of *mestizaje*, which assumes historical racial mixing of Spaniards, Africans, and Indigenous peoples (Wade, 2002). However, mestizaje is not only about physical whiteness, but also about discursive whiteness. This ideology encourages individuals to gradually evolve from "primitive" Indianness into more "civilized" states of being – states that eventually become incompatible with Indigenous ways (Bonnett, 2000; de la Cadena, 2000). According to dominant geographical imaginaries, Indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants are perceived to belong in "traditional" rural spaces, whereas white-*mestizos* are associated with "modern" urban spaces (Radcliffe and Westwood, 1996; Rahier, 1998). Whites and Indians are, in fact, often constructed in an oppositional binary; modernity and urban progress are associated with whiteness whereas backwardness and rural decay are associated with Indianness (Swanson, 2007a). In Mexico City, Martinez speaks to middle-class racialized anxieties concerning street vendors in the historical centre. She argues that the "specter of the Indian" permeates depictions of urban street vendors as "amoral, menacing, backward, and incommensurable others" (Martinez, 2016: 541). Moreover, they are perceived as a threat to urban renewal and a cosmopolitan modernity. These types of imaginaries are further informed by a long-standing hygienic discourse that is used to legitimize efforts to sanitize and cleanse public spaces of undesirable elements, particularly Indigenous and Afro-descendant bodies (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998).

Malena's story is perhaps typical of many street vendors. She grew up in a Quichua-speaking village in the high Andes. In the 1990s, many from her village began migrating to the city in search of better opportunities. Since the profits from agriculture were so low, they required a source of income to pay for education, buy goods, and help pull their families out of extreme poverty. Malena began working on the streets of Quito at the age of seven. She would make the six-hour trip to the city on weekends and school holidays to earn income for her family. By the age of 14 (when I first met her), Malena spent many of her days both begging and selling candies to tourists and locals. These were hard days, where she endured rejection and condescending remarks from urban residents who would say things such as, "go get a job," or "get off the streets" (Swanson, 2010). At the age of 19, Malena's mother died, leaving her to care full time for her three younger siblings, the youngest of whom was only four. While she managed to find work for several years in an Indigenous-run microlending cooperative, by age 28, she was back on the streets again. This time, she moved to the city permanently in the hopes of making ends meet. With only a 6th grade education and few marketable skills, employment options for women like Malena remain limited. Yet, she was acutely aware of the injustices of her situation. Even as a teenager, she was astounded and angered by the profound wealth disparities in the city. She spoke to the racism she experienced and expressed a deep cynicism regarding municipal efforts to "clean up" the city and push street vendors back to their villages. And no matter how hard Malena worked and strove to get ahead, it was very difficult for her to improve her lot in life.

Across Latin America, stories like Malena's are replicated en masse. As cities grow, the poor continue to seek out better opportunities wherever they can. In fact, transnational migration is on the rise within the continent, as residents struggle to find work to support their families. For instance, deeply entrenched poverty exacerbated by a series of environmental disasters

has recently pushed thousands of Haitians to build new lives in Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. Life for the urban poor can be gruelling as they struggle to make ends meet amidst vast social and structural inequalities. Geographers and other academics have documented the life and struggles of street vendors and informal sector workers throughout the region (Bromley and Mackie, 2009a; Crossa, 2009; Davis, 2013; Donovan, 2008; Galvis, 2014; Mackie, Swanson, and Goode, 2017; Müller, 2016; Parizeau, 2015; Steel, 2012). Others have also focused explicitly on the lives of children on the streets (Aitken et al., 2006; Aufseeser, 2018; Bromley and Mackie, 2009b; Swanson, 2007b). Children and young people are involved in many types of work, but more visible activities include: shining shoes, guarding cars, working in markets, begging, and selling candies, handicrafts, flowers, and other small goods. Because they work on the streets, they are often perceived as "street children," regardless of their situations. Yet, young people have a range of experiences and connections to the streets. Much like the artificial boundary created between the formal and informal sector, children often live much more fluid lives. Some work on the streets after school and return home each night; some live on the streets full time; others move between these categories depending upon their situations regarding work, home, and school. In Ecuador, I came to know a lively and very capable nine-year-old Indigenous boy who divided his time attending school in the mornings and selling candies and begging from tourists in the afternoons. At the end of the day, he'd return to his family's rented apartment for the night. He maintained his school and work schedule mostly independently, despite his young age.

There are numerous misconceptions regarding those who work on the streets. Women are often perceived as "bad mothers" who are exploiting their innocent children. Able-bodied men are particularly maligned on the streets, which may be why day labour construction work is often a more attractive option for men (Swanson, 2007b). While there are certainly exploitative situations on the streets, the reality is that most people working on the streets are merely trying to improve their situations – even children. In an ideal world, young children wouldn't have to work on the streets; however, the reality is that many need cash income in order to survive in an otherwise unequal world.

The right to the city

As rising precarity pushed increasing numbers of street vendors onto the streets and plazas of Latin America's cities, middle class and elite anxieties regarding rising urban disorder began to grow (Becker and Muller, 2013; Martinez, 2016). Urban image has become more and more important around the world, as urban planners struggle to enhance their city's global competitiveness and attract international investment. In the industrialized north, New York City's urban revitalization project of the late 1980s and early 1990s became widely cited as a successful model for urban change. Led by then Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Police Commissioner William Bratton, New York City embarked upon a zero tolerance campaign to tackle so-called quality of life crimes, which included: squeegee windshield cleaners, panhandling, street artists, street vendors, among others (Smith, 1996). According to Mayor Giuliani, these street-based activities were indicative of "a city out of control" (Smith, 1998: 3). Zero tolerance policing quickly caught on and began to spread around the world as a way to improve the urban image, attract financial investment, and increase tourism (Mitchell, 2011; Smith, 2002). Since the 1990s, Giuliani and Bratton have been hired as crime and security consultants, or cited as the inspiration for policing strategies in nations across Latin American, including: Mexico (Becker and Müller, 2013; Crossa, 2009; Davis, 2013; Mountz and Curran, 2009), Brazil (Goode, Swanson, and Aiken, 2013; Wacquant, 2003), Ecuador (Swanson, 2007a), Peru (Aufseeser, 2018), Venezuela (Andrews

and Bratton, 2008), Chile (DePalma, 2002), Argentina (Dammert and Malone, 2006), Honduras (Rodgers, Muggah, and Stevenson, 2009), El Salvador (Hume, 2007; LaSusa, 2015; Zilberg, 2007), Guatemala (Rodgers, Muggah, and Stevenson, 2009), and the Dominican Republic (Howard, 2009), to name a few (Swanson, 2013).

For street vendors, this has been bad news. In Ecuador, for instance, Mayor Jaime Nebot of Guayaquil hired Bratton as a crime and security consultant in 2002. While Bratton suggested an overhaul of the city's anti-crime strategies, the policing reforms were minimal, perhaps due to lack of funds, political will, or both. Instead, much of the effort focused on pushing street vendors out of the key tourist districts, thus worsening their ability to earn income. In Mexico City, the municipality set out to "rescue" the historical centre from street vendors, by turning it into a gentrified middle-class neighbourhood (Becker and Müller, 2013; Crossa, 2009; Davis, 2013; Martinez, 2016; Mountz and Curran, 2009). In this instance, Mexican billionaire Carlos Slim contracted Giuliani Partners at a price of $4.3 million dollars. Yet, as Mountz and Curran (2009) astutely note, what Giuliani brought to Mexico City was the illusion of control, rather than real change. The removal of street vendors did little to drop crime rates, but did succeed in increasing property values. In Brazil, Rio de Janeiro contracted Giuliani Partners to help the city prepare for the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. Thereafter they implemented a strategy called *Choque de Ordem*, or Shock of Order, which targeted street vendors, pamphleteers, and other urban informal sector workers for removal. According to a spokesperson for the Department of Public Order, raids on street vendors were designed to "combat visual pollution" (Soifer, 2009), which was perceived as a catalyst for public insecurity and crime (Forte, 2011). Yet, while cleansing the streets of "visual pollution," Shock of Order policing ended up pushing the urban poor into ever more precarious positions. Activists resoundingly criticized the municipality for pursuing hygienist urban cleansing policies, which the municipality fervently denied (Schmidt and Robaina, 2017).

These examples are merely three instances reflective of larger efforts to implement zero tolerance – also known as *mano dura*, or iron fist policing – throughout the region (see also Rodgers, this volume). Social organizations and street vendor federations have actively fought against these crackdowns; moreover, the effectiveness of these policies has been widely disputed. As in Rio de Janeiro, some argue that these approaches are merely state-sanctioned social cleansing policies designed to create "safer feeling" public spaces and attract global capital investment (Swanson, 2013). Meanwhile, the lives and well-being of the city's urban poor are made more difficult as they struggle to make ends meet within the context of rising inequality, displacement, and marginality.

Yet, not every Latin American city has embraced this punitive approach. In fact, some cities have explicitly adopted a "right to the city" approach. According to Harvey, the right to the city is a collective cry for an alternative urban life. He states that everyone has the right to the city, including the dispossessed – who have the "right to change the world, to change life, and to reinvent the city more after their hearts' desire" (Harvey, 2012: 25). Some municipalities and nations have adopted this approach in their municipal policies and even their national constitutions. Bogotá, for instance, has been heralded as a progressive model for modern cities (Beckett and Godoy, 2010). Over the last 20 years, city administrators have emphasized the right to the city approach in an effort to promote more inclusionary urban space (Galvis, 2014). Rather than criminalize street vendors, Bogotá chose to work with the urban poor to provide job training and alternative employment options. In other words, marginalized groups were targets of inclusive social policies, rather than exclusionary and punitive ones. Moreover, municipal planners worked to re-envision and re-invest in the city's social and educational infrastructure in order to build a more inclusive urban citizenship (Beckett and Godoy, 2010).

Ecuador has also embraced the Right to the City discourse. In 2008, the nation revised its constitution under President Rafael Correa. Article 31 is especially progressive. It states:

> Persons have the right to fully enjoy the city and its public spaces, on the basis of principles of sustainability, social justice, respect for different urban cultures and a balance between the urban and rural sectors. Exercising the right to the city is based on the democratic management of the city, with respect to the social and environmental function of property and the city and with the full exercise of citizenship.
>
> *(Republic of Ecuador, 2008)*

Constitutional changes also prevent authorities from permanently seizing street vendors' commercial goods, thus granting them some legal protection (Art. 329). Yet, several years earlier, many of Quito's street vendors had already been cleared from the city's historical centre in an effort to "recover" public space (Kingsman, 2006; Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007a). This sector remains off limits to street vendors, and those who violate this rule are subject to substantial fines (Garcia, 2017). Much like in Mexico City, this cleansing of the historical centre has resulted in rising property values and gentrification (Burgos-Vigna, 2017). It would seem that despite constitutional change, not everyone has an equal right to the city.

Although politicians might embrace progressive policies, implementation is often a different story. In Bogotá, for instance, Galvis (2014, 2017) argues that the city's inclusionary policies are merely rhetoric masking ongoing exclusion. In fact, he argues that while Bogotá is often heralded as a model city for progressive urbanism, street vendors, sex workers, and homeless populations continue to experience harassment and exclusion in public spaces. He states, "other ways of mobilizing urban life as a means to promote urban equality must be judged not in terms of their abstract embrace of equality, but rather on the way they treat those whose lives and livelihoods depend on realizing their right to circulate in and appropriate public space" (Galvis, 2017: 97). He argues that ongoing exclusion in Bogotá is based upon long-standing social, racial, and class hierarchies that continue to marginalize the city's poor. Galvis' work in Bogota brings into question debates regarding more supportive and possibly post-revanchist urban policies that purport to embrace inclusion, rather than exclusion (DeVerteuil, 2012; Mackie, Swanson, and Goode, 2017). While policies may be intentionally progressive, exclusion will continue as long as social, racial, and class hierarchies remain intact.

Future directions

Given the long history of street vending in Latin America and the fact that it is a practice that is deeply entrenched in regional norms and practices, it will be especially difficult to eliminate in the long run, despite the wishes of municipal planners and developers. Moreover, street vending is often a strategy reserved for the poorest and most destitute of workers. Many are first- or second-generation migrants, who have been forced from their lands – or even countries – in an effort to improve their socio-economic situations. As stated by a street vendor in Quito, "Each vendor has a backstory, whether we're Ecuadorian or from another country. What we're looking for is a way to get ahead honestly, but we need authorities to support us, rather than persecute us" (Merizalde, 2017). While perhaps stating the obvious, recognizing street vending as a survival strategy rather than a criminal offence would help encourage municipalities to develop viable strategies to both aid street workers and enhance urban development. Yet, inequality remains a fundamental problem throughout the Americas. And as inequality continues to rise, more and more workers are pushed onto the streets, given limited other options.

While perhaps a monumental task, states must address ongoing and rampant inequality in the region. Given a choice, many of those working in the urban informal sector would prefer to find employment in more stable and less precarious positions. Moreover, we must take Galvis' critiques seriously. While cities may adopt inclusionary policies, how are those policies enacted in practice? How do these policies affect the lives of the city's urban poor? Do policies allow residents to envision alternative urban futures that truly provide a right to city for all? Providing a universal right to the city is a laudable goal, yet notoriously difficult to enact. As stated by Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juárez (2014: 381), "Given judicial precedents, one can conclude that selling on the streets is no less than a right that any citizen may exercise in a public space." Nevertheless, policies and practices don't always align, particularly in the context of the most marginalized urban residents.

References

Aitken, S., López Estrada, S., Jennings, J., and Aguirre, L. M. (2006) Reproducing life and labor: Global processes and working children in Tijuana, Mexico. *Childhood* 13: 365–387.

Andrews, W. and Bratton, W. (2008) Crime and politics in Caracas. *City Journal* 18(4). www.city-journal.org/html/crime-and-politics-caracas-13133.html (Accessed 10 January 2018).

Aufseeser, D. (2018) Challenging conceptions of young people as urban blight: Street children and youth's ambiguous relationship with urban revitalization in Lima, Peru. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 50(2): 310–326.

Becker, A. and Müller, M. M. (2013) The securitization of urban space and the "rescue" of downtown Mexico City: Vision and practice. *Latin American Perspectives* 40: 77–94.

Beckett, K. and Godoy, A. (2010) A tale of two cities: A comparative analysis of quality of life initiatives in New York and Bogotá. *Urban Studies* 47: 277–301.

Bonnett, A. (2000) *White Identities: Historical and International Perspectives*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Bromley, R. and Mackie, P. (2009a) Displacement and the new spaces for informal trade in the Latin American city centre. *Urban Studies* 46: 1485–1506.

———. (2009b) Child experiences as street traders in Peru: Contributing to a reappraisal for working children. *Children's Geographies* 7: 141–158.

Burgos-Vigna, D. (2017) Quito, a world heritage city or a city to live in? Right to the city and right to heritage in the 'Good Living State'. *City* 21(5): 550–567.

Carr, D., Lopez, A. C. and Bilsborrow, R. (2009) The population, agriculture, and environment nexus in Latin America: Country-level evidence from the latter half of the 20th century. *Population and Environment* 30: 222–246.

Colloredo-Mansfeld, R. (1998) "Dirty Indians", radical indígenas, and the political economy of social difference in modern Ecuador. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17: 185–205.

Crossa, V. (2009) Resisting the entrepreneurial city: Street vendors' struggles in Mexico City's historic center. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33: 43–63.

Dammert, L. and Malone, M. F. T. (2006) Does it take a village? Policing strategies and fear of crime in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society* 48: 27–51.

Davis, D. (2013) Zero tolerance policing, stealth real estate development, and the transformation of public space: Evidence from Mexico City. *Latin American Perspectives* 40: 53–76.

Davis, M. (2006) *Planet of Slums*. New York: Verso.

DeVerteuil, G. (2012) Does the punitive need the supportive? A sympathetic critique of current grammars of urban injustice. *Antipode* 46: 874–893.

Donovan, M. G. (2008) Informal cities and the contestation of public space: The case of Bogotá's street vendors, 1988–2003. *Urban Studies* 45: 29–51.

de la Cadena M. (2000) *Indigenous Mestizos. The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru 1919–1991*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

DePalma, A. (2002) The Americas court a group that changed New York. *The New York Times*, 11 November.

de Soto, H. (1989) *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. New York: Harper & Row.

Fay, M. (2005) (ed) *The Urban Poor in Latin America*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Forte, J. (2011) UOP Shock and Order in Ipanema. *The Rio Times*, 27 December.
Galvis, J. P. (2014) Remaking equality. Community governance and the politics of exclusion in Bogotá's public spaces. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38: 1458–1475.
———. (2017) Planning for urban life: Equality, order, and exclusion in Bogotá's lively public spaces. *Journal of Latin American Geography* 16: 83–105.
Garcia, A. (2017) Los informales se concentran en 20 sectores de Quito. *El Comercio*, 18 de junio. www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/comercioinformal-control-quito-sectores-ventas.html (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Goldstein, D. M. (2016) *Owners of the Sidewalk: Security and Survival in the Informal City*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Gonzalez, E. (2015) Weekly chart: Latin America's informal economy. *Americas Society/Council of the Americas*. 2 April. www.as-coa.org/articles/weekly-chart-latin-americas-informal-economy (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Goode, R. J., Swanson, K. and Aiken, S. C. (2013) From God to men: Media and the turbulent fight for Rio's favelas. In G. H. Curti, J. Craine and S. Aitken (eds) *The Fight to Stay Put: Social Lessons Through Media Imaginings of Urban Transformation and Change*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 161–180.
Harvey, D. (2012) *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. New York: Verso.
Hays-Mitchell, M. (1999) From survivor to entrepreneur: Gendered dimensions of microenterprise development in Peru. *Environment and Planning A* 31: 251–71.
Howard, D. (2009) Urban violence, crime and the threat to 'democratic security' in the Dominican Republic. In D. McGregor, D. Barker and D. Dodman (eds) *Global Change and Caribbean Vulnerability: Environment, Economy and Society at Risk*. Kingston: University of West Indies Press, pp. 298–316.
Hume, M. (2007) Mano Dura: El Salvador responds to gangs. *Development in Practice* 17: 739–751.
International Labour Organization (ILO). (2018) *Informal Economy*. www.ilo.org/global/topics/employment-promotion/informal-economy/lang – en/index.htm (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Kingsman, G. E. (2006) *La Ciudad y los Otros, Quito 1860–1940: Higienismo, Ornato y Policía*. Quito: FLACSO-Universidad Rovira e Virgili.
LaSusa, M. (2015) Guiliani in Rio. *NACLA*. 26 October. https://nacla.org/news/2015/10/26/giuliani-rio (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Mackie, P., Swanson, K. and Goode, R. (2017) Reclaiming space: Street trading and revanchism in Latin America. In A. Brown (ed) *Rebel Streets, Informal Economies and the Law*. London: Routledge, pp. 63–76.
Martinez, A. L. (2016) "You cannot be here": The urban poor and the specter of the Indian in neoliberal Mexico City. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 21: 539–559.
Meneses-Reyes, R. and Caballero-Juárez, J. A. (2014) The right to work on the street: Public space and constitutional rights. *Planning Theory* 13(4): 370–386.
Merizalde, M. B. (2017) El control a la informalidad en Quito rebasa a los policías municipales. *El Comercio*. 16 June. www.elcomercio.com/actualidad/control-ventas-informales-policia-metropolitana.html (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Middleton, A. (2003) Informal traders and planner in the regeneration of historic city centres: The case of Quito, Ecuador. *Progress in Planning* 59: 71–123.
Mitchell, K. (2011) Zero tolerance, imperialism, dispossession. *ACME* 10: 293–312.
Mountz, A. and Curran, W. (2009) Policing in drag: Giuliani goes global with the illusion of control. *Geoforum* 40: 1033–1040.
Müller, M. M. (2016) *The Punitive City: Privatised Policing and Protection in Neoliberal Mexico*. London: Zed Books.
Parizeau, K. (2015) Re-Representing the city: Waste and public space in Buenos Aires, Argentina in the late 2000s. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 47: 284–99.
Popke, J. and Torres, R. M. (2013) Neoliberalization, transnational migration, and the varied landscape of economic subjectivity in the Totonacapan region of Veracruz. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103: 211–229.
Portes, A. and Haller, W. (2005) The informal economy. In N. J. Smelser and R. Swedberg (eds) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, 2nd Ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 403–427.
Radcliffe, S. (1999) Latina labour: Restructuring of work and renegotiations of gender relations in contemporary Latin America. *Environment and Planning A* 31: 196–208.
——— and Westwood, S. (1996) *Remaking the Nation: Place, Identity and Politics in Latin America*. London: Routledge.

Rahier, J. M. (1998) Blackness, the racial/spatial order, migrations, and Miss Ecuador 1995–1996. *American Anthropologist* 100: 421–430.
Republic of Ecuador. (2008) *Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador*. English translation from Political Database of the Americas. http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/english08.html (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Rodgers, D., Muggah, R. and Stevenson, C. (2009) *Gangs of Central America: Causes, costs, and interventions*. Small Arms Survey, Occasional Paper 23.
Schmidt, K. and Medeiros Robaina, I. M. (2017) Beyond removal: Critically engaging in research on geographies of homelessness in the city of Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of Latin American Geography* 16: 93–116.
Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.
———. (1998) Giuliani time: The revanchist 1990s. *Social Text* 57: 1–20.
———. (2002) New globalism, new urbanism: Gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode* 34: 428–450.
Soifer, R. (2009) Rowdy Rio's mayor tries Giuliani's get-tough tactics. *McClatchy Newspapers*, 27 April.
Steel, G. (2012) Whose paradise? Itinerant street vendors' individual and collective practices of political agency in the tourist street of Cusco, Peru. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(5): 1007–1021.
Swanson, K. (2007a) Revanchist urbanism heads south: The regulation of indigenous beggars and street vendors in Ecuador. *Antipode* 39: 708–728.
———. (2007b) "Bad mothers" and "delinquent children": Unravelling anti-begging rhetoric in the Ecuadorian Andes. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 14: 703–720.
———. (2010) *Begging as a Path to Progress: Indigenous Women and Children and the Struggle for Ecuador's Urban Spaces*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
———. (2013) Zero tolerance in Latin America: Punitive paradox in urban policy mobilities. *Urban Geography* 34: 972–988.
United Nations. (2016) *The World's Cities in 2016*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, Data Booklet (ST/ESA/ SER.A/392). www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/urbanization/the_worlds_cities_in_2016_data_booklet.pdf (Accessed 8 January 2018).
Wacquant, L. (2003) Toward a dictatorship over the poor? Notes on the penalization of poverty in Brazil. *Punishment and Society* 5: 197–205.
Wade, P. (2002) *Race, Nature and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Sterling: Pluto Press.
World Bank. (2018) *Gini Index (World Bank estimate)*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?end=2011&start=2011&view=map (Accessed 9 January 2018).
Zilberg, E. (2007) Refugee gang youth: Zero tolerance and the security state in contemporary U.S.-Salvadoran Relations. In S. Alladi Venkatesh and R. Kassimir (eds) *Youth, Globalization, and the Law*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 61–89.