THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF FOOD: THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE TRADITIONAL FOOD MARKET IN ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

Rapid transformation in the food retail supply system, accompanied by rational economic efficiency, has marginalized the role that traditional markets play in the UK food distribution system. Yet these markets survive, some even thrive, implying that traditional food markets cannot be defined simply in terms of their distribution function. Traditional food markets are part of the surrounding food retail environment and whether they survive or thrive is dependent on wider economic and societal dynamics and change. This thesis links the micro-level activities of traditional food market exchange with how food systems, power structures and consumption practices interact and transform each other over time and space at the macro-level.

The research provides the first detailed assessment of traditional food markets in England and examines their contemporary role in fresh food provisioning. The thesis proposes a cultural economy framework that examines how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the internal and external spaces and places that support the everyday economic processes and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange. The research employs a mixed methods approach with three inter-related phases. First, the construction of a database of UK food markets identified 1,124 traditional food markets operating in the UK and the empirical analysis, using geo-coded data and more detailed location quotient (LQ) analysis, mapped the geographies and concentrations of traditional food markets and their links with wholesale markets and farmers' markets. Second, data drawn from an email questionnaire survey with traditional food market managers examined the effects of retail restructuring and changing fresh food shopping habits on these markets. In the third and final phase, detailed analysis from case study research in two contrasting traditional food markets, in the North East and Eastern regions of England, examined how the market as place significantly shapes the distributive processes and practices of buying and selling that transform fresh food into the 'market product', and also explored the reciprocal relations between the economic and the cultural and between value(s) and exchange.

The research findings provide new insights into the traditional food retail sector. The database and email survey analysis reveal how market geographies have been affected by regulatory, economic and cultural change and demonstrate how market and place are entwined in a relationship that has adapted to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning. Detailed case study analysis reveals *how* traditional markets are intimately linked with the regions and cities where they are located and how different geographies, histories and approaches to food and farming have moulded the relationship between market and fresh food over time. Although the overall economic value of fresh food sold on traditional markets is reduced in real terms, its symbolic value as 'the market product' is not. Historically and culturally, the traditional market may be considered part of a 'traditional' food system that aimed to provide fresh and affordable food to all, but the contemporary market is a different place. The findings reveal a marketplace frequently articulated through parallel fresh food trading and shopping experiences at the supermarket and the farmers' market and informed by practical and local knowledge systems. Knowledge systems help define food-provisioning expertise in the traditional food system and the value put on fresh produce depends on both economic and less tangible factors bound up with cultural and moral understandings. How fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value by market actors' everyday practices demonstrates a 'sliding scale' of moral and monetised values as fresh food takes on cultural form. The value(s) assigned to fresh food traded on the market fundamentally shape how it performs in the contemporary context and ultimately determine whether its role in fresh food provisioning declines, survives or thrives.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed . .....

Date 28 January 2012

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFN	Alternative food network
ANT	Actor network theory
CSA	Commodity systems analysis
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
FARMA	National Farmers' Retail and Markets' Association
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FM	Farmers' market
GCC	Global commodity chain
GIS	Geographic information system
GOR	Government Office Region
GPN	Global production network
GVC	Global value chain
LQ	Location quotient analysis
NABMA	National Association of British Market Authorities
NMTF	National Market Traders' Federation
SOP	Systems of provision
TNC	Trans-national corporation

Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Rapid transformation in the food retail supply system, accompanied by rational economic efficiency, has marginalized the role that traditional markets play in the UK food distribution system (see for e.g. Rhodes, 2005, Watson and Studdert, 2006). Yet these markets survive, some even thrive, implying that traditional food markets cannot be defined simply in terms of their distribution function.

The very nature of food's production and consumption (i.e. the fact that it is uniquely essential to human life and is often perishable) means that it differs fundamentally from other commodities (Freidberg, 2004). New agri-food, retail and consumption geographies have emerged to capture interpretations and approaches to rapid transformations in the food retail supply system and the interest in the cultural processes that shape it. For example, there is a body of work on how sectoral standards and codes to guarantee safety have influenced governance of food commodity chains at every level (see for e.g. Fearne and Hughes, 2000, Reardon and Hopkins, 2006). Other work recognises the importance of the interplay between various institutions that regulate flows of goods and services, including the state, the supermarket, neighbourhoods and families (see for e.g. Narotzky, 2005). New 'respatialised' retail geographies have emerged, where retailers become both agents of exchange and social legitimizers (Marsden, 2000), and a further body of work focuses on the role of consumers and the cultural meanings of commodities (see for e.g. Crewe, 2003). There is also a vast literature on alternative and local food networks (see for e.g. Goodman and DuPuis, 2002, Ilbery and Maye, 2005, Kneafsey et al., 2007), including farmers' markets (notably Kirwan, 2004, 2006).

This work offers much in terms of understanding the complex socio-spatial relations that make up established and new systems of food provisioning.

However, *traditional* food provisioning has been neglected in these literatures and there has been a tendency to under-theorise how these transformations and processes have been absorbed by these particular food provisioning systems. In relation to the last point, this includes a failure to examine the place of traditional food markets in debates associated with food security (especially access to fresh and affordable food), on the affects of rapid urbanisation, and for conceptual questions that relate to quality, alterity and embeddedness. This research addresses some of these knowledge gaps. It provides the first detailed assessment of traditional food markets in England, with a particular focus on their role as providers of fresh and affordable food.

Retail restructuring has taken its toll on traditional importers, wholesalers and market traders. Freidberg (2007: 111) refers, for instance, to how the standards implemented by supermarkets to assure quality and food safety are a kind of 'imperial knowledge [...] that threatens the practical knowledge traditionally employed in the production and trade of food, and, in particular, perishable produce'. She suggests that these standards 'may undermine the very expertise, social relations and livelihoods that have historically helped to both define and provision quality food' (ibid: 322-3). Wholesale markets have been left with a declining role in food distribution in Western Europe (Cadilhon et al., 2003, Saphir, 2002, Dolan and Humphrey, 2004) and have frequently moved to the periphery of towns and cities and away from the centrally placed traditional food retail markets. De la Pradelle (2006: 1) suggests 'Market society has no need of its street or stallholder markets. It has developed other forms of distribution that better satisfy its demands for rational efficiency and profit.'

There are few published data on the traditional food market sector in the UK. Some refer to it as a 'hidden' retail sector, although recent figures reveal that there are over 1,100 traditional food markets operating in the UK with an estimated annual turnover of £3.5 billion (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009). A recent empirical survey of markets in the UK (Rhodes, 2005) found that competition from supermarkets and other retail outlets that sell food, lack of

investment and changes in food shopping habits have put many traditional markets under pressure.

Hallsworth (2010: 1261) suggests that because policy does not constantly monitor retail change in the UK, there is a lack of in-depth knowledge of the grocery retail sector and there is a danger of framing the policy agenda in a way that privileges 'economistic standpoints over more socially oriented perspectives'. For example, the findings of the Competition Commission's groceries' market investigation (2006 - 09) dispute the view that Britain's high streets are experiencing accelerating decline in small and specialist stores. In contrast, the Select Committee (CLGSC 2009) inquiry into traditional markets (discussed in Chapter 5) concludes that competition from supermarkets and other low-cost discounters *has* added to a range of factors that have left a feeling of traditional market decline. These separate investigations into the grocery and traditional food market sectors reveal the difficulties and contradictions of coherent national policy-making. When market and community rather than market and regulation are under scrutiny, there is recognition of the detrimental effect that supermarkets can have on the traditional food retail sector.

This thesis explores how food systems, power structures and consumption practices interact and transform each other. It examines these different elements in the context of traditional markets, arguing that these markets are part of the surrounding food retail environment and whether they survive or thrive is dependent on wider economic and societal dynamics and change. To make this case, the thesis develops a cultural economy approach to examine traditional food markets. By assuming that economic and cultural practices interact and transform each other, the cultural economy approach employed acknowledges that economic practices, or measures of value, such as market exchange, are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings, and *vice versa* (Freidberg, 2004). More specifically, by examining how everyday economic and cultural practices mutually construct traditional food market exchange, the thesis attempts to show how fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value

and how this is implicated in the traditional market's contemporary role in fresh food provisioning.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

The aims of this research are to provide the first detailed assessment of traditional food markets in England and to explore their contemporary role in fresh food provisioning.

These aims are supported by five objectives:

1. To review critically the academic literature on traditional food systems, retail and consumption practices, especially key concepts related to traditional food markets and their exchange processes;

2. To develop a conceptual framework to examine how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the everyday economic and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange;

3. To determine the current nature of traditional food markets in England, including their geographical distribution, patterns of concentration, size, scope and diversity;

4. To examine the relationship between market and place by grounding the research empirically in specific times and particular locations using detailed case study research; and

5. To examine how fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value(s) and how this is implicated in the traditional market's contemporary role in fresh food provisioning.

1.3 Definition of the traditional food market

For the purpose of this research, the *traditional food market* refers to covered, street and open-air markets selling fresh food. There is a need to be clear about the particular terminology adopted because these markets can be referred to in various other ways and terms are often used inter-changeably, such as retail markets, food retail markets, traditional markets and general markets. Thus a decision was taken to use a definition that captured the focus of this study, namely fresh *food* traded on *traditional* markets.

Various studies point to how traditional food markets can be located in metropolitan, urban and rural areas and can be either covered or open; detached from, or attached to, shopping centres; operate as street markets, or be centrally located in town centres (Watson and Studdert, 2006). Most operate on a weekly basis but many operate on four, five, six or seven days weekly cycles (Rhodes, 2005). These studies also draw attention to how markets have traditionally enhanced the area of the town where they are located; attracted other businesses and services; provided local food shopping for local communities; and provided a central public meeting space for these communities (FAO, 2002).

It is important to include both qualitative and quantitative aspects into a more inclusive definition of a traditional food market. Quantitative aspects are more clear-cut, with absolute points of reference including, for example, the location/type of market (public, town centre etc.) or the physical structure (market hall, shopping centre etc.). But a definition judged on these criteria alone ignores the fact that traditional food markets are valued not just for themselves, but also for cultural and other socio-economic activities and contributions that they make possible. Some of these features are less tangible / objective but are nevertheless critically important. A definition that also includes these qualitative aspects, assessing the benefits of traditional food markets outside their primary purpose as 'a concourse of buyers and sellers,' adds much more to an understanding of the role of traditional food markets in the modern retail context.

This research therefore adopts the following definition of a traditional[1] food market:

> ***A legally regulated group of traders operating in covered, open-air or street markets with a central management structure, catering for the local socio-demographic profile by providing access to affordable, fresh food on a regular basis; and, in turn, contributing to the socio-economic and cultural development of the local community.***

1.4 Thesis overview

The thesis is divided into three main parts: part one provides the contextual, conceptual and methodological elements; part two provides the empirical and analytical elements, combining national level quantitative analysis of traditional food markets and local level case study analysis; and part three provides detailed discussion of the research findings and conclusions.

Part one:

This part of the thesis comprises three chapters. *Chapter 2* examines how the cultural economy approach can be used to draw together current debates on the food commodity chain and issues related to food retailing and consumption as a way of understanding traditional food markets and their exchange processes. *Chapter 3* then extends this argument. It elaborates how markets and market exchange are theorised and presents the cultural economy approach. The framework employed by the research is explained and the reasons why it provides the best way of conceptualising and understanding the traditional food market and its exchange processes are put forward. *Chapter 4* outlines the research design and mixed methods approach adopted for this study. It explains how the research was conducted over three phases of: database collection, construction and analysis, scoping interviews and email questionnaire survey and

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[1] 'Tradition' is a contested concept and the definition adopted by this research follows Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) notion of 'invented tradition'. This suggests that traditions which appear to be old can have quite recent origins and are sometimes invented in order to establish continuity with the past or elucidate human relationships with the past. This stresses both the fluidity and socially constructed nature of tradition. It suggests that the institutional structure of markets, as they are understood in the contemporary retail setting, co-evolve with how past practices may be evoked or interpreted to legitimate (or invalidate) contemporary everyday practices by market actors.

analysis, and detailed case study research in two contrasting traditional food markets.

Part two:

This part of the thesis comprises three empirical chapters. *Chapter 5* presents analysis from the database of UK markets and the email questionnaire conducted with market managers. It 'sets the scene' by placing traditional food markets in their contemporary setting. It maps and identifies patterns of concentration at different geographical scales and presents market managers' perspectives to help examine the effects of retail restructuring and changing food shopping habits on these markets. *Chapter 6* provides the first of two substantive chapters that examine, in detail, the cultural economy of food market exchange at two case study markets (Newcastle and Cambridge). It starts to examine how market and place adapt to each other over time using research conducted on the particular case study markets. It examines the external space surrounding the market (the case study cities/towns and their regions) and the internal marketplace (market profiles, layouts and the fresh food on sale). *Chapter 7* presents the main body of the case study findings and integrates the everyday activities of traders and shoppers more fully into the analysis. It uses fresh food as a means to explore trading relationships, how fresh food is transformed into the 'market product', and how it is valued (moral and monetised) as it takes on cultural form.

Part three:

The third and final part of the thesis comprises two chapters. *Chapter 8* is the discussion chapter and draws together the findings from Chapters 5, 6 and 7. It considers how well the cultural economy framework links the findings from the micro-level activities of traditional food market exchange to the macro-level processes of market exchange arising from the baseline analysis and the related literature. It discusses how these findings add to wider debates in the academic literature and considers new perspectives that arise from the mixed methods approach. In conclusion, *Chapter 9* discusses how the research met the aims and objectives of the thesis and identifies some key findings that arise from this detailed assessment of traditional food markets in England. It identifies some limitations of the research, together with some directions for future research.

Chapter 2

EXAMINING THE TRADITIONAL FOOD MARKET

2.1. Introduction

In recent years, the traditional food market has been the subject of study across a range of academic disciplines. This work includes in-depth studies of particular markets in specific towns and cities throughout the world. For example, studies within *economics* include Kirman's (2001) work on the fish wholesale market in Marseilles, France, and Garcia-Parpet's (2008) study of the strawberry market auction in Fontaines-en-Sologne, France. *Economic history* offers, for example, Smith's (2002) study of the wholesale and retail markets in seventeenth century London, and Techouèyres (2007) study of the markets in Bordeaux, France. Work in *economic and cultural anthropology* includes studies of the fish wholesale market in Tokyo, Japan (Bestor, 2004), and the traditional weekly market in Carpentras, France (de la Pradelle, 2006). Finally, *economic and cultural geography* offers work on particular aspects of market activity and behaviour, including Watson and Studdert's (2006) study of social interaction on markets in England, Tchoukaleyska's (2009) research on food, culture and identity on markets in Montpellier, France, and Cole's (2010) topography of 'placing' alternative consumption on Borough Market, London, UK.

Historians, sociologists and anthropologists traditionally looked at retail and consumption sites that were important for the production of meaning and constitutive of identity and belonging (Fine and Leopold, 1993, Miller et al., 1998). While economists emphasised the efficiencies and structures of distribution systems within the capitalist economy (Kirman, 2001, MacKenzie et al., 2008), geographers moved from an initial focus on the economics of high profile retail sites to one which privileged cultural interpretations and included more mundane, everyday spaces (Crewe, 2000). Over the past two decades, the boundaries between political, economic and social geographies and other social sciences have been questioned and challenged. The above studies of food

markets reflect these broader trends and share a common concern - namely, that economic activities cannot be separated from systems of socio-cultural meanings and norms.

Agri-food, retail and consumption geographies have emerged to capture new interpretations and approaches to the rapid transformations in the food retail supply system and the interest in the cultural processes that shape it. The literatures have tended to theorise these changes by considering the spatial and temporal links between the economic, political, social and cultural, and the global, national, regional and local, and the relationships between institutional frameworks, economic processes and cultural practices. Food systems, types of retailing and consumption practices have received extensive examination within these literatures, but there has been a tendency to under-theorise how these systems and practices have been absorbed by *traditional* food systems, retail and consumption practices. This includes consideration of how uneven and differentiated development of spaces and places, lifestyles and identities relate to traditional food distribution and access in both urban and rural environments.

Interpretation of the term 'traditional' raises particular issues that are looked at more closely in Chapter 5. At this point, however, it is helpful to refer to Ericksen (2008) who compares some features of 'traditional' and 'modern' food systems, as shown in Table 1.1 This interpretation emphasises the difference in spatial scale, the numbers of actors involved and the types of food and retail outlets involved in each of these systems.

Table 1.1: Comparing 'traditional' and 'modern' food systems

Food system feature	*'Traditional' food systems*	*'Modern' food systems*
Supply chain:	Short, local	Long, with many nodes
Food production system:	Diverse, varied productivity	Few crops predominate: intensive high inputs
Typical food consumed:	Basic staples	Processed food with brand name
Purchased food bought from:	Small, local shop or market	Large supermarket chains
Influential scale:	Local to national	National to global

Adapted from Ericksen (2008: 235)

This descriptive comparison offers a useful starting point. It could be contested, however, that Ericksen's interpretation does not present the whole story. Traditional food supply systems can also be seen as provisioning fresh food sourced globally, nationally and locally, suggesting that the distinction is more complex than implied in Table 1.1 (see for e.g. Freidberg, 2004, Cadilhon et al., 2006). In addition, Everts and Jackson's (2009) discussion of modernisation and the practices of contemporary food shopping questions both academic and colloquial notions of 'traditional', preferring to use the term 'pre-modern'. They suggest that the contrast between 'modern' and 'premodern' retail forms is 'a discursive construction rather than a simple description of historical changes in consumer practices' (ibid: 918) because '(c)onsumption practices vary not just over time and space but also at the same time and in the same place' (ibid: 921). In other words, references to 'traditional' food shopping need to be seen within the contemporary world, rather than as a linear, historical shift.

This chapter, and the thesis more generally, argues that the concept of the cultural economy provides a useful 'umbrella' for pulling together debates within the agri-food, retail and consumption literatures on food production, distribution and consumption and, more specifically, as a means to explore issues related to traditional food retailing on markets. Cultural economy analysis assumes that economic practices are not merely 'embedded' in social and cultural contexts, but that the economic and cultural are mutually constitutive over time and place. Over the past two decades, researchers have employed the cultural economy approach to provide an account of how particular sets of economic practices, categories and measures of value (for example, market exchange, gourmet food, commodity grades and standards) are informed by particular cultural meanings and representations and *vice versa* (Freidberg, 2004). Some (e.g. Amin and Thrift, 2004) argue that culture and economy are an 'ensemble' with no clear hierarchy of significance, whereas others (e.g. du Gay and Pryke, 2002) argue that a cultural economy approach does not preclude separate usage of the terms 'culture' (associated with socio-cultural conventions and norms, meaning and creativity, values and beliefs, and aesthetic practices diametrically opposed to

economic profit) and 'economy' (associated with neo-liberalism, production and exchange and where the logic of capital subsumes human agency).

At the core of these various approaches is *how* the culture/economy relationship should be both understood and conceptualised. This energy for, and interest in, 'things cultural' has two distinct aspects: firstly, there is interest in the role of cultural processes in constructing the economy (for example, consumption as cultural practice); and secondly, others consider the increasing culturalization of the economy (for example, the growth of cultural industries). Pratt (2008) comments on how both the academic and UK policy-driven agendas tend to recognise the 'cultural economy' as the economic contribution of the cultural industries, and Lorenzen et al. (2008: 598) suggest that: 'policy-makers are being drawn more and more to the cultural economy as a potential source of local as well as national economic development energies'. Yet others raise issues about the efficacy of attempting to use a cultural economy analysis. Martin and Sunley (2001), for example, raise concerns that privileging the cultural might exclude the economic, and Crewe expresses exasperation with 'the now locked-in and tired refrain of 'let's join economy and culture' (2003: 352). More recently, Ribera-Fumaz's (2009) discussion of the role of political economy in the cultural turn argues that the culture-economy articulation is a northern European 'obsession', and that cultural economy analysis could lead to neglecting relevant questions related to inequality and uneven development. This cultural political economy narration is also reflected in the work of Harvey (2006), Hudson (2008) and others.

The cultural economy approach was a response to globalization and the new economic realities accompanying the post-industrial era that began in the late 1970s. This included a search for alternative understandings of social and economic well-being outside orthodox economics. At the same time, studies of agri-food business also adopted a 'buyer-driven' rather than 'producer driven' analysis in which the spatial and temporal were actively constructed as part of the political, economic, social and cultural framework that moves food along the commodity chain. Similarly, retail and consumption studies moved from

studying single retail sites to networks of sites that connect and construct global trade, and consideration of the 'embeddedness' of political, economic and cultural processes in particular places and times that resulted in a focus on lifestyles, identities and social interaction. Lorenzen et al. (2008) point out that, although social scientists and theorists have long been concerned with these shifts in the nature and structure of economic activity and accompanying cultural outputs from the point of view of the consumer, the rapid expansion of the cultural economy has also focused attention on the supply-side aspects. This research, they argue, poses serious theoretical and empirical questions that challenge geographers' preoccupations with location, space and place. It also has implications for how a cultural economy examination of traditional food markets is framed and delineated.

How models of markets and exchange work and the connections they make between commodities, consumers and their spatial and temporal worlds are now considered, drawing on reorientations and re-connections within the agri-food, retail and consumption literatures and using the spectrum of the cultural economy approach. Section 2.2 reviews literature on food commodity chains, including retail restructuring, relevant to the places and processes of market exchange. Section 2.3 looks in more detail at how political, economic and cultural processes and practices are 'embedded' in food markets and the spatial relationships inherent in their exchange processes. Finally, Section 2.4 considers how the connections between food, consumers and their spatial and temporal worlds are portrayed through markets and their exchange processes and practices.

2.2 Food systems and market exchange

Although studying traditional markets, regional market networks and their relationships with the food distribution system was of interest to geographers long before the 'cultural turn' emerged in the 1990s, these studies of market exchange did not go beyond adding a socio-cultural dimension to studying the market's economic role. Consumables continued to be thought of as

commodities, detached from the social relations that surrounded their production and separated from the power and meaning involved in the processes of making them available (Narotzky, 2005). Re-figuring the commodity chain has therefore been an important focus for the cultural economy perspective. Amin and Thrift (2004) talk, for instance, about the 'various cultural transubstantiations of the economic' that occur along the production-consumption nexus and argue that the commodity chain allows commodities to be transferred from one market to another and, in the process, be transformed both materially and semiotically (ibid: xxv). It is therefore useful to chart the rise of the commodity chain with particular reference to the food chains that supply traditional food retail markets before going on to consider how this has been approached by cultural economy analysis.

This section on food systems and market exchange has four sub-sections that explore the various interplays between location, space and place in food commodity chains and the cultural economy. Sub-section 2.2.1 considers the more linear work on globalization and commodity chains, and sub-section 2.2.2. examines how various cultural economy approaches to food systems have extended the supply-led perspective to incorporate consumption more fully into the analysis. Sub-section 2.2.3. considers how retail restructuring has been re-spatialised within 'new retail geography', and sub-section 2.2.4. uses cultural economy analysis to demonstrate how researchers have used markets and exchange to investigate these new spatial and temporal connections.

2.2.1. Globalization and food commodity chains

As the impact of globalization on agriculture and the growth of the industrial food system became more obvious in the late-1970s and early-1980s, conceptualisations of how food systems work began to receive extensive coverage in the academic literature (e.g. McMichael, 1994, Goodman and Watts, 1997). Various political economy and postmodern analytical approaches have been used to articulate these changes, but to date there remains no real consensus on how these systems work and the outcomes of globalization appear to be

variable and case-specific (Friedland, 2004). What is clear from this work is that the very nature of food's production and consumption (i.e the fact that it is uniquely essential to human life and is often perishable) means that it differs fundamentally from other commodities (Freidberg, 2004). Theoretical frameworks thus need to include the overarching structures and frameworks of the production-consumption journey and be sensitive to its close association with its natural resource base, to the local context, including regional and local production processes, to cultural variation in consumption practices, and to the specificities of different food commodity processes (Marsden et al., 1996, Morgan et al., 2006, Challies, 2008). The notion of the commodity chain has proved a popular and enduring way of attempting to make sense of the food industry, despite the 'political contours' of the term's varied uses. It not only addresses how different sectors are organised, but also highlights the complex sets of relationships that occur within each organising sector, including how the 'micro-macro' linkages of global production processes are locally integrated (Jackson et al., 2006a, Morgan et al., 2006). Discussion of food supply chains that supply traditional food markets needs to be considered within this rapidly changing global context. For example, a handful of supermarkets now dominate grocery supply chains in most European countries (the 'big four' supermarkets in the UK controlled 76% of market share in 2009[2]), and the closed supply chains and just-in-time systems of supermarkets already pose serious threats to traditional food supply chains (Dobson et al., 2003, Ilbery et al., 2006). Insight into the complexity of these systems is important for understanding how the traditional food retail sector is being affected.

The global commodity chain (GCC) approach (Gereffi, 1994) distinguished trans-national corporation (TNC) retailers' 'buyer-driven' chains from 'producer-driven' chains by identifying the main points of leverage at the design and retail ends of the chain where innovation, reliability, product variety and quality are all regarded on a par with price (Wrigley et al., 2005). More recent

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2 http://www.defra.gov.uk/evidence/statistics/foodfarm/food/pocketstats/documents/FoodPocketbook2009.pdf [accessed 14 May, 2010].

evolutions of the GCC approach have incorporated complementary theoretical frameworks that highlight the spectrum of possible network relationships in chains (Bair, 2005). Increasingly, this has highlighted the interactions between actors in the chains and the modes of governance employed to regulate these interactions. Researchers tracing the global industrialised food chains operated by TNC retailers initially combined geographies of consumption approaches with materialist commodity chain analyses (Hughes, 2000). But more recently, there has been a bifurcation in research within the supply chain management approach. On the one hand, those working within economic geography and financial/business studies more generally have begun to use network conceptions of global production networks (GPNs) and global value chains (GVCs) as a way of articulating structure and agency, institution and context and, for value chains, a recognition of at which link in the chain profitability is maximised. Some argue GPNs offer a more sophisticated understanding of embeddedness, stressing both local and trans-local relations and the accompanying spatial renegotiation of economic and social relations in the global age (Hess, 2003, Coe et al., 2008, Hughes et al., 2008). On the other hand, those working on the dynamics of the chain within development studies have engaged with the issue of small-scale producers' involvement within global agri-food chains and have employed a purely global value chain (GVC) analysis (e.g. Ponte and Gibbon, 2005) which highlights both the complexity and the instrumentalism of local conditions as small rural producers struggle (and generally fail) to negotiate and meet the exacting standards demanded by TNC retailers (Vorley et al., 2007).

Major global restructuring in the fresh fruit and vegetable sectors, customarily the major produce sold on traditional food markets, has had impacts on all of the distribution channels supplying these markets (Dolan and Humphrey, 2004, Cadilhon et al., 2006). Competition for the fresh fruit and vegetable market remains high within the UK retail sector. The category provides the highest profit margins for supermarkets - estimated at 30 – 40%[3] – and, given the 7.7%

[3] VANDER STICHELE, M., VAN DER WAAL, S. & OLDENZIEL, J. (2006) Who reaps the fruit? Critical issues in the fresh fruit and vegetable chain (Update). Amsterdam, Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen (SOMO).

increase in sales in the UK in 2005-06, the highest rise in the last 20 years, competitive pressure for market share can only increase. As Fearne and Hughes (2000) note, fresh fruit and vegetables are described as a 'destination' category by supermarkets, meaning it is one of the few product categories for which consumers will switch stores. It is dominated by own label produce and has moved from the back to the front of stores, doubling its shelf area over the same period. The regulatory environment has also played a crucial role in the restructuring of the fresh produce supply chain. The development of sectoral standards and codes to guarantee quality and safety by both private and public bodies has influenced governance at every level (Fearne and Hughes, 2000, Reardon and Hopkins, 2006). The closed supply chains and private standards of supermarket systems behave very differently to traditional food supply chains, privileging standardisation and efficiency. In addition, supermarkets have combined branding with their marketing activities that create 'trust' and communicate value (by playing on the anxieties and desires of consumers), to gain competitive advantage over each other and traditional food retailers.

2.2.2. The cultural economy and food systems

Concurrent with this more linear work on commodity chains, human geographers, sociologists, and to some extent anthropologists, have taken a more holistic approach, emphasising the role of consumers and the cultural meanings of commodities. This has included adaptations of the commodity chain approach that includes systems of provision (SOP), food networks and commodity circuits in order to attempt more sophisticated conceptualisations of the complex relationships and interactions between actors in these chains. Interest in 'extending' the chain to include the consumer is first associated with Friedland's (1984) commodity system approach which was rooted in agricultural sociology. This was then developed by Fine and Leopold (1993) in their concept of systems of provision which aimed to incorporate consumption more effectively into the analysis of particular commodities. Although this primarily privileged the 'vertically' integrated economic and social processes involved in the production-

consumption journey, it also, importantly, acknowledged the 'horizontal' (i.e. spatial, societal and cultural) influences affecting different systems of provision, and thus also recognised the cultural meanings associated with different commodities.

At the end of the 1990s, Dixon (1999) proposed a cultural economy model for studying food systems to analyse how the production and consumption of food are interrelated. This developed Friedland's (1984) commodity systems analysis (CSA) by extending his supply-led framework to incorporate the consumption perspective more fully and drew on contemporary retail geography and cultural studies to further contextualise the processes of distribution and exchange. In doing so, she drew attention to the failure of various bodies of work that attempted to explain power in food systems at that time. These included the new political economy – which, she argued stopped short of the consumer; the sociology of consumption (Gabriel and Lang, 1995) and the concept of the moral economy (Miller, 1995) – which ignored production; and the 'new retail geography' (Wrigley and Lowe, 1996) – which privileged retail capital and retail restructuring.

Dixon (1999) saw the cultural economy as a conceptual strategy that did not replace the political economy perspective but adopted the relationships between economy, social identity and politics as its central tenet. It thus provided the means 'to illuminate the intersection of vertical and horizontal dimensions of the food system' (ibid: 157) by incorporating 'public and private sites of production, paid and unpaid work, and exchange mechanisms beyond the market' (ibid: 158), and by conceptualising the identity of the consumer as distinct from the producer but not as displacing the producer at the centre of social engagement. This acknowledgement implied that production and consumption were shaped by the systems of provision as a whole and emphasised the importance of understanding the production and organisation of consumption. By implication, she concluded, distribution and consumption need to be 'acknowledged as spheres distinguishable from production' (ibid: 158) and, by doing this, the elongated CSA can help 'to determine where the balance of power between production and

consumption lies (and) that social identities [...] are increasingly important to the politics of food systems' (ibid: 159). In her final thesis, Dixon (2000: Table 10.3, 253) argues for the cultural economy perspective to parallel Marx's three circuits of capital (production, realization and reproduction) with three circuits of culture (commercial, social and emotional).

The economic anthropologist Narotzky (2005) developed Fine and Leopold's systems of provision analysis, valuing its capacity to recognise the economic and political forces that constrain people's consumption. Narotzky (2005) argues that the most important attributes of this approach are its ability:

- to integrate many of the different aspects of people's lives (for example, the connections between when people shop and when they consume) and how 'they form the complex paths of social relations that are necessary to make goods and services available [...] and how meaning is produced along the different paths available' (ibid: 91);
- to highlight the importance of the interplay between the various institutions that regulate flows of goods and services, including the state, the traditional market, the neighbourhood, and the family; and
- to highlight the importance of historical forces that shape people's economic lives. She talks about how '(t)he complex connections and processes of differentiation in provisioning that are simultaneously material, political and cultural are a product of the intersections of regional and global histories, and of the capabilities for action that are opened or closed to different social agents' (ibid: 91).

To illustrate this, Narotzky (2005) gives an example of buying coffee and describes the possible options available to consumers – the supermarket brand, coffee from a specialist 'independent' roaster, and fair trade – and the choices associated with these options. She concludes:

> *' As consumers, our ability to select one or the other way of getting our coffee will depend on our income, outlet convenience, general information of the different options available and ideological positioning. It will depend as*

> *well on the production relations at origin, on the systems of distribution and commercialisation, the coffee market and technological innovation. These various factors will affect not just the quality, price and circulation of the object, but also its meaning for us and our willingness and ability to buy it'* (ibid: 81).

Narotzky's (2005) provisioning concept for analysing the food chain can be seen to build on Dixon's (1999) cultural economy model. Both analyses revolve around the links and relationships between actors that shape production and consumption and the institutions/ structures that support them. Both recognise the crucial importance of where power and, by implication, governance lies in the chain. These conceptualisations are also used in other academic disciplines. Within economic anthropology, for instance, Bestor (2004) uses the practices of a seafood market as a lens to 'examine the ongoing cultural construction of commodities firmly grounded amid the social institutions of modern trade' (ibid: 137) and, in human geography, Freidberg (2004) examines the relationship between culture and power in global food provisioning using a cultural economy analysis of transcontinental food trades in green beans. She argues that it is not a question of whether food supply should be local or global, produced 'organically' or 'scientifically', but a social one about who participates in food provisioning and through what kind of relationships (ibid: 31).

2.2.3 *'Re-spatialising' retail*

The overall perspective of 'new retail geography' considers economy, culture and the social as mutually constitutive, concentrating on the economic geographies of retail capital and retail restructuring, and the cultural geographies of consumption, spaces and places (Wrigley and Lowe, 2002). Conceptually, initial investigations of retail restructuring tended to privilege economic explanations of retail change over cultural interpretations; then, there was 'an anthropological turn' that privileged ethnographic approaches, participant observation and field diaries over the previous marketing and mapping approaches. There was also a shift from looking at formal urban spaces (the

supermarket, the shopping centre, the high street) to other more mundane, everyday spaces, including the street, car boot sales and charity shops, usually as more culturally derived approaches to retail (Crewe, 2000). More recently, there has been a renewed focus on the social, economic and cultural processes that result in cities being defined through consumerism and, in turn, how this redefines consumers' relationship to place (Miles, 2010). Work on the geographies of regulation has also examined how retailing, the state and consumption have become highly interactive agents, with retailers becoming both agents of exchange and social legitimizers. Marsden et al. (2000) call this 'a process of re-regulation of food provision through the development of hybrid forms of state-retailer relationships and regulatory styles' (ibid: 4), with retailers being viewed as 'gatekeepers' to the food system. All of these approaches draw on the effects of different spatial scales and corporate retail activity (particularly at the local level), and these mutually constitutive relations are an important part of the cultural/economy construct in the new retail geography.

Retail restructuring has taken its toll on traditional importers, wholesalers and market traders. Freidberg (2007) refers to how the standards implemented by supermarkets to assure quality and food safety are a kind of 'imperial knowledge [...] that threatens the practical knowledge traditionally employed in the production and trade of food, and, in particular, perishable produce' (ibid: 322). She suggests that these schemes 'may undermine the very expertise, social relations and livelihoods that have historically helped to both define and provision quality food' (ibid: 323). Wholesale markets have been left with a declining role in food distribution in Western Europe (Cadilhon et al., 2003, Dolan and Humphrey, 2004, Saphir, 2002). For example, commercial trading activities associated with the wholesale market have frequently been moved to the periphery of towns and cities and away from the centrally placed traditional food retail markets. De la Pradelle refers to how '(t)he traditional look of the market, which explains much of its success, is thus due to an amputation: everything related to modern forms of trade has been moved out' (2006:16). Similarly, Tchoukaleyska (2009) notes that the 'playful' atmosphere of the markets in Montpellier is, in part, due to the relocation of the wholesale market

to the outskirts of the city, referring to this as 'the economically powerful' part of the food supply chain, which recasts the food markets into a 'largely cultural role'. A recent empirical survey of markets in the UK (Rhodes, 2005) found that competition from supermarkets and other food retail outlets, a lack of investment and changes in food shopping habits have put many traditional markets under pressure. Others comment on the difficulties small retailers face without the obvious advantages presented by the economies of scale operated by supermarkets (Burt and Sparks, 2003, Hallsworth et al., 2006).

In France, these changes have happened more slowly because of the predominantly rural population, and legislation has given some measure of protection to small-scale retailers. However, recently, the supermarkets and hypermarkets have become more dominant. De la Pradelle (2006) sums this up when she talks about the traditional markets' marginal role in the distribution system, commenting, 'Market society[4] has no need of its street or stallholder markets. It has developed other forms of distribution that better satisfy its demands for rational efficiency and profit' (ibid: 1).

2.2.4. The cultural economy and retail restructuring

A cultural economy analysis of retail restructuring has taken place at two levels. First, researchers have considered uneven spatial development at the global level (Appadurai, 1996). Scott (1997: 324) talks about how place and culture are 'persistently intertwined', but identifies a deepening tension 'between culture that is narrowly place-bound and culture as a pattern of non-place globalized occurrences and experiences'. Others have looked beyond the 'conventional dualism' of global and local to analyse how global flows and networks affect local practices (Massey, 2007). For example, Edensor and Kothari's (2006) study of stallholders on a Mauritian market selling locally manufactured, globally branded clothing demonstrates how global processes and habits have colonised

[4] A society in which market exchange is no longer simply a process, but an all-encompassing social principle. MAUTNER, G. (2010) *Language and the market society: critical reflections on discourse and dominance,* Abingdon, Routledge.

local practices and forged connections within and beyond the immediate geographical context in this local-global retail hub. Second, others have looked at how market and place are both spatially varied and changing, as a product of ongoing cultural economic processes (Massey, 1984, Zukin, 1991). Zukin (1991: 9) puts this eloquently when she paraphrases Polanyi:

> *'Historically of course, market and place are tightly interwoven. At its origins, a market was both a literal place and a symbolic threshold, a 'socially constructed space' and 'a culturally inscribed limit' that nonetheless involved a crossing of boundaries by long distance trade and socially marginal traders. But markets were also inextricably bound up with local communities. In feudal times and beyond, local markets occupied a specific place and time [...] The denseness of interactions and the goods that were exchanged offered local communities the material and cultural means for their social reproduction – that is, their survival as communities [...](T)he social institutions of markets and place supported each other.'*

Clearly, place matters for markets, both in terms of their physical, geographical location and the internal structuring of the marketplace itself. Place, culture and economy are also highly symbiotic with one another and Bestor (2001) also suggests that it is critical for urban studies to question:

> *'the extent to which forces of globalization have altered or will alter the role of cities as central nodes in the organization of regional, national, and inter- or transnational flows of people, material, ideas, power, and the like [...]The idea of globalization is intimately linked to markets, as are cities [...]Throughout history, cities and markets have sustained each other, the former providing location, demand, and social context for the latter; the latter providing sustenance, profit, and cultural verve to the former'* (ibid: 76).

A major contribution of the cultural economy analysis of retail restructuring 'has been to show how processes of capital accumulation (and the cultural understandings and social structures which constitute them) can create surprising geographical divergences both between and within places based on the relative spatial mobility of capital over community' (James et al., 2006: 7). The debate about food deserts is one example. This is a term coined in the late 1990s by social policymakers to describe low-income neighbourhoods with poor access to fresh and affordable food which, it is argued, was the result of the rapid growth of supermarkets in out-of-town locations and the decline of local shops and traditional markets which had previously supplied food locally. In reality, the concept extends beyond how retail geography and planning affect access to healthy food and into wider debates about social exclusion and its links to poor diet and health (see Wrigley et al., 2002, Kyle and Blair, 2007, Cummins et al., 2008, Dowler, 2008). Market towns provide another example. These towns have important roles as links in the food retail market system, making the connection between rural and urban areas by providing urban services for rural populations, and opportunities for small producers to sell their produce to local shops and on local markets. These market linkages are vital for rural development and local economies, and understanding the relationships between urban and rural marketing channels is important. Making the system more efficient will facilitate economic growth and maximise the benefits to the local economy (Tracey-White, 2005). UK policy acknowledges the importance of market towns to rural economies (Defra, 2000) and the former Countryside Agency conducted a study on the role of traditional markets in revitalising market towns in 2004. The report concluded that traditional markets were generally in decline, but that they had a growing role as retail outlets for the sale of local produce and as a draw for tourists.

More recently, others have begun to focus on the challenges of urban food planning by examining the 'new food equation' (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). These 'new' food challenges are a result of the food price crisis, rapid urbanisation and food security issues which have put sustainability and food policy firmly on the planning agenda. In 2008, domestic production of fruit and

vegetables was 37% of demand. The UK produces 11% of its fresh fruit requirements, and 58% of its fresh vegetable needs (it produced 63% five years ago[5]). As a result, issues of power, governance and sustainability have been placed firmly at the centre of debate; a 'turn' away from quality and towards food security, in policy circles at least, has led to talk of a (re)-turn to neo-productivism (Maye, 2010). This new policy emphasis on food insecurity and access potentially offers opportunities for traditional food markets. The recent Cabinet Office Strategy Unit report, *Food Matters: Towards a strategy for the 21st century,* published in July 2008, whilst acknowledging the apparent decline of street markets across the UK, notes their importance as a source of 'affordable, good quality food including fresh fruit and vegetables' (para 56: 65). The report goes on to say that the success of farmers' and specialist markets and revitalised large city markets 'provide models for greater local engagement with fresh, affordable food and highlight an opportunity to modernise or develop new food retail markets' (para 57: 66), and that cities and towns can use their planning policies and food strategies to support markets as part of a sustainable food strategy.

Using a cultural economy approach, this discussion has explored how the production and consumption of food are interrelated, how global flows and networks affect local practices, and how market and place are both spatially varied and changing as a product of ongoing cultural-economic processes. Section 2.3 looks in more detail at how political, economic and cultural processes and practices are 'embedded' in food markets, and explores the spatial and temporal relationships inherent in market exchange processes.

2.3 Embeddedness and market exchange

The concept of embeddedness is widely used within the academic literature to help explain how economic activities are bound up with the social and cultural. This is generally traced back to Polanyi's (1944) work on how economic

[5] http://www.hortweek.com/news/946984/Defras-new-fruit-vegetables-task-force-aims-boost-production-consumption-UK-edible-crops/ [accessed 1 July 2010]

exchange occurs in systems based on reciprocity and where bartering is embedded in relationships that imply trust and confidence. Granovetter's (1985) subsequent articulation of embedded relations and social structures in the context of market societies has been a focus for recent academic work on personal ties within networks and, in particular, within the concept of alternative food networks (AFNs) where efforts to localise food systems have been central. AFNs can be defined as:

> *'organized flows of food products that connect people who are concerned with the morals of their consumption practices in some way with those who want a better price for their food, or who want to produce food in ways counter to the dominant (or conventional) market logic'*
> (Maye and Kirwan, 2010: 1).

In parallel, the 'quality turn' emerged in the late-1990s to reflect increased concerns about both the quality and sustainability of food and its commodity chains. It is particularly associated with quality assurance schemes and the rise of AFNs, including those that promote local and regional food products (Murdoch et al., 2000, Goodman and DuPuis, 2002, Ilbery and Maye, 2005), and it emphasises sustainable modes of production and alternative forms of distribution (Kneafsey et al., 2007). Quality is a multidimensional and contested concept, reflecting different political interests and agendas, implying it is constructed and negotiated rather than being inherent in the product (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 2000). For example, AFNs in Southern and Northern Europe have developed differently. The Southern notion of the 'terroir', or the context of production that shapes the quality attributes of produce, is different to the Northern notion, characterised by more commercial considerations (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). De la Pradelle (2006) provides a good example of this Southern tradition when she discusses how traders and customers collude in the notion of local food being sold on the traditional weekly market in Carpentras, France. The term 'freshness' and the idea of 'genuine nature' that is available and affordable for all right in the centre of the city sums up the market's ideology. However, the vast majority of produce on sale on the market in Carpentras is the same, and at the same price, as

in local shops and supermarkets. It has been purchased directly from the wholesale market in Avignon and has been grown industrially. The notion of the 'local product' is in fact highly ambiguous because it is used in one sense as designating what is made or grown locally and in another for evoking local or regional traditions. Customers want to believe that the market produce is local and the stallholders go along with this, creating meaning and inventing reputations for the food on sale.

Kirwan's (2004) interrogation of the alterity of farmers' markets explores the issue of embeddedness, introducing the notion of 'regard' as postulated by Offer (1997). Here, buyer and seller are implicated in a reciprocal relationship of approbation communicated between them, and gift exchange (which embodies the communication of that regard) where the economic gain remains important, but the personal relationships, reputations and sociability add to the satisfaction and uniqueness of the transaction (see also Lee, 2000, Sage, 2007). De la Pradelle (2006) also investigates the idea of 'the gift' on the traditional market. Her conclusions reach a slightly different emphasis. Here, the slight reduction in price negotiated between stallholder and customer is seen as 'a symbolic gift' and forges a bond between them. She concludes that the trader sets up a situation where the customer feels morally obliged to return and the customer complies, wanting to feel special and distinguished from the passing trade of other shoppers. Similarly, Shepherd's (2009) study of the Eastern Market, Washington D.C. discusses the role of bargaining as intertwined with clientalisation - i.e. the loyalty of particular clients to buy from particular traders (Geertz, 1978). In this example, bargaining is associated with 'the competitive clash of economic interest', whereas gift-giving and reciprocal exchange is seen as cementing social ties. Shepherd makes no clear distinction between these two actions of market exchange, arguing that just the act of trader and shopper speaking to each other makes 'a performative link'. He refers to this as 'pseudo-bargaining', arguing this does not undermine social relationships, but actually helps to build them. The issues of price (and bargaining) and social relations are mutually constitutive parts of market exchange and actually reinforce one another.

This section on embeddedness and market exchange has two further sub-sections that explore in more detail what is meant by 'alternative' food provisioning, how this relates to market exchange, and how political, economic and cultural processes and practices, spaces and places are 'embedded' in food markets and their exchange processes. Sub-section 2.3.1 examines the apparent dismantling of the 'alternative' and 'conventional' and global and local boundaries within food provisioning, using the framework of embeddedness and market exchange, and sub-section 2.3.2. considers how the cultural economy has addressed the moral and ethical aspects of food systems and their relationship to place.

2.3.1 Markets and 'alternative' food provisioning

The contemporary food system demonstrates contested notions of 'alternative' and the ambiguity of the relationship between AFNs and conventional food chains. Increasingly, the boundary between the two systems (if indeed one ever existed) is becoming blurred (e.g. Whatmore and Thorne, 1997, Maye et al., 2007). In addition, consumer demands are contradictory - on the one hand, expressing interest in local food associated with freshness and seasonality and, on the other, demanding global sourcing that transcends the constraints of locality and seasonality (Morgan et al, 2006). The traditional food market sector provides examples that illustrate this conceptual blurring. For example, traditional markets are within the conventional food system but can be seen operating as an 'alternative' urban or rural food system, evolving in response to market forces and changing consumer preferences, and providing an important retail source for fresh and affordable food that is both globally and locally sourced. Plattner's (1982) US study demonstrated how public markets offer an outlet for inferior quality produce not acceptable for sale in US chain stores. The market in the study acted as a 'shock absorber for the modern, vertically integrated mass-distribution produce economy' (ibid: 401). Its informal economy was seen as 'an integral, positively functional part of the formal fresh-produce industry. The market did not exist in spite of the corporate-farm chain-store industry, but in positive integration with it' (ibid: 401). Imbruce's (2006) work on Chinese food markets in New York City also illustrates this. The Chinatown

system may operate outside the industrial, corporately controlled food system with produce grown, sourced and sold in a contained system within the South East Asian communities, but it does not do so by consciously resisting the industrial system (as some AFNs do); instead, 'it is a result of new spatial arrangements made by individuals' – an alternative globalization, with businesses thriving at competitive prices (ibid: 176).

Much of the work on the relationship between AFNs and the conventional food economy focuses on the implications for rural development (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). One of the fundamental premises of AFNs is that they use the notion of quality to 're-localize' food, linking it more directly with local farming practices, the natural landscape and resources (Renting et al., 2003, Ilbery and Maye, 2005). The concept of embeddedness, therefore, is widely used within the literature to help understand '(re)-localization' processes and notions of the social, reciprocity and trust within the food system (e.g. Kneafsey, 2010). Some (e.g. Hess, 2003) warn against geographers using the concept from a distinct spatial point of view, asking 'who' is embedded in 'what', and what's so 'spatial' about it?' (ibid: 5, quoted from Pike et al., 2000). Many warn too against the binary of global/local thinking and so-called 'defensive localism', where space is constructed as 'modern' and 'dynamic', and place as 'traditional' and 'static' (Hinrichs, 2003, DuPuis and Goodman, 2005, Harris, 2010).

Goodman (2009), a sociologist working in political economy, has recently advocated a need for more critical social analysis of the associated literatures on 'alternative', 'local' and 'quality' food networks. He calls these 'alternative' networks 'fugitives' from the industrial food system. He argues that attempts to theorise them involve the same range of analyses accorded to the industrialised food sector and that these analyses have bypassed earlier workings of the commodity chain tradition, including Dixon's (1999) cultural economy approach and Fine and Leopold's (1993) systems of provision perspective. These 'new' approaches, he argues, are primarily production-centred, with consumers and consumption seen as 'appendages of the production process' (2009: 6) – they are a resurgence of archetypal commodity chain methodologies – although some

contest this critique (see for e.g. Kneafsey et al., 2007). Others raise concerns about the portrayal of embeddedness as a 'benign and inherently 'cosy' form of governance', advocating the business-led analysis of GPNs to provide a more 'realistic' portrayal of power struggles and conflict in these networks (Hess, 2008: 455). Sonnino and Marsden (2006) echo these concerns to some degree and advocate that a more effective research framework for AFNs should include the inter-relationships between the political, institutional and regulatory context in which they operate and the local/regional context that shapes them. Others advocate using a broader definition that captures all the economic, environmental, political and cultural dimensions of food networks, including the inter-relationships between nature, place, provenance and quality that differentiates local food from global commodities (e.g. Ilbery and Maye, 2008).

2.3.2 The cultural economy and 'alternative' food systems

The cultural economy approach has been used to explore the connections between morality and markets (du Gay and Pryke, 2002, Amin and Thrift, 2004) although, more recently, some have returned to using 'the moral economy' (first introduced by E.P. Thompson in 1971) as a more appropriate way of describing 'the moral dimensions of economic life' (Jackson et al., 2008: 12)[6]. This discussion has been prompted by recent work in agri-food studies on the moral and ethical aspects of food systems, particularly associated with AFNs, the quality turn and 'local' food production (e.g. Hinrichs, 2000, Maye et al., 2007, Goodman et al., 2010). For example, Sage (2007) comments, 'for too long we have diminished the importance of non-monetary dimensions of exchange and [...] we need to re-establish the moral economy of food markets' (ibid: 3). Morgan et al. (2006) explore the idea of 'soft' power within alternative food systems, using their capacity to encourage, inspire and persuade through intellectual or ethical arguments and advocate using the notion of the moral

[6] The moral economy is the study of 'how economic activities of all kinds are influenced and structured by moral dispositions and norms, and how these norms may be compromised, over-ridden or reinforced by economic pressures'. SAYER, A. (2000) Moral economy and political economy. *Studies in Political Economy,* 61, 79 - 103.

economy and its capacity to engage those involved in issues of multilevel governance.

There has been lively discussion about using embeddedness to make simplistic analyses of local (good) versus global (bad) scales of food provisioning, in terms of both 'ethical foods' and 'ethical consumption' (e.g. Goodman, 2004, Born and Purcell, 2006). Goodman et al. (2010) discuss how the 'good' and 'bad' meanings embedded in particular foods get there and how these 'differential, shifting and contextualised ethicalities of food work to make and re-make the place(s) and space(s) of food' (ibid: 1). They propose an 'ethical foodscape' as a way of conceptualising and engaging critically with the processes, politics, spaces and places of the praxis of ethical rationalities embedded and produced in and through provisioning food' (ibid., 2). A study of place and alternative consumption in Borough Market, London, conducted by Coles (2010) uses a 'cultural geographic' approach to consider how ethical consumption takes and makes place. In this analysis, the researcher considers how food sold on Borough Market is positioned as better quality, more ethical, and otherwise 'alternative' to food sold by more mainstream retailers such as supermarkets by using the dynamics of place and place-making to elaborate 'alternative' forms of consumption.

Some scholars (Jackson et al., 2008, Harris, 2010) have combined the moral economies of food with geographies of responsibility, drawing on Massey's (2004) politics of connectivity and on thinking relationally about the connections between scales (see Murdoch, 2005 for a detailed review of relational space). Bestor (2004) draws on Appadurai's (1996) insights into how exchange rates may be set between moral and monetised values as commodities take cultural form. He provides an example of how the cultural valuation of different types of fish affects their economic value and observes how these classifications also determine how people define themselves, the types of institutions they create or engage with, and the exchange relationships they participate in. He calls the seafood wholesale market a 'central chapter in this biographical narrative, where

seafood's varied character is constructed for sale and consumption.' (ibid: 128-9).

Using a cultural economy analysis, this discussion has explored how political, economic and cultural processes and practices are 'embedded' in food markets and the spatial relationships inherent in market exchange processes. Section 2.4 moves on to consider how people choose, purchase and consume food. The notion of 'everyday life' includes consumption practices, lifestyles and identities in specific settings and spatial environments, including historical shifts as well as continuities.

2.4. Everyday life

The cultural turn emphasised the complex and varied 'narratives' and 'meanings' attached to commodities, identified but not developed by the systems of provision approach (Freidberg, 2004). Theoretically, the perspectives of commodity circuits and circuits of culture (Cook and Crang, 1996, Jackson, 2002) attempted to provide more contextual understandings of these cultural meanings, including the agency of consumers. James et al (2006) posit that, '(c)ommodity consumption offers another valuable window through which to explore the constitutive entanglement and complex interweaving of cultural/economic practices' (ibid: 8). Cultural economic geographers have used consumption to examine the various acts of appropriation and transformation that are performed on commodities along the production-consumption nexus (and beyond into acts of waste and recycling); to demonstrate how appropriation of commodities differs between different social groups in different places; and to reveal how these commodities increasingly embody 'cultural signifiers, lifestyle markers, and symbolic meaning'. They conclude that, 'cultural economic geographers have shown how modern economic geographies of retail and consumption are as much about signs, symbols and identities as about 'hard' commodities' (James et al. 2006: 9). Dixon makes this point succinctly using Fantasia's (1995) work on fast food culture in France:

> *'There is a vantage point situated at the intersection of economic and cultural sociology from which we can discern ever more clearly the material dimension of culture and the non-material dimensions of goods. From this increasingly busy intersection, a recent focus on the consumption process has drawn attention to, among other things, the ways that consumption is mediated by the images, ideologies, the desires, the 'texts' that are inscribed within them, so that the consumer often consumes more (or less) than he or she bargained for' (1995: 201).*

Some suggest that consumption geographies need not always focus on 'the consumer', but rather should engage with the ways in which people, like commodities, 'slip in and out of commoditized moments' (Mansvelt, 2008: 109). Others see consumption as an essential part of everyday life in the city, reflecting economic and retail re-structuring, gentrification and changes in the social and cultural meanings of everyday life (Jayne, 2006). Some posit that there has been an 'emotional turn', which focuses on the performative, embodied and sensed acts of consumption (Whatmore, 2006). Crewe (2001), meanwhile, sees a shift in focus from the retail geographies of the 1990s that explored the consumer marketplace as a site of human agency and personal fulfilment, towards consumption as a site of political action 'through explorations into the connections between commodity culture, self identity, citizenship and political participation' (ibid: 632). This includes, for instance, Jackson's (1999) work on the ethical dimensions of commodities. Offering a more critical perspective, Goss (2004) argues that the new geography of consumption is an academic fashion, 'a manner of performance', and an expression of social distinction and that the economy is 'no more cultural than it ever was' (ibid: 371). He suggests that there is a tendency for some working in new consumption studies to reject the political economy.

More recently, the debate has moved forward. Some suggest that there has been a 'rapprochement between politics and consumer culture, symbolized by the 'citizen-consumer' (Trentmann, 2007: 147). This posits a concept of

consumerism based in a shared public domain, the erosion of identities based on the nature of work and locality, and more individualised and less class-bound consumption practices. But, as Trentmann (2007) warns, this is unlikely to represent a sharp break between cultural and economic paradigms and he identifies three gaps in current research agendas examining relationships between consumption and citizenship. The first relates to the dynamics of social relations and how changes in material culture in everyday life might 'appropriate, modulate and redirect them' (ibid: 149). The second concerns the study of behaviour, values and symbols and how they relate to the study of institutions, including regulatory regimes and national and transnational processes of governance. The third is about the links between the public and private world, including how consumption practices tie people to the larger systems of provision and how these practices shape public life. These 'gaps' are explored further in Chapter 3.

This section on everyday life follows the cultural economy analysis of James et al. (2007) that modern economic geographies of retail and consumption are as much about signs, symbols and identities as about 'hard' commodities' and has three sub-sections. Sub-section 2.4.1 examines the performative, embodied aspects of consumption and the places where this takes place. Sub-section 2.4.2. leads on from this examination of consumption spaces to the social practices of consumption and the particular act of shopping, and sub-section 2.4.3. continues this progression to consider the construction of identity and how changes in sociability, social identities and lifestyles occur in different orderings and with different characteristics in different localities.

2.4.1 Spaces of consumption

Early work on spaces of consumption focused on spectacular spaces like shopping malls and theme parks. New developments built as 'themed environments' acting as tourist destinations, including Faneuil Hall and Quincy Marketplace in Boston, privatised public space and excluded certain groups of people, making previously public activities – shopping and strolling – into

private environments that masqueraded as public space (Zukin, 2004). In the 1990s, retail geography began to explore consumption sites as sites of human agency and personal fulfilment, and scholars began to look at notions of spectacle and entertainment in more mundane sites. Gregson and Crewe (1997) examined the festival and carnivalesque aspects of the car boot sale. These performative, embodied aspects of consumption have been examined as a way of addressing emerging power relations in social interaction (Crewe, 2003). Geographers became interested in these ideas as a way of seeing social identities as performed and constructed in and through social action (Crang, 1994, Gregson and Rose, 2000, Saxena and Ilbery, 2010). Most draw on Goffman's (1959) perspective that participatory practices are demanded by specific workplaces and some individual studies of markets draw on Goffman's (1959) 'dramaturgical' tone. Bestor (2004), for example, makes sense of the wholesale marketplace by regarding its organisation as a complex institutional hierarchy of actors that 'perform to a script'. He puts Tsukiji's cast on the stage to frame the market's trade. De la Pradelle (2006) uses the same device for the traditional market and highlights the embodied and emotional pull of the market experience. She likens it to a show where stallholders perform and shoppers participate in the event. 'Stage-managing' the magic of the market world makes things desirable and, she argues, everything is done to capture and focus 'indeterminate desire' – from the open space of the stall, to the direct accessibility of the produce. Shoppers are able to touch, smell and handle unwrapped fruit and vegetables and ordinary produce becomes 'market produce'. The decision to buy the produce, or not, thus becomes an emotionally charged process and a sensory experience.

2.4.2 The everyday act of shopping

Food has been accorded a significant amount of attention by consumption geographers and from a variety of perspectives, including the effects of retail re-structuring (Clarke et al., 2006) and how these changes explicitly influenced consumer choice (Jackson et al., 2006b). This transition within retail geography to a new emphasis on shopping rather than retailing is linked to the geography of consumption and, in turn, to the construction of identity. Shopping is a complex

system for integrating people into 'worlds of goods'. For example, trading in a village marketplace gets goods to circulate from one group of people to another and, at the same time, stimulates desires for acquiring more. Shopping is the point where 'the whole economy of people, products and money comes together' (Zukin, 2004: 13).

Zukin (2004) and Bowlby (2000) consider the supermarket as the descendant of the traditional village market, although de la Pradelle (2006) takes a different perspective. She contends that the shopping experience at the street market in Carpentras is formed through the parallel experience of going to the supermarket and perceives an opposition between shopping on the market, associated with '*ambience*', and the supermarket, where people go 'to do' the shopping. How people behave on the market, and the identities they assume, are partly formed by the different use of the space. Actors coexist in the supermarket but do not really meet or interact. She interprets the commercial space of the supermarket as open to all, but considers most customers use it privately and retreat into 'their household cell'. At the market, the individual acquires the status of a civic community member where different social status is temporarily blurred and people interact within a public space which must be open and common to all, but must also be defined by specific social relations. For example, the public space of the street is reconfigured by the market; it becomes more than a space of coexistence and reinstates a 'real community' for a few hours.

Some (de la Pradelle, 2006, Techouèyres, 2007, Tchoukaleyska, 2009) liken the public space of the market space to the Greek concept of the agora (a place of debate, decision and policymaking), or as a place to 'stage' a representation of local identity. By recognizing this, people not only share a common activity but the process of market exchange also contributes to the notion of political equality among citizens. Although market behaviour might be interpreted as a series of individualised actions, these social spaces are actually governed by inherent social practices and orders. Each micro event is part of the logic of the whole, giving the market a coherence and consistency.

Shopping practices on the market are often portrayed as secondary to the enjoyment and sociability gained by visiting it. These market relations reinstate a feeling of community (for a detailed study of social interaction on markets as key sites of public space in cities see Watson and Studdert, 2006). De la Pradelle (2006) concludes that, despite the fact that markets now play a marginal role in distribution networks, 'the modern public loved those powerful moments of local life, which gave them a taste of types of social interaction, sociability, that had more or less vanished. In the cold world of market rationality, markets offered a little extra soul. They belonged to the 'symbolic' side of things' (ibid: 2). Téchoueyres (2007) comments on the fact that shoppers may have intimate conversations in the safety of the market environment where social barriers disappear and community feeling pervades. She draws attention to the citizen-consumer who has a 'moral' awareness of the collective dimension of his or her shopping practices, including its effects on the environment or in supporting local producers. Traders working on food markets may collude in the idea that doing business is a secondary concern to the entertainment and pleasure that the market evokes for shoppers; profits may appear secondary, but ultimately their skills must balance the economic alongside the social. Bestor (2004), writing in the language of economic anthropology, argues that market traders working in the fish wholesale market in Tokyo act as formalists with economic/business skills (*structure*) and also as substantivists, engaged in exchange that is both socially and culturally embedded (*agency*). For him, business success is seen as dependent on both social relationships and the institutional frameworks that sustain them.

2.4.3 Identity

Studies of consumption have tended to focus on middle-class consumption cultures, but consumption is also indicative of power structures and how the practices and processes of everyday life are constructed. Urban and rural spaces are populated by many different social groupings that produce a range of social identities. Some consider the argument that certain spaces of consumption and certain commodities can be associated with certain classes as overstated, and that

in everyday life everyday activities and people coexist, with a need to consider how changes in sociability, social identities and lifestyles occur in different orderings and with different characteristics in different localities (Appadurai, 1996, Crewe, 2000, Jayne, 2001). Others consider the implications of being marginalized and excluded in some way from being a 'normal' consumer in society. Williams et al's (2001) work on shopping, for example, considers how access to food has an economic as well as a social and cultural dimension to it. They draw on Jackson (1999), arguing that the material constraints in which consumers operate remain pertinent despite this 'new' interest in cultural meanings and norms. Access, including issues of income, age, class and gender, remains a significant issue in shaping where people shop. The use of retail space involves a complex social interaction between people, places and commodities that ultimately creates geographies of retail inclusion and exclusion.

Ashley et al. (2004) suggest that food consumption is often used to make judgements about social and cultural identity and, in her study of the Montpellier markets, Tchoukaleyska (2009) comments on how concepts of quality and 'good food' are also used to identify discourses on identity and belonging. She discusses how those who shop on the Sunday fresh produce market are asserting their 'Montpelliarian identity'. In contrast, local perceptions of the North African immigrant market were linked to racial undertones that did not reaffirm local identity but rather accentuated the marginal and displaced (see also Guthman, 2008). Others look at how consumerism in retail environments has historically been gendered, with women first being 'trivialised' and later, as their role in public life grew, becoming essential to retail growth (Glennie and Thrift, 1996). Others consider how cultural shifts 'in age and ageing relate to changing social-spatial patterns in consumption, material quality and quality of life' and how this intersects with other elements of identity (Mansvelt, 2008: 270).

Conceptions of the urban and rural are often blurred by the interdependence and inseparability of consumption as it is practised in these spaces (Mansvelt, 2008). Téchoueyres (2007) discusses how contemporary consensual attachments to markets could imply a craving for the past and idealised notions of traditional

societies. She says, 'markets retail the illusion of sociability, the pleasure of urban life on a human scale, where the crowd is friendly, in what one might call the anti-modern city' (2007: 248). The current success of Bordeaux's food markets, in particular the function they perform for social interaction, can be linked to the current development of rural tourism and farmers' markets. As the popularity of rural places as leisure destinations, second homes and increasingly as 'suburbs' of the cities, these conceptualisations are closely linked with redefinitions of local rural identity. As Bessière (1998: 21) comments, this 'reflects a cultural interest in rurality and locality in the larger society which encourages new practices, customs and social demands', and raises issues about rural tourism and culinary heritage where food is associated with the traditional, authentic and 'safe' ways of eating and with the countryside and quality (see also Saxena and Ilbery, 2010). In addition, Gibson (2010: 524) quotes Everett (2008: 337) and makes the point that tourists enjoy the sensory encounters of eating and drinking food and are able to 'internalise a place through its food'.

More recent research, concerned with urban growth, new food, finance and energy shocks, and future sustainability, has focused on the 'resilience' of place using culture and heritage as a conceptual framework (Jones and Mean, 2010) This work argues that the contestable nature of heritage 'creates a new space in which the old and the new are brought together' and that heritage conservation 'refreshes and renews culture and heritage in ways that reflect and contribute to society's values'. Heritage infrastructures can help provide the civic logic that holds places together (2010: 17). For example, Bestor (2004) talks about how the Japanese stick to 'the conceptual sense' of Japanese cuisine because it is associated with historical continuity and stability, and de la Pradelle (2006) discusses how the market context 'transfigures the merchandise', commenting, 'you remember and enjoy the product because you bought it 'from the market' (ibid: 136).

By considering aspects of everyday life, including shopping practices and everyday sociality, this section has examined how the connections between food, consumers and their spatial and temporal worlds are portrayed through markets

and their exchange processes and how the social and cultural processes of traditional markets are also embedded in broader institutional and economic structures of everyday life.

2.5 Chapter summary

The chapter has built on existing research on traditional food markets and identified market exchange, embeddedness and everyday life as central concepts to a cultural economy analysis of these markets and their economic, political, social and cultural processes and practices.

Using the cultural economy perspective to draw together current debates within the agri-food, retail and consumption literatures on the food commodity chain and issues related to traditional food retailing on markets, this chapter has investigated how the culture/economy relationship should be both understood and conceptualised. Three key points emerge from this examination:

- the cultural and economic processes and practices of market exchange are tightly interwoven;
- market and place are both spatially varied and changing as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and practices; and
- markets, and the institutional frameworks and consumption practices that support and surround them, change over time.

In sum, as Crewe (2003: 352) notes, '(a) number of different models of markets and exchange seem to be emerging which, in different ways, might help to develop our theorisation of the connections between commodities, consumers and their spatial and temporal worlds'. This thesis aims to investigate these places, processes and practices through an analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, using the journey of fresh food travelling through the traditional food market system as the means to do this. The next chapter of the thesis turns to develop a cultural economy framework to study markets as traditional food retail spaces.

Chapter 3

THE CULTURAL ECONOMY OF THE TRADITIONAL FOOD MARKET: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 examined how the cultural economy construct can be used to draw together current debates on the food commodity chain and issues related to food retailing and consumption as a way of understanding traditional food markets and their exchange processes. Chapter 3 develops some of the key aspects of the cultural economy approach reviewed in Chapter 2 that are central to this thesis. The chapter starts by presenting two cultural economy analyses of food markets (one traditional and one wholesale) as a way of 'preparing the ground' for developing a cultural economy framework for this study of traditional food markets in England.

De la Pradelle's (1995: 364) study of the traditional market in Carpentras, France, conceptualises market exchange as a 'a kind of game' where buyer and seller meet as equals in 'a distinctly separate social world confined to very precise places and times.' For her, the market is a 'fictional world', where market relations are independent of those found elsewhere in everyday life and where social hierarchy is suspended (ibid: 367). However, the market is not 'merely a show'. If people do not buy anything, the market will not exist. For de la Pradelle, the everyday activity of the market performance masks its 'backstage' operations that are a space of economic competition. In this veiled world, traders recognise the power of sociability and of 'the market product' and promote these in order to sell their produce and ensure that their businesses remain economically viable. Shoppers collude in their performance wanting to believe that the market is the place to find their 'local' identity and 'local' products.

De la Pradelle's (2006: 1) analysis of the traditional food market may mask the economic with the cultural, declaring that the economic structures 'must be kept

out of the immediate awareness of those shopping on the market', whereas Bestor (2004: xvii) considers his study of the seafood wholesale market to be a 'cultural version of institutional economics'. Bestor (2004: 12) frames his study of the Tsukiji seafood wholesale market, Tokyo, Japan, as 'a case study of institutional structure and the social and cultural embeddedness of economic life.' Individual actors and institutions socially construct the economic systems of the market through acquired social knowledge that organises their activities and attitudes. These organisational patterns and institutional arrangements create frameworks for market place activity that configure the market as a specific set of bounded interactions among actors; thus 'the logic of economic life generates changes in both cultural meanings and institutional frameworks' (ibid., 16).

These two studies, in cultural anthropology (de la Pradelle, 2006) and in economic anthropology (Bestor, 2004), respectively, provide examples of the nuances of the cultural economy approach. However, both scholars are aware of the need to avoid 'the great divide' between the economic and the cultural. Bestor (2004: 16) voices this as the 'market-as-economic-process versus market-as-social-institution' dilemma, and de la Pradelle (2006: 12) wants to avoid making a distinction between the market as a functional cog in the national distribution system and the social and cultural use people make of it. As discussed in Chapter 2, these assertions also reflect more general distinctions that take place within economic sociology and political economy theorising. The former recognises the variety of ways in which the economy is socially embedded and the latter recognises assumptions of systemic rationality and order. New discourses on embeddedness, on how the local and global are mutually constituted, and on how the past is entangled in the present have opened up the cultural and economic dynamics of contemporary markets, reinforced ideas that economic life is part of cultural life, and exposed a growing and shared conceptual approach between cultural and economic theorists. Within these theoretical 'framings', scholars in agri-food, retail and consumption geographies have attempted to capture new interpretations and approaches to the rapid transformations in the food retail supply system and the cultural processes that shape it (see Chapter 2).

Following Hinde and Dixon (2007: 416), it is suggested that cultural economy analysis studies 'the points where the economic and cultural influence, juxtapose, fuse, feedback or transform each other – where each process is better understood with conceptual and empirical reference to the other'. The conceptual framework developed in this chapter attempts to extend and deepen the contributions of de la Pradelle (1995, 2006) and Bestor (2004) in terms of how the cultural economy approach can be used to explain the practices and processes of traditional food market exchange. In doing so, it presents a means to examine how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the internal and external spaces that support the economic processes and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange.

The chapter is structured as follows. It starts with a section on how market and market exchange, as the basis on which the conceptual framework is built, are theorised in the literature and elaborates how they are conceptualised for this particular analysis. Section 3.3 employs this market/market exchange elaboration to explain the three elements of the conceptual framework: market and society, the practice of everyday life and theories of framing. The final section explains how the three constructs 'fit together' and why the framework provides a way of analysing the cultural economy of the traditional food market and its exchange practices and processes.

3.2 Market and market exchange

Investigation of how the market is conceptualised reveals inter-related debates at a range of spatial scales and within different institutional contexts. Traditionally, economists have focused empirical and conceptual attention on markets as a mechanism for allocation and exchange, whereas sociologists have historically concentrated on the study of complex organisations and on the social organisation of consumption, particularly from a network perspective. However, over the last two decades economists have moved into areas that examine the social aspects of markets and exchange, and sociologists have moved into

economics to develop alternative conceptions of markets and their exchange processes (Rauch and Hamilton, 2001).

Definitions of a 'market' are thus open to a variety of interpretations depending on the academic inflection. Examples taken from studies in economic sociology and economic and cultural anthropology demonstrate this point well. The former tend to look for definitions that avoid the abstract capital economy market/'concrete' market binary and attempt to provide generic definitions applicable to all types of markets:

- *'(M)arkets imply social spaces where repeated exchanges occur between buyers and sellers under a set of formal and informal rules governing relations between competitors, suppliers and customers ...(which) operate according to local understandings that guide trade, define what is produced and provide stability for buyers, sellers and producers. These marketplaces are dependent on governments, laws and larger cultural understandings supporting market activity'* (Fligstein and Dauter, 2007 : 18);
- Markets are '*institutions that favour the creation and production of values by organizing competition between autonomous and independent agents'* (Çaliskan and Callon, 2010: 3).

In contrast, the latter tend to use the 'Market' (the abstract perfect market of orthodox economics)/marketplace (a concourse of buyers and sellers) problematic:

- The Market is '*an abstract institution or process'* and the marketplace is '*both a specific geographical place and a localized set of social institutions, transactions, social actors, organizations, products, trade practices, and cultural meanings motivated by a wide variety of factors including, but not limited to, 'purely economic' or 'market forces''* (Bestor, 2004: 20);

- '*The tendency is to make markets, the institutional spaces in which buyers and sellers meet and engage in transactions, into mere manifestations of the Market, the abstract set of transactions occurring around a given category of goods, a geographical area, or more generally, the laws of the market economy*' (de la Pradelle, 2006: 2).

These ideas are explored further by economic geographers Berndt and Boeckler (2009, 2011). They analyse the construct of the market through a review of the literature on the geographies of exchange and circulation. Central to their conceptual thinking is not the distinction between the capitalist 'Market' (de la Pradelle, 2006: 2) and the 'concrete' imperfect market, but the fact that the interdisciplinary literature acknowledges the complexity of the overlaps between the economic, social, cultural and political processes that construct market *exchange*. As Berndt and Boeckler (2009: 536) point out: '(m)arkets do not simply fall out of thin air, but are continually produced and constructed socially with the help of actors who are interlinked in dense and extensive webs of social relations'.

Anthropology has long used cultural economy as a unit of analysis and there is an understanding of market exchange as a cultural phenomenon. In her work on market exchange, de la Pradelle (1995) draws on Polanyi et al's (1957) distinction between modern capitalist societies, where the self-regulating market rules, and traditional societies, where the exchange of goods is always 'embedded' within social relations either between individuals or groups. In doing so, she argues that a negative effect of this distinction is that within capitalist society it is no longer considered useful to study 'concrete' markets and 'isolate one aspect of the system and create one concrete site where exchange takes place in a relatively autonomous space' (de la Pradelle, 1995: 360). She goes on to say that just because the economic value of 'concrete' markets has diminished, it does not mean they are no longer of any significance. There is a need, in other words, to overcome only valuing situations with high economic stakes and low social relations.

Crewe (2000) also discusses the non-anthropological view of exchange based on narrow economistic models which miss 'the richness and messiness of the exchange process' and agrees with de la Pradelle when she says:

> '*(t)he assumption that Western 'developed' exchanges are thinner, less loaded with social meaning and less symbolic than traditional systems in part explains why issues of exchange have not been taken more seriously within consumption studies...Yet a range of studies are now confirming that contemporary exchange is seldom an 'unembedded' material commodity transaction. Rather, it is a richly symbolic activity which can have important emotional consequences quite apart from any material changes which may result'* (ibid: 284).

What the theoretical strands cited here share in common is the idea of *markets* as institutional spaces, governed by formal (and informal) rules where transactions between buyers and sellers take place, and *market exchange* as both 'a set of institutionalised economic processes conditioned in space and time' (Harvey, 2010: 3) and a series of exchange processes embedded in the social and cultural currents of everyday life (Bestor, 2004). These ideas of market and place and the economic and cultural processes of market exchange are tightly interwoven and the next section considers how this theoretical elaboration informs this conceptual framework.

3.3 The theoretical constructs

Harvey and Metcalfe (2010: 82-83) assert that market systems do not stand alone as instituted patterns of activity; they coexist with other instituted arrangements in society and 'social norms and practices [...] have a major influence on where the market boundary is drawn, as do political regulatory processes'. The conceptual framework developed for this study adopts and adapts these ideas. It uses the theoretical device of framing to conceptualise how cultural and economic processes and practices order the institutional structures and everyday practices of the market. The sub-sections below provide details of what is meant

by each of these three theoretical constructs (market and society, the practice of everyday life and framing). The chapter concludes by explaining how these three constructs 'fit together' as the overall conceptual framework for this thesis.

3.3.1. Market and society

Polanyi (1944) and Polanyi et al.'s (1957) work is often cited as a means of conceptualising how market and place and the influence of institutional transformation are interwoven. His 'double movement' offers a way of conceptualising these relationships. In this Polanyi argues that a fully market-regulated economy, dominated by the 'laws' of the market, leads to the ultimate demise of society. This 'disembedding' of markets from society, where the economy runs itself, rather than society or polity running the economy, signifies a de-coupling of culture, economy and power. Polanyi argues, however, that because the self-regulating market is historically instituted and located, rather than the product of natural or universal economic 'laws', the market, and its place within society, is historically transformed. Whilst institutional conditions are highly influential in the processes of market exchange, market systems are also based on reciprocity, with bartering embedded in relationships that imply trust and confidence. Thus, in this double shift, a re-coupling or re-embedding of market and society occurs.

The concept of 'social' embeddedness has been widely used in the AFN literature (e.g. Hinrichs, 2000, Kirwan, 2004). This prioritises the 'market-as-network' (Fligstein and Dauter, 2007) and uses embeddedness and the relational ties between actors to explain the market and its exchange processes. Although this concept has its roots in Polanyi (1944, 1957) it is more closely associated with Granovetter's (1985: 490 from Hess, 2003: 11) 'scaled down' version that stresses 'the role of concrete personal relations and structures (or 'networks') of such relations in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance'.

Actor network theory (ANT) (Callon, 1991) is associated with Granovetter's social embeddedness and some researchers have considered it one theoretical

option for conceptualising network formation (e.g. Whatmore and Thorne, 1997) and the food commodity chain (Morgan and Murdoch, 2000). Krzywoszynska (2008) posits that ANT is useful because it offers a 'set of practical guidelines' to see beneath the surface of apparently stable social systems and uncovers how the human and non-human perform together to produce social agency. Whilst ANT may offer a methodology for following the food commodity chain, its attempt to capture a multitude of 'short-lived interactions' is also one of its drawbacks. ANT is highly context dependent, with social relations arising in a constant process of enactment rather than being an '*a prioiri*' condition. It does not explain *why* networks take particular forms and only emphasises *how* they are formed (Friedland, 2001). Some (e.g. Morgan et al., 2006) suggest that ANT's strength lies in how it 'deconstructs the power of the powerful' by revealing the complexity of the countless relationships upon which their power is based. Others (Hinde and Dixon, 2007) argue, however, that cultural economy analysis has neglected theorising about power structures partly because of its reliance on ANT.

Others have critiqued Granovetter's 'reduced' version of embeddedness because it does not address the issue of how goods are valued, or their quality attributes. For example, Murdoch (2000: 16) concludes that 'the notion of embeddedness includes natural as well as social relations – quality is increasingly (re-)embedded in local contexts and natural processes'. Kirwan (2003) uses conventions theory (Salais and Storper, 1992) and a 'regard convention' (Offer, 1997) to explore this further when he examines the social construction and coordination of food quality at UK farmers' markets (FMs). He concludes that '(w)hile the rules and regulations at FMs provide the context, it is the ongoing social interaction between producers and consumers which allows for more individualised and locally contingent quality evaluation' (Kirwan, 2006: 310). This acknowledges that the commercial aspects of the farmers' market and their associated structures provide the setting for market exchange to take place, but that it is the producer and shopper who work out together how these exchange processes recognise the 'legitimation of quality' (ibid.) and ensure that the interaction is both mutually beneficial and likely to be repeated.

Critiques of ANT's theorisation on power and on how quality is addressed in theories of markets and their exchange processes have been recently addressed, in part, by Çaliskan and Callon (2010). Their concept of *marketization* acknowledges the 'multiplicity and diversity of actors [that] compete to participate in defining goods and valuing them' in the market's exchange processes (ibid: 8). This not only includes knowledge, material resources and the forms of organisation of the agencies involved in the market, but also the processes of valuation, setting the price of goods, and the calculating forces of consumption, such as fair trade movements. The notion of 'trust' continues to remain a focus in this marketization analysis and is expressed as an 'explanation of how coordination between agents is possible when uncertainty about the qualities of the products is high' (ibid.).

Others (Block, 2003, Hess, 2003, Harvey, 2010) more specifically critique how Granovetter neglects institutional conditions and the attendant influence of politics and power. In these analyses Polanyi's (1957) later work where he elaborates (with others) the influence that institutional conditions play in how embeddedness is conceptualised takes precedence, implying a recognition that market economies and societies mutually adjust to each other over time and that the market is socially constructed and governed (Hess, 2003). This is summed up well by Krippner (2001:785) when she says:

> *'every transaction, no matter how instantaneous, is social in the broader sense of the term: congealed into every market exchange is a history of struggle and contestation that has produced actors with certain understandings of themselves and the world that predispose them to exchange under a certain set of social rules and not another. In this sense, the state, culture and politics are contained in every market act; they do not variably exert their influence on some kinds of markets more than others'.*

Polanyi's concern with the market's 'place' within society and how this is 'historically transformed' informs this framework, but it requires further

unpacking. How the traditional food market is understood today undoubtedly has a historical foundation, but what is important is how it is perceived in its contemporary context. This conceptualisation, therefore, disputes a linear, historical shift and suggests a process of adaptation. The current social life of the market is not simply culturally embedded, but represents how the market has adapted to retail restructuring and changing food shopping and consumption habits over time (see Everts and Jackson, 2009).

However, the geographical *place* of each traditional food market is unique. Geography is part of each market's particular identity, and location matters, including how the contemporary marketplace is understood through the commercial pressures and cultures of the surrounding food retail landscape (Freidberg, 2004). In addition, as Hudson (2004: 465) suggests, for the economy to be performed, and for social life to be possible, there has to be a degree of permanence - a 'fixity' of form and identity. Inter-relations of spaces, circuits and flows require spaces where their stages/phases can be performed and practised. For example, the lay-out of each traditional market structures how trading takes place but also acts as a 'frame' for social activity. The 'material' space of the market may be shaped by rules and norms, but it also offers opportunities for people to resist dominant power structures through their everyday activities, such as choosing to shop for fresh food on the traditional market rather than in the supermarket (see also Miller et al., 1998). This is considered in the next sub-section.

3.3.2. The practice of everyday life

De Certeau (1984, 1998) investigates 'the 'tactical' ways in which everyday activities or 'practices'[7] are utilised by the less powerful to subvert dominant economic orders and power relations. He is interested in how consumer culture

[7] Practices consist of 'routinised forms of behaviour which are made up of a multitude of single actions [...] practices are a visible feature of everyday life and are directly observable. Every practice is a singular event but allows for generalised understandings and conclusions about the fabric of social life.' (Everts and Jackson, 2009: 919).

creeps into the social relations of everyday life and how 'identities are constructed through consumption practices, [and] goods and services are transformed through creative consumption practices' (Jayne, 2006: 100).

De Certeau's conceptualisation of the practice of everyday life pivots around two key concepts of 'strategy' and 'tactics' and this is what lends his thinking to the cultural economy approach. A 'strategy' represents the basis of political and economic rationality. It represents institutions or structures that function in circumscribed spaces from which relations are formed with others (competitors, clientèles etc.) that are exterior to this space. A 'tactic' on the other hand, has no spatial or institutional localization and has no border; it is always on the look out for new opportunities. So, for example, people may combine everyday activities, like shopping, with what de Certeau refers to as 'clever tricks', 'ways of getting away with things', referred to in Greek as *metis* – a combination of wisdom and cunning (ibid., xix).

De Certeau gives resonance to his ideas by describing how local stabilities in peoples' lives have broken-down, they no longer feel 'circumscribed' by a fixed community. The result of this is that any tactics they employ have lost their bearings in much bigger systems – in other words, people have lost their sense of identity or belonging. This does not mean, however, that they do not continue to try and resist the much bigger power structures they find themselves living within, but it is much more difficult to 'escape' the institutions of power that now operate and contain them. De Certeau is primarily concerned with how people use the spaces they live in, like the neighbourhood or the street, or spaces they visit, like the supermarket, corner shop or local market, to try to 'outwit' the systems that contain them. They do this by exerting a 'bottom-up' resistance through everyday activities, such as shopping.

The notion of the 'tactic' or *metis* as described by de Certeau's cultural theory of consumption has also been employed in work on the fresh food commodity chain. Freidberg's (2004) cultural economy analysis of fresh produce in postcolonial food commodity networks recognises that power operates through

relationships between actors in the food chain and is manifested in the 'workaday norms and practices' that move food through the system (ibid: 216). Freidberg defines *metis* as 'situated, practically acquired skills and knowledge that is needed for all kinds of activities dealing with constantly changing conditions' (ibid: 26). She employs this ideal in her analysis of the culturally-specific role that wholesale market intermediaries play in the traditional fresh produce supply chain and as she investigates, amongst other things, the threat that supermarket standards pose to this traditional practical knowledge (*metis*).

Following Freidberg (2004, 2007), the cultural economy framework adopted by this study applies these everyday practices or 'tactics' to the retailing of fresh food in an attempt to capture how the traditional food market adapts to changes in fresh food distribution, retail restructuring and changing consumption habits. In addition, following Harvey and Metcalfe (2010: 82), who suggest that social norms and practices have a major influence on 'where the market boundary is drawn', this study's theorisation uses framing to conceptualise how 'instituted arrangements create frameworks for marketplace activity' (Bestor, 2004: 16). This is considered in the next sub-section.

3.3.3 Framing the market performance

Framing provides a conceptual device that acts as a 'boundary' to contain marketplace activity or the market 'performance'. It provides a means of conceptualising the cultural and economic practices that order the institutional structures and everyday activities of the market. The concept originates with Goffman (1959, 1974) who uses a conceptual framework to elaborate face-to-face interaction as a theatrical performance where nothing is quite what it appears. This framing is closely aligned with de la Pradelle's (2006) cultural economy approach to market exchange. In Goffman's dramaturgical construct, appearances become of principal concern. For example, as market traders monitor the social setting of the market, their 'performed action(s)' involve deceptive appearances as they adapt and manipulate the impression they make on shoppers to maximise their trading advantage. However, what is important to

Goffman is that the 'audience' (the shoppers on the market) are able to believe that the traders are sincere. In this conceptualisation, the boundary of the frame is imagined as 'a fixed barrier to perception' (Goffman, 1959: 231). The performance staged on the market stall is used to conceal a 'back stage' where the economic reality of trading takes place. In this conceptualisation identities are socially constructed and trader and shopper collude in an invented version of reality where dominant 'hard' economic realities are masked by the theatre of the market's performance.

Goffman's notion of performativity and framing has been appropriated in a number of different disciplines, including economics. Callon's (1998) appropriation proposes 'a performative economic model' to demonstrate the complexity of market devices and the agencies involved. This framing is more closely aligned with Bestor's (2004) cultural economy approach to the global structures of the fish wholesale market in Tokyo. In this framing the market is stabilised temporarily by complex framing and disentangling processes. The border of the frame allows advantageous connections and disentangles those considered disadvantageous and a network of connections with the outside world is set up by the market actors (human and non-human) that is constantly renewed. Inside the frame, an everyday context, with everyday routines, is created (a theatrical stage) where 'doing' social realities involves human and non-human performing together to produce a set of relations that produce an economically-relevant performance of market exchange. This economic framing revolves around 'socio-technical assemblages', such as commodities, suppliers, retailers, customers, standards and regulations. These performances are in constant motion and, as disadvantageous connections are disentangled, the market overflows and is then re-framed. For example, disentanglings may occur if traders lose faith in the market and move on, or market customers move to another food retailer. However, the market could then be re-framed by new investment or renewed interest in buying fresh food in a 'traditional' setting that brings customers back to the market.

The cultural economy framing adopted by this study fuses Goffman's (1959, 1974) moral metaphor of the market actors' performance with Callon's (1998) performative economic model, emphasising how the reciprocal relations between culture and economy transform each other, and that the power of economic market forces can be challenged by intentional action and moral commitment (Sayer, 2000). Social norms and practices *and* political and regulatory processes affect where the internal and external market 'boundaries' are drawn around the market and its exchange processes.

The next section attempts to 'fit together' the three theoretical constructs of market and society, the practice of everyday life and framing in order to examine how the internal and external spaces and the economic and cultural practices that support traditional food market exchange as they adapt to the contemporary retail setting.

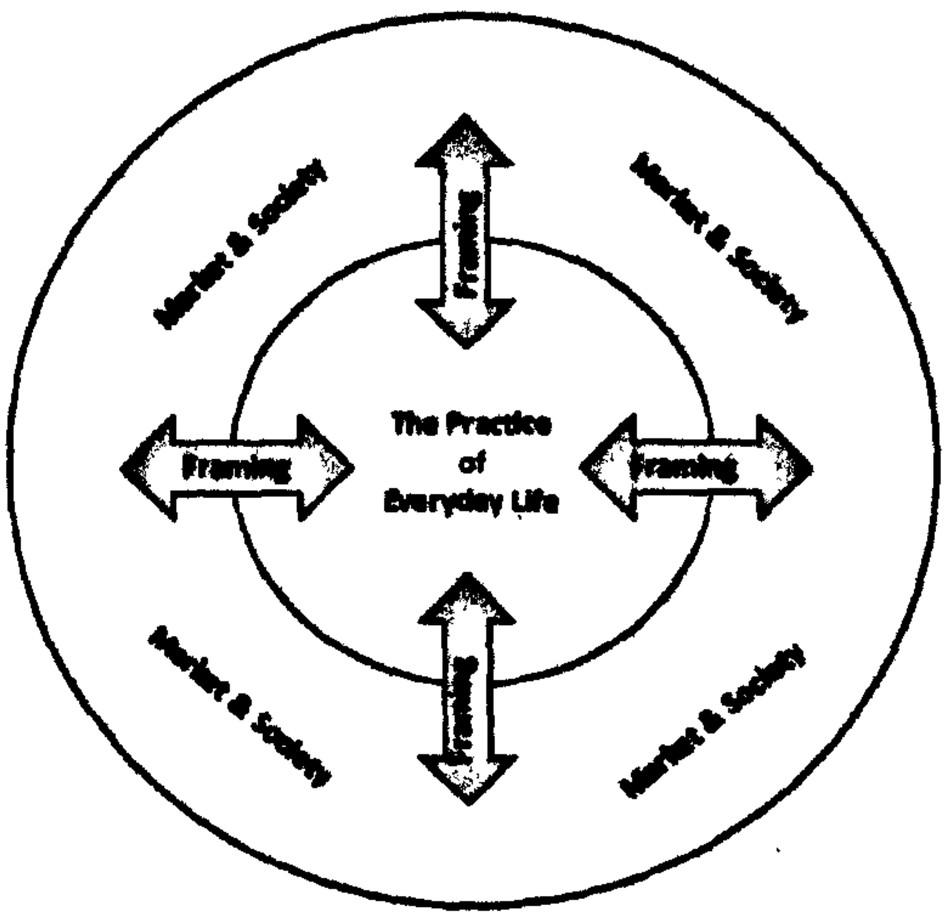
3.4. The cultural economy framework of market exchange

The thesis addresses wider questions about how food systems, power structures and consumption practices interact and transform each other over time and space; the traditional market is part of the surrounding food retail environment and whether it survives or thrives is dependent on economic and societal dynamics and change. Chapter 2 revealed how market and place are spatially varied and change as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and practices; markets, and the institutional frameworks and consumption practices that support them, also change over time and space. By examining 'the ongoing cultural construction of commodities firmly grounded amid the social institutions of modern trade' (Bestor, 2004: 137), the framework acknowledges that cultural practices rotate around commerce but include many other dimensions besides the economic negotiations and transactions associated with trading fresh food (Freidberg, 2004).

Thus, the three theoretical constructs (market and society, the practice of everyday life and framing) 'fit together' in a framework (Figure 3.1) that aims to

demonstrate two inter-related aspects of market exchange; firstly, how the everyday practices of market exchange, including the habits and practical knowledge associated with these practices, interact with the institutional structures and economic efficiency of the market; and secondly, how these interactions affect the relationship between the internal and external spaces that frame (and re-frame) market exchange.

Figure 3.1: Cultural economy framework of market exchange



The framework draws on Polanyi's (1944, 1957) institutionalism that recognises that **market and society** mutually adjust to each other over time and place, implying that the market is socially constructed and governed. The dynamics between the external space surrounding the market (its 'place' within society) and its internal **everyday practices** are conceptualised using de Certeau's (1984, 1998) notion of 'tactic'. This acts as a lens to examine how people 'resist' or 'outwit' dominant power structures through their everyday activities. The relationship between the internal everyday context of the market and the external space of market and society co-evolve in a constant process of **framing** and re-framing. These framings demonstrate how everyday practices, or practical knowledge associated with traditional fresh food provisioning, are used to 'resist' the 'modernisation' of food retailing and changing consumption habits. By using these theoretical constructs, framing is not just an instrumental device but

becomes part of the political process of how the traditional food market is socially constructed and governed. The outcome of this process, it is suggested, determines whether the traditional food market and its role in fresh food provisioning declines, survives or thrives in this contemporary period of cultural and economic change.

These conceptual and methodological principles inform the use of particular qualitative and quantitative methods and specific forms of analysis. The following chapter explains the research design and mixed methods approach employed for this study.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

De la Pradelle (2006) and Bestor (2004) provide valuable and important conceptual contributions to theorising the cultural economy of the food market and, as detailed in Chapter 2, these contributions are situated alongside a variety of studies of traditional (and other) food markets across the academic disciplines. This research study argues for the need to move beyond individual food market studies and to focus on *fresh food* as it journeys through the market system, including how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the internal and external spaces that support the economic processes and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange. This argument does not deny that there is a need to ground the research empirically in one, or more, particular location(s) because market and place are tightly interwoven; as argued in Chapter 3, the market's geography is part of its particular, and unique, identity. Instead it suggests that rich individual market studies need to be combined, complemented and contextualised with larger scale analysis of markets and their exchange processes and practices at national and regional levels.

Although these conceptual and methodological contributions and considerations have informed the research design, decisions have also been made with an awareness that research methods are performative, meaning that 'they have effects; they make differences; they enact realities; and they can help to bring into being what they discover' (Law and Urry, 2004: 392). It is hoped, therefore, that this tension is countered, in part, by pragmatism and the decision to employ a mixed methods approach. This not only mixes both qualitative and quantitative methods where, as Brannen (2005: 6) says, 'words become as important as numbers', but also produces different realities. These realities overlap and

interact with one another and, in doing so, integrate theoretical principles alongside the experiences, perspectives and histories of those who participate in the research process.

These more general points of introduction lead into the details of the research design, the particular methods employed and the specificities of the analysis. The case study method lies at the core of the empirical analysis of the research and further explanation of why this method is favoured, and justification for the case studies selected, is detailed in Section 4.4. This case study work was preceded by two earlier phases of research – i) database creation and analysis; and ii.) scoping interviews and an email questionnaire survey and analysis. These phases employed both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to build up a contextual 'picture' that informed the case study selection and analysis. Section 4.2 and Section 4.3 describe these phases and include details of why particular research methods were selected.

4.2 Phase 1: Database construction

Working from the conceptual premise that market economies and societies mutually adjust to each other over time and space, and the research objective of understanding how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the traditional food market over time, the need for a comprehensive national markets' database was identified early on in the research process. The fundamental reason for this was that without data on the scope and scale of the market sector, the empirical findings could appear in a vacuum without salient reference points that gave them meaning (Gerring, 2007: 81). In addition, a database would provide the sampling frame for case study selection (Saunders et al., 2000) and also contribute to subsequent triangulation of case study data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Thus, Phase 1 of the study (September 2008 - February 2009) involved constructing a national database of traditional food markets, wholesale markets and more specialist niche markets, including farmers' markets, using a range of fields that included information on each market's location (postcode, UK region), management structure (public, private

etc.), type of market (indoor/outdoor, traditional, farmers' etc.), and details about each market's temporality and size. This was constructed from a range of secondary data sources, with a small amount of input from some market professionals to corroborate the wholesale market data.

4.2.1. Secondary data sources

The two national market federations – the National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA) and the National Market Traders' Federation (NMTF) – made their existing databases available[8] and these were used to construct the baseline data. Each existing entry was checked on the internet. This involved searches by: market name; local authority, town and parish council websites; community websites; private operator websites; tourism websites; recorded minutes of various local authorities and community organisations; and newspaper coverage available on the internet. Entries were then amended, any traditional retail markets not selling food were excluded, and additional information was added to the database.

Wholesale markets were checked against the listing in the *re:fresh Directory 2009* and by internet searches. There was a difficulty identifying which markets were the main wholesalers, as there is a much larger tier of secondary wholesalers, and also with how they were managed as many had been contracted out. After consultation with various market professionals, 26 were identified as the primary wholesale markets and included in the database.

Entries for farmers' markets were started from scratch. Although some farmers' markets were included in the baseline data provided by NABMA, these markets had not been of primary concern in the previous survey and, as a result, data were patchy and numbers had also grown considerably since 2003/04. Searches were carried out using existing websites, including those of the National

[8] The NABMA database had been constructed from data gathered in 2003/04 for the National Retail Market Survey (Rhodes, 2005). The NMTF data were extracted from their membership database.

Farmers' Retail and Markets' Association (FARMA), Farmers' Markets in London/Wales and other local/county sites; in addition, a range of directories set up by local food suppliers including Big Barn and Dig for Victory were consulted. Local authority websites were also searched and it was noted that farmers' markets were often displayed more prominently than the traditional markets on offer. Searches were also carried out for farmers' markets by name and under the other categories used for the traditional market searches. A small number of very small farmers' markets, those only held intermittently or those whose future seemed uncertain, were excluded. Finding out when and where farmers' markets were held often took time because these were often subject to change and the management structures of farmers' markets were also complex. A range of structures and criteria for defining a farmers' market exist. These ranged from the accredited guidelines laid down by FARMA for membership to others run as commercial enterprises with no clear guidelines for letting stalls.

Constructing the database from secondary sources involved locating, checking and amending the 1,169 traditional retail markets identified by the existing market federation databases, and adding additional markets from the other sources identified above. As Saunders et al. (2000: 200) point out more generally, secondary data have often been collected for another purpose and this distance from the original source can affect quality. A number of issues did need addressing during the process of gathering and collating data. For example, management structures for individual markets (of all types) were often unclear, particularly for those owned by local authorities but contracted out to private operators, and it took time to unravel the history of these structures. Finding postcodes for each market in the database also posed problems and was time consuming. Postcodes for traditional food markets were particularly difficult to find. This is understandable because many run the length of high streets or over a number of streets. These issues were resolved in a variety of ways. Some markets take place outside major public buildings and these postcodes were used; for high street (and other town centre street markets), postcodes for major High Street stores (like Boots, Marks and Spencer's etc.) were used as a geographical marker. Some traditional markets are held on car parks or venues used for other

purposes and, in these cases, the postcodes for these venues were used. Postcodes for farmers' markets were also problematic. These markets are often held infrequently (for example, one day a month is common) and they also move venue quite often. At the end of this process, the data were considered robust and the final database contained 2,105 markets of all types, including 1,124 traditional food markets, 26 primary wholesale markets and 605 farmers' markets.

4.2.2. Database analysis

The primary aim of the database was to contextualise the research by providing an efficient way of displaying large amounts of information in their spatial dimension in a systematic and comparable manner (Becker, 2007). More specifically, using the database to identify regional concentrations of markets would also build the geographic context for selecting particular markets as case studies (Ilbery et al., 2006). Thus, quantitative methods were used to conduct a geographical analysis of the current spread and distribution of markets at postcode level. The postcode provided a geographic reference for each market in the database and a Geographic Information System (GIS) was used to link the data to a map (Schuurman, 2002). This assigned coordinate points (latitude and longitude) to each market postcode and a datapoint for each market was then mapped.[9] This method produced separate dot maps to show the spatial distribution of all markets, traditional, wholesale and farmers' markets. Given the principal interest of this study is in English markets, data on markets in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland were less comprehensive.

More detailed analysis of the raw data in the database was carried out using SPSS statistical analysis, including numeric and percentage breakdowns that related to location by Government Office Region (GOR), types of market, their temporality, management structures and number of stalls available to let each week. This raw data analysis provided a more detailed regional picture of the concentrations of the markets in the database and this was further elaborated

[9] Twenty-eight individual postcodes (1.3%) did not geocode.

using location quotient (LQ) analysis. The location quotient (LQ) is a ratio measure of relative spatial concentration. In this case, it compared the number of traditional food markets in each region with the national distribution of traditional food markets in England – both in relation to the population in each region and in England.

The calculation was:

$$LQ = \frac{\text{Total number of traditional markets in region}}{\text{Total number of traditional markets in England}} + \frac{\text{Population in region}}{\text{Population in England}}$$ [10]

Location quotient values of over 1.0 indicate a relative concentration i.e. more traditional markets in a region than its population numbers would suggest. In the reverse situation those values of less than 1.0 indicate fewer traditional markets than the region's population numbers would suggest (see Ilbery et al., 1999 for a fuller discussion of LQ analysis). In order to map the geographic distributions, the LQs were then grouped into class intervals, first at the regional level and then, after further calculations, at the county level. These county level LQs were then mapped onto a choropleth map to demonstrate the distribution of traditional food markets in England at the county level.

4.3 Phase 2: Scoping interviews, email questionnaire survey and analysis

Concurrent with work on the database analysis and geographic mapping, work began on Phase 2 which adopted a staged approach to this part of the research process. The main element of this phase was a targeted email questionnaire sent to a sample of traditional food market managers and operators to gather more specific primary data on the current state of traditional food markets. Its aims were to add to the contextual picture that was emerging from Phase 1, provide more detailed information to inform the case study selection and offer a further

[10] Mid-2006 to mid-2007 population estimates for local authorities in the UK devised by the Government's Office for National Statistics (ONS) were used to make the calculations.

contribution to subsequent triangulation of the case study data. However, there was a recognition that going straight from the quantitative data in Phase 1 could mean important nuances were missed that would be to the detriment of both the content of the questionnaire, the selection of case studies, and to the overall quality of the research outcomes. In order to try and avoid this, it was decided that by interviewing some key market professionals, themes that were emerging from the database analysis could be further explored, be more fully understood by the researcher, and thus improve the quality of the questionnaire.

4.3.1. Scoping interviews

Semi-structured interviews are often used as a method for obtaining data on the experiences and practices of economic and social life and these were selected as the research method in Phase 2 (and also in Phase 3) because of the qualitative nature of the overall research strategy (i.e. the case study method). Their use as a methodological tool also made it possible to integrate the experiences, perspectives and histories of market actors alongside the quantitative findings of the database analysis.

Interviews, as a purposeful discussion between two or more people (Kahn and Cannell, 1957), are distinguished by different typologies (although these often overlap). At one end of the spectrum, structured or standardised interviews can be used to gather data that will then be the subject of quantitative analysis, whereas towards the other end unstructured interviews are used as part of qualitative research methods in order to provide 'rich' data that not only reveal the 'what' and the 'how' but also place more emphasis on exploring the 'why' (Saunders et al., 2000: 245). In this research, semi-structured interviews were used. They were selected because they not only enabled the possibility of causal relationships between the current state of market trading and the economic downturn to emerge and be probed, but also helped with understanding the reasons *why* those interviewed held these attitudes or opinions, and this new knowledge, in turn, helped formulate questions for the more structured questionnaire survey.

The decision to interview a range of professionals working in the market federations i.e. those representing managers and operators (NABMA), those representing market traders (NMTF), and those more closely involved with supplying fresh food into the retail market sector - wholesale market operators, was implemented by drawing on a group of contacts made through the researcher's membership of the Markets Knowledge Base Working Group. Five market professionals were approached and subsequently three semi-structured interviews were conducted. Each interview lasted around 45 minutes and was recorded (with permission) for accuracy. Topics were kept as open as possible and those being interviewed were encouraged to identify and express issues in their own words. For example, interviewees were asked their views on the current state of markets, including challenges/opportunities for the future. It is argued that this semi-structured approach kept the conversation on track but also established an *interactive relationship* between the researcher and the researched as they worked through the discussion/conversation together (Cloke et al., 2004). (See Appendix 1: semi-structured interview guide for market professionals).

Each recording was subsequently transcribed and transcripts were manually coded to identify key themes for inclusion in the email questionnaire survey. Using comparative analysis, how the influence of history, past and present, the influence of operating days and shared use of market sites and how this affected market operations were highlighted as significant factors. In addition, regeneration, the influence of tourism and the effects of the economic downturn also emerged as key themes. These themes were subsequently incorporated into the email questionnaire.

4.3.2. Email questionnaire and analysis

At the time of the survey (April 2009), there had been very little research carried out on English traditional markets at a national level. This meant that there was a positive and supportive environment in which to conduct such a survey because the industry as a whole required data. The survey was administered by email. There was a recognition that some other research studies had found low response

rates with email surveys (Couper et al., 2001), although others had found that targeted email surveys produced higher response rates and better quality data than surveys administered by post (Barrios et al., 2011). It was also recognised that response rates were also likely to be higher with face-to-face interviewing. However, self-administering the survey by email meant a relatively large number could be sent out (300), at a relatively low cost. Initial investigation had shown that most respondents had access to email at work and would thus be likely to receive it directly and complete it themselves. Being aware of the limited time and resources available was another important motivation for favouring distribution and response via email.

The survey questions were arranged in five sections (see Appendix 2: copy of email questionnaire survey). This survey was designed to help triangulate some of the database findings, address themes that emerged from the scoping interviews, help justify the selection of the case study markets, and support subsequent triangulation of the case study data. The sections were:

A: Details about the market

B: Changes to the market since 2005 (the date of the first National Association of British Market Authorities survey)

C: Food choice on the market

D: Other markets and food retail choice

E: Current trends and future issues

The questionnaire was designed to make it quick and easy to complete and consisted of mostly pre-coded closed questions. There was a recognition that open-ended questions would have enabled more information to be recorded (Sarantakos, 2005); however, the use of pre-coded questions was practical for requesting basic information, such as the market's postcode or operating days, which made coding and analysis more straightforward and also encouraged more respondents to complete the survey. There was an emphasis on the value of the experience and knowledge of the market operator or manager rather than simply financial or 'technical' questions. An opportunity for respondents to comment on

the content of the questionnaire and contribute additional thoughts and experiences was provided at the end of the survey.

The database acted as the sampling frame and, in order to get a reasonable number of responses, a decision was taken to send the survey to 300 market managers/operators. This represented just under one third of traditional food markets in England (995). Thus one third of the traditional food markets at county level, or at district and borough council level, were included in the sample. The sample was weighted to reflect the distribution of markets per county. For example, there are 12 markets in Cambridgeshire, and four markets from Cambridgeshire were included in the sample. Once these calculations had been made, samples from each county were selected by counting down each list at county level. Using the same example, every third market in the twelve listed for Cambridgeshire was selected (four in total).

The questionnaire was piloted with five market managers/operators, with the National Market Traders' Federation (NMTF), and with the National Association of British Market Authorities (NABMA) and was amended slightly in the light of comments received. The changes were mostly minor, involving the rewording of questions or phrases to aid clarity. The questionnaire was then emailed during April and May 2009 to the 300 markets in the sampling frame. Those sent the questionnaire were given the option of returning it by email, fax or post and some used the option of returning the questionnaire anonymously. To improve data collection, NABMA followed up with two mailings to members encouraging them to complete the questionnaire. This resulted in an additional 21 NABMA members offering to fill in the survey questionnaire. Questionnaires were subsequently emailed to these markets and a record was kept of any of those returned from this source i.e. 321 markets received the questionnaire in total. Fourteen of these 21 additional questionnaires were returned[11].

[11] Although it was important to recognise this additional source of survey returns from markets that were members of NABMA and thus likely to be operated by the public sector, it was decided that this bias did not need weighting because the majority of traditional markets are public sector operated (60%).

The original mailing was followed up with phone calls and email reminders (in most cases three reminders were sent by email). This took place in May and June, with one final attempt in late July. The phone calls had a good success rate as these provided a point of contact and personal email addresses for market managers. By the end of July 2009, 82 questionnaires had been returned and a decision was made that this was the final number likely to be returned (26% success rate). The responding markets demonstrated a good spread of types of food market and of geographic location.

The majority of data generated were quantitative and responses to each question were assigned numeric content codes, entered into a data matrix spreadsheet, and analysed using both SPSS and Excel software packages. This analysis included numeric and percentage breakdowns that were cross-tabulated with the database analysis where appropriate, such as by types of traditional markets, operating structures and number of days each week that markets were running. It also included more detailed analysis of data that related to food choice on the market, and other food markets and food retailers in the surrounding area. This analysis related more specifically to the research study's focus on fresh food and retail restructuring. All percentages were calculated against the total number of surveys returned (82) and a note was made, where significant, of the numbers of non-responses to each question. In addition to generating data on discrete variables/questions, the analysis also cross-tabulated sections of the questionnaire in order to make the analysis incremental, assessing, for example, whether shopping patterns were age-related.

4.4 Phase 3: The case studies

The case study method lies at the core of the empirical analysis of this study, albeit set as part of a wider national level contextual analysis of markets described above. The research, therefore, recognises the value that in-depth knowledge of an individual example(s) provides in terms of understanding the cultural economy of traditional food market exchange, especially when combined with macro-level analysis. The case study method implies 'a better

understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part', and it rests implicitly on the existence of 'a micro-macro link in social behaviour' (Gerring, 2007: 1). The case study is associated with qualitative methods, such as ethnography, participant observation and other forms of observational fieldwork, but it can be quantitative, particularly when investigating causal relationships, or use a combination of both research methods.

The case study method shifts the focus of the research to a local level and provides analysis of specific examples of traditional food markets in a 'real-life context' and within particular time and space. The thesis is interested in *why* the traditional food market works differently in different contexts and for this to be understood, there is a need to pay attention to meaning, as understood by the market managers, traders and shoppers alike. This requires an interpretivist stance (Sarantakos, 2005). However, the thesis is also interested in generalising, to some extent, across the cases selected because it is only by doing so that new propositions and insights that emerge can act as signposts for future research.

4.4.1. Case study selection

Case study selection followed Gerring (2007: 85), who says that 'cross-case analysis is presumed in *all* case study analysis' (emphasis added) - i.e. all cases chosen for case study analysis are identified by their status relative to an assumed population of cases. Thus an initial decision to select two traditional markets as case studies, determined solely by characteristics such as type, location, and temporality, was enhanced by integrating the possibilities of integrating cross-case analysis into the case study selection. This provided the means to explore more in-depth contextual dimensions that influenced the social life of the markets used as primary sites, and also gather further empirical data on how the traditional market was understood and the fresh food was valued on other markets. Therefore a decision was taken to conduct *two* case studies of traditional urban food markets and conduct secondary studies of a farmers' market located on the same or adjoining site and a traditional food market and farmers' market held in a nearby market town (within a 30 mile radius).

The case study selection was an iterative process. First, an initial analysis of the database identified a number of urban traditional markets, with both a farmers' market operating on the same or adjacent site and other markets operating in a nearby market town. Second, markets were sorted by location in order to distinguish not only their geographic region but also to identify those that were located in industrial or agricultural regions. Third, markets were sorted by their operating structures to ensure that at least one of those selected was operated by the public sector (as 60% of traditional markets are managed in this way). Finally, markets were sorted by the number of days they operated.

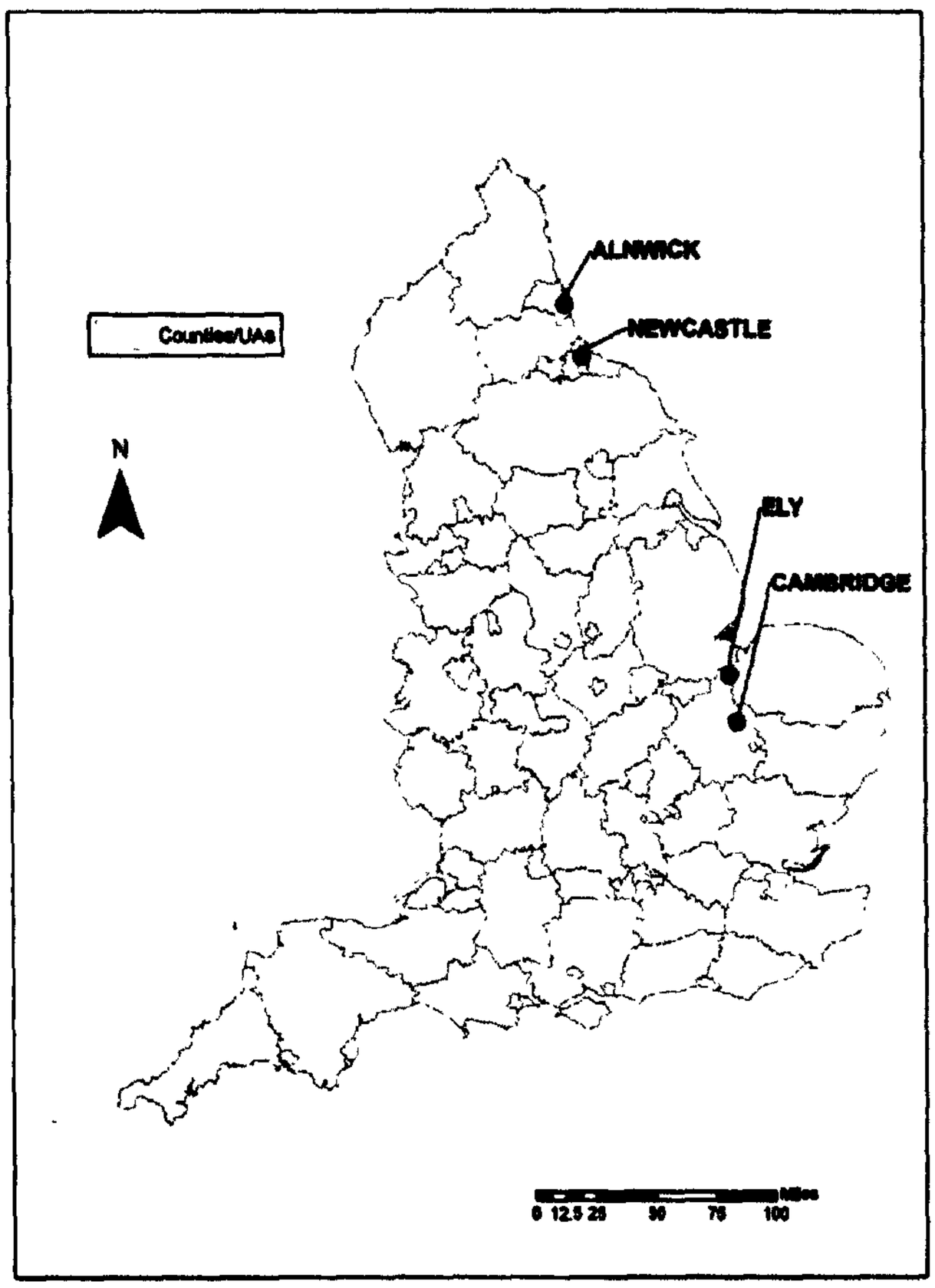
A number of factors were considered to inform case study selection, the aim of which was to identify two markets that had common features but also had differences in terms, for example, of market type and location. The final selection criteria were thus:

- one *outdoor* and one *indoor* traditional market, at least one of which was operated by a local authority;
- one traditional market in a *Northern* city (where most large indoor markets operate) and one in an *agricultural* area to provide an urban-rural contrast;
- and, in order to get the maximum amount of data collected in a relatively short time frame, both of the food markets selected should run at least 3 days a week.

This iterative process resulted in a 'short list' of markets that fulfilled these criteria (31 in total). At this stage, in order to fulfil the study's focus on fresh food, the selection turned to the more detailed analysis of the questionnaire survey data to identify markets with at least 25% of traders selling fresh food that was both globally and locally sourced. It was also important to identify from the survey respondents market managers that were responsive and supportive to the research projects aims. The process led to a final selection of the *Grainger market, Newcastle* and *Cambridge market* as case studies (Figure 4.1). The Grainger Market provided a large, local authority operated, indoor urban market

hall in the North East of England, open on six days a week. Cambridge market provided an outdoor, urban, local authority operated traditional market in an agricultural area in Eastern England, also open on six days a week. Both markets were long-standing, city-centre based markets that were considered typical of large urban markets identified by the database and questionnaire survey analysis. In addition, these case studies also offered established farmers' markets operated by both local authorities on either the same site or an adjoining site, and traditional and farmers' markets were operated in the nearby market towns of Alnwick (30 miles from Newcastle) and Ely (15 miles from Cambridge) respectively.

Figure 4.1: Case study locations



4.4.2. Fieldwork data collection

The fieldwork for this qualitative phase of the research meant 'doing ethnography' (Cook and Crang, 2007) - 'a detailed verbal description of the way of life, considered in its entirety, of some social unit' (Becker, 2007: 10). The research methods included participant observation and interviewing, but they went further than the 'verbal' by including the visual with some photographic work, and a shopping basket survey using numeric quantitative methods. Used together, these methods aimed to address the research objective of investigating how fresh food was assigned monetary, social and symbolic value by the everyday activities/practices of the market actors, and how identities (human and non-human) were constructed through the cultural practices and economic processes of market exchange.

The role of the researcher becomes a particular focus at this point because 'making sense' of the food market environment in this localized context is always going to be subjective. If 'fieldwork is a discursive process in which the research encounter is structured by the researcher and the researched' (Crang, 2003: 494), and research is always bound up in issues of power and knowledge, then 'politics and the practicalities of translation (and transcription) are intimately connected' (Cook and Crang, 2007: 26). Working from the conceptual premise that market actors use everyday activities or practices to resist dominant economic orders and power relations, then the public space of the market and how people use it becomes a political space, bound up with 'outwitting' the much bigger power structures 'the researched' find themselves living within. By entering this space, the researcher becomes bound up in the process, and what is observed and the way interviews are enacted is affected by how the space of the market and the performative aspects of market exchange are understood. Acknowledging these aspects of the research process, including how both researcher and researched 'feel' (referred to as the 'visceral realm' by Hayes-Conroy, 2010) is crucial to not only the researcher's positionality, but also to a more reflexive debate about how qualitative data analysis is written up in this

thesis. This latter aspect is considered after the fieldwork data collection process has been more fully described.

Fieldwork took place in Newcastle and Alnwick in October and November 2009, and in Cambridge and Ely in March 2010. This involved semi-structured interviews with market operators/managers, market traders and market shoppers. The majority of interviews took place on the Grainger and Cambridge traditional markets as the primary research sites but findings were further contextualised by interviews on the other markets in each case study region (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Breakdown of interviews conducted on Newcastle's Grainger Market and Cambridge's market and other local markets used for cross-case analysis

	Market managers/operators	Market traders	Shoppers	Total
Newcastle Grainger Market	**2**	**7**	**24**	**33**
Cambridge market	**1**	**4**	**18**	**23**
Total	**3**	**11**	**42**	**56**
Newcastle farmers' market	1	2	4	7
Alnwick market	0	4	3	7
Alnwick farmers' market	0	2	4	6
Cambridge farmers' market	1	1	3	5
Ely market	2	3	4	9
Ely farmers' market	1	2	3	6
Final total	**8**	**25**	**63**	**96**

Semi-structured interviews were arranged in advance with market managers/ officers at each market. The officers were interested in the research and had time to talk and interviews were quite lengthy, often up to 45 minutes long. The discussions were 'contained' by the interview guide (see Appendix 3) which introduced topics related to who was trading and shopping on the market, the

fresh food choice, how the market interacted with other food markets and retailers in the area. It also gave the officers the chance to talk about their own experiences and perspectives on the market and about their own histories and how they came to hold their current jobs. The market officers also provided a tour of each market and made introductions to traders selling fresh food which was helpful in establishing initial contact for subsequent interviews.

The amount of fresh food on sale was limited on both markets and it was possible to approach all of the traders selling fresh food present at the time of the visit to ask for an interview. Most were very responsive and eventually eight fresh food traders on the Grainger market and four on the Cambridge market agreed to be interviewed. These represented a spread across the categories of those selling fresh food which were fruit and vegetables, meat and fish (see Table 4.2). Traders were interviewed *in situ* and were often able to talk for 20-30 minutes, although trading usually carried on at the same time. These interviews followed a similar format to those conducted with the market officers (see Appendix 4), beginning with their own experiences and histories as market traders and covering aspects related to market management, their trade in fresh food, their attitudes to other local food markets (like farmers' markets) and about who their customers were.

Almost all of the traditional market traders interviewed were aged between 45 and 60 years and the mean number of years worked as a market trader was 22 years. Of the 18 traders interviewed: 11 worked in family businesses that went back over one or two generations and all had been established over 50 years; three were employed by long-standing family businesses; three were employed by more recently established businesses; and one trader had started out on his own three years previously. All traders worked an average of 13 hours a day, six days a week. In contrast, farmers' market producer/traders were almost all in their 30s and the length of time trading was shorter and more varied, stretching from three months to 10 years. Of the seven producers/traders interviewed, five were producers and two were employed by the producers to sell their produce. Like traditional market traders, these producers/traders worked very long hours,

often in excess of 16 hours each day. They had, however, more seasonal variation because of the growing season and increased farmers' market activity during the spring and summer months.

Table 4.2: Breakdown of market traders/producers by category of fresh food traded

	Fruit and vegetables	Meat	Fish	Total
Newcastle Grainger Market	**3**	**2**	**2**	**7**
Cambridge market	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**
Newcastle farmers' market	1	1	0	2
Alnwick market	2	2	0	4
Alnwick farmers' market	1	1	0	2
Cambridge farmers' market	1	0	0	1
Ely market	2	0	1	3
Ely farmers' market	1	1	0	2
Total	**13**	**8**	**4**	**25**

Interviewing people shopping on the markets was more difficult because many did not have the time (or often any interest) in being interviewed. As a consequence, no attempt was made to secure a formal quota, although attempts were made to interview a range of shoppers according to gender, age and ethnicity. Kirwan's (2003) work on farmers' markets avoided this problem by recruiting shoppers for focus groups, but, although this was considered, it was decided that in order to maintain the performative aspect of the research methodology, interviewing shoppers on the market was important. As a result, 'streamlining' the interview guide so that these encounters could be limited to a maximum of 5-10 minutes was the preferred option. This limitation meant that the interviews were usually 'to the point', with some closed questions, although most of the interview method remained qualitative in nature. Shoppers were asked for their postcodes, age and employment status and how much they had spent or were likely to spend on the market that day. They were then asked about their impressions and experiences of the market in general and shopping for fresh

food in particular, and about what influenced their fresh food shopping habits and choices, including where else they shopped for fresh food (see Appendix 5).

Although wary of making a distinction between the market as a functional cog in the national distribution system and the social and cultural use people make of it (de la Pradelle, 2006), a decision was made to conduct a shopping basket survey. This took place in Newcastle, although comparative analysis also took place on other markets. It aimed to provide a quantitative measurement of the monetary value assigned to fresh food by category, more clearly articulate the economic processes of market exchange and draw (albeit tentative) conclusions about the relationship between these concepts and the reality they measured (Saunders et al: 298).

The shopping basket survey took place between 3 and 6 November 2009 and compared prices on selected food items sold on the traditional market with those sold by other food retailers in the local, urban context. The survey was constructed and conducted in line with other surveys of this type, including, for example by Bowyer et al.'s (2006) study in Hackney, and regular surveys conducted by the National Market Traders Federation (NMTF). It was adapted to make a better 'fit' with fresh food items available on the Grainger Market and a mix of fresh fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, eggs, dairy and basic staples were included - 26 items in total. (see Appendix 6). Comparisons were made between the Grainger Market and two large, city centre supermarkets (The Co-operative and Waitrose) and, where possible, with farmers' market prices in Newcastle on Friday 6 November 2009. Data were collected in each retail location by noting the prices of equivalent products[12] which were then entered onto an Excel spreadsheet. Comparisons were also made for some items, by desk-based research, using wholesale market data on price published by the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) for the weeks ending 25/09/2009 and 06/11/2009. This provided a snapshot of financial information on

[12] 'Equivalent' products in the supermarkets were selected using 'own brand', mid-range meat and fish and categories of fresh fruit and vegetables according to type and provenance. It is accepted that this method has in-built inaccuracies because 'true' comparisons are impossible to achieve, but it was used as raw data for largely illustrative, rather than statistical significance.

how monetary value was added between supply and retail for a few categories of fresh food produce. Data were recorded in tabular form and then entered onto an Excel spreadsheet for comparative analysis.

Finally, but no less importantly, periods of observation were built into the research programme and were helpful for reflecting on how the practices of market exchange took place. This was done by keeping a photographic record and a fieldwork diary. Notes for the latter were written up at the end of each day to aid understanding. Both the photographs and diary provided opportunities to record detailed descriptions of the physical space of the markets and to describe the researcher's interactions and participation within the space. The diary also presented a means for self-reflection about the research process (Cook and Crang, 2007). These images, descriptions and insights were then drawn on to 'link the micro-level activities of the lone researcher with macro-level processes' (from Cook and Crang, 2007: 155) and added meaning and understanding to the analysis.

4.4.3. Qualitative analysis

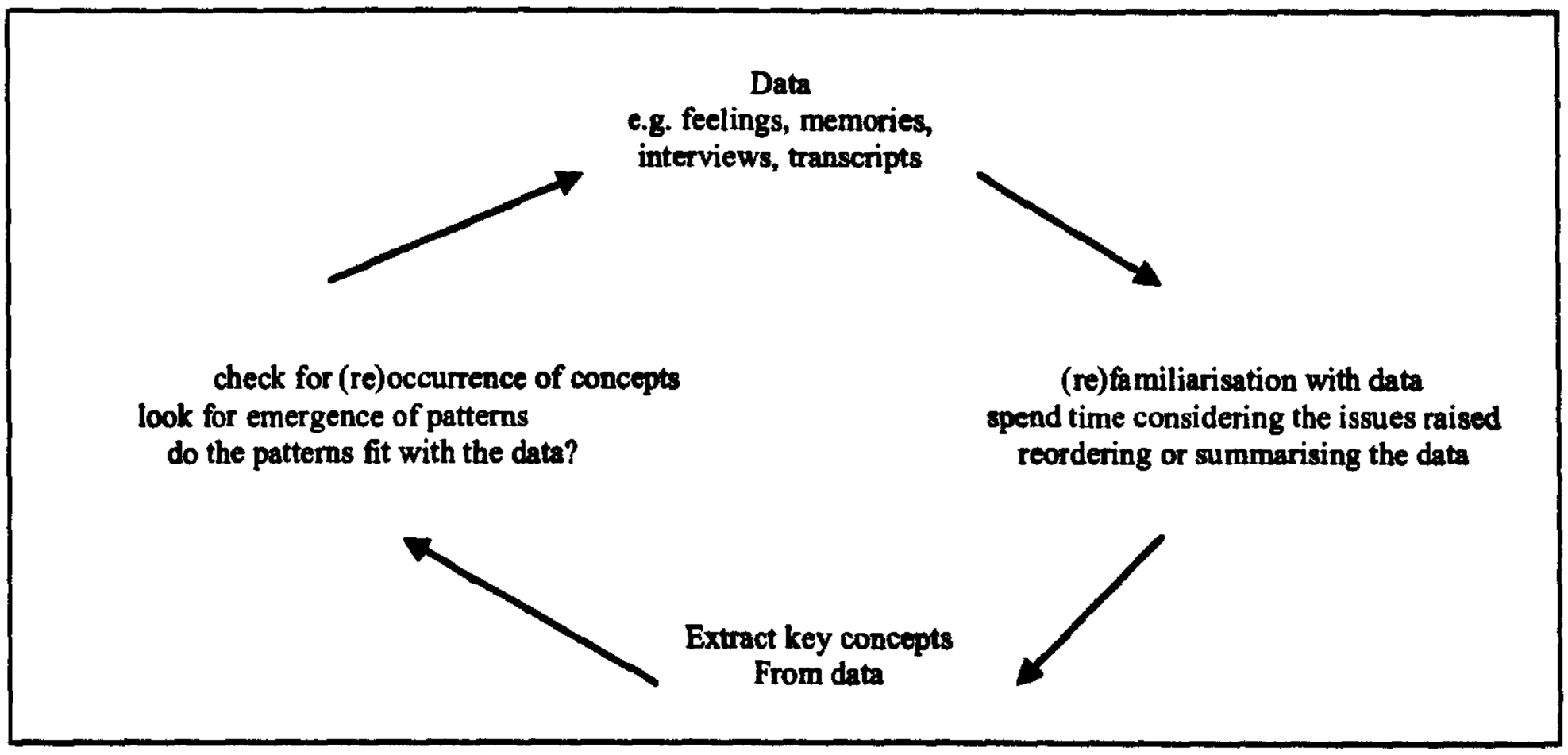
In her description of the trials and tribulations of qualitative data analysis, Schiellerup (2008: 164) refers to how 'the most codified part of the data interpretation process' is the easiest to talk about. In the same way, this account starts by describing the data coding process but acknowledges that semi-structured interviews create complex datasets, and the analytical strategy employed needs to combine classification of the data (which identifies interconnecting themes) with the subtleties and sophistications of interpretative analysis. '(T)he different layers of textuality' (Cook and Crang, 2007: 152) can support a large number of interpretations, and attributing meaning to data and transforming this to the written account of the research is challenging (Schiellerup, 2008: 169).

Although training had been undertaken to use a qualitative analysis software package (NVivo), a decision was taken to analyse the data manually. Schiellerup

(2008) provides a useful account of the dilemmas new researchers can face when using computer software for this purpose and this had resonance with this researcher's own experience. Also, the process of transcribing the interviews had already begun to familiarise the researcher with the data, and themes had already begun to emerge which had been noted down as an *aide memoire.* As a consequence, an awareness that the more 'mechanical' process of inputting all the data into computer software and the risk of category profusion and confusion that could ensue resulted in the decision to use a manual system. It was felt that this would maintain the level of contextual information already generated and provide greater opportunities for thinking about and interpreting what was emerging from the data.

The qualitative data analysis followed Kolb's (1985) learning cycle (Figure 4.2) which follows three stages. Stage one concerns the researcher's *concrete experience* i.e. the basis of the analysis. This experience relates not only to the interviews and transcripts but also to the fact that research methods are performative – i.e. they have effects and enact realities - and the feelings and memories that the researcher experienced are also part of the research process. The second stage is one of *reflective observation*. This involves: familiarisation and becoming intimately involved with the data; spending time with the issues raised by the data; and reordering or summarising the data to reflect the patterns that are beginning to emerge. Once the data are reordered, the cycle moves on to abstract conceptualisation and the process of extracting key themes or concepts. The third stage is thus *active experimentation* with the data to see where a concept or group of concepts occurs. It is at this stage where patterns emerge and it becomes clear whether the data are starting to fit with the conceptual framework. The final stage takes the researcher back to the start of the cyclical flow and the need to see if the patterns fit with the reality of these data and with concrete experience.

Figure 4.2: Kolb's learning cycle applied to qualitative data analysis (adapted from Maylor and Blackmon, 2005)



The four stages of analysis are described below in more detail:

- Stage 1: The interviews with market officers, traders and shoppers were transcribed, observations about emerging patterns and themes were noted, and the fieldwork notes were written up as soon as possible after leaving the field in order to keep the experience 'live';
- Stage 2: The transcripts and fieldwork notes were printed off as they were completed and, as each new set was printed off, time was taken to reflect further on emerging patterns and themes and to begin to order, code and extract key concepts. These were put into an Excel document;
- Stage 3: This consolidated the process begun in Stage 2. The key concepts that were emerging were selected, the transcripts were coded accordingly and then consideration of how concepts were interconnected took place. The key concepts were:
  - Institutional structures
  - Economic aspects of market trading
  - Social norms and habits relating to fresh food market exchange
  - The value and 'character' of the market product
  - Other food markets and food retailers selling fresh food
- Finally, following Kolb (1985), the researcher spent time thinking over whether the patterns and themes reflected the reality of the data collection

process and, in turn, how this had operationalised the conceptual framework.

The final point returns the discussion to the start of this section on qualitative data analysis. This relates to the subtleties and sophistications of interpretative analysis, how meaning is attributed to data and the challenges of transforming this into the written research account. The conceptual framework elaborated in Chapter 3 adopts certain theoretical and methodological principles to examine how the cultural economy can be used to explain the traditional market and the everyday practices of fresh food market exchange in contemporary settings. Patterns and themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis have reflected 'how it was' collecting the data on the case study markets and, in turn, the methods and specific forms of analysis employed have operationalised the conceptual principles of the cultural economy framework.

4.5 Chapter summary

The chapter has provided details of the research design and mixed methods approach adopted for this thesis in an attempt to link theory and method.
The research design aimed to address the conceptual 'points' where culture and economy interact and transform each other using the conceptual framework's theoretical and methodological principles. The research was constructed in three main phases; the first two built up a contextual 'picture' to inform the case study selection and methodology in the third and final phase.

The qualitative and quantitative research methods were designed to:

- link the micro-level activities of traditional food market exchange with the macro-level processes of traditional food systems; and
- identify key patterns and themes that both 'fit' with the principles of the conceptual framework and the reality of the concrete experience of the research.

The study now turns to the empirical analysis. Chapter 5 contextualises the research by presenting the geographical analysis of traditional food markets in England.

Chapter 5

SETTING THE SCENE: GEOGRAPHIES OF THE TRADITIONAL FOOD MARKET

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presents analysis from both the database of UK markets and the email questionnaire survey conducted with food market managers and operators to help construct a contextual 'picture' of the traditional food market in its contemporary setting.

Jackson (2010: 148) argues that 'geography is not merely incidental to cultural variation [...] it is fundamental to the very constitution of culture'. Following Polanyi, Zukin (1991: 9) considers market and place as both spatially varied and changing as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and concludes that the social institutions of market and place support each other over time. How the market is understood in its contemporary context is the result of historical shifts and continuities, cultural legacies and processes of adaptation, but the *physical* location of each market is unique and this contributes to each market's particular identity. It is this 'fixity' of form and identity that this chapter explores, contextualised by the commercial pressures and cultures of the surrounding food retail landscape (Freidberg, 2004).

The chapter begins by discussing the effects of food retail restructuring on the traditional market and its fresh food supply chains, including the impact of the rapid growth in supermarket dominance. Following this, Section 5.3 presents analysis of the first empirical data from this research and examines the contemporary geographies of the traditional food market. It maps and identifies patterns of concentration at different geographical scales and then moves on to examine the local level and presents the perspectives of those managing and operating these markets using analysis from the data generated by the email survey.

5.2 Restructuring, fresh food retailing and the traditional food market

By 2008, the 'big four' supermarkets (Asda, Tesco, Sainsbury's and Morrisons) controlled 62% of the UK's grocery sector (Defra, 2010). Supermarket power resulted in both horizontal and vertical concentration in agri-food supply chains, with the strongest retailers taking control of entire chains by using dedicated logistics, nominated suppliers and sophisticated information technology. These closed supply chains resulted in substantial barriers to entry for small-scale producers and, despite continued growth in supply of fruit and vegetables (EFFP, 2010), the overall UK production base had declined. The country has become, therefore, heavily reliant on imports, with only 23% of fruit and vegetables sold in 2008 being produced in the UK (Defra, 2010). In addition, UK households spent only 23% of their food budget on fruit and vegetables in 2008 reflecting a decrease from the previous year. In line with the recommendations of the recent Foresight report, 'Global Food and Farming Futures' (2011), the fresh produce industry[13] has advocated the need to balance imports against a strategy that increases the sustainable production of indigenous crops in order to increase UK production and consumption of fresh produce. Although it is likely that supermarkets will continue to prioritise fresh produce as 'destination' categories, some (e.g. Blythman, 2004) have argued that fresh fruit and vegetables do not lend themselves to centralised supermarket distribution systems. Recent supermarket practice has begun to reflect this, demonstrating growth in sourcing from regional and smaller suppliers in the UK to meet new demand from consumers for seasonal and locally produced fresh food (Defra, 2006).

Supermarket sourcing practices have also impacted on wholesale markets as the traditional link between producers, processors, distributors and retailers has eroded. In the 1960s, wholesale markets supplied 75-80% of fresh produce across the UK (Cadilhon et al., 2003). Recent estimates,[14] however, suggest this is now in the region of 32% for fruit and vegetable distribution. In an attempt to

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[13] http://www.freshproduce.org.uk/documents/FPCPressRelease-Foodsecurity260111.pdf [accessed 21 March, 2011]

[14] www.nabma.com/UserFiles/.../wholesale-forum---11th-june-2010-1.doc [accessed 18 March, 2011]

re-position themselves in the food chain, wholesale markets have added a range of other services to their role of supplying the traditional, much reduced, retail sector. This includes the preparation of salad, vegetables and fruit for the restaurant and catering trade. In 2009, the Business Development Manager (BDM) Programme, funded by Defra (via the Greater London Authority) and the National Farmers' Union, began work in three of London's wholesale markets (Western International Market, New Spitalfields Market and New Covent Garden Market). The programme works with businesses at all stages of the food supply chain to increase trade into London of local, regional and sustainable fresh produce. In May 2011, strategic options were being developed to explore the potential for broadening the initiative at a national level.

Supermarket success has also been reliant on self-service shopping. However, there is evidence that recent marketing techniques reflect a return to the practices employed by 'traditional' food market retailing. For example, the UK supermarket chain Morrisons introduced 'Market Street' into its stores in 2008, and says:

> *'(t)raditional greengrocer methods combined with the chill-chain from lorry to shelf, ensure that fresh produce, in the best condition, is available all day. The greengrocer knows how to handle each product; bananas are hung and melons are in shies to prevent bruising [...] Market Street is centred around our fresh produce section and contains a number of different areas, each of which has its own sense of personality - 'shops within a shop'. Each area is staffed with employees who know their trade, giving the feel and service of a traditional market.'*[15]

Set against this context traditional food markets, including London's street markets reflect a conflicting picture of failing and thriving markets (Hallsworth et al., 2006, Watson and Studdert, 2006, London Assembly, 2008, 2009). Reports

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[15] http://www.morrisons.co.uk/corporate/2008/annualreport/ceo/our_stores.html [accessed 21 March, 2011]

highlight clear growth in farmers' or specialist markets, reflecting recent trends in local food and other niche market growth, whereas many traditional markets are either struggling to adjust or going into decline in this period of rapid change. In 2009, the Select Committee for Communities and Local Government (CLG SC, 2009) conducted a wide-ranging inquiry into traditional markets (work that has been continued under the new coalition government). It concluded that competition from supermarkets and other low-cost discounters, neglect by local authorities, the difficulty of attracting new traders, a struggling wholesale market sector and a restrictive regulatory context had all left a feeling of market decline.

The traditional market sector is mostly under local authority control (Retail Markets Alliance, 2009). Markets are managed across a range of departments, from tourism to carparks, and, as the Select Committee concluded, they have typically been regarded as 'cash cows' rather than ripe for investment by local authorities. Some local authorities have established public/private partnerships to manage their markets in an attempt to generate investment and improve service delivery. For example, Geraud Markets (UK) currently manages markets on behalf of Liverpool City Council, South Derbyshire District Council and Clevedon Town Council. A small number are run as social enterprises and are part of a package of initiatives designed to improve the economic, environmental and social regeneration of the area.

The Select Committee (2009) acknowledged that the social benefits generated by markets were as important as the economic benefits, including the role they play in town centre regeneration, in supplying fresh and affordable food and in reducing the environmental impacts of the retail sector. The review also saw 'no reason why farmers' markets should not retain their identity within a larger 'ordinary' market' (ibid. para. 66). Estimates suggest that there are at least 550 farmers' markets in the UK, operating from a variety of sites in villages, towns and cities, involving some 10,000 farmers and food producers (Defra, 2008). Farmers' markets are typically associated with consumers who have more disposable income and some farmers' market producers interviewed for this research suggested that this has brought the middle classes back to the habit of

shopping on markets, including younger shoppers and families (see Chapters 6 and 7). The 'shared sense of values', i.e. local and sustainably produced food that helps support local economies and communities, has been used as a powerful argument in farmers' markets favour, alongside the vibrancy that they bring to many town and city centres which many traditional markets have been unable to maintain. FARMA and the London Farmers' Markets, however, as major membership organisations for these markets, are keen to maintain the uniqueness of their member markets and resist integration with non-certified farmers' markets and existing traditional food markets in order to protect their point of difference. These issues of how traditional and farmers' markets operate alongside one another are examined further as part of the empirical data presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Despite substantial research on retail restructuring and changes in food chain provisioning, including the growth of farmers' markets, there has been very limited research on the traditional food retail sector and, more particularly, on mapping the geographies of traditional food markets and their links with wholesale markets and farmers' markets. As a first step, this empirical research maps these contemporary geographies and considers how market and place are entwined in a relationship that has adapted to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning over time. Section 5.3 maps and identifies patterns of concentration at different geographical scales using database research on traditional markets, wholesale markets and farmers' markets and, using analysis from the email survey, discusses how these historical shifts and cultural legacies are mutually implicated in these geographical relationships with place.

5.3 Geographies of traditional food markets

5.3.1. Types of traditional food markets

At the end of February 2009, there were 2,105 food markets of all types operating in the UK (Table 5.1). Types A – G (inclusive) were classified as traditional food markets and this gave a total of 1,124 operating in the UK. This figure is consistent with the number of retail markets (1,169) identified in the Rhodes Survey (2005). In addition, 26 wholesale markets, 605 farmers' markets

and 350 country markets were also identified.[16] The numbers emphasised a dominance of *outdoor* markets, including traditional food markets (42%) and farmers' markets (23%), although sizeable numbers from every category continued to operate as indoor markets (35% of total markets).

Table 5.1: All types of food markets in the UK, 2009

Type of market	Nos. UK markets	Percent
A. General traditional outdoor	697	33.1
B. General traditional indoor	199	9.5
C. Combined general traditional indoor/outdoor	56	2.6
D. General traditional outdoor with car boot	51	2.4
E. Speciality/continental markets	77	3.7
F. 'inShops'*	38	1.8
G. Community markets	6	0.1
K. Wholesale markets	26	1.2
L. Farmers' market indoors	118	5.6
M. Farmers' market outdoors	487	23.1
N. Country market indoors	328	15.6
O. Country market outdoors	22	1.0
Total	**2105**	**100.0**

Source: Author's national database of UK markets, 2009
*nationwide network of shopping centres and market halls

However, these figures should be interpreted with some caution because they do not reflect the temporality of each market. For example, traditional food markets operated most frequently on 1 day (35%), 2 days (21%) and 6 days (20%) a week trading cycles, whereas farmers' markets were most likely to operate on 1 day a

[16] Country markets, the new structure for markets run by the Women's Institute, were also added as another niche market selling food (although sales of fresh food are more limited on these markets). The umbrella organisation operating these markets is Country Markets Ltd (CML), a co-operative organisation with a membership of 65 regional market societies. More than 12,000 producers are shareholders of the societies, selling items locally and co-operatively and directly to the public.

month, 1 day a week or twice monthly trading cycles. Therefore, the numbers of trading days for traditional food markets were significantly higher than those for farmers' markets.

Further analysis demonstrated that traditional food markets were run principally by the public sector (60%), although 29% were run by the private sector and a further 9% were operated as public/private partnerships. This indicates a continuation of the shift from sole public sector operators that dominated the early 1970s (Kirk et al., 1972) towards a more split pattern of public and private operators (Rhodes, 2005). This has been accompanied by more recent growth in public/private partnerships. There is also evidence of a similar shift for wholesale markets. Seventy-three per cent were in public sector hands in 1994 (Shaw et al., 1994), whereas 43% remained in this operating structure in 2008 [17] . In contrast, although the majority of farmers' markets continued to be operated as community membership organisations (45%), there was an indication of growth in public sector (29%) and private sector (13%) operating structures.

5.3.2. Regional figures

Analysis of the raw data found that the South East (305), the South West (284) and the Eastern (237) regions had the highest numbers of food markets of *all* types operating. Although most regions had reasonable numbers of traditional food markets, the North West (158), London (144) and the South East regions (124) had the most, whereas the North East region had significantly fewer (48) (see Table 5.2) [18]. Despite the fact that no primary wholesale market was located in the Eastern region, a buoyant number of traditional food markets was also notable. There were reasonable numbers of farmers' markets in most regions (this corresponds with Holloway and Kneafsey's (2000) earlier findings). The South East (102), South West (100) and Eastern (78) regions had the highest numbers and, once again, the North East had significantly fewer.

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[17] www.nabma.com/UserFiles/.../wholesale-forum---11th-june-2010-1.doc [accessed 18 March, 2011]

[18] Data gathered on Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales has been excluded from the analysis.

Table 5.2: All types of market in the UK by Government Office Region (GOR)

GOR	All food markets	Traditional food markets	Wholesale markets	Farmers' markets	Country markets
Eastern	**237**	107	0	78	52
East Midlands	**172**	94	3	48	27
London	**198**	144	5	47	2
North East	**72**	48	2	14	8
Northern Ireland	**25**	15	1	6	3
North West	**226**	158	4	48	16
Scotland	**79**	37	2	40	
South East	**305**	124	2	102	77
South West	**284**	101	1	100	82
Wales	**171**	86	1	42	42
West Midlands	**173**	101	1	42	29
Yorks. &Humberside	**163**	109	4	38	12
Totals	**2105**	**1124**	**26**	**605**	**350**

Source: Author's national database of UK markets, 2009

5.3.3 *Mapping traditional food markets*

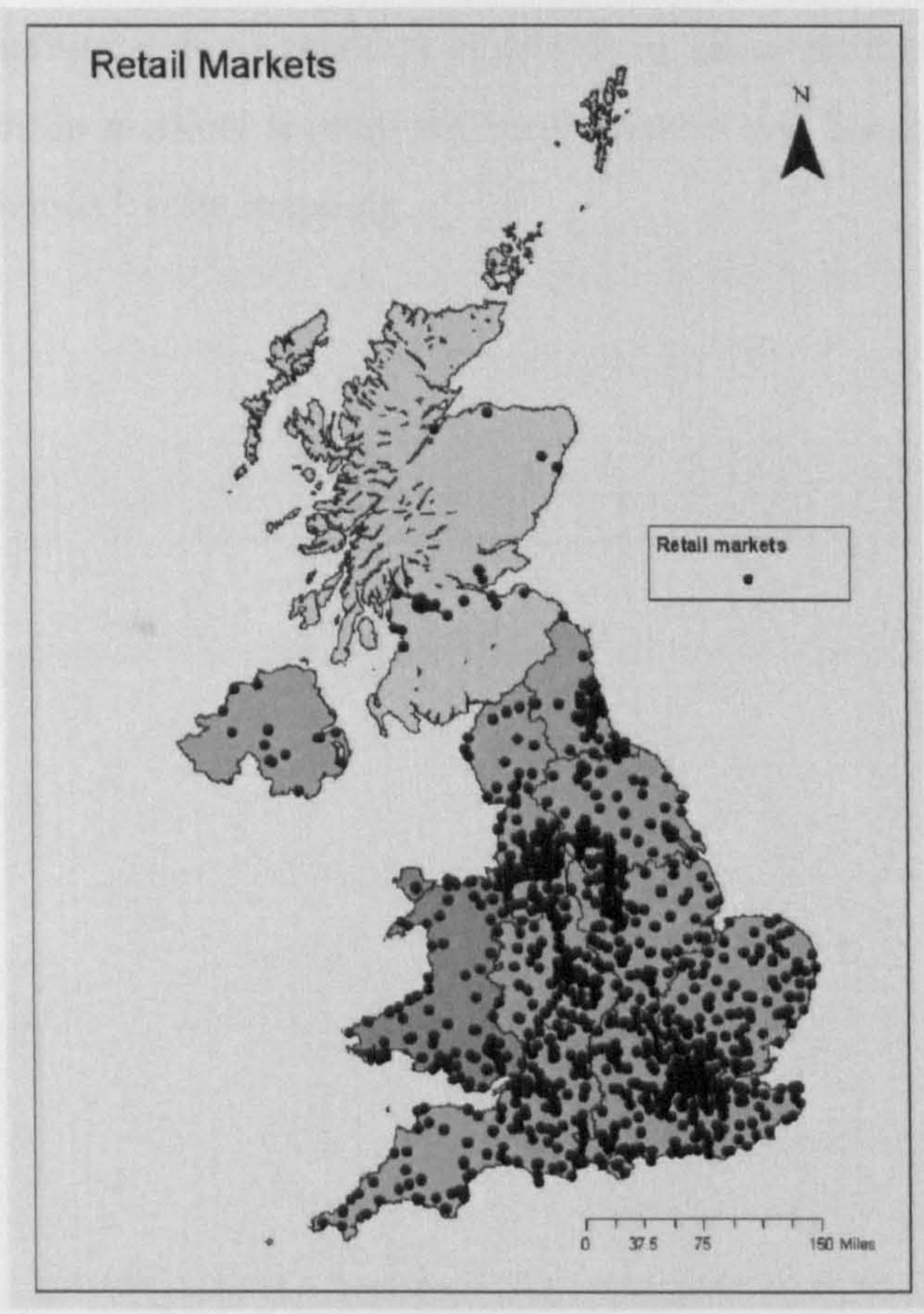
In order to combine these quantitative accounts with 'the nuance and perspective of qualitative reflections' (Wheeldon, 2010: 88), the current spread and distribution of markets at postcode level were mapped from the geocoded data. Each mapping was then contextualised by drawing on key regulatory, economic and cultural factors that have affected these geographies over time.

The mapping starts with traditional food markets (outdoor and indoor) and this demonstrates a concentration through the central corridor of England, with a swathe of markets down through the North West, the Midlands, the South East and London (Figure 5.1). This can be explained, in part, by industrial growth and agricultural change that took place between the second half of eighteenth and in the nineteenth century. Industrialisation was accompanied by an increase in market hall building and a proliferation of street markets, particularly in London[19], to feed the growing populations in these areas. This generated a raft of market reform acts and in England alone, some 400 Acts of Parliament were

[19] There was no history of market hall building in London and the capital's 'street markets' are not strictly markets in the legal sense of the word but are groups of individual street traders – licensed under the London Corporation Act.

passed during the nineteenth century (Tracey-White, 2005). During this period and into the first half of the twentieth century, nearly 50% of all new market halls were built in the industrial North West and the Midlands regions. The new wealth created by industrialisation in these regions also resulted in dietary change as consumer demand underwent a shift from bread to meat. At the same time, there was a shift in agricultural production as the west began to increase its meat, dairy and vegetable production to feed growing demand (which also resulted in increased market hall building in the South West region). These changes were supported by the development of better networks of canals and roads to improve distribution (Schmiechen and Carls, 2000). This, in turn, led to a more centralised marketing system.

Figure 5.1: The spatial distribution of UK traditional food markets, 2009

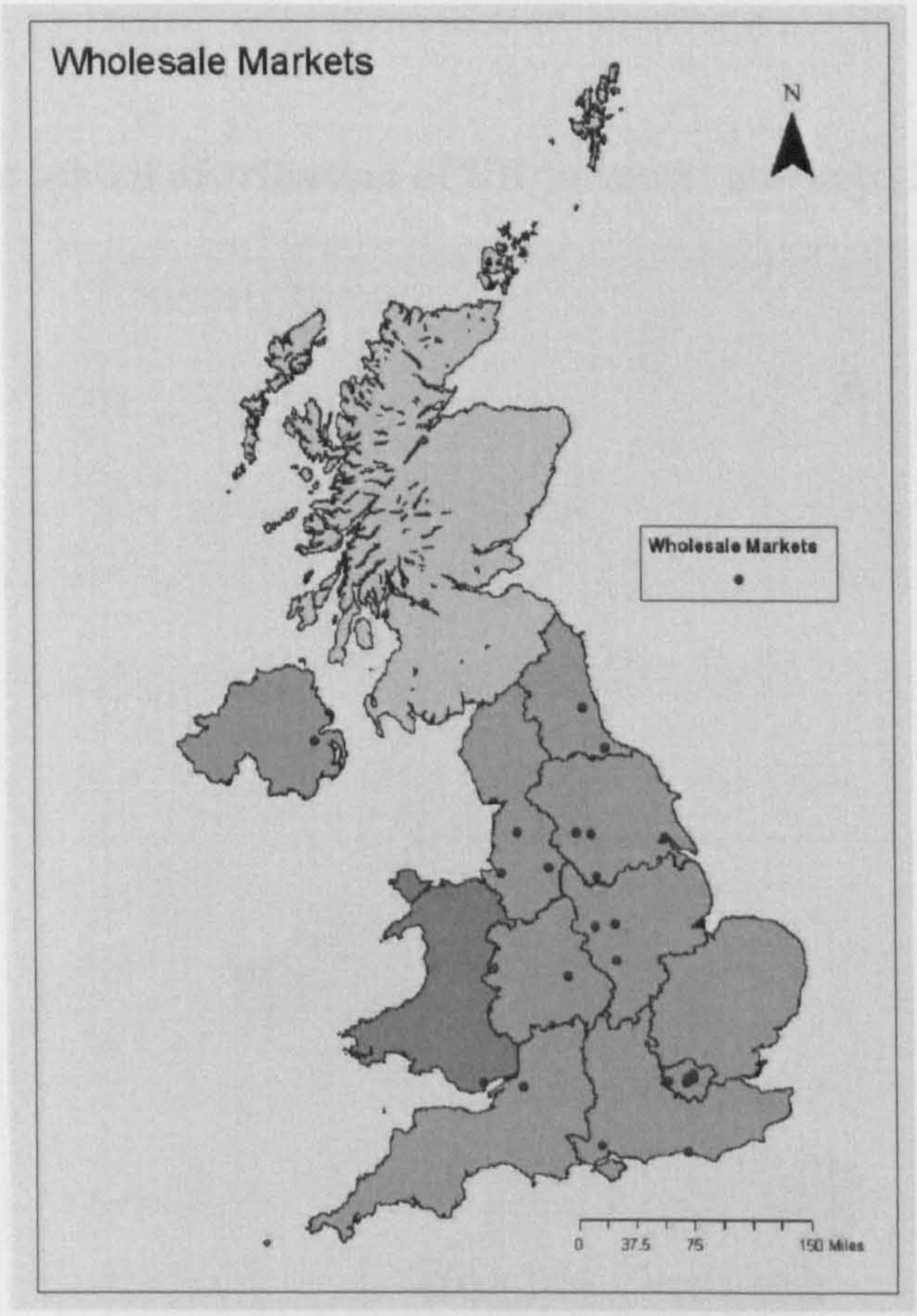


Source: Geocoded data from author's national database of UK markets, 2009

During the first part of the twentieth century, the First World War (WW1) raised issues of food security and national prices, and consumption controls disrupted peoples' day-to-day marketing habits. At the end of the war, national food policy ended but, as the rail system continued to improve transport links, the government encouraged the organisation of central wholesale markets in large towns to encourage more efficient food distribution. Wholesalers bought direct from small and medium producers and became central to the distribution of food, and this resulted in many small and medium-sized markets going out of business as food was transported around the country to the larger centres.

Mapping primary wholesale markets demonstrates a general swathe through the central backbone of the country (Figure 5.2). Their locations were integrated with the transport network and, in order to maximise the advantages of a nearby wholesaler, traditional food markets clustered in close proximity. The lack of primary wholesale markets serving the rural Eastern and South West regions is made more obvious by the mapping.

Figure 5.2: The spatial distribution of UK wholesale markets, 2009

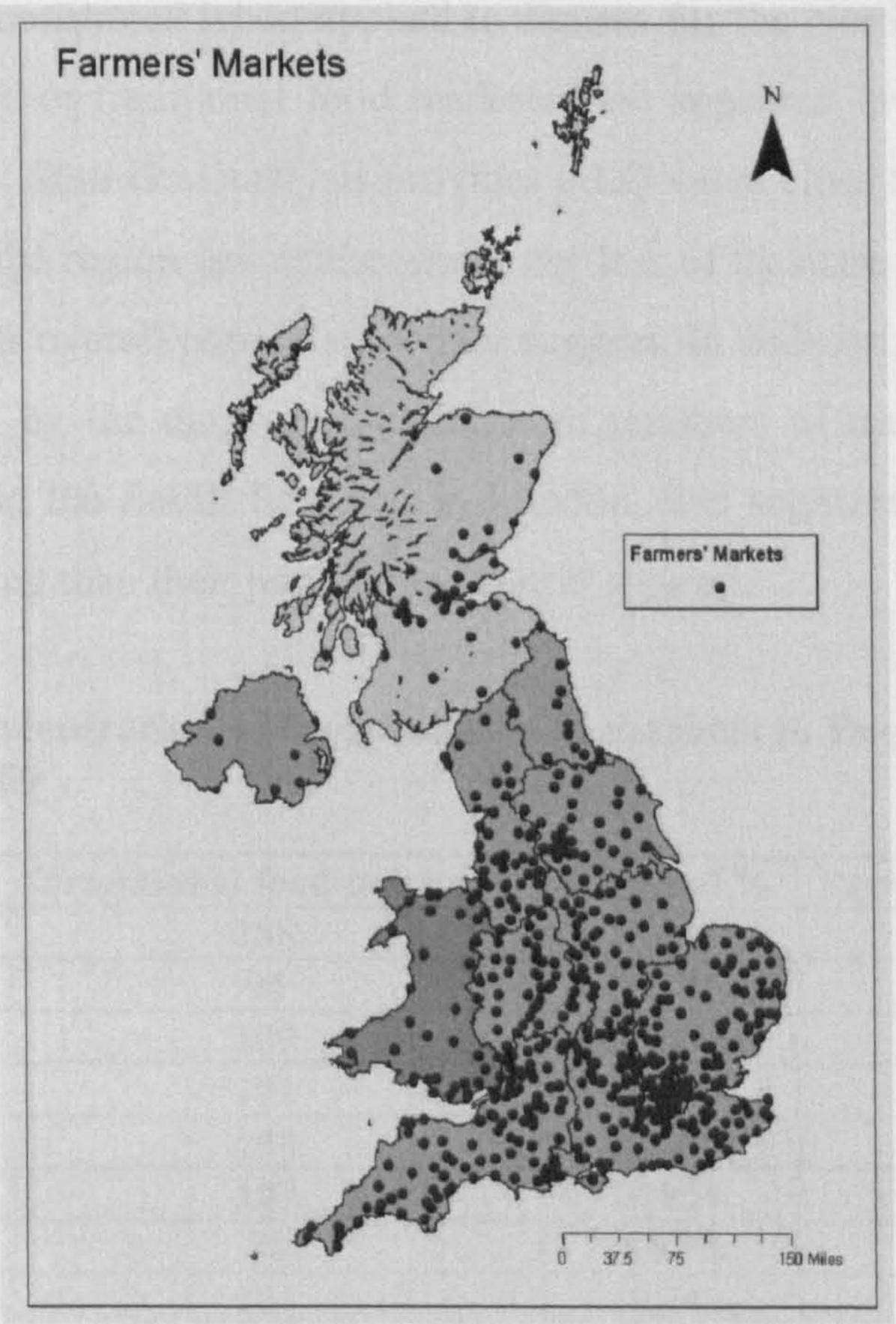


Source: Geocoded data from author's national database of UK markets, 2009

Just as the geographic spread of traditional food markets and wholesale markets could be seen to reflect the development of urban growth and the accompanying transport networks, so farmers' markets (which have only developed in this form over the past 20 years or so) have clustered more significantly where small producers are located, or where the population demographics, such as those who are more affluent, are able to support these more specialised niche markets (e.g. in the South East). Figure 5.3 maps these markets and, although they are quite well distributed throughout England, demonstrates heavier clustering in the South East, South West and Eastern regions. Clustering in these agricultural areas could also reflect the fact that the direct producer-consumer trading relations on farmers' markets eliminate the need for a primary wholesale market infrastructure although, more recently, new regional food hubs (e.g. Suffolk food

hub[20]) are being developed to provide centralised distribution points for small local producers.

Figure 5.3: The spatial distribution of UK farmers' markets, 2009



Source: Geocoded data from author's national database of UK markets, 2009

These maps (Figures 5.1 – 5.3) provide an overall impression of the geographic distribution and concentration of traditional food markets, wholesale markets and farmers' markets. More detailed analysis, using location quotient (LQ) statistical analysis, provides a more accurate picture of the relative spatial distribution of traditional food markets at regional levels (see Table 5.3). These relative concentrations, relating the number of traditional food markets and population in the region to those at national levels, demonstrate the usefulness of further statistical disaggregation. For example, the reason why the South East has an LQ value of less than one (0.77) is because it has a relatively small number of

[20] http://www.suffolkfoodhub.com/Start.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f [accessed 14 May, 2011].

traditional food markets in relation to its total population. The North West, East Midlands and Yorkshire and Humberside have LQs over one, indicating that these regions have more traditional food markets than their populations would suggest i.e. a relative concentration. The particular value of the LQ as a ratio measure can be demonstrated when applied to figures for the North East region where total numbers of traditional food markets (48) appeared low in the raw data (see Table 5.2). Statistical analysis provides a LQ value close to one (0.97), demonstrating that the region has neither more nor less of its share of traditional food markets than its overall population would suggest. In addition, although the raw data generated by the database showed high numbers of traditional food markets operating in the South East and in London, this segmentation reveals less markets operating than their populations would suggest.

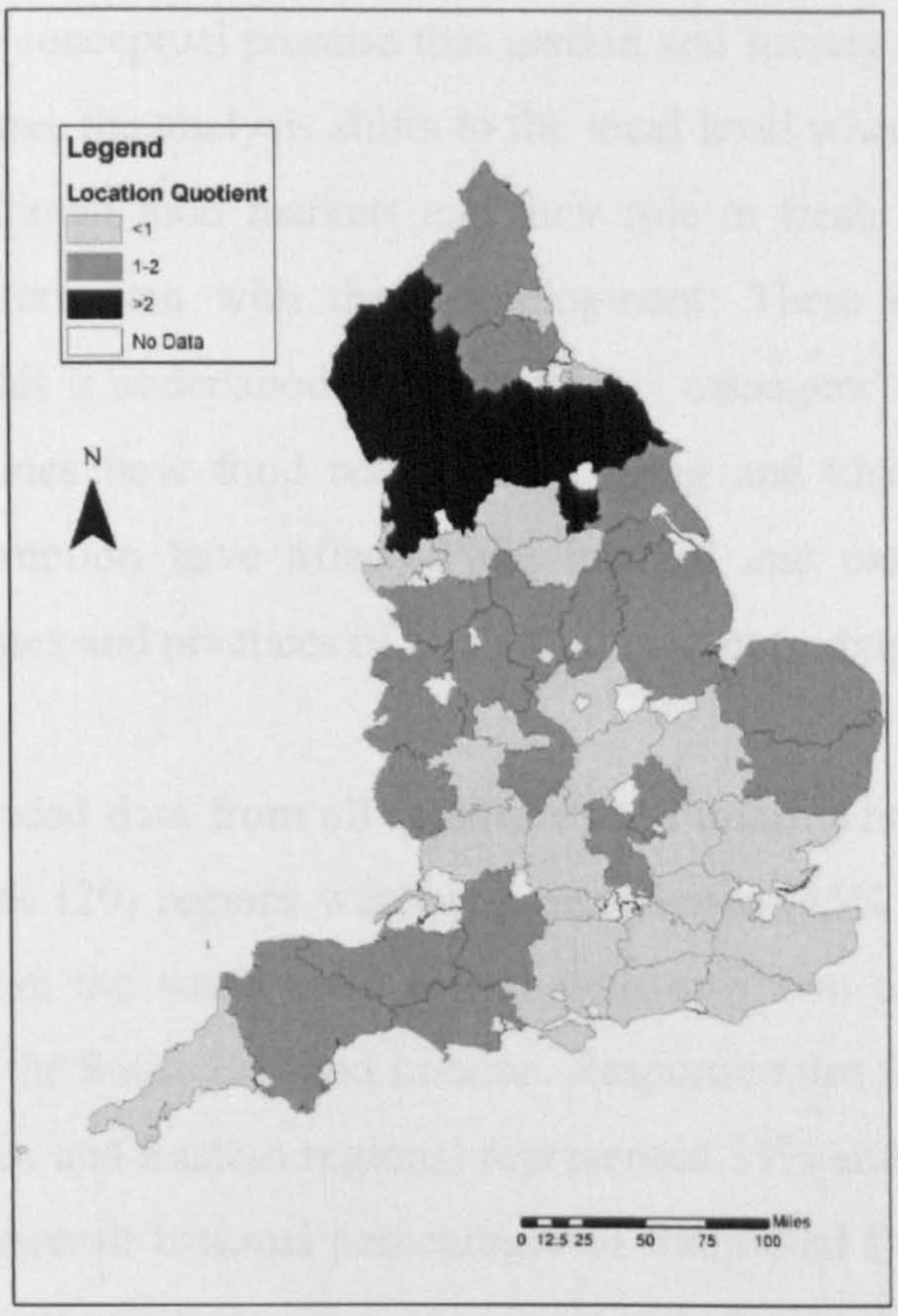
Table 5.3: The concentration of traditional food markets in English regions in terms of LQ, 2009

GOR in England	Traditional food markets	Regional %	Location Quotient
North West	158	16.02%	**1.19**
East Midlands	94	9.53%	**1.11**
Yorks & Humberside	109	11.05%	**1.09**
South West	101	10.24%	**1.02**
London	144	14.60%	**0.99**
Eastern	107	10.85%	**0.98**
North East	48	4.87%	**0.97**
West Midlands	101	10.24%	**0.97**
South East	124	12.58%	**0.77**
Totals	**986**	**100.00%**	

Source: LQ analysis of author's national database of UK markets, 2009

The above regional patterns become more apparent when the LQ values are mapped at a county scale (see Figure 5.4). In this instance, the relative concentrations found in the regions of the North West and Yorkshire and Humberside are reflected in the high LQs of Cumbria (2.38), Lancashire (2.35) and North Yorkshire (2.86). However, relative concentrations found at the regional level for the East Midlands are less pronounced at the county level. The low LQ levels of counties in the South East, where almost all counties, and London too, have LQs of less than 1.00, stand out in stark contrast.

Figure 5.4: The county distribution of traditional food markets in England, 2009



Source: LQ analysis of author's national database of UK markets, 2009

The chapter has thus far examined some of the historical shifts and continuities that have influenced the development of markets, including wider developments in food chain provisioning and retail and the geographical distribution of markets in the UK and specifically in England. Although this begins to build the contemporary contextual 'picture' of traditional food markets, there has been limited research on the national-level perspective of those managing and operating these markets. Following Jackson's (2010: 148) point that the culture of the traditional food market is 'made concrete' through the patterns of social organisation and specific social practices on the ground'. The next sub-section presents an analysis of market managers' perspectives. The analysis is triangulated with some of the database findings and provides important contextualisation for the subsequent case study analyses presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.3.4. Market manager/operator perspectives

Working from the conceptual premise that market and society mutually adjust to each other over time, the analysis shifts to the local level where the institutional structures of traditional food markets and their role in fresh food provisioning remain tightly interwoven with their development. There is a need to pay attention to how this is understood from the market managers' perspective[21]; this sub-section examines how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the internal and external spaces that support the processes and practices of fresh food market trading.

Respondents provided data from all regions (82 in total). The North West (17) and West Midlands (20) regions were well represented (45% of total), whereas response rates from the south were lower, with only two and five responses respectively from the South East and London. Response rates from the case study regions (North East and Eastern regions) represented 11% and 4%, respectively. Table 5.4 shows overall national percentages of traditional food markets at the national level against questionnaire response rates. In line with findings from the raw data in the database, where 60% of traditional markets were operated by the public sector, the vast majority of respondents came from the public sector (79%). All other categories of operating structure were also represented, except for those markets operated under a membership structure. Forty-two percent of respondents came from long-standing markets that operated under a market charter.[22]

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[21] For ease of reference, the chapter uses 'market manager' as shorthand for market manager/operator from this point forward.

[22] Market charters grant the right for a market to be held in a specific location on a specific day(s) of the week with franchise rights protected by a distance of six and two thirds miles. These rights are still exercised but the charter also enables the holder to grant a licence to a third party enabling another market to be held within the six and two thirds mile radius if required.

Table 5.4: Regional response rates to email survey

GOR	Percentage traditional food markets at regional level	Response rates to questionnaire at regional level
Eastern	11%	11%
East Midlands	10%	15%
London	15%	6%
North East	5%	4%
North West	16%	19%
South East	13%	2%
South West	10%	5%
West Midlands	10%	24%
Yorks. & Humberside	11%	11%

Source: Email questionnaire survey of traditional food market managers, 2009

5.3.4.1. The traditional food market and retail restructuring

Analysis of the survey data found 55% of markets operating with between 10-100 stalls; those operating with over 50 stalls accounted for 28% of the total. In addition, a reasonable proportion of survey respondents (33%) operated markets with 100-250 stalls available each week. However, this was more likely to be a reflection of the sample (a sizeable number of large, urban markets responded, particularly from the North West region) rather than from the overall picture. The questionnaire also asked market managers about stall occupancy rates. Data showed that 76% of markets operated with over 60% occupancy, with 50% operating with at least 80% occupancy. Although this does not indicate any obvious decline in market size or activity, there is the possibility that either many of the markets that responded were run by active local authorities working to maintain the market as an economic and/or social hub, and/or the individual markets appeared successful because a rationalisation of market provision had taken place.

The physical structure of each traditional market helps determine how trading takes place and also acts as a frame for social activity (see Chapter 3). Managers' responses to questions about how they thought the economic downturn (from September, 2008) was affecting their markets provided more insight into current

market activity. Responses to questions about the numbers of traders operating, the numbers of shoppers on the market, and about average spend in the previous seven month period reflected a picture of overall decline (an average of 44% across all three areas). Overall, 38% of respondents felt, however, that there had been no change, and 21% had detected an increase in all three areas. These figures reflected a mixed picture at the beginning of the recession with some markets, and areas of the country, doing better than others. For example, the North West and West Midlands regions had high numbers of market managers reporting decline across all three areas, whereas the majority (70%) of market managers in the East Midlands considered that there had been no change in trader numbers, and 72% considered that there had been either no change or an increase in shopper numbers over the previous seven months. In the case study regions, market managers in the Eastern and North East regions reported little overall change, although responses in the Eastern region reflected a small increase in numbers of traders selling food and managers in the North East region detected a small decrease in overall trader numbers. A minority of managers in both regions detected a decrease in average spend on their markets.

Market managers were also questioned about other food markets held on the same or adjoining sites and about competition from other food retailers within one mile of the traditional marketplace. This aimed to explore how the institutional structures of traditional food markets and their role in fresh food provisioning had been affected by more specific changes in retail activity that surrounded the marketplace. The data reflected a growing trend for traditional market sites to be used once (or twice) a month for farmers' markets. The data from the database found that 156 traditional markets (16%) shared postcodes with farmers' markets. In the survey data, 24 traditional markets (29%) had other markets held on sites with the same postcode and the majority of these were farmers' markets. In addition, 46 respondents (56%) said that other markets were also held nearby, including outdoor general markets and farmers' markets.

Spatial disaggregation (Table 5.5) of shared use of the traditional market site with farmers' markets showed high numbers across a number of regions,

particularly in the Eastern, South East and South West regions. Low numbers in London were likely to be a reflection of the nature of the capital's street market trading. In addition, Table 5.4 shows that the majority of markets that shared sites in the East Midlands and the North West regions were also held on the same day. This could be seen to support the Select Committee's (CLGSC, 2009: para.66) view that there is 'no reason why farmers' markets should not retain their identity within a larger 'ordinary' market', and suggests a process of adaptation bound up with the internal structuring of the marketplace itself.

Table 5.5: Regional breakdowns of shared postcodes/same day operation with farmers' markets

GOR	Shared postcodes: traditional & farmers' markets	Operating on same day
Eastern	25	5
East Midlands	18	14
London	6	2
North East	6	3
North West	19	16
South East	28	8
South West	21	9
West Midlands	15	8
Yorks. & Humberside	18	7
Totals	**156**	**72**

Source: Author's national database of UK markets, 2009

The survey went on to probe further about other food retailers within one mile of the market and on the degree of interaction with these other food retailers. Respondents were asked about the numbers of superstores, supermarkets, convenience stores, independent grocery stores, take-outs, and cafes and restaurants in the vicinity (see Table 5.6). Response rates were patchy for some categories as the 'unknown' category demonstrates, perhaps indicating the sheer numbers involved, with an overall impression of intense competition. For example, of those that responded, 34 markets were competing with up to 10 superstores, and 18 markets were competing with a similar number of supermarkets within a one-mile radius.

Table 5.6: Response rates for the number of other food retailers within one mile of the traditional food market

	1 – 5	5 – 10	10 – 20	Over 20	Unknown
Superstores	24	10	1	0	47
Supermarkets	55	18	1	2	6
Convenience stores	39	16	7	3	17
Independent grocery stores	37	13	3	3	26
Take-outs	21	21	13	16	11
Cafes and restaurants	21	26	9	20	5

Source: Email questionnaire survey of traditional food market managers, 2009

Respondents were also asked to mark the degree of interaction with other food retailers in the vicinity on a scale that went from no contact to a close working relationship. The majority (59%) indicated that there was limited interaction and sixteen respondents (20%) said that there was no interaction. The limited interaction with other food retailers could, in part, be historical because most markets will have preceded other retail development. Studies that have looked at this from the viewpoint of other food retailers suggest that their trade increases on market days (see for e.g. Taylor et al., 2005) but the market managers' responses indicate that these benefits were not shared. Overall, 59% said that the pricing of other retailers was the factor that was most detrimental to market trade.

These findings add to the contextual picture of how traditional markets are intimately linked with the towns and cities where they are located and these relationships are probed more deeply as part of the case study research, presented in Chapters 6 and 7. However, in order to address the aims of this research, there is a need to look more specifically at the role of fresh food as it journeys through the market system and examine how changing patterns of fresh food provisioning have affected traditional food market exchange.

5.3.4.2. Fresh food provisioning

The survey asked market managers for their impressions about who was shopping on their markets, before going on to probe about the fresh food on sale.

In general, the responses indicated that those aged over 40 years were most significant[23] and the over 60s were also regarded as a significant group. Market managers in the East and West Midlands, the North West, and Yorkshire and Humberside reported high numbers of older shoppers, whereas data from the more rural Eastern and South West regions and the North East identified a more mixed range of shoppers by age. Market managers in London recorded high numbers of shoppers aged between 40-60 years, but none recorded people aged over 60 years as shopping on their markets. Admittedly, these are small and largely impressionistic samples (although it is argued that the day-to-day engagement that market managers have with their markets' activities implies an informed position). Nevertheless, what these data appear to show could relate, in part, to population demographics. As the mapping work demonstrated, there is a strong tradition of shopping on traditional markets in the North West and Midlands regions and this could explain the higher numbers of older shoppers. The more mixed age-ranges identified in the rural regions of the East and South West could be explained by higher numbers of tourists and visitors visiting markets in these areas (see for e.g. Powe, 2006, Bessière, 1998). Indeed, further disaggregation of the data by types of shopper found that market managers in these regions considered that tourists represented significant numbers of shoppers on their markets (56% and 75% respectively). Others identified significant numbers of shoppers aged 20-40 years. For example, more than 50% of market managers in the East and West Midlands and in London indicated this was the case. Further disaggregation indicated that office workers were significant shoppers on markets in these regions (75%, 100% and 60% respectively) which could, in part, explain why managers perceived the presence of these younger shoppers.

Thus, despite commonly held beliefs that the 'traditional' market shopper tends to be older, the data suggest a more nuanced picture, related to the historical development of traditional markets, regional demographics and changing social and cultural norms. In order to pursue these ideas further, the incremental analysis went on to factor in the distance shoppers travelled to the market. In

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[23] *'Significant' is taken to be 20% or over.*

total, 93% of respondents identified local people, travelling up to 10 miles, as principal shoppers. This could correlate with the preponderance of older local people and office workers already identified as shoppers. (40% and 20% respectively). Those travelling from the local region and from within the UK and international visitors shopping on the markets were also identified by market managers as notable groups of shoppers (10%). Although this demonstrates a clear indication that local people remain core market shoppers, those travelling from further afield, particularly from within the region, are also significant and this correlates with data on the numbers of tourists and visitors shopping on markets. However, how much economic trade tourists contributed to the markets, appeared debatable. Forty-five percent of respondents said that their presence on the market was helpful, but not essential, and only 9% found tourists or recreational shoppers essential to market trade.

Finally, the analysis looked at fresh food. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the amount of fresh food available on traditional markets is in decline (Rhodes, 2005). However, 72% of survey respondents considered the sale of fresh food to be very important to the success of the market and less than 4% felt that food sales were either becoming less important or were not very important. Fresh fruit and vegetables have historically been the 'anchor' stalls on traditional food markets; thus, it was predictable that market managers would consider fresh food sales important. The survey then went on to gather data on just *how* important these sales remained in the opinion of the market managers. Overall, 67% of respondents operated markets with a maximum of 20 food traders. When this was analysed as a percentage of total traders on each market, 40% of managers indicated that food traders were more than 25% of total traders and a further 16% said that they represented more than 50% of total traders. In the case study Eastern and North East regions, 67% and 60% respectively of market managers indicated that more than 25% of traders sold fresh food. Of the 67% of managers in the Eastern region who reported that more than 25% of their traders sold fresh food, 44% indicated that traders selling fresh food represented more than 50% of total traders on their markets. Low percentages of food traders were also

identified on individual markets in most regions, including parts of the North West (for example, in Manchester) and West Midlands (for example, in Dudley).

The questionnaire also asked specific questions about the categories of fresh food on sale. The majority of managers ranked vegetables and salad, fresh fruit and meat as key categories (in that order). Only three managers considered trade in fish as key to fresh food sales but this could simply be a reflection of the more limited presence of fish traders on many markets. Forty-four percent of managers in the Eastern region considered fruit and vegetable sales the most important in terms of volumes sold, whereas market managers in the North East region rated meat sales as either the first or second most important category in terms of volumes of fresh food sold on the markets. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the changing role of fresh food on the case study markets, including categories and volumes sold and more culturally derived explanations for these changes.

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the relationship between AFNs and conventional food chains is increasingly blurred (Maye et al, 2007). The questionnaire attempted to probe how, or whether, market managers made distinctions between global and locally produced fresh food sold on their markets. It first asked about their definition of 'local' food. This produced a range of responses. The majority (85%) used the definition of produce from the local area (within a radius of 50 miles), although others (24%) used the region (e.g. apples from Kent), and a small number (13%) used the UK (e.g. raspberries from Scotland). When asked whether they thought that locally sourced fresh food brought more trade to the market, their responses were split almost equally. Of those surveyed, 44% felt that it did make a difference to trade and 40% felt that it made no difference. These responses could relate to patterns of multiple deprivation in towns and cities where the availability of cheap fresh food was considered a critical factor for fresh food sales. However, when these responses were compared at regional levels, other more complex factors also appeared to be implicated in the findings. For example, whereas market managers in the East and West Midlands felt that locally produced food made a difference to sales (58% and 50% respectively), only 22% made the distinction in the more rural Eastern region. These

differences could link back, in part, to previous findings. For example, the raw data showed that there were significant numbers of farmers' markets held on the same site and on the same day in the Midlands' regions, whereas in the Eastern region the farmers' markets were held on the same site but were generally held on different days. Thus the distinction between local and industrially produced food was more evident to managers in the Midlands, whereas in the more agricultural Eastern region distinctions appeared less important. This could be because locally produced food had always been integrated into the existing fresh food offer, or if a decision had been made to minimise competition between the traditional market and the farmers' market.

By engaging with Polanyi's conceptual premise that the social institutions of market and place support each other over time, Chapter 5 has examined the historical shifts and continuities, cultural legacies (Everts and Jackson, 2009) and processes of adaptation that have influenced how the market is understood in its contemporary context. Analysis of the empirical data has, however, focused more particularly on how the *physical* location of each market is unique and how this contributes to each market's particular identity. Chapters 6 and 7 continue to examine the geographies of the traditional food market and, using the conceptual framework elaborated in Chapter 3, move to the local level and the case study research.

5.4 Chapter Summary

Working from the conceptual premise that market and place are both spatially varied and change as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and practices, this chapter has presented empirical data on how the *physical* location of each market contributes to its own particular identity. Four key points emerge from this analysis:

- spatial distribution patterns of food markets reflect their geographical relationship with place;

- historical shifts and cultural legacies are mutually implicated in these geographical relationships with place;
- market and place are intertwined in a relationship that has adapted to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning over time; and
- this 'fixity' of form and identity is contextualised by the commercial pressures and cultures of the surrounding food retail landscape (Freidberg, 2004).

Chapter 6

DESCRIBING THE CONTEXT: THE CASE STUDY SITES

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 introduces the case study research using the indoor Grainger Market, Newcastle and the outdoor Cambridge market as primary sites, and the farmers' markets in these cities and other food markets in the nearby market towns of Alnwick and Ely as secondary case study sites for research.

Chapter 5 'set the scene' at a national scale and began to construct a contextual 'picture' of the traditional food market in its contemporary setting using database analysis and market managers' perspectives to examine some of the effects of retail restructuring and changing food shopping habits on these markets. Using quantitative and qualitative research, Chapter 6 acts as a 'bridge' between the quantitative (and to a more limited extent, qualitative findings) of Chapter 5 and the qualitative findings of the case study research examined in Chapter 7. It starts to examine how market and place adapt to each other over time and space using *specific* examples of traditional food markets in a real-life context and within particular times and spaces.

Following Bestor's (2004: 16) assertion that 'instituted arrangements create frameworks for marketplace activity', the chapter explores in more depth how specific external and internal spaces that support traditional food market exchange are affected by the interaction between wider socio-demographic processes and economic change and localized retail restructuring and changing fresh food shopping and consumption habits. As argued in Chapter 3, a detailed understanding of these wider frames of influence, including a baseline appreciation of the external and internal dynamics of the market, is necessary to contextualise processes of market exchange (examined in Chapter 7). The first section, therefore, examines the *external spaces* that surround and shape the

contemporary marketplace. The examination moves from the particular case study cities and towns, including the retail settings that surround the primary market sites in Newcastle and Cambridge, to the changing economic circumstances and socio-demographics of the North East and Eastern regions of England and the effects on their geographies and food systems. The second section examines the *internal space* of the market place. This looks in particular at change in the amount of fresh food traded on each market and draws comparisons between the urban and the rural settings examined in this study and between the amounts of fresh food traded on traditional and farmers' markets. In order to further contextualise the qualitative case study findings in Chapter 7, empirical findings that relate to the monetised value attributed to fresh food are woven through the narrative, including analysis of shopping basket survey findings and of the amounts that shoppers interviewed for the research spent on fresh food in these markets.

6.2 The external space: the case study towns/cities and their regions

Traditional markets are intimately linked with the towns and cities where they are located (see Chapter 3) and this section starts by describing the effects of economic restructuring and social mobility on the economies of the cities of Newcastle and Cambridge over the past 10 years, including the more particular effects on fresh food retailing in these cities. It goes on to compare and contrast the geographies and food production capacities and strategies of the North East and Eastern regions of England where the case study research took place.

6.2.1. The primary case study sites: Newcastle and Cambridge

Historically, the economic activity of both Newcastle and Cambridge was connected to their geographic locations as ports. The economy of Newcastle was based on exporting coal, shipbuilding and heavy engineering. However, as a result of industrial decline, Newcastle underwent massive restructuring in the second half of the 20th century, leaving widespread unemployment. The economy recovered to some extent in the 1980s and 1990s, partly due to the

relocation of some multinational companies attracted by government grants and a large labour-force, but this was short-lived as companies rapidly moved on to cheaper global locations (Madanipour and Merridew, 2007). Cambridge has never been a heavy industry city but its position on the river, navigable all the way to the coast, meant it became a prosperous trading route to mainland Europe. In addition, the University of Cambridge had an immense effect on its economic development and continues to do so. Cambridge has remained an expanding economy benefiting more recently as a world-leading high technology cluster[24].

Over the last 10 years, both cities have developed as 'service economies'. This development in Newcastle was assisted in part by an influx of migrants (URBACT, 2010). However, in the two years up to April 2010, as the economic downturn took hold, many low-skilled workers lost their jobs and unemployment rose by more than 50% in some areas. Cambridge has not been affected in the same way, and in the 12-month period up to January 2011, unemployment had a rate rise of just 0.4%[25]. Both cities developed their knowledge economies as part of their development as service centres and, despite the population of Cambridge[26] being only 50% of that of Newcastle[27], comparable numbers of students live and study in each city (approx. 40,000). As a result, the current economies and job markets for both cities are highly dependent on the public sector: 38% in Newcastle and 42% in Cambridge respectively. In addition, both cities have developed their tourism and retail potential.

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[24] http://www.gcp.uk.net/int-phenomenon.php [accessed 29 Sept., 2011]

[25] www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/NR/.../Unemployment_Briefing_Jan11.pdf [accessed 29 Sept., 2011]

[26] In 2008, Cambridge city had a resident population of 122,800; 73.2% were of working age and there were at least a further 40,000 students resident in the city. http://www.cambridge.gov.uk/ccm/content/business/business-information-and-advice/economic-data/business-and-employment-statistics.en [accessed 29 Dec., 2010]

[27] The city of Newcastle has a population of around 250,000 and, together with Gateshead (200,000), forms the economic centre of the Newcastle city-region made up of five municipalities around the Tyne and Wear Valley, with a total population of 1.65 million people. Since 1981, the population of Newcastle and Gateshead has declined by 7.3%, although there was a modest recovery after 2000, largely due to the growing student population and an influx of migrants as the city-region attempted to re-invent itself as a 'service city' (URBACT, 2010)

6.2.2 The secondary case study sites

The market town of Alnwick (pop. 8,000) is approximately half the size of Ely (pop.15,000) and twice the distance from Newcastle as Ely is from Cambridge (30 miles and 15 miles respectively). As a consequence, Alnwick appears to concentrate more on operating as a service hub for the surrounding locality, rather than drawing on its connections with Newcastle and has prioritised developing its tourism potential. Ely benefits from its closer proximity to Cambridge and the rapid growth of the technology cluster and, as well as developing its tourism potential, also services overspill from the expanding city. Both Alnwick and Ely are developing plans to regenerate their central market place areas.

6.2.3. Other food retailers and the price of fresh food

Newcastle city centre, including the area round the Grainger market hall building, has experienced rapid redevelopment over the past 10 years. Adjacent areas to the market are prime locations for multiple retailers and the Grainger Street/Market Street area has attracted a number of more up-market retailers on the north side, whereas to the south discount retailers remain dominant. The email survey with market managers demonstrated intense competition from other food retailers in the immediate vicinity of their markets (Chapter 5) and this finding is replicated here with 236 food and drink outlets were operating in Newcastle city centre in 2006. The historic architecture of the city centre was fostering the growth of speciality shops, cafes, restaurants and bars, particularly in the Grainger Town area where the market hall building is sited (Donaldsons, 2007). Cambridge also offers a wide-range of up-market shopping around the central outdoor marketplace. Despite being branded as the number one 'clone town' in Britain by the New Economics Foundation in 2010[28], the retail arcades

[28] The New Economics Foundation coined the term 'clone town' to describe the increasing growth of chain stores on UK high streets http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/retailandconsumer/8002237/Cambridge-the-worst-clone-town-in-Britain.html [accessed 29 Dec., 2010]

are fully let and the independent sector survives to some extent alongside the major brands.

Findings from the email survey indicated that the majority of market managers (59%) considered the pricing of other food retailers the factor most detrimental to market trade. A shopping basket survey was conducted in Newcastle as part of the research in order to provide evidence of how the costs of fresh produce on the traditional market compared with others in high and mid-range supermarkets located close by. A comparative analysis of pricing between the Grainger Market and the mid-range (Co-op) and top-of-the-range (Waitrose) supermarkets located nearby demonstrated that market prices were cheapest overall (£51.88). The cost of equivalent products in Waitrose (£59.63) came second and those in the Co-op (£63.81) were the most expensive; there was a price differential of £11.93 between the highest and lowest overall shopping basket prices. If the survey had been confined solely to fresh fruit and vegetables, and without supermarket '2 for 1' offers on fruit and meat, market prices would have been considerably cheaper.

More in-depth analysis of the survey data by category also showed that, although all of the fruit selected was imported at the beginning of November, market prices were still best value. Many of the vegetables selected were seasonal and those on the market tended to be UK produced which made them much cheaper than those available in the supermarkets. For example, market carrots sold at 44p per kilo and were on sale in the Co-op at 80p per kilo; a locally grown Savoy cabbage sold at 50p on the market and at £1.09 in Waitrose; potatoes in the market sold at 33p per kilo and those of a similar quality sold at 92p per kilo in Waitrose and the Co-op. Prices for meat were more competitive, with chicken being cheapest in Waitrose and, although lean minced beef and pork sausages were about 10% cheaper in the market, the Co-op's '2 for 1' deal made this more competitive. The price for fish (fresh cod) showed the most dramatic differences although it is likely that these differences reflected sourcing policies – which were not described on the market stall. The market price was £9.70 per kilo; it was £11.99 per kilo in Waitrose, and £19.95 in the Co-op. Comparisons with prices on the nearby farmers' market in Newcastle showed that organic carrots

were three times the price per kilo of those on the traditional market, cauliflowers were twice the price, as was fresh chicken (market price £2.85 per kilo, organic price £5.45), and lean minced beef (market price £4.99 per kilo, organic price £8.99 per kilo). Although this was not comparing like with like, the comparisons make useful reference points for comments made by shoppers and traders throughout the text in Chapter 7 which presents the majority of the findings from the case study research.

Comparisons were also made with Defra's wholesale market prices for the same week; some of the traditional market mark-ups are given below. What this appears to demonstrate is that imported, out of season fruit and vegetables are subject to more excessive price mark-ups, whereas for the seasonal vegetables, that were more likely to be regionally or UK produced, prices were kept low. This could be to ensure this produce moves through the market more quickly because it has a shorter shelf life, or because local people have a price 'limit' and are more knowledgeable about the pricing of seasonal vegetables or it may reflect that traders are buying shorter shelf life produce which costs less and is then reflected in the final market price.

Cox's apples	300% mark up
Onions	600% mark up
Tomatoes	300% mark up
Carrots	less than 100%
Cabbage	less than 100%
Cauliflower	less than 50%

Some less detailed comparisons were made on other markets in March 2010. For example, the price of carrots on Ely traditional market was 99p per kilo (a marked seasonal difference to those sold in Newcastle in November, at 44p per kilo); in the local Waitrose supermarket, East Anglian carrots were on sale at 79p per kilo; and on Ely farmers' market local carrots cost 90p per kilo and organic £1.40 per kilo. In addition, there were also price differences between pricing on traditional markets in the same local area. Cauliflowers were available for 99p on Cambridge market, whereas on Ely market they were priced at £1.40. This could suggest that increased competition kept the price down on the large city market

and/or that traders on more rural markets needed to charge more for fresh produce to cover higher transport costs (and the attendant possibility that competition was more limited and traders could 'get away' with charging more, or it was a place where consumers would be willing to pay more).

6.2.4. The North East and Eastern regions: their geographies and food

The case study markets are located in regions with different geographies, histories and approaches to food and farming. Approximately 80% of land in the North East region, where Newcastle and Alnwick are located, is classified as rural, although it has the smallest area of agricultural land use of all English regions[29]. Previously, One NorthEast[30] acted as the regional food group and had adopted a strategy to deliver more regionally produced food to the region[31]. This was largely reliant on developing a more co-ordinated infrastructure to support local producers and promote quality food.[32] In contrast, in the Eastern region where Cambridge and Ely are located, the former Regional Development Agency (East of England Development Agency) had a strategy to increase the value of food output by increasing primary agricultural production[33]. Farming, which tends to be commercial and on a large-scale, already accounts for 75%[34] of land use in this region and some of the biggest supermarket suppliers of carrots, onions, potatoes and pork are based in East Anglia. Thus small-scale farming practices in the North East, with a tradition of cattle and sheep farming, contrast with the large-scale crop and vegetable production of the agricultural Eastern region, although quality local food production has developed and is being promoted for its tourism potential in both regions.

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[29] http://www.onenortheast.co.uk/page/place/rural.cfm [accessed 23 March, 2011]
[30] http://www.onenortheast.co.uk/ [accessed 23 March, 2011]
[31] http://www.onenortheast.co.uk/lib/liReport/11569/NE_England_Regional_Food_Strategy_01.pdf [accessed 23 March 2011]
[32] http://www.northumbria-larder.co.uk/ [accessed 23 March, 2011]
[33] http://www.eeda.org.uk/files/2020_Vision_summary.pdf [accessed 23 March, 2011]
[34] http://www.eeda.org.uk/files/East_of_England_Rural_Forum_-_Vibrant_Rural_Communities_-_summary.pdf [accessed 23 March, 2011]

Some scholars (see for e.g. Kneafsey, 2010) are beginning to question the usefulness of (re-)regionalising food systems. However, the empirical data presented in Chapter 5 show some correlations with how the regional context has affected the traditional food markets in the North East and Eastern regions. For example, whilst the urban marketplace is no longer dependent on the rural hinterland for fresh food, regional segmentation demonstrates that the North East and Eastern regions have differing abilities to produce food and this has affected their traditional food systems. This can be demonstrated by three points of note that arise from the data. First, two primary wholesale markets supply traditional food markets in the North East and, in contrast, there is no primary wholesale market located in the Eastern region. This could suggest that those traditional food markets operating in the Eastern region are more dependent on locally grown produce. A second example further extends this point. Forty four percent of market managers in the Eastern region indicated that more than 50% of traders were selling fresh food on their markets. This could suggest that markets in this agricultural region not only sell more fresh food, but that it is more likely to be regionally or locally produced; and third, although there has been a strategy in the North East to deliver more regionally produced food to the region, the database findings for this study found 14 farmers' markets in the North East region and 78 in the Eastern region. Although these empirical finding do not necessarily contradict this strategy, it could reflect both the difficulty of local food producers remaining economically viable in this lagging rural region (Ilbery and Maye, 2005) and/or provide an indication of how economic expansion in some areas of the Eastern region has been accompanied by a change in food consumption culture that supports the development of farmers' markets. These observations, and their complexities, are considered further as part of the data presented below in Chapter 6 and also in Chapter 7.

The traditional food market is part of this larger picture, where regional geographies and the restructuring of fresh food provisioning systems affect local practices. Changing socio-demographics, social norms and cultural practices also affect the internal space of each market and the next section examines these aspects in the particular settings of the case study markets.

6.3 The internal space: the markets, their layouts and the fresh food on sale

This section presents brief profiles of each market, exploring how their histories and cultural legacies are implicated in their particular relationships with place. It also explores the socio-demographic profiles of each market and examines how this affects the amount and type of fresh food trading that takes place.

6.3.1. The primary case study markets

The Grainger Market is operated by the Property Services Division, Newcastle City Council. The market building is Grade 1 listed and has undergone major refurbishment since 2002 at a cost of £2 million. The market is open six days a week (Monday and Wednesday 09.00-17.00; Tuesday, Thursday - Saturday 09.00-17.30) and currently employs (directly and indirectly) 800 people. 228,000 individuals used the market in 2009[35] and in 2010, the market generated income of just over £1 million, off-set by £500,000 running costs. In November 2009, the market had 100 traders operating on shop-like units that were leased on a long-term basis, running at 93% capacity. In addition, Newcastle's farmers' market was established by the city council in August 2001 and takes place on the first Friday of each month on a nearby square.

Cambridge's city centre, open-air market operates six days a week (Monday – Saturday, from 10.00-16.00). Cambridge City Council has operated the market for the past 100 years and its management also falls within the Property Services division. In the financial year 2009-10[36], the Cambridge markets in total generated income of £669,000, off-set by expenditure of £312,000. Market stalls cost £14.33 to £31.98, depending on the location and day of the week, and there are on average 30 applications a week for stalls on the general market. In March

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[35] Total Research (2009) *'It's unique..': Use, non-use and perceptions of the Grainger Market.* Report of research undertaken on behalf of Newcastle City Council.

[36] http://www.cambridge.gov.uk/democracy/Published/StdDataDocs/4/5/2/0/SD00000254/DraftStatementofAccounts200910.pdf [accessed 14 May, 2011].

2010, there were 175 traders running 101 general market stalls throughout the six-day trading week. Cambridge's farmers' market, also operated by the city council, was established 12 years ago and runs on the traditional market site each Sunday between 10.00 and 16.00.

6.3.2. The markets on the secondary sites

Alnwick's outdoor markets are managed by Local Living (NE) Ltd, established in 2005 as a small social enterprise company. The traditional charter market operates in the central marketplace on Thursdays (April to December) and Saturdays each week and has about 30 stalls. The farmers' market (certified by FARMA since 2008) runs on the same site on the last Friday of each month. Ely's outdoor weekly general market of 50 stalls is held in the central market square each Thursday and trades from 08.30 to 15.30 and is operated by East Cambridgeshire District Council, Town Centres Division. Ely's farmers' market, established by the district council in 2000, runs fortnightly on the 2nd and 4th Saturday of every month and trades from 08.00 to 14.00. The market has been certified by FARMA since 2002.

These brief profiles highlight some of the shared and individual practices for the traditional food markets used as case studies for this research. For example, the traditional markets in Newcastle and Cambridge both operate six days a week. Ely continues to rely on Thursday as the traditional food market day, whereas in Alnwick, Saturday has become the most popular day for market trading. These similarities and differences are shaped, in part, by the urban and rural locations of each market. The large city markets continue to act as centrally located retailers of fresh food for urban populations, whereas those in rural areas continue the tradition of market day(s).

6.3.3. *Market lay-outs and fresh food on sale*

As data from the market managers' survey began to reveal in Chapter 5, the physical structure or layout of each traditional market helps determine how

trading takes place and also acts as a frame for social activity (see also Chapter 3). In the indoor market hall in Newcastle, traders occupy static, shop-like units and the layout of the market is fixed in a grid pattern. On the outdoor market in Cambridge, arrangements are more fluid and although permanent traders 'anchor' the activity of the market, other traders compete for prime days and pitches. In the same way that supermarkets display fresh fruit and vegetables at the entrance, permanent fruit and vegetable traders also occupied prominent positions on the outer ring of Cambridge market. In contrast, most butchers and some fruit and vegetable traders were clustered more centrally in the indoor market in Newcastle. This could be explained by the longevity of these traders' businesses, frequently located on the same sites over one or two generations as the market restructured around them.

Although the findings from the email survey presented in Chapter 5 suggest that the majority of market managers (72%) continue to consider the sale of fresh food to be very important to the success of their markets, the empirical evidence confirmed that fresh food trading was in overall decline on the traditional food markets in Newcastle and Cambridge. On the Grainger Market, originally built as a meat market, the numbers of butchers dropped from 30 in the 1980s to nine traders in 2010. However, fresh fruit and vegetable trading had stayed constant since 2000 and six traders remained. In 2007, when a neighbouring market had been closed by the city council, three fishmongers had also been re-located onto the Grainger Market. At the time of this research in 2009, fresh food traders (nine butchers, three fishmongers and six fruit and vegetable traders) occupied 38 of 242 stalls or units (16%) in the Grainger Market. A range of other foods was also on sale, including food sold in cafes (6), bakeries and take-aways (5), delicatessens (4), local foods, dried foods, cheese, coffee and a variety of foods sold in a Chinese supermarket.

In contrast, reflecting the agricultural origins of the market in Cambridge, the number of fruit and vegetable traders had declined most dramatically, dropping from 20 in the 1970s to six in 2010. The market manager remarked that food traders currently occupied 36% of the stalls on the market, which he considered a

reasonably high percentage of current trading activity. Calculating the amount of *fresh* food for sale on Cambridge market was more complex because of the changing nature of traders from day to day. Over the trading week, four fruit and vegetable traders, one fishmonger and one butcher was recorded for this study, occupying 11 of 101 stalls (11%). There was also a range of other foods for sale, including bread (2), cheese (2), Spanish produce, take-aways (3) and coffee.

These findings of 16% and 11% of total traders selling fresh food on the markets in Newcastle and Cambridge respectively conflict with perceptions of the market managers' reported in Chapter 5. Analysis found that 67% of managers in the North East and 60% of those managing markets in the Eastern region considered more than 25% of traders sold fresh food. Indeed, 44% of those in the Eastern region thought that traders selling fresh food represented more than 50% of total traders on their markets. This suggests that 'fresh' food is a more 'elastic' category for some managers and could include cafes, take-aways and other types of trading such as tea, coffee and deli-type stalls. It also suggests that decline in fresh food trading in urban locations may be more pronounced than the survey findings initially suggest.

In contrast, despite the obvious decline in trader numbers, the findings demonstrate how the type of fresh food on sale reflects what managers in each region considered the most important in terms of volumes sold; that is, fruit and vegetables in the Eastern region and fresh meat sales in the North East. Chapter 7 examines the changing role of fresh food on the case study markets in more detail, including more culturally derived explanations for these changes.

On the secondary sites, the farmers' market in Newcastle had 22 stalls trading, including fruit and vegetables (2) and fresh meat (5), representing 32% of total traders. In Cambridge, only one large fruit and vegetable trader was operating on the weekly farmers' market (100%). In Alnwick, the Thursday market was very small in November 2010, with only four traders, including one fruit and vegetable trader, whereas the Saturday market was much busier with 16 pitches, including fresh meat (3) and fruit and vegetables (2), with 30% of the market

devoted to fresh food sales. The farmers' market was also busy with 13 fresh food stalls, including fresh meat (4) and fruit and vegetables (1), representing 38% of total traders. The traditional general market held on Thursday in Ely had 50 stalls and 10% sold fresh produce: fruit and vegetables (3) and fish (2). The number of stalls available on the farmers' market was seasonal, but in March 2010 there were 20 stalls operating, including fruit and vegetables (2) and fresh meat (4), representing 30% of the total. Table 6.1 summarises these percentages and reveals a mixed picture for fresh food trading on the traditional food markets, demonstrating an average of 17%. Percentages on the farmers' markets were more consistent (apart from Cambridge where only one trader was operating), demonstrating an average of 33% over the remaining three markets.

Although based on very small samples, these figures demonstrate two key outcomes of particular relevance to this research. First, in line with the survey findings, fresh food trading on traditional food markets appears much reduced; and second, although fresh food trade on farmers' markets appears to be almost double that of traditional markets, it only represents one third of total trading sales.

Table 6.1: Fresh food trading as a percentage of total market trading

Primary sites	**Traditional food market**	**Farmers' market**
Newcastle Grainger Market	16%	32%
Cambridge market	11%	100%
Secondary sites		
Alnwick (Saturday)	30%	38%
Ely (Thursday)	10%	30%

The cultural economy framework attempts to demonstrate how the everyday practices of traditional food market exchange interact with the institutional structures and economic efficiency of the traditional food market. It is therefore important to consider how the culture of the traditional food market is balanced alongside its economic efficiency. In order to start to address this, the next

section considers who was shopping on each market and how much they were spending on fresh food.

6.4 Market shoppers

Analysis of the market managers' perceptions of who was shopping on their markets, as detailed in Chapter 5, identified those aged over 40 as the main customer base and in particular, those aged over 60 years. However, managers in the North East and Eastern regions also identified a wider age-range of other shoppers. The discussion in Chapter 5 suggested that this could be explained, in part, by the fact that these markets attracted more tourists and/or office workers.

Although it was impossible to secure a formal quota, those interviewed for the research reflect the general trends noted in the survey findings and demonstrate that local people remain core market shoppers. However, in the more rural locations of Ely and Alnwick more shoppers had travelled from further a-field. A preponderance of elderly, retired people were interviewed for the research. For example, of the 24 (18 female and 6 male) shoppers interviewed in the Grainger Market Newcastle, nine shoppers were aged over 60 years (38%), and of the 18 (12 female and 6 male) shoppers interviewed on the Cambridge market, nine were aged over 60 (50%). Many of these shoppers had used the market in excess of 20 years and some all their lives. Other shoppers aged between 18 and 60 years were also interviewed (57% of total shoppers interviewed); of these 14 shoppers worked nearby, mostly in office and shop work; one shopper was unemployed; two were at home with children; and seven shoppers were students, including one Chinese and one Spanish student. This indicated that another younger group of shoppers, not identified by market managers, were attracted to the markets in these university cities. The majority of all those interviewed, shopped at least once or twice a week on the markets (in excess of 80% said so) and lived within five miles, with many living within three miles, of the markets.

Fewer shoppers were interviewed on markets on the secondary sites as these were not the primary focus of the research. Seven interviews (five female and

two male) were conducted on the traditional markets in the market towns of Ely and Alnwick: two shoppers were retired, two were in their 60s, one was in her 50s, one was a young mother in her 20s, and one was an office worker in her 20s. All were regular shoppers on the market. In Ely, two shoppers had travelled into the town from the surrounding villages, whereas in Alnwick all those interviewed were living in the town. Fourteen shoppers were interviewed on the farmers' markets (six female and eight male): five were aged over 60, two were in their 50s, four were professionals in their 30s (one was Dutch), and three were in their 20s. Nine were regular shoppers and five were just browsing or were visitors to the town or city, suggesting that farmers' markets were more likely to attract tourists and visitors than traditional markets.

The amounts that shoppers spent on fresh food in the traditional markets tended to be low: 35% of shoppers in Newcastle and 56% in Cambridge spent less than £10; four shoppers spent £20 - £25; two spent £40 - £50 and one exceptional shopper, buying fish for a special meal, spent in excess of £100. Of those who calculated this as a percentage of their weekly shop (shoppers were only asked about this in Newcastle), none was spending more than 50% and most considered they were spending less than 25%. As an exception, two Chinese students calculated that they had spent less than £10 and estimated that this was 40-50% of their weekly food bill.

In general, people spent more at farmers' markets (both primary and secondary case study sites) and frequently said that this was because they were only held once a month and took the opportunity to, as one respondent put it, 'stock up the freezer' (although the Cambridge farmers' market was held weekly). In both urban and rural environments, most spent at least £20 and seven spent in excess of £40.

These findings suggest that the 'typical' traditional market shopper tends to be local and shops on the market at least once, and often twice, each week. As this limited 'snapshot' of fresh food purchasing reveals, the actual amount spent tends to be quite modest and represents a limited proportion of weekly food

shopping. The pattern of spending on farmers' markets was different and tended to be higher, as would be expected from markets that are frequently held once or twice a month rather than on a weekly or up to 6-day week cycle. The findings also reveal that the perception of 'fresh' food changes on farmers' markets as their less frequent operation meant that many shoppers bought additional food to put in the freezer (see Freidberg, 2009 for a general discussion about the introduction of fridges and freezing to preserve perishable food and their impact on consumer food habits).

6.5 Chapter Summary

Chapter 6 has built on the conceptual premise, introduced in Chapter 5, that the social institutions of market and place support each other over time. Using the particular external and internal spaces of the case study markets as a general organising framework, it has examined how the markets' histories, cultural legacies and contemporary geographic and cultural contexts have influenced the localized everyday activities of each market. This investigation has identified how 'instituted arrangements' do 'create frameworks for marketplace activity' (Bestor, 2004: 16). It is suggested that by integrating the everyday activities of traders and shoppers more fully into the analysis these complex and changing relationships between market and place, and how the traditional food market has adapted to retail restructuring and changing fresh food consumption habits, can be examined in more detail. Chapter 7 presents the outcomes of this grounded market-level analysis. Four key points emerge from the analysis in Chapter 6:

- fresh food trading on traditional markets appears much reduced;
- traditional food markets are affected by their regional histories and geographies and by retail restructuring of fresh food provisioning systems;
- the traditional marketplace is affected by changing socio-demographics, social norms and cultural practices; and

- the relationship between the internal everyday context of the market and the external space of market and society co-evolve over time as the market constantly re-frames and adapts to the contemporary setting.

Chapter 7

THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF FRESH FOOD: PERFORMING THE TRADITIONAL MARKET

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 presents the main body of the findings from the case study research. This chapter uses fresh food as a vehicular device to explore the reciprocal relations between the economic and the cultural, and between value(s) and exchange. How fresh food is transformed into the 'market product' and how its cultural value is entwined with its economic value are the particular focus of this chapter.

The chapter develops themes that emerged in Chapter 6 connected to the changing relationships between market and place and how the traditional food market has adapted to retail restructuring and changing fresh food consumption habits over time. It adds de Certeau's 'tactical' view of culture as a lens to examine how market actors interact in the market space and how everyday practices of fresh food market exchange are used 'to open up little spaces where they can assert themselves' (Thrift, 2003: 103 from Everts and Jackson, 2009) in order to 'resist' or 'outwit' the 'modernization' processes and practices of food retailing and consumption.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section puts the traders on the stage and examines their network of connections and interrelationships that help order the social institutions and economic activity of the marketplace. Section 7.3 presents 'the star of the show' and turns the spotlight on fresh food. This examines how the processes and practices of market exchange transform fresh food into the 'market product'. Section 7.4 examines how cultural and economic value(s) are woven tightly together as the food travels through the market space;

as de la Pradelle suggests (2006), 'institutional strategy' is tied to 'symbolic magic'.

7.2 Market traders

In order to contextualise the trading practices of market traders, Section 7.2 draws on empirical data to examine how traders are embedded in the marketplace and how their economic practices are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings (Freidberg, 2004; see also Chapter 2). The section examines how traders perceive their relationships with each other and with their wholesale suppliers.

7.2.1. Relationships between market traders

Many long-standing traders perceived the market not simply as a public space, where traders compete to sell their produce, but as a place where they were dependent on *each other* as well as on their relationships with their customers. In Cambridge, for example, traders who did not turn up if the weather was bad or those that only turned up intermittently because they were running a secondary business on the market were not popular. One trader said:

> *'they should be forcing people to attend who have actually got the stalls, or there should be a penalty system introduced if they don't turn up [...](it's) not good for the market as a whole[...] If they see empty stalls people aren't going to wander through (the market) so the people on the inside are at a disadvantage'* (Trader 1, Cambridge).

Although competition between traders was considered important, there was a perception that this should not be tied up exclusively with making money. A successful market meant 'workable competition' (Plattner, 1982) where all traders made a living and supported each other. The same trader went on to say:

'we only have a butcher twice or three times a week. There should be a butcher every day – at least one. To me there should be two – competition's healthy. If you are on your own, you're not going to have that edge and compete a bit harder. It also gives the public choice. The public may not like my stall but they may like Mr C, but you feed off each other. They may buy their veg. from him and their fruit from me. Competition is an important factor and I don't feel there is enough variety of certain products. If people have choice they are still going to come to the market square. If they've got no choice, they aren't going to come to the market at all' (Trader 1, Cambridge).

Another trader took a slightly different perspective, but the sentiment was the same:

'You got two fish mongrels [sic] – *why would you want any more? You introduce another one and you've got fighting, the quality goes down [...] There used to be three of us on here but when the lady fish merchant finished, the market bloke said, 'right we'll just have two on here then and you both get a living'. Three of you is pointless, it really is'* (Trader 3, Ely).

These social relationships between traders often extended beyond the individual market setting, demonstrating that these cultural and economic practices were not merely embedded in a particular marketplace but extended over time and place. For example, all fruit and vegetable traders on the markets in Alnwick and Ely were either part of a larger family business that stretched back over one or two generations or worked for one and all also traded on three other markets each week. It was a similar story for meat traders; one trading on Alnwick market was part of an established family business that operated on two other markets (including the Grainger Market), had two shops in Newcastle and Gateshead, and was also involved in wholesaling meat. Other market traders also had their own shops, including the fishmonger on Ely market and the butcher on Cambridge market. Thus these cultural and economic practices shaped and ordered the

internal institutional structures of the individual traditional food markets but this network of connections with other traders and retail outlets outside the market frame was also essential to maintain the viability of these small businesses.

7.2.2 Relationships between traders and their wholesale suppliers

The business of trading fresh food established a performative link between trader and wholesaler; negotiating the price together and the social relations that this established between them were constitutive parts of the process of market exchange and actually reinforced one another. In Newcastle, the final dislocation between wholesale and retail had happened in 1968 when the city centre wholesale market relocated to Team Valley, Gateshead (see Chapter 6 for details). In this indoor market, traders were running more 'shop-like' businesses and tended to adopt more business-like language, expressing their relationship with wholesalers in terms of getting 'the best price'. One trader talked about the need to use a number of wholesalers because 'it means you can barter one off against another'(Trader 5, Newcastle). Another said, 'if you only deal with one, you would be paying the premium price' (Trader 6, Newcastle), and another said 'you try to get the cheapest because it's a bartering system but you can't always get that [...] you shop around and try and get the best bargains' (Trader 2, Newcastle). In contrast, on the outdoor market in Cambridge, where there was no primary wholesale market nearby, some traders relied on secondary wholesalers who delivered direct to the marketplace. For these traders, a more sociable performative link remained. This put more emphasis on trust and convenience rather than on getting the best price. One fruit and vegetable trader in his mid 40s said:

> *'I use a wholesale firm that delivers directly to me as I work on my own. They are based in Cambridge and I've used them for many, many years – we get on great'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

Trading fresh food is thus based on a commodity relationship as well as embedded ties (Hinrichs, 2000, Goodman, 2009) and the act of bargaining is

entwined with clientalisation (Geertz, 1978). Although the traders in Newcastle demonstrated these network ties, in Cambridge there was evidence that a more personal relationship between trader and wholesaler had built up over time that had mutual benefits. The wholesaler had regular orders and the trader could rely on the quality of the produce and direct delivery to the market by the wholesaler. Following Kirwan (2004), this could imply that the notion of 'regard' had more significance for traders using secondary wholesalers and the interaction between trader and wholesale supplier *within* the market frame added to the transaction. In contrast, traders in Newcastle placed more emphasis on management and adding value to the transaction. They conducted their transactions *outside* the frame as they negotiated orders by phone using a number of suppliers and went to the wholesale market to collect the produce themselves. Although embedded ties existed, the more sociable and rewarding aspects of the commercial transaction appeared to have diminished.

Traders' networks of connections, both inside and outside the market frame, reinforce the notion of how framing contains the everyday activities of the market, where traders perform together on the market stage. However, the flow of these connections with the outside world is constantly renewed in order to 'stabilise' how the everyday activities of market trading take place and make market traders economically viable. How traders make decisions about the fresh food they source from their suppliers is fundamental to these processes of market exchange and this is considered next.

7.3 The 'market product'

This section focuses on how the everyday practices of market exchange transform fresh food into the 'market product' and explores *how* traders' economic practices are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings. Following de la Pradelle (2006), analysis of the traditional food market is framed by the co-existence of the supermarket and the farmers' market because how the traditional market is experienced is formed through the parallel experience of these other food markets. In addition, how traders open up 'little

spaces to assert themselves' (Thrift, 2003: 103) in this era of rapid retail restructuring runs through the analysis.

The first sub-section examines how traders source and make decisions about the fresh food they sell by category. Sub-section 7.3.2 'sets up the stall' and examines how traders have adapted and reacted to the effects and influences of supermarket retailing and farmers' markets trading nearby. The final sub-section examines how the daily and seasonal rhythms of the market space are entwined in the traders' market performance and enshrined in the food they sell.

7.3.1. Sourcing fresh food

Fruit and vegetable traders demonstrated how their sourcing strategies had adapted to the changing demographics and consumption habits of market shoppers. This included meeting demand for 'exotics' and mixing year round imported 'basics', such as tomatoes, with seasonal and UK produced fresh produce. However, their comments and observation on each market revealed strategies that were more subtle than at first appeared. The experience, gained by long-term trading often across two or three generations, had resulted in various 'tactics' being employed to maximise trading advantage. These were not always overt, or even consciously recognised, but had evolved over time and were part of 'traditional' practices of sourcing food that combined knowledge and cunning (*metis*) in what, paraphrasing Friedberg (2007), might be termed 'practical knowledge of fresh food'.

Many of the fresh fruit and vegetable traders on the traditional market in Newcastle, for instance, offered a wide choice of imported fruit and vegetables to meet the demands of 'cosmopolitan localism' (Marsden and Sonnino, 2010) and to compete with the supermarket offer; some felt that the market choice was wider than in the supermarket. One trader said:

> *'you get that stuff you never had years ago – passion fruit, dragon fruit - my mother wouldn't have known what to do with it, but the young-uns, the students - we rely heavily on the students at times – they like all that stuff'* (Trader 4, Newcastle).

Another trader said, 'you get all that type of coriander, chilli, ginger, pak-choi – because people are asking for it' (Trader 2, Newcastle) and similarly, on the market in Cambridge, a trader acknowledged that people's vegetable shopping requirements had changed and felt that market traders had followed the supermarket trends; produce regarded as 'exotic' 10 or 15 years ago, like sweet potatoes and fennel, were now 'run of the mill'.

These imported 'basics', that tend to be industrially produced, sat alongside other fresh produce that was seasonal and locally, regionally or UK produced and many fruit and vegetable traders did not immediately make a distinction between these global and UK produced types of fresh produce. This had resulted in what de la Pradelle refers to as the *'ambiguous'* 'local' as traders attempted to capture 'indeterminate desire' and persuade shoppers to buy the 'market produce'. For example, a trader on the market in Alnwick talked about how there was 'no such thing as seasonal fruit anymore' (this was one of the only weeks in the year (November) that strawberries were not available), and vegetables were from 'all over – either imported or local'. He operated a self-service stall and for him, it made no difference where the fresh produce was from, 'as long as the price is right and as long as it's fresh' customers were free to make their own choices (Trader 2, Alnwick). When asked a bit more about this, it became obvious that a reasonable proportion of what traders bought at the wholesale market in the North East to sell on the markets *did* depend on the seasons and was likely to be produced locally or regionally (or from further a-field in the UK) but for them this was implicit in the market offer; and, just as Ilbery and Maye (2006) also report in their work on local food retailing in the Scottish-English borders, they said it was what they had always sold. One Newcastle fruit and vegetable trader working in a family business said:

> *'it's different, different times of year. Now at this time of the year 90% of the fruit is foreign, and then 90% of the veg. is local. It changes as the year goes round – different seasons'* (Trader 4, Newcastle).

Apart from the ambiguous local, there was also evidence of an *itinerant* 'local'. For example, another fruit and vegetable trader in Alnwick said:

> *'I'm going up to East Fortune tomorrow and it has to be Scottish for them. If the potatoes are English or Scottish, they will take the Scottish ones first. Especially strawberries in the summer, even if the Scottish ones are dearer than the English ones, they will take the Scottish ones first'* (Trader 1, Alnwick).

This reflected the fact that he was an itinerant trader and his definition of 'local' was tailored to the particular market he was trading on each day, and also indicated that 'defensive localism' (e.g. Hinrichs, 2003, Winter, 2003, Ilbery and Maye, 2006) affected what he sourced and sold; this trader was transporting the 'local' to evoke local or regional traditions and tastes. The survey questionnaire analysis in Chapter 5 provides further evidence of these ambiguous and itinerant interpretations of 'local'. In the market managers' survey, 85% defined 'local' as from the local area, but were almost equally split in their response to the question about whether local food brought more trade onto the market. One possibility for this could, therefore, be that market managers, like traders, did not make these clear-cut distinctions. Alternatively, on the outdoor markets, traders could bring fresh produce from outside the region, like Scottish strawberries arriving from England and, in this case, definitions of the 'local' also became ambiguous; 'local' food travels, like the itinerant trader.

In contrast, fruit and vegetable traders in the agricultural areas of Cambridge and Ely were more inclined to refer to the local area when talking about local sourcing and commented on the decline in the numbers of small growers. On these markets, there was a sense of the *diminishing* 'local'. As a result of this loss

of locally grown produce, one trader in Cambridge, running a family business, also sourced from Spitalfields, the wholesale market in London and said:

> *'I go to Spitalfields about twice a week [...] I source apples and pears and apple juice locally, but the Wisbech growers aren't there anymore. So basically we look for the bigger producers who are putting produce into wholesale markets'* (Trader 1, Cambridge).

The trader pointed out that the bigger local producers were sending their produce down to the London wholesale markets and then local market traders were going down to London and bringing it back up to the local markets. This reflects another dimension to the itinerant 'local' and also highlights the lack of a primary wholesale market in the region (as discussed in Chapters 5).

Another fruit and vegetable trader on Cambridge market, like his father before him, had always sourced from small local producers. He said that these were:

> *'people who do it for a hobby almost. There's still a few old people out there who, even though they don't do it for a living, still like to carry on'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

However, he suggested that there were no new growers coming along to replace them. He also detected a diminishing 'local' and said:

> *'years ago the little growers would grow on their allotment or a few acres of strawberries here and there and would supply the local market. But those growers are no longer there. The younger generation don't want to do it because it's hard work'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

This trader had older regular customers with whom he had formed long-term relationships. These shoppers came to buy seasonal local produce that they 'held dear' and could not get elsewhere. He said:

> *'some know me and the children. They've seen them grow up. We bump into each other twice a week, so it's almost like a friendship or a neighbourly relationship. Some people come at 09.30 in the morning and have done that for 25 years'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

He also detected a new interest in local produce. He said that many of his more recent customers, looking for seasonal, local fresh produce, were younger and middle-class. He felt that the Cambridge market survived well because it had similarities with farmers' markets and that these younger customers had been brought up on these markets. He said:

> *'I'm capturing people that were brought up on farmers' markets and they are just interested. They tend to be middle class, young families – probably academic or people working in the hospital – the people who would go to a farmers' market or an organic shop come here as well'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

This observation was echoed from another perspective, by the fruit and vegetable producer, a man in his early 40s, who was trading on Newcastle's farmers' market. He felt that the middle classes had moved on from farmers' markets and, as a consequence, his business was less profitable. He said:

> *'it used to be affluent middle classes in the early days and now it's not the same. Initially it was like set customers from a different type of background. But word gets round and everybody comes. It becomes like a bit of a tradition. So the early people have moved on to something else now. You don't see them regularly. My prices haven't risen in all the time I've been here and that's balanced out with the kind of people with less to spend. [It] keeps profits down, but what do you do? If I put prices up, even with inflation, it would be too pricey for markets now'* (FM producer/trader 1, Newcastle).

Although historically the traditional food market and the 'alternative' farmers' market shared the same roots (i.e. where traders/producers came to sell their surplus produce), these traders' comments suggest a less acknowledged relationship between the two markets. In the more middle-class city of Cambridge, the traditional market was valued as a source of 'quality' fresh produce and, the trader suggested, it was attracting farmers' market shoppers. This could suggest that the farmers' market had originally re-appropriated traditional food market shoppers as they looked for an alternative to the supermarket. However, as the 'habit' of shopping on a market had become more customary, these shoppers had returned to shop for local fresh produce on the traditional market. The comment made by the farmers' market producer in Newcastle also implies that, on some farmers' markets at least, the more affluent middle classes had moved on. This, he felt, had impacted on his business because the shoppers that had replaced them had 'less to spend' and kept his prices down. These two perspectives reveal two things: firstly, that retail markets of all kinds are constantly adapting to changing consumer habits; and secondly, that the 'tradition' of shopping on markets is a discursive construction rather than a simple description of historical change. As Everts and Jackson (2009: 918) note, '(c)onsumption practices vary not just over time and space but also at the same time and in the same place'.

Analysis of how butchers sourced their meat suggested other ambiguous understandings of the 'local' product. Butchers in the Grainger Market offered a wide range of meat products and at varying qualities. One butcher in his mid 40s, who was running two stalls as a family business, said he did not buy from anywhere more than 40 miles away and operated on the principle that if meat was supplied locally, it tended to be reared locally. He said:

> *'there's abattoirs all over so there's no need to take a lamb 50 miles – they will take it to the nearest abattoir'* (Trader 5, Newcastle).

When asked about his chickens, another trader said, *'oh, they're from Sunderland, they're local'* (Trader 6, Newcastle), but they were actually imported from Poland.

In contrast, the producer, a woman in her 30s, selling meat on the farmers' market on the neighbouring square in Newcastle referred to all the meat on sale as being 'born at our house' (FM producer/trader 2, Newcastle) and emphasised the traditional farming techniques employed by herself and her husband. Her business practice was tied up with maintaining the 'exclusivity' of the meat, rather than concentrating on price and volumes sold. However, these practices were not unique to the farmers' market producer; everything the butcher, a man in his 50s, sold on the market in Cambridge was local and he also farmed, slaughtered and butchered all his own meat.' He said:

> *'I do it all – I don't buy anything from a wholesaler. I slaughter everything'* (Trader 4, Cambridge).

Such examples contest notions of 'alternative' and 'traditional'. On both markets in Cambridge, the food on sale was locally produced but the traders' attitudes reflected a subtle difference. The producer's comments project an identity engaged with the rural (she referred to herself as a farmer, rather than trader) and her meat had been nurtured at 'her house'. In contrast, the trader on the traditional market referred to himself as a butcher rather than a farmer and he was keen to project the more business-like aspects of his business (which also included a local shop). These attitudes reflect how traders' economic practices are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings, and the identities they assume vary according to the market space in which their performances take place. This is discussed further in the next sub-section.

Fish traders tended to favour UK sourcing. In fact, many went to great lengths to ensure that this was the case, but it was getting more and more difficult to do so. Those in Newcastle went to the North Shields fish quay every morning, but one said that the proportion of locally caught and imported fish was about 50/50 as

the local fishing boats had diminished. He added though that quite a lot of the fish was brought down from Peterhead in Scotland overnight. Another said:

> *'you get fish from all over the world. They get some flown in. Sea bass which are farmed in Greece and Turkey, tuna from the Seychelles. A lot of things are local fish. The salmon is from Shetland, from Scotland. The monkfish is all local [...] We tend to stay local as much as possible. The likes of the sea bass, you can't – but people know they are farmed and it's the cheapest way of doing it'* (Trader 8, Newcastle).

This trader also talked about changing customer preferences and how they sourced fish for particular ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese community. These comments reflect how global flows and networks affect local practices (Massey, 2007) as the fishmonger was changing his sourcing habits to suit the tastes of the migrant population. They also demonstrate how place and culture remained entwined as global sourcing and cultural and ethnically bound habits and tastes mingled with local food sourcing practices on the market (Edensor and Kothari, 2006).

Plate 7.1: Fresh fish for sale on the Grainger Market, Newcastle

Fishmongers on the markets in Cambridge and Ely also reflected a desire to source locally, seasonally and as sustainably as possible. One fishmonger who worked for a large family business said:

> *'some of it is smoked, which we do ourselves [...] We have a lot of local fish like herrings, plaice, cod, even the sea bass. Some of the rest comes from Scotland – like the kippers which are the Arbroath herring. We don't buy any endangered fish so we buy the Scottish haddock. We won't buy Atlantic cod only long-shore, long-lined cod. So it's all quite sustainable'* (Trader 3, Cambridge).

These traders also talked about their reliance on farmed fish. This trader said, 'we do a lot of farmed fish like sea bass, even turbot is farmed' (Trader 3, Cambridge). The fishmonger in Ely talked about how people liked farmed fish because it was 'more sustainable' and explained that he had visited the Scottish fish farm supplying him. He knew what the fish were fed on and pointed out the 'good colour' of the fish on sale. This trader said that he would not 'countenance foreign fish' and talked about how many customers preferred it seasonal.

The fishmongers' comments reflect a trade that has adapted to the environmental pressures on sea fishing, indicated by a new reliance on farmed fish which had put fish like salmon, and more recently sea bass, within many shoppers' price range. Those trading in the cities of Newcastle and Cambridge reflected how global and local fish were integrated on the market as they adapted to the cultural diversity of the city. However, the fishmonger (or 'mongrel', as he preferred) trading in the rural market town of Ely resisted global sourcing trends. For him, fish farmed sustainably in the UK or fished farmed locally and in season were all that he would 'countenance'.

Thus traders have acquired a practical knowledge of fresh food. This could be described as *metis* (Freidberg, 2007), a knowledge that combines wisdom and cunning, built up over time, and a knowledge that recognises how the spatial and temporal flows of fresh food are linked to changing consumer demands. The

economic and the cultural are mutually constituted (see Chapter 2) as traditional traders maintain sourcing practices that have been established over time but make use of 'little spaces' (Thrift, 2003) to assert themselves, make practical use of their food knowledge, and other food retailing practices, in order to maintain the identity of 'the market product' and their own economic viability.

7.3.2. Setting up the stall

Once the fresh food reaches the market stall, traders need to 'stage manage' the market performance and attract shoppers to participate in the show (de la Pradelle, 2006). Traders had different approaches that were tied to their own cultural understandings of the market, their customers and the fresh food that they sold. This sub-section investigates these differences and shared understandings, including issues that related to how the food was displayed and labelled and more non-material and sensory factors that affected the atmosphere around the market stalls.

Some traditional market traders had adopted self-service trading to entice shoppers to buy and for one low-end fruit and vegetable trader in Newcastle this was associated with the success of supermarket retailing. He said:

> *'there's a lot of people that like to pick their own stuff. It's the same as you get in the supermarkets. This is no different to the supermarket plus the customers can see what they're getting because they are picking their own stuff. With counter service you ask for two pounds of that and you don't look in the bag until you get home and it could be rubbish. So that's why counter service is not as good as self-service. You can buy as much or as little as you want in a self-service shop'* (Trader 3, Newcastle).

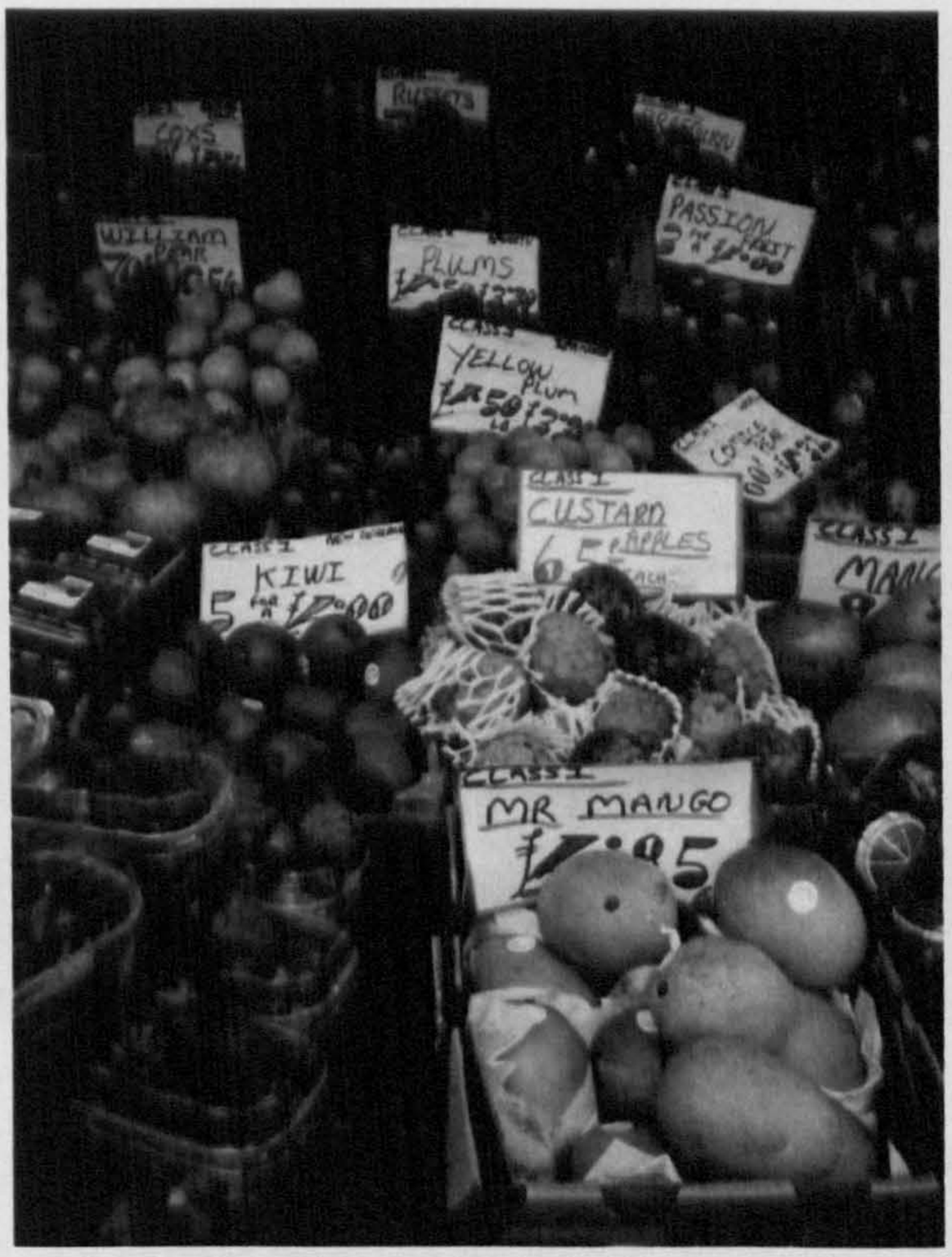
In contrast, another fruit and vegetable trader who worked with her son on the Cambridge market used self-service to trade in high-end fruit and vegetables, as plate 7.2 and the fieldwork diary illustrate:

Friday, 26 March, 2010, Cambridge

'They provide plastic baskets – supermarket style. Almost all of the wide selection on offer is labelled Class 1 – the provenance is not much in evidence. The stall has a wide range of exotics at the front, fresh herbs are on display, and there is a range of mushrooms by the till. Shoppers take their time selecting and handling the food. They appear to be enjoying the experience.'

The visual impact of the colourful stall was enhanced by the colourful handwritten labels which included 'Mr Mango', displayed prominently at the front. In this instance, the quality (class 1) of the produce was privileged over its provenance.

Plate 7.2: Class 1 produce on the Cambridge Market



Setting up the stall is a lengthy process and only part of a long working day for traders. One fruit and vegetable trader in the Grainger Market described his working day as follows:

'I start by getting up at 04.00, go to the wholesale market, buy the stuff, get it loaded on the vans, get it across here, get it tipped off the vans, get it all set up for the public and sell it. At the end of the day, what's left we put in the shop and close up. 14 hours a day – always something to do – I buy all the stuff' (Trader 3, Newcastle).

A fruit and vegetable trader in Cambridge (plate 7.3) took two and a half hours to set up his stall each day from 07.00 until 09.30. This was after an early morning visit to the wholesale market in London a few times a week, a journey of two hours each way.

Plate 7.3: Setting up the display takes two and half hours each day for this trader on Cambridge market

The trader used a Union Jack flag to catch the eye and label fruit that was sourced from the UK. An extract from the fieldwork diary illustrates how he had introduced some other 'innovative' sales techniques to attract customers and ensure none of the fresh fruit was wasted:

Thursday 25 March, 2010, Cambridge

'I wander over to A's stall. They are busy selling squeezed fresh fruit juice drinks – an orange squeezing machine and two slush machines are on the stall alongside all the different juices, prepared in advance and neatly displayed in plastic cups, with straws. It looks tempting at £1.50 a cup. There are orange, apple and grapefruit juices and strawberry and banana 'smoothies'. A. tells me that they have been doing it for two or three years and it is successful, it offers something different. It seems to be attracting the French school children and tourists who pause and stand to drink in the sun, local shoppers also rush by and grab a drink on the way back to work, and mums stop to buy a juice for their young children.'

In contrast those selling local and organic vegetables appeared to have a different approach to how their fresh fruit and vegetables were displayed, relying more on the natural earthiness of the produce. In the same way that de la Pradelle (2006) describes her experience on the market in Carpentras, France, freshness appeared to be associated with produce that appeared 'just picked' rather than keeping it all 'clean and tidy'. Some traditional traders were critical of this and one said:

> *'if your stall looks a mess you won't sell anything. You have to keep it all nice, clean and tidy. Presentable and fresh is one of the most important things'* (Trader 6, Newcastle).

Others echoed this sentiment and said that there was 'no real presentation' and that these traders just 'threw' the produce onto their stalls. Plates 7.4 and 7.5 illustrate these differences.

Plate 7.4: Fruit and vegetables displayed on the Grainger Market, Newcastle

Plate 7.5: Organic vegetables displayed on Cambridge's farmers' market

In addition, a further extract from the fieldwork diary captures how the presentation of the organic vegetables is closely tied up with the social act of

shopping on this particular farmers' market stall on a Sunday morning in March 2010.

Sunday 28 March, 2010, Cambridge

'The organic vegetable trader (a man in his early 40s) is already busy. A lively atmosphere surrounds his stall. All ages are waiting, including young families – people are happy to wait and are chatting. The stall is a rectangle so that people can stand around all four sides. The vegetables look freshly picked, they are muddy, and the presentation is a bit haphazard – not everything is labelled or priced. Some labelling just says the food is organic; no-one appears that interested in the price. A customer tells me that the stall provides hot soup in winter for the waiting customers.'

Plates 7.2 - 7.4 demonstrate how traditional traders spent time producing handwritten labels for their produce, whereas the farmers' market trader used printed labelling (Plate 7.5). This reflects another difference between the two types of trader. The traditional market trader was primarily concerned with *retailing* the fresh produce. This was part of the performance and how the produce was displayed was a primary concern. The farmers' market producer/trader had a different role to play. His identity was bound up with being a producer and promoting the produce as 'just picked', retaining its earthiness for all to see. For him, the labelling needed to ensure the customers knew his produce was organic, but there was a temporary feel about the print-outs in their plastic envelopes that reflected the temporality of the produce (which was flying off the stall) and the busy, younger and more social atmosphere that surrounded it.

These observations demonstrate how the atmosphere surrounding the stalls affected shoppers and how the display and sales techniques employed by traders were staged to attract particular shoppers. There was evidence that traders assumed a role that was 'tailored' to the setting and there were also examples of traders who felt that they were in the 'wrong' setting. For example, a speciality pork producer was on the traditional market in Alnwick because the farmers'

market had no room for their product and, despite the apparent success of the stall, they felt it was not the 'image' they wanted to project. In contrast, the trader, a young woman in her 30s, selling local foods in the Grainger Market found that it was this particular point of difference that was helping to build her success on the traditional market. She felt that farmers' markets had had their day and the future lay with traditional market trading. This correlates with earlier comments made by traders about the apparent shift of some middle class customers from the farmers' market to the traditional market.

However, what de la Pradelle (2006) refers to as the 'embodied and emotional pull of the market' was also critical to its overall success and some traditional traders found their inability to 'call out' and entice customers to buy frustrating, as one Newcastle fruit and vegetable trader made clear:

> *'in any other market, you've always got someone shouting something, you know. But you can't do it in this market. One time you could, but the council put a stop to it. People like to hear it, they like a bit of carry-on and banter. There is no atmosphere in the market because of that.' Another said, 'they stopped everybody shouting – they called time on that about 8 years ago. But then about 5 years later, they said the market's really quiet, can you start shouting again? But you get out of the habit of doing it'* (Trader 3, Newcastle).

A similar problem was noted in Cambridge. In this case, the market banter had disappeared because it was 'frowned on' by the University. Thus regulatory structures had moulded the contemporary market performance in these public spaces. This had impacted on long-standing traditions that had been an intrinsic part of each market's identity and had offered a 'point of difference' from modern food retailing techniques.

Shoppers also expressed strong feelings about the atmosphere on the traditional markets, tied up with feelings of local identity. The outdoor market in Cambridge was considered 'part of the city' (Shopper 4, Cambridge), part of the 'fabric of

Cambridge' (Shopper 6, Cambridge). The Grainger Market was called 'the heart of Newcastle' by an administrative worker in her 30s (Shopper 7, Newcastle) and fierce resistance was expressed by some long-term residents to modernising or 'yuppifying' the market hall building. This was summed up by one of the Market Officers when he said:

> *'it's like a whole world of its own in the middle of the city. It's friendly – when people come in here they seem to get on a lot better than they would in most places. It's a bit of a time warp'* (Market Officer, 2 Newcastle).

This suggests that for some 'a residual, 'traditional' sociality [...] tied to specific understandings' (Everts and Jackson, 2009: 917) remained. However, other elderly shoppers commented on the lack of noise and banter. One female shopper in Newcastle attempted to sum up the change by saying that the market was now 'more modern', but felt that when she used to shop with her mother it had been 'more friendly'. In contrast, older shoppers in Cambridge felt that, although the stalls on the market had changed over the past 20 years, the market had retained the same 'feel about it'. This appeared to be influenced by the fact that the market was outdoors. For example, one female shopper in her 50s said:

> *' I love to see the displays of fruit and vegetables. I love to see them in natural light. I hate the neon light in supermarkets. Sometimes, especially on a sunny day, I think it's a lovely venue and especially when the bells are ringing at St Mary's – it's just a very uplifting experience really'* (Shopper 7, Cambridge).

These reflections on the atmosphere of the markets – indoor and outdoor – begin to explore how non-material, social, sensory and environmental factors associated with the market are as much part of the exchange process and framing as those associated with the more explicit institutional frameworks that order how the market is staged.

7.3.3. Daily and seasonal rhythms

Following Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis theory, which conceptualises the rhythms of urban spaces and its effects on people using those spaces (see Chapter 3 for details), this sub-section focuses on the daily and seasonal rhythms of the market. It examines how these rhythms impose a 'natural' temporal order on market activity that stabilises everyday activities in the frame. Although these rhythms are woven into the market frame, they are always changing as the market adjusts and adapts to retail restructuring and changing shopping habits; this sub-section examines the impact of these changes.

7.3.3.1. Daily rhythms

The daily rhythms of each market began early in the day. For example, traders and lorries arrived at the Grainger Market by 06.15 when the market opened, deliveries were over for the most part by 07.00, and fresh food traders began to prepare their stalls for the day. They were the first to arrive and the first to start trading.

Plate 7.6: Butchers in the Grainger Market prepare for the day

The situation was the same on the outdoor market in Cambridge where fresh food traders arrived by 06.30 to set up their stalls and were ready to trade by 09.00. The extract below, taken from the fieldwork diary kept as part of this research, illustrates how the Cambridge market is almost 'contained' by the city, where traffic flow is regulated during the working day by a series of raised bollards that prohibit vehicle access to the centre:

Wednesday 24th March 2010, Cambridge:

'I arrive in the centre of town at 08.45 and its chaotic with delivery vehicles and cars all trying to get out before the bollards are raised at 09.00 [...] Later, I pass the raised bollards and feel that the fortifications are up for another day.'

This feeling of how the flow of the market was entwined with the daily activity of the city was reinforced by the fact that once the bollards were raised, Cambridge market traders parked their vehicles in the spaces vacated by commuters outside the city centre and many cycled back to the central market square to start work. The daily parking and cycling rhythm was completed as the bollards were lowered, market traders left the city for the day, and commuters returned to the city in the evening to re-park their cars in the spaces vacated by market traders. This regulated flow of traffic in the city centre also had a particular impact on the public space of the market itself. Many talked about the 'mad scramble' to get produce into the city before the bollards closed it off for the day, and about how vehicular access to the market had hit market trade. One trader said, 'the taxis used to stop here, the buses came in,' and that people used to go round the market and 'put the meat and veg. straight in the car' (Trader 4, Cambridge).

Following Coles' (2010) observations on Borough Market, London, an extract from the fieldwork diary illustrates how just getting ready to trade on an open-air market can be fraught with difficulties:

Friday 26 March, 2010, Cambridge

'Chris, a cheese trader, is labouring over setting up – he has dozens of cheeses labelled on blackboards at the back of the stall. UK cheeses on one side, continental on the other. He has old glass fronts on cabinets at the front of the stall, slate slabs for the cheeses and realistic looking 'straw' mats for those occupying positions further back. It's taking him a long time to set up – it's 11.30 now and he still isn't finished. He says he had a bad start as his bike, which he rides from his van to the stall, had a puncture. It seems like he will only just have got it all out before it's time to pack up again. But he is cheery and chatty.'

The daily rhythms of the market appeared to reflect changing shopping habits. On the six-day week markets, traders commented on how people now shop a lot later. In Newcastle, a trader said:

> *'the way people shop has changed. People used to come in early in the morning and get their jobs done. But now with people going to work, that very rarely happens'* (Trader 7, Newcastle).

Another remarked on how the type of shopper changed according to the time of day: *'11.00 on a Wednesday you get the elderly and the students'*, but business picked up around 17.00 when people were on their way home from work (Trader 1, Newcastle). In Cambridge, a trader commented:

> *'we used to get in for 06.30 and be sold out by 09.30 – people came before they went to work. Of course society's changed. We get people coming about 10.00 now when the pensioners can get their free bus pass. The whole thing has changed. The people on the market have changed as well'* (CM trader 2, Cambridge).

Another trader said:

> *'the market starts a lot later. Twenty years ago there were queues at 08.00 – now we may not serve anyone until 10.00. Shopping doesn't get*

> *going until 11.30 and finishes around 15.00, but people used to shop before work. Parking, and the costs of getting into town, get cheaper after 09.30'* (Trader 1, Cambridge).

A fishmonger commented that there was 'no rush at the end of the day now.' Another trader on the Cambridge market summed it up as follows:

> *'in the morning its mostly city residents on their way to work, when free bus passes start the pensioners come, then office workers, then tourists in the afternoon'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

Observations on both city markets confirmed these comments. There was also a real swell of shopping activity at lunch-time as office workers took breaks, walked around the market and, in Cambridge, many sat on the steps of the surrounding buildings and the central fountain to eat lunch.

Thursday was still traditional 'market day' in Ely despite the fact the livestock market was long gone. Local, mostly older, shoppers were more visible early on, although by lunch-time younger shoppers were more in evidence as office workers strolled about. This is illustrated by the following fieldwork diary entry:

Thursday 18 March, 2010, Ely: 13.00

'A lot of the market activity appears to be in a concentrated period between 10.00 and 12.30. Lunch has started now, and the cafes around the market square are busy. Office workers are shopping and strolling around in the sun. This has brought a slight shift in the age-range as younger people are more in evidence. Like the other markets, disabled shoppers are also much in evidence. Traders come out from behind their stalls to serve those on mobility scooters.'

The tradition of Thursday as 'market day' also appeared to continue in Cambridge. One trader felt that the tradition had been maintained in part because it was linked to the fact that Thursday had been half day closing and pension day in the 1960s. There was a feeling that trade built up as the week progressed on

the markets in Newcastle and Cambridge, with Saturdays bringing different customers and not only visitors and tourists, with young families and professionals buying fresh food for the weekend or stocking up for the week. One fishmonger summed his experience up as follows:

> *'most older people like to shop everyday, younger people on Fridays and weekends, and they tend to buy in bulk for the freezer'* (Trader 8, Newcastle).

By early afternoon, every market was noticeably quieter and the open-air daily markets in Ely and Alnwick were beginning to pack up by 15.30 in the colder winter months. Of course, the market-place does not disappear when the market has closed for the day and, in Cambridge, managing the market square had its problems. One market officer commented:

> *'I would like to get the market fenced off so that we could shut it up at night. Street life is a problem – people may use the stalls to sleep in at night (drugs and drink). We also have a lively night-life and two fast food vendors selling on the market – drunk people may end up using the market as toilets or worse'* (Market officer 1, Cambridge).

The market officer's comment illustrates how the public space of the market changes at night when the space becomes an empty stage, populated by fast food vendors and others who have no interest in the market as place. This implies that the traditional marketplace is defined by the market performance that engages market actors in collectively shared systems of meanings; without this 'symbolic magic' (de la Pradelle, 2006) and shared sense of community, the market reverts to an anonymous and less democratic space.

7.3.3.2 *Seasonal rhythms*

The rhythm of the seasons also had a marked effect on market trade, particularly for those trading outdoors. One trader said that trade was based on the weather and the seasons, and another commented on how hard the preceding winter had been and the detrimental effect it had on trade. The seasons also affected food traders in different ways. For example, one butcher said that he was:

> *'busy at Christmas, quiet early January, busy early summer, dead during the summer holidays, picks up in September'* (Trader 4, Cambridge).

For the fishmonger:

> *'September is the worst month because all the kids go back to school and older people take their holidays then'* (Trader 3, Cambridge).

Some talked about the period after Christmas as 'the kipper season' when trade went flat, and others mentioned how the weather affected sales. One commented, for example, that:

> *'on a sunny day you sell a lot of strawberries and on a cold day you are not going to sell any'* (Trader 1, Cambridge).

There was a feeling amongst some fruit and vegetable traders that people wanted what was in season. One said:

> *'the old things are coming back – no-one grows their own now. People are looking for seasonal food'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

Several traders talked about how shoppers 'knew' the seasons and tended to know if produce was English. One said:

> *'the younger folks may ask for things that are out of season but the older folks know when the stuff is coming in and it will be fresh'*
> (Trader 4, Newcastle).

Another commented on the changing mix of shoppers, 'tourists in summer, winter it's local' (Trader 2, Ely). For example, in March, there was a growing expectation that the market in Ely would get much busier a few weeks later as the warmer weather brought tourists to the town. The seasonal rhythm was more pronounced on the farmers' markets, particularly in the rural case study areas. For example, the Ely organiser commented on how there were:

> *'coach loads in summer [...] trade is up then [...] there is a seasonal rhythm. Many of the traders are seasonal too. For instance, we will have several starting at the end of this month through to the end of October. Late May all the fresh strawberries are on the market [...] Game comes on from October to March, that's very much what it's all about'* (FM organiser, Ely).

Another market officer said that many people used the market as a social meeting place, especially during the summer months. There was also evidence that the market was socially governed as market managers in Cambridge and Ely talked about their strategic need to balance using the market as a draw for tourists alongside the needs of local shoppers.

Thus these market rhythms had evolved over time and place and were tightly woven into the practices of market exchange. Cultural legacies and institutional structures remained but had adapted to changes in shopping habits that were, in turn, affected by the growth in supermarket retailing. The interrelationships and interactions between the urban and the rural and traditional and modern food retailing that began to emerge in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 are built on by these empirical findings. The ambiguity and itinerant nature of the 'local', the blurring of 'alternative' and 'traditional' food sourcing and retail practices, and the cultural legacies and institutional structures associated with the rhythms of

market exchange are highlighted alongside the 'symbolic magic' of the market product. The next section keeps fresh food in the frame and examines how cultural and economic value(s) play their part in the everyday practices of food market exchange.

7.4 The 'value(s)' of fresh food

How food becomes valued, or not, is a critical part of the market exchange process and exchange rates may be set between moral and monetised values as the fresh food takes on cultural form (Bestor, 2004 after Appadurai, 1996). Thus the cultural value attached to fresh food affects its economic value and changes as the food travels through the market system. The everyday choices people make about where they shop and what fresh food they choose to buy reflect not only the institutional structures they choose to create or engage with, but also how people use their everyday practices to 'open up spaces' where they can assert themselves.

The practice of trading fresh food is, by implication, bound up with materiality but the price put on the produce depends not only on economic factors, determined by supply and demand, but also on less tangible factors bound up with cultural and moral understandings and symbolic meanings. For example, there was an understanding that price was important to many shoppers on the Grainger Market in Newcastle. However, for many, quality and freshness were given equal emphasis. The idea that people could shop to their budgets in the market, particularly as the recession began to take hold in the city, was an important aspect of how the fresh food was valued by market officers, traders and shoppers alike. As one market officer put it:

> *'it depends on what you want and what your budget is. The good thing about here is if you just want four potatoes and one carrot and one onion you can get them, so you wouldn't need to starve so much'* (Market Officer 2, Newcastle).

However, the distinction between cheap food and food that was 'good value' was also very important. For example, one trader, a woman in her 30s selling local food, said:

> *'I think that I'm reluctant to say that things are cheaper because cheap kind of implies cheap and nasty and it's not. I think that you get better value but I don't think that means the same thing. If you get cheap meat at the supermarket, then it's crap, but here I think you get better value. It's like getting away from the idea that it's cheap and nasty, which I think is the problem. So, I would say, that it's better value, but not necessarily cheaper'* (Trader 1, Newcastle).

These comments reflect something fundamental to this cultural economy analysis, in terms of how everyday cultural practices, like trading and shopping for fresh food, order the social institutions and economic activity of the traditional food market. It identifies 'points' where cultural meaning and economic value interact and transform how the food is valued. Section 7.4. investigates these cultural economy 'points' by examining how traders and shoppers valued the fresh food being traded.

7.4.1. Traders' value(s)

Freidberg (2007: 322-3) suggests that standards implemented by supermarkets to assure quality and food safety are a kind of 'imperial knowledge [...] that threatens the practical knowledge traditionally employed in the production and trade of food, and, in particular, perishable produce'. Although one butcher on the Grainger Market in Newcastle talked about how health and hygiene standards had become 'much stricter and harder', a fishmonger took the opposite view. He felt that the fish on sale in nearby supermarkets was 'not the same as his fish' and implied their standards were inferior. He said, 'I don't come cheap – if you want something good you pay for it.' He was very concerned with sourcing fish from the UK and revealed how his 'practical knowledge' informed his sourcing decisions. He said:

> *'in a few weeks time I shall be into crab. I deal direct down at Cromer. People ask for cobbler – that's coming over from Taiwan – that's a Tescos outfit – and I just look at them and grin, I don't entertain that sort of stuff because their rules out there are different to our rules here. The amount of chemicals they are sticking in – like those prawns in lovely packets [...] Now look at this cod [trader points to cod on sale on stall]. I know that's English, I can tell when I look at it. Obviously I've handled it a long time – you can tell by the colour of the skin and the sheen on it'* (Trader 3, Ely).

The same trader was selling smoked fish that had a PGI[37] designation. As the fieldwork diary entry notes, although he did not market this to his customers, he 'knew' that it added value to the product.

Thursday 18 March, Ely

He shows me the PGI designation on the smoked fish he has sourced from Grimsby. I ask if he displays it like this but he says 'no because people would not know what it was', even though he knows that it makes all the fish, as he puts it, 'top class'.

For this trader, there were supermarket standards, which did indeed threaten the 'practical knowledge' in the global food system, but there were other standards associated with UK sourced food with quality attributes. Kirwan (2004:411) suggests that shoppers engage with 'an alternative mode of connectivity' with specific rules that is part of the 'alterity' of farmers' markets without which, he argues, farmers' markets would not be sustainable in the long-term because they would become 'little different from a street market'. These comments from the fishmonger contest this and suggest that the long-term 'practical knowledge' of traditional market traders has always made aspects of traditional trading not 'alternative', but culturally informed. The trader's assumption that he 'knows'

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[37] PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) covers agricultural products and foodstuffs closely linked to the geographical area. At least one of the stages of production, processing or preparation takes place in the area [http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/schemes/index_en.htm accessed 13 February, 2011]

about fish suggests that, in his view, his customers rely on *his* knowledge and thus the PGI designation is a sourcing tool for him but not useful for marketing the fish to customers.

Following Jackson (2010: 161), who argues that food has 'enormous revelatory value [...] in terms of its potential to carry messages about identity and meaning', there was also a narrative where food had value in disclosing messages about identity. For example, the fishmonger felt that price did make a difference for his more expensive fish, but the judgements people were making about this were not based on everyday notions of 'good' value; their decisions to buy were bound up with notions of taste for 'good' food. He said:

> *'look at this halibut steak it would cost about £15. In a restaurant it would cost £28. In London it would cost £50. It's the cookery programmes you can thank for it. We have to watch them. We get friends, my wife, everyone to tell us – because obviously I'm in bed early. And she'll say they did a recipe on scallops and I know to double up on them. Whatever's on the night before you can guarantee people will ask for it the next day'* (Trader 3, Cambridge).

The trader's comments indicate the influence of the media in determining aspirational values associated with 'good' food, but also, following Warde (1997), implies that taste for 'good' fish was an indicator of cultural worth. This reflects Bourdieu's (1984) notion of *habitus,* where he argues that people use social capital, gained through their food choice, to help define their identity.

In contrast, the butcher on Cambridge market, a man in his 50s, talked about the difficulty of selling all parts of each animal, rather than just the popular cuts. The changes in eating habits meant that his younger customers did not buy joints of meat even though they were the best value, in his opinion. He said:

'last Saturday I had some sirloin steak – it was massive, and I couldn't cut them small because it was a Belgian Blue steer – but at £20 a kilo, a couple of steaks cost over £20; that would be a lot to spend on a joint, but they were rolling off the shelves like there was no tomorrow' (Trader 4, Cambridge).

In this instance, the trader expresses frustration that modern convenience and taste have taken priority over traditional 'good value'.

Other traders talked about ethical considerations, such as food miles and seasonality, and although the economic downturn was beginning to take its toll, the farmers' market organiser in Ely said:

> *'I think it has an impact but not a huge one because lots of people that shop at the farmers' market do it because of their ethics and they are still going to support the market. The meat traders say that those people that were spending £30 last year are now only spending £20 or £15 – the things that cost a lot have been affected more'* (FM organiser, Ely).

And one fruit and vegetable trader selling local produce talked about how the economic value of fruit and vegetables had not changed for many years and, for him, this was why younger people were not encouraged into the industry; they did not want to work for 'pennies'. This trader's comments are indicative of Guthman's (2002: 295) suggestion about a lack of theorisation of 'how the social life of food intersects with a political economy of food production'. By keeping prices down, the hard labour that local growers were putting in was not being recognised and, as a result, the industry was dying.

Some traders did feel that 'price sells everything'. For example, one butcher, a man in his early 60s, on the Grainger Market in Newcastle said:

> *'with the market, I think that a lot of it is in the price. It dictates a bit. You can't just hoist something on the counter and ask £10 for it. It doesn't work like that. You've got to say two chickens for a fiver like we've got on there now'* (Trader 6, Newcastle).

Another butcher, a man in his 40s, in Newcastle expressed frustration with the prices on the nearby farmers' market which, he said, his customers were not prepared to pay. He appeared to disregard any differences in quality. For him, it was all about price:

> *'A lot of my customers go and have a look and they come back. They don't buy anything – they just say, 'bloody expensive there'. Our sausages are £2 a pound; theirs are £4.50 /£5 a pound. If they want to spend twice the money and get the same product, well I suppose they can'* (Trader 5, Newcastle).

In contrast, a fruit and vegetable trader of a similar age in Cambridge stressed that labelling the provenance of the produce was very important and did not think that people even looked at the prices. He said:

> *'I think if you asked them how much they paid three days ago for a certain item they probably wouldn't remember. There's a few basic items that people do know the price of like bread, milk, eggs and maybe a banana because of their supermarket shopping, but many of the items they don't know the price of and it does fluctuate here on the market. It does go up and down with supply and demand'* (Trader 2, Cambridge).

This trader's perception that people do not notice the price, even in the supermarket, raises questions about shoppers' perception of 'value' in food and how they made choices about where to shop and what to buy. This is considered next.

7.4.2. Shoppers' value(s)

Shoppers' perceptions and values reflected wider debates related to food access for those living on lower incomes and, in particular, for the ageing populations in both Cambridge and Newcastle. Other perceptions related to the market's role as a public place where social interaction for local communities takes place. However, these comments also reflected the socio-demographic profiles of each market and provided evidence of the North/South divide (Dowler, 2008, Dorling et al., 2007).

Traditional market shoppers tend to be profiled as older and/or on low or more restricted incomes (Watson and Studdert, 2006, Communities and Local Government Select Committee, 2009). However, as discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, there was evidence of a more nuanced picture. One trader pointed out, for example, how shopper profiles varied on the Grainger Market, Newcastle according to the day of the week and time of day. In this instance, the trader claimed that those shopping on the market on a weekday morning were likely to be the elderly, whereas at the weekend shoppers included young families and professionals doing their weekly shopping.

When talking about shoppers' motivations for shopping on the traditional market, there was a tendency to draw parallels with farmers' market and supermarket shopping and, for some, this reflected assumptions that the traditional market sold inferior produce. For example, one farmers' market producer/trader felt:

> *'there's not really a tradition of buying food at [traditional] markets in this country in the same way that there is in France or Spain or other European countries. There, people are used to going to markets and paying a reasonable price for food. They expect to get fresh quality produce and are happy to pay for it. I think in this country, to a certain extent, markets are associated with being places to buy cheap food [...] Farmers' markets are a fantastic thing because you are meeting up with that person who produced it but it's going to take some time to build into*

> *the British consumer that sense of buying quality food at a market'* (FM producer, 2, Alnwick).

And the trader selling local food in the Grainger Market said:

> *'I find that a lot of people, I mean my customers and most of the market customers, do trust what you are doing, but trying to persuade people that don't shop on markets that the produce is just as good and probably better than what you get in supermarkets [is very difficult...]people just trust the big brands and don't quite understand what they don't know'* (Trader 1, Newcastle).

As Kirwan (2004: 404) also found on farmers' markets, these comparisons with supermarket shopping, 'as an arbiter of quality', ran through the narrative with shoppers and traders alike. For example, one elderly female shopper said:

> *'I think you always get good quality in the market, different from the supermarket, I think. I would say price-wise it's good value. I prefer the quality to supermarkets and corner shops'* (Shopper 10, Newcastle).

Another female shopper in her 50s said, 'I think the produce is good, equal to all the supermarkets, and the prices are very reasonable compared to supermarkets' (Shopper 4, Newcastle). One professional male in his 60s talked about how he had come to appreciate the qualities of the fresh food on sale on the market when he said:

> *'many years ago I had an experience when I wanted to buy a piece of pork from Sainsbury's but I couldn't find what I wanted. So I went to the butcher here for the first time – it didn't look very good but I bought it – I had no choice – but then I discovered to my great surprise and joy it was infinitely better than what I had previously bought'* (shopper 2, Cambridge).

All shoppers interviewed on the farmers' market in Newcastle also shopped on the Grainger Market and, in this instance, no distinctions were made between the traditional and farmers' markets. For example, one male shopper in his 50s said:

> *'it just depends where I am really – what I look for is good quality at a reasonable price and I can find this in both places[...] I never buy meat in supermarkets and I never buy vegetables in supermarkets because they are horrendously expensive and they are not as matured as the stuff here'* (FM shopper 1, Newcastle).

Other traditional market shoppers, especially young students, also made the same comparisons with fresh produce on sale in supermarkets, although for them the price difference was critical. One said her decision was 'purely based on price' (Shopper 14, Newcastle) and another said, 'we all come here to shop because it's a lot cheaper. The price is the main reason we come. The difference between the price here and the supermarket is big – and the service is nice as well' (Shopper 23, Newcastle). In contrast, others admitted that they did not look at prices and were more concerned with quality, how the food tasted, and a desire to support local people. One young professional male said:

> *'I don't really think about how much I spend on the market in a week. I'm not particularly good at budgeting. I just buy what I need from particular people who sell local stuff. I shop in the supermarket as infrequently as possible'* (Shopper 4, Cambridge).

A young professional male in his 20s said:

> *'I trust their [traditional and farmers' market traders] opinion and it's much fresher than buying it in supermarkets. You feel like you're helping the local trade rather than a big brand'* (FM shopper 3, Newcastle).

And another young male shopper expressed motivations that were bound up with ideals, trust and economic value and said:

> *'I like buying things more from real people rather than big supermarket shelves. Maybe it's kind of an ideal going and interacting with people behind the stalls – and the food is usually better quality than you would find in the supermarkets'* (Shopper 9, Newcastle).

Comments from the first two shoppers echo Kirwan's (2004: 404) observations on the importance of personal relationships between producer and shopper on farmers' markets. This final shopper's comments reflect the antithesis to Cochoy's (2007) work on shopper-shelving interaction in supermarkets, where supermarket 'things', such as signs and shelving, persuade shoppers to make choices.

In sum, these findings reveal a 'sliding scale' of moral and monetised values as fresh food takes on cultural form. Comments made by traders and shoppers identify 'points' where cultural meaning and economic value interact and transform how the food is valued. They also raise questions about how notions of 'good value' are formed through the parallel experience of shopping in the supermarket and on the farmers' market. This implies that how people behave on the traditional market, and the identities they assume, are informed by the different use of space inside the market frame and influenced by the socio-spatial demographics outside the market frame.

These findings also suggest that many traders and shoppers on the traditional food market are appreciating the same qualities and moral values associated with trading and shopping on farmers' markets. Many shoppers talked about the fresh produce on the traditional market as the 'special, fresh' produce, not like the tired, packaged produce available in the supermarket. Thus it could be argued that the traditional market shopper has been part of a tradition that values affordable quality for far longer than the 'new' farmers' market shoppers. Also, within these small, indicative samples, all of the shoppers interviewed on the farmers' markets shopped on the traditional market. They perceived the quality of the traditional market produce as superior to the supermarket offer. Initial

impressions also confirm a Northern commercial notion of 'value' (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006). Traditional market traders and shoppers are aware that the seasonal fresh fruit and vegetables are likely to have been grown in the UK (and often locally or regionally), meat is often reared locally or regionally, and fish has been sourced from nearby fishing ports and is often caught or farmed within the UK. However, they often voice other priorities concerned with freshness, taste and price. Quality is therefore constructed and negotiated, as Sonnino and Marsden (2006) point out, and as these findings demonstrate, it is also determined by the social and spatial context.

7.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter has examined how fresh food is transformed into the 'market product' and how its cultural value is entwined with its economic value. It has also considered how actors use the market space and their everyday practices of trading and shopping for fresh food to resist supermarket dominance and open up 'little spaces' to assert themselves. Four key points emerge from this analysis:

- traders' economic practices, and the identities they assume, are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings that vary according to the marketplace;
- place and culture remain intimately entwined as global fresh food sourcing and cultural and ethnically bound habits and tastes mingle with local food sourcing practices on the traditional food market;
- the *ambiguous* and *itinerant* nature of the 'local', the blurring of 'alternative' and 'traditional' food sourcing and retail practices, and the cultural legacies and institutional structures of market exchange co-exist within the 'symbolic magic' of the 'market product'; and
- notions of 'good value' are formed through the parallel experience of shopping in the supermarket and on the farmers' market, implying that market actors' identities are informed by the different use of space inside the market frame and influenced by the socio-spatial demographics outside the market frame.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main aims: firstly, to discuss *how* the cultural economy framework addresses the conceptual 'points' (Hinde and Dixon, 2007) in traditional food market exchange where culture and economy interact and transform each other; and secondly, to link the micro-level activities of the traditional food market and its exchange processes, using the quantitative and qualitative data analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, with the macro-level processes of the market and market exchange arising from the literature. The discussion also relates the main research findings to wider debates about agri-food systems, food retailing and consumption practices. Theoretical aspects of the research are woven through the narrative and methodological consideration is given to new perspectives generated by the mixed methods approach.

8.2 The cultural economy framework

The cultural economy framework used by this study acknowledges that cultural practices rotate around commerce but include many other dimensions besides the economic negotiations and transactions associated with trading fresh food (Freidberg, 2004). The approach has two main focuses: firstly, how the traditional food market and place adapt to each other over time and space as the market adapts to wider economic and societal dynamics and change; and secondly, how the everyday practices of fresh food market exchange interact with the institutional structures and economic efficiency of the market as it adapts to retail restructuring and changing consumption habits. Using this approach, three key themes emerge from the research and these are discussed in the following sections:

- **market and place:** how the social institutions of market and place are tightly interwoven and support each other over time;
- **everyday life:** how people engage in everyday practices (such as trading or shopping for fresh food on traditional markets) to resist dominant economic orders (such as supermarkets); and
- **the value(s) of fresh food:** how fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value by the everyday practices of market actors.

8.2.1 Market and place

Following Polanyi (1944, 1957), one key aspect of the theoretical approach worked from the conceptual premise that the social institutions of market and place support each other over time. Chapter 5 examined how the relationships between market and place change as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and practices. This was developed in Chapter 6 by exploring the *particular* external and internal spaces and places of the case study markets. Extending this further, Chapter 7 then applied de Certeau's 'tactic' as a lens to examine how actors use the market place and their everyday practices to open up 'little spaces' (Thrift, 2003) to assert themselves and 'outwit' dominant economic orders and power structures in the fresh food provisioning system.

Addressing Jackson's (2010: 148) assertion that 'geography is not merely incidental to cultural variation [...] it is fundamental to the very constitution of culture', a key aspect of this analysis concentrated on how the *physical* location of each market contributes to its own particular identity. This does not deny that historical shifts and cultural legacies are part of how the traditional food market is understood in the contemporary setting, but acknowledges that they are intertwined with each market's geographical relationship with place. This relationship adapts to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning over time and is contextualised by the *particular* commercial pressures and cultures of the surrounding food retail landscape (Freidberg, 2004).

Chapter 5 mapped for the first time the contemporary geographies and patterns of concentration of traditional food markets and their links with wholesale markets and farmers' markets. This analysis provides new insight into the traditional food retail sector and adds to a more general body of research on retail restructuring and changes in food chain provisioning. Database research identified 2,105 food markets of all types operating in the UK in 2009, including 1,124 traditional food markets, 26 wholesale markets, 605 farmers' markets and 350 country markets. Traditional food markets were run principally by the public sector (60%), although 29% were run by the private sector and a further 9% were operated as public/private partnerships. Data demonstrated evidence of a shift towards the private sector and public/private partnerships as operating structures used in both the traditional and wholesale market sectors. This reflects a trend towards more economic efficiency and a shift away from more 'traditional' public health and welfare priorities associated with the traditional food system that aimed to ensure access to affordable fresh food in a public space.

The findings begin to reveal how market and place are entwined in a relationship that has adapted to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning. The maps of traditional food markets, wholesale markets and farmers' markets reveal how their geographies have been affected by regulatory, economic and cultural change over time. Current regional concentrations of traditional and wholesale markets continue to reflect clustering that mirrored industrial and urban population growth which took place in the nineteenth century. The analysis showed how primary wholesale markets, constructed at the end of the First World War as a 'backbone' to the UK food distribution system, continue to have traditional food markets clustered close by, with a concentration through the central corridor of England. Recent growth in farmers' markets demonstrates heavier clustering in the south of England and how these more specialised niche markets are more concentrated in agricultural areas and where affluent population demographics can support them, such as in the South East and London. Used together these maps provide a visual representation of the historical shifts that 'placed' the traditional market, the wholesale distribution

system that supports the traditional system, and the recent re-emergence of the niche farmers' market - the 'traditional' food market in a contemporary guise.

The case study research (Chapters 6 and 7) explored how traditional markets are intimately linked with the regions, towns and cities where they are located. Case studies of traditional food markets in the North East and Eastern regions of England emphasised how the different geographies, histories and approaches to food and farming have moulded the relationship between market and fresh food over time. For example, small-scale farming practices in the North East, and a traditional food market that began as a meat market, contrast with large-scale crop and vegetable production in the Eastern region and an outdoor market that mostly sells fresh vegetables and fruit. There was also evidence of how the lack of a primary wholesale market in the Eastern region had resulted in more reliance (and more availability) of regionally or locally produced food.

The identity of each market and its actors is related, in part, to the fact that they are held in a public space which acts as a 'self-organising public service, a shared resource in which experiences and value are created' (Mean and Tims, 2005 from, Worpole, 2007: 2; see also Watson and Stuudert, 2006). Each market's ability to survive or thrive does not lie solely with its geographical location or in its physical layout, but relies on people adopting, using and managing the space on a day-to-day basis. However, the empirical findings reveal conflicting perceptions about each market's contemporary identity. For example, many of those market traders, managers and shoppers interviewed for the research considered that the supermarket was 'killing' the traditional market but at the same time supermarkets were also frequently held up as 'an arbiter of quality' (Kirwan, 2004: 404). As de la Pradelle (2006) suggests, the significance of the traditional food market is partly formed by what is *not* happening there, and it is these 'negations and mimicked connections' that shape current experience of trading and shopping on the traditional market.

These experiences are reflected by how the indoor Grainger Market in Newcastle was pulled between modernising 'like the supermarket' or 'stopping as a market'

and protecting its Newcastle identity, bound up with cultural meanings and traditions. In Cambridge, a city located in a prosperous agricultural region, some traders selling seasonal, local fresh produce appeared to cultivate connections with the image of the farmers' market trader, whereas others concentrated on selling up-market Class 1 produce or freshly squeezed juices. These interrelationships and interactions between the urban and the rural, and traditional and modern, food retailing are complex and appear to be closely bound up with each market's particular relationship with place. Cambridge market has adapted to the changing retail environment and fresh food shopping habits by innovating to offer more local and quality products. In the Grainger Market in Newcastle, a city more seriously affected by the economic downturn, there is evidence that the market's identity is conflicted as it struggles to change and adapt.

Another example of this complexity is provided by the growing use of market sites, or neighbouring sites, for farmers' markets. The recent Select Committee (CLGSC, 2009: para.66) took the view that there is 'no reason why farmers' markets should not retain their identity within a larger 'ordinary' market'. However, this begs the question about what effect this shared use of site or close proximity of the farmers' market has on the identity and economic viability of the traditional food market. Some traditional market traders' comments revealed antagonism towards the presence of the farmers' market producer/traders. For example, in Newcastle, one trader felt that producers/traders 'just rip people off' (Trader 5, Newcastle) and another thought that the farmers' market takes 'our money' (Trader 8, Newcastle). However, another trader in the Grainger Market felt that the farmers' market had had its day and people were returning to the traditional market. In contrast, those trading on the farmers' market were barely aware of the presence of the large traditional market hall operating just around the corner. The conflicting identities and relationships that exist between the traditional food market and the farmers' market are an area that requires further research.

There is a rhythm to the use made of public space and Chapter 7 draws on Lefebvre's 'rhythmanalysis' framework to examine the daily and seasonal rhythms of the traditional case study markets and their effects on people using these spaces. The case study material shows how cultural practices and institutional structures constantly adapt to retail restructuring and changing shopping habits. For example, whereas in the past people often shopped before they started work, shopping on the market now starts later, tied up with when the free bus pass brings older shoppers into town. Types of shopper also change according to the time of day, with lunch-time bringing more office workers, and tourists and casual shoppers being more evident during the afternoons. There was also a feeling that trade built up as the week progressed on the six-day week markets, with Saturday bringing more visitors as well as young families and professionals buying fresh food for the weekend and/or stocking up for the week ahead. Seasonal rhythms were more obvious on the outdoor markets that were more overtly affected by the weather, but they affected traders in different ways. For example, a fishmonger found September a 'dead month' because this was when older people took their holidays, whereas a butcher on the Cambridge market considered his trade picked up in September when the school summer holidays were over. Most traders considered the period after Christmas the 'kipper season' when trade went flat.

Thus the daily and seasonal rhythms of each market brought different market actors inside the market frame at different times and emphasise how the marketplace is always changing. These changing dynamics are intertwined with the everyday practices of market actors. Trading practices and shopping habits contribute to the success (or failure) of each market and these are considered in the next section.

8.2.2 Everyday life

The cultural economy framing posits that the relationship between the internal everyday context of the market and the external space of market and society co-evolve. The case study research thus explored beneath the 'veil of the everyday'

(Thompson, 2010) to assess how actors use the market space as part of their everyday lives and use their everyday practices to assert themselves (Thrift, 2003). Just as de Certeau's 'tactic' is always looking for new opportunities or 'clever tricks' to get away with things, so market traders and shoppers assert themselves through their practical knowledge or *metis* – a combination of wisdom and cunning (de Certeau, 1984: xix). The cultural economy framework recognises that power operates through relationships between actors in the food chain and is manifested in the 'workaday norms and practices' that move food through the system (Freidberg, 2004: 216). It focuses on supply-side aspects, such as trading practices, as much as the economic activity and accompanying cultural outputs of the consumer.

Plattner (1982) argues that a successful market means 'workable competition' where all traders make a living and also support each other over time. A key finding of this analysis is that many long-standing traders do not perceive the market as simply a public space where traders compete to sell their produce, but consider it a place where they are dependent on each other as well as on their relationships with their customers. Competition between traders was considered important but this was not tied up exclusively with making money. For example, one fruit and vegetable trader in Cambridge felt that competition was 'healthy' and that without choice, people were unlikely to come to the market square (Trader 1, Cambridge). Traders' relationships with each other also extended outside the marketplace, particularly for those who traded on weekly markets and moved around each day. For example, traders on the markets in Alnwick and Ely were often part of larger family businesses, established over generations, and social relationships extended beyond the individual market setting and were embedded in other markets where other family members were trading. A performative link also existed between market traders and wholesalers. This was particularly evident in Cambridge where market traders had built up more personal relationships with secondary wholesalers. In these trading relationships, trust and convenience appeared to take precedence over price and the arrangement had mutual benefits; traders got good quality produce delivered directly to the market and wholesalers were not constantly competing over price

in order to secure regular business. Thus traders were embedded in the marketplace but economic practices were informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings that extended beyond the market setting.

Some scholars (e.g. Freidberg, 2004, 2007, Harvey, 2010) have argued that traditional skills and knowledge are devalued in the concentrated retail chains of supermarkets where technical knowledge and the implementation of food safety standards threaten to take the place of practical knowledge. Mangan (2010: 90) writes that when she bought some fish in the supermarket, the assistant asked *her* how to cook it. She says:

> *'I confess I paused for a moment. I mean, that's a big question, even when you're prepared for it [...] I don't know exactly how much specialist knowledge I habitually assume my local supermarket fishmongers possess – and I don't think my expectations are high, but I think it does squeak into the category 'some'. Her question suggested that I had been over-optimistic.'*

A fishmonger interviewed for this study on the market in Moreton-in-Marsh put it succinctly when he said:

> *'people are negative about supermarket fish and rightly so because 99 times out of 100 the person selling the fish, and also buying the fish, has no real contact with it and don't know what they are doing. They have no expertise in it – you have people like Morrisons championing 'our professional fish mongers' but they don't know what they are buying. You ask them to scale or prepare anything - skin or trim a dover sole – they look at you like you fell off a tree'* (Fishmonger, Moreton-in-Marsh).

However, traders are 'wise managers' (de la Pradelle, 2006: 239), not just small retailers trying to survive. Inherited knowledge, gained over generations, has resulted in various 'tactics' being employed to improve their trading performance. These 'tactics' are not always overt, or even consciously

recognised, but have evolved over time and demonstrate a practical knowledge that is culturally informed. For example, traders may adopt a role and employ particular sales and marketing techniques to attract particular customers. A trader selling his own locally reared and slaughtered fresh meat on the traditional market in Cambridge for example, referred to himself as 'a butcher', whereas a producer/trader on the farmers' market in Newcastle stressed that she was 'a farmer'. This suggests that the identities that traders and producers assume vary according to the market space in which their performances take place. Another example is provided by traders' attempts to meet the demands of 'cosmopolitan localism' (Marsden and Sonnino, 2010). In this instance, a wide selection of imported fruit and vegetables is displayed alongside seasonal and local or regionally produced fresh produce, and fish sourced to cater for the preferences of particular ethnic groups is displayed alongside others sourced in the UK. The long experience of sourcing and trading fresh food has also given traders an intuitive knowledge about the fresh food on sale. One fishmonger explained how he could tell an English cod by the colour of its skin and the sheen on it and felt that it was this culturally-informed knowledge, accumulated over years of trading, that his customers relied on rather than technically imposed standards.

Practical knowledge also informs food-purchasing decisions on the market. For some older customers who were surveyed, a decision to shop on the market was often bound up with cultural connections and tradition (it was 'in the blood' as one trader put it), whereas for younger shoppers, such as students who did not have the same cultural connections to place, price often took priority. In the same way that de la Pradelle (2006) contends that the shopping experience at the street market in Carpentras is formed through the parallel experience of going to the supermarket, shoppers used their knowledge of supermarket pricing and quality to make purchasing decisions on the market where they considered the produce was fresher, tastier and frequently cheaper. For older shoppers in particular, the social aspects of shopping on the market and trust in traders' knowledge about food had resulted in practices 'for negotiating their way around constraints' (Madgwick and Ravenscroft, 2011: 112) that were frequently associated with limited income and/or local access to fresh food. Many older shoppers surveyed

relied on the free bus pass to travel into the city centre in order to continue often life-long traditions of shopping on the market. As Madgwick and Ravenscroft (2011) suggest, this 'tactic' raises questions about how 'local' is interpreted. Despite the market's spatial disconnection from where these shoppers currently lived, their decision to shop on the market was as much because of its associations with sociality, local culture and identity as for the freshness and quality of the fresh produce on sale. This implies that market actors' identities are informed by the different use of space inside the market frame and influenced by the socio-spatial demographics outside the market frame.

Thus cultural practices and economic strategies fuse and transform one another under 'the veil of the everyday' (Thompson, 2010). Although these dynamics vary according to the setting of each market and are shaped by the co-existence of the supermarket and the farmers' market, the traditional market's exchange processes intertwine with everyday practical knowledge that combines 'wisdom with cunning' (de Certeau, 1984). These 'tactics' maintain the identity and inform the value of the 'market product'. How fresh food is transformed into the 'market product' and how its cultural value is entwined with its economic value is a particular focus of the research and this aspect is considered in more detail in the next section.

8.2.3 The value(s) of fresh food

A key finding of the research was that fresh food trading on the traditional market is much reduced despite the fact that the majority of market managers (72%) continue to consider fresh food sales very important to the success of the market. As discussed in Chapter 6, the findings suggest that the 'typical' traditional market shopper tends to be local and shops on the market at least once, and often twice, each week. However, the actual amount spent tends to be quite modest and represents a limited proportion of weekly food shopping. For example, 35% of shoppers in Newcastle and 56% in Cambridge spent less than £10. Of those who attempted this as a percentage of their weekly shop (in

Newcastle only), none was spending more than 50% and most considered they were spending less than 25%.

Although 59% of market managers considered that the pricing of other retailers was the factor that was most detrimental to market trade, analysis of the shopping basket survey demonstrates how most market prices for fresh food were considerably cheaper than those offered by neighbouring supermarkets. Market traders and shoppers alike stressed the importance of price in decisions about fresh food choice, but it appears that the competitive 'edge' of the supermarket offer continues to diminish traditional local shopping practices on the market and this, in turn, affects the internal space of each market as fewer traders choose to sell fresh produce.

These 'spirals' of decline could suggest that fresh food shopping on traditional markets is in permanent decline but, despite heavy reliance on the supermarket that, for most, was part of the 'routine' of shopping, there were groups of shoppers who felt that the market offered something more than 'doing the shopping'. Shoppers had a tendency to draw parallels with supermarket shopping when comparing fresh produce on traditional markets. Comments about 'good value' often tied price and quality together to the detriment of packaged produce available in the supermarket that was often considered 'tired and tasteless'. These comments were not limited to older shoppers. For some younger shoppers this was bound up with reaffirming their local identity and, for others, it was about buying fresh food from 'real people rather than big supermarket shelves' and supporting local growers and producers. A key finding of this research is that 'good value' rather than 'cheap' is an important distinction in how fresh food is transformed into the traditional 'market product' and notions of 'good value' are formed through the parallel experience of shopping in the supermarket and on the farmers' market. For example, one Newcastle trader's reluctance to say that produce was 'cheap' on the traditional market underlined the distinction between 'cheap and nasty' and 'better value than the supermarket'. Another example can be drawn from how traders rely on their practical knowledge, gained over generations, to inform their sourcing decisions and the suggestion from one

fishmonger that imposed supermarket standards in the global system have actually lowered standards customarily employed in the traditional system.

The trading practices of traditional food market traders also highlight how 'good value' is a discursive construct. For example, the butcher on Cambridge market expressed frustration with how younger shoppers on the market preferred expensive steaks that were quick and convenient to cook over what he considered the good value of more 'traditional' cuts, such as those used for a Sunday roast. Other traders attached moral considerations to 'good value', commenting on how lack of investment, supermarket pricing, hard work and low returns meant that young people were not encouraged into the fresh produce sector and that local growing on a small-scale was perceived to be 'dying'.

There was also evidence that place and culture remain intimately entwined as global fresh food sourcing and cultural and ethnically bound habits and tastes mingled with local food sourcing practices on the traditional market. For example, one fishmonger on the Grainger Market in Newcastle talked about changing customer preferences and how they sourced fish for particular ethnic groups, particularly the Chinese community. One of the market supervisors commented on how the food offer on the market 'brought the world a bit closer to home' (Market officer 2, Newcastle). Place and culture thus remain entwined as cultural habits coalesce with the 'embodied and emotional pull of the market' (de la Pradelle, 2006: 2) and it appears that the value put on the fresh produce depends on both economic factors and less tangible factors bound up with cultural understandings and place and place-making (Coles and Crang, 2010).

The empirical findings demonstrate a 'sliding scale' of moral and monetised values as fresh food takes on cultural form (Bestor, 2004). For example, some traders made no distinctions between industrial, globally produced fruit and vegetables and those that were local or regionally grown; freshness and price not provenance were considered the essential characteristics when it came to selling fresh produce. Other traders, however, provided evidence of an 'itinerant local', as they transported 'local' produce to trade on markets in other regions, or even

across the border between England and Scotland, in order to evoke local or regional traditions and tastes and to make sales. Some traders were doing well selling local produce to younger and more middle-class shoppers. One commented that these younger customers had acquired the habit of shopping on markets from their experience of growing up with farmers' markets. This could suggest that the farmers' market had originally re-appropriated traditional food market shoppers as they looked for an alternative to the supermarket and that some were now drifting back. As noted earlier, this is another element of the relationship between traditional and farmers' markets that requires further research.

Although the overall economic value of fresh food sold on the traditional market is reduced in real terms, its symbolic value as the 'market produce' is not. Historically and culturally the traditional market may be considered part of a 'traditional' food system that aimed to provide fresh and affordable food to all as part of public health and welfare reform, but the contemporary market is a different place. It is frequently articulated through the parallel fresh food trading and shopping experiences at the supermarket and the farmers' market. However, this does not 'de-value' its relevance and the above discussion reveals a marketplace informed by practical and local knowledge systems. The ambiguous and itinerant nature of the 'local', the blurring of 'alternative' and 'traditional' food sourcing and retail practices, and the cultural legacies and institutional structures co-exist within the 'symbolic magic' of the 'market product'.

8.3 Contribution to academic debates

This discussion chapter has already made 'connections' with relevant academic debates and has drawn attention to the new contribution that this thesis makes to research on traditional food systems in mapping the contemporary geographies and patterns of concentration of traditional food markets and their links with wholesale markets and farmers' markets. The thesis also contributes to a growing body of work on the cultural economy and makes a new, and novel, contribution by applying this approach to the traditional food market and its exchange

processes. The research also links the micro-level activities of traditional food market exchange with the macro-level processes of market exchange arising from the literature in three particular debates: food systems and the standards that regulate them, embeddedness and notions of value, and market exchange and its relationship with place.

8.3.1 Food systems and standards

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the cultural economy approach was a response to globalization and the new economic realities that arose in the 1970s. A search for alternative understandings of social and economic well-being led to re-orientations and re-connections within agri-food, retail and consumption literatures. How food systems, power structures and consumption practices interact and transform each other became a particular focus of debate in the literature. The 'cultural turn' began a process of re-figuring the commodity chain as the effects of supermarkets' closed supply chains, sectoral standards and quality conventions became dominant in the fresh food sector and took over from traditional systems and practices. Dixon's (1999) cultural economy model for studying food systems developed Friedland's (1984) commodity systems analysis (CSA) and analysed how the production and consumption of food are interrelated, adopting the relationships between economy, social identity and politics as its central tenet. The analysis revolved around the links and relationships between the actors in the food chain that shape production and consumption and the institutions that support them and, crucially, recognised the importance of where power and, by implication, governance lies in the chain.

Freidberg's (2004: 216) study of French beans grown in Kenya for export to the UK and France adopts a cultural economy framework to examine how power operates through the relationships between actors in the food chain and how it is manifested in 'the workaday norms and practices' that move food through the system. Her findings led to the conclusion that supermarket standards threaten the 'practical knowledge' traditionally employed in the fresh produce food sector. This thesis has adopted a shared approach with Freidberg's (2004) study

but has focussed on the actors involved in the *retail* chain, namely market traders and shoppers rather than the 'intermediaries' (fresh food buyers and wholesalers) in the distribution chain. Although there continues to be a recognition that technically-imposed supermarket standards impact on the global food chain and threaten 'practical knowledge' by the use of, for example, 'different rules', market traders often considered these standards *inferior* to those customarily employed by the traditional system. Just as Kirwan (2006: 311) found on farmers' markets that 'human level judgements can circumvent the uniform standards associated with more mainstream exchange contexts', traditional market traders suggest that their customers continue to rely on their own culturally-informed fresh food sourcing knowledge rather than standards imposed by global systems.

8.3.2 Embeddedness and value

There have been lively debates in the literature about the use of embeddedness (social and territorial) to make simplistic analyses of local (good) versus global (bad) scales of food provisioning (Goodman, 2004, Born and Purcell, 2006). Goodman et al. (2010: 1) discuss how these notions of 'good' and 'bad' result in shifts in meanings that 'make and re-make the place(s) and space(s) of food', and Coles (2010) examines the dynamics of place and place-making to elaborate 'alternative' forms of consumption. Bestor (2004) uses Appadurai's (1996) insights into how exchange rates may be set between moral and monetised values as commodities take on cultural form to investigate how the cultural value of fresh food (fish, in this case) affects its economic value and this, in turn, affects the type of institution actors create or engage with, and the exchange relationships they participate in. A key finding of this study is that traders and shoppers alike use a similar 'sliding scale' of moral and monetised values to distinguish 'good value' from 'cheap' as the 'market product' takes on cultural form. Traditional market traders and shoppers may be associated with a different profile than farmers' market actors, yet they appreciate the same things as those selling or buying 'quality' produce or with supposedly different values associated with the farmers' market; this implies that the traditional market trader

and shopper has been part of a tradition that values affordable quality for far longer than the 'new' farmers' market producer and shopper.

De la Pradelle (2006) discusses how traders and customers collude in the notion of local food being sold on the traditional weekly market in Carpentras, France. The vast majority of produce on sale on the market in Carpentras is the same, and at the same price, as in local shops and supermarkets. It has been purchased directly from the wholesale market in Avignon and has been grown industrially. In the same way that quality is a multidimensional, socially constructed and contested concept (see Ilbery and Kneafsey, 2000), the notion of the 'local product' is in fact highly ambiguous. Just as de la Pradelle's (ibid.) study found that 'local' designated both what was made or grown locally and was used to evoke local or regional traditions, the notion of the 'itinerant local' also emerges from the findings in this research. For example, shoppers travel to the 'local' market because of cultural connections with place, and traders transport 'local' produce to trade on markets in other regions in order to evoke local or regional traditions and tastes.

8.3.3 The marketplace

Shopping is the point 'where the whole economy of people, products and money comes together' (Zukin, 2004: 13) and the effects of different spatial scales and retail activities (particularly at the local level) are also an important part of the cultural economy construct. How people behave on the market is partly formed by the different use of space. De la Pradelle (2006) contends that the shopping experience at the street market in Carpentras, France is formed through the parallel experience of going to the supermarket to 'do the shopping'. The findings of this thesis contribute to this literature by using a tri-partite comparison of the traditional market, with links to the conventional and alternative fresh food systems, via the farmers' market, associated with 'authentic' local produce, and the supermarket, offering fresh food that is industrially produced on a global scale. These findings add to current knowledge about *how* the value of fresh food is constructed and negotiated, suggesting it is

partly determined by the particular social and spatial retail context *and* partly by what is happening in other parallel retail contexts.

8.4 New perspectives generated by the mixed methods approach

The empirical findings in Chapter 5 mapped the contemporary geographies of traditional food markets and their links with wholesale markets and farmers' markets. This first phase of empirical analysis was constructed on the premise that without quantitative data on the scope and scale of the market sector there is a danger that the empirical findings from the mostly qualitative case study research could appear in a vacuum without salient reference points.

However, quantitative data do not ask *why* something happens and there is a danger that they can present trends that ignore other critical social and cultural interpretations. How interpretations of quantitative and qualitative data are integrated produces different realities. For example, Plattner's (1982) quantitative economic study of the US public marketplace revealed that the 'habitual relations' between buyers (shoppers) and sellers (market traders) meant that perfect competition could never be achieved because emotional ties and relationships ameliorate competition – in other words, in the 'real' world, traders will not strive single-mindedly for the best economic performance but choose to survive financially by relying on the relationships built up over time with regular customers.

The cultural economy analysis in this thesis attempts to avoid the separation of the market's functional role in the food distribution system and the social role it plays in buying and selling fresh food. Qualitative data shed light on the *reasons* behind different outcomes and provide unique insights and critical information about fresh food sourcing and trading and shopping patterns on the traditional market. As the discussion in this chapter has highlighted, local practical knowledge is accumulated over time, often over generations, and many market traders have observed change in fresh food systems, retail restructuring and consumption patterns over decades; their knowledge of these changing dynamics

intertwines with everyday sourcing and trading practices. Traders want to optimise their sales and minimise their workload (which is already burdensome) and it is in their own interest to closely observe the surrounding retail and shopping environment and the associated changes in the rhythm of the market; their practical knowledge is economically and culturally-informed and contributes to how well the market succeeds. Likewise, market shoppers have cultural connections and local knowledge that they use to make judgements about how they choose to buy fresh food on the market rather than from an alternative retailer, such as the supermarket or farmers' market; the knowledge of market actors helps to turn ordinary fresh produce into the special 'market produce'.

This methodology acknowledges that 'making sense' of the food market environment is always going to be subjective and could be considered a limitation, particularly when policy relevance is frequently attributed to realism. Dorling and Shaw (2002) express frustration with how policy relevant work within human geography is rarely used to enter directly into policy debates. This research has already made a contribution outside the academic sector. The research findings generated by the database and email questionnaire analysis were presented as part of the evidence to the recent parliamentary select committee (CLGSC, 2009) and a paper was presented to academics, planners, NGOs and other interested groups at the AESOP 2nd European Sustainable Food Planning Conference in October, 2010. It is suggested that the interplay of quantitative and qualitative data makes this research accessible, and of relevance, to wider groups of people outside the academic sector.

8.5 Chapter Summary

The research has attempted to use a cultural economy framework to examine traditional food market exchange. It has focused on two key aspects: how the traditional food market and place adapt to wider economic and societal dynamics and change; and how the everyday practices of fresh food market exchange adapt to retail restructuring and changing consumption habits. Using the interplay of

quantitative and qualitative methods, three key themes emerge from the research related to market and place, everyday life and the value(s) of fresh food.

This approach has generated new perspectives and findings and has added to the current body of academic literature in agri-food, retail and consumption studies and in particular to the more limited literature on the traditional food retail sector.

Chapter 9 discusses the key findings and how these relate to the study's aims and objectives. It also considers the limitations of the research and discusses some directions for future research that arise from the findings.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

The final chapter of the thesis returns to the aims and objectives of the study set out in Chapter 1 and discusses key findings that emerge from the research. The chapter also discusses some of the limitations of the research, including the usefulness of the cultural economy framework and the mixed methods approach as a way of understanding traditional food markets and their exchange processes, and suggests possible directions for future research.

9.2 Key findings

The study aimed to provide the first detailed assessment of traditional food markets in England and to explore their contemporary role in fresh food provisioning.

This aim was supported by five objectives:

1. To review critically the academic literature on traditional food systems, retail and consumption practices, especially key concepts related to traditional food markets and their exchange processes;

2. To develop a conceptual framework to examine how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have affected the everyday economic and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange;

3. To determine the current nature of traditional food markets in England, including their geographical distribution, patterns of concentration, size, scope and diversity;

4. To examine the relationship between market and place by grounding the research empirically in specific times and particular locations using detailed case study research; and

5. To examine how fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value(s) and how this is implicated in the traditional market's contemporary role in fresh food provisioning.

These aims and objectives were developed on the understanding that the traditional market is part of the surrounding food retail environment. The implication is thus that whether a market survives or thrives is dependent on wider economic and societal dynamics and change. The thesis has therefore addressed broader questions about how food systems, power structures and consumption practices interact and transform each other over time and space. Chapter 2 used the cultural economy perspective to draw together current debates within the agri-food, retail and consumption literatures on the food commodity chain and issues related to traditional food retailing on markets, and investigated how the culture/economy relationship should be both understood and conceptualised as a way of understanding traditional food markets and their exchange processes. This review revealed how the cultural and economic processes and practices of market exchange are tightly interwoven; market and place are spatially varied and change as a result of ongoing cultural and economic processes and practices, moreover, markets, and the institutional frameworks and consumption practices that support them, also change over time and space.

These processes and practices were conceptualised in Chapter 3 by a framework that used three theoretical constructs informed by Polanyi's (1944, 1957) institutionalism, de Certeau's (1984, 1998) practice of everyday life and a framing device that employed cultural and economic theorising taken from Goffman (1959, 1974) and Callon (1998). This attempted to examine how food retail restructuring and changing patterns of fresh food consumption have

affected the internal and external spaces that support the economic processes and cultural practices of traditional food market exchange. By using these theoretical constructs, framing became not just an instrumental device but part of the political process of how the traditional food market is socially constructed and governed.

With the first two objectives met, the research methodology (Chapter 4) used desk-based and fieldwork research to satisfy the remaining three objectives. Five key findings that make an empirical contribution to current knowledge emerge from this research.

The first key finding – or line of argument – that emerges from the mixed methods analysis is the suggestion that historical shifts and cultural legacies are mutually implicated in the traditional food market's geographical relationship with place. Traditional food markets are affected by national and regional histories and geographies and by retail restructuring of fresh food provisioning systems. By mapping the contemporary geographies and patterns of concentration of traditional food markets, the changing relationships between market and place and how the traditional food market has adapted to retail restructuring and changing fresh food consumption habits over time have been revealed. The database research identified 2,105 food markets of all types operating in the UK in 2009, including 1,124 traditional food markets, 26 wholesale markets, 605 farmers' markets and 350 country markets. Mapping showed how primary wholesale markets were constructed at the end of the First World War as a 'backbone' to the UK food distribution system and that traditional food markets clustered close by, with a central swathe through the central corridor of England. Current regional concentrations of these markets continue to reflect this clustering that mirrored industrial and urban population growth that took place in the nineteenth century. Recent growth in farmers' markets demonstrates heavier clustering in the south; a concentration in agricultural areas and where affluent population demographics can support these more specialised niche markets, such as in the South East and London.

A second key finding is that market and place are intertwined in a relationship that adapts to retail restructuring and changes in fresh food provisioning over time. Place and culture thus remain intimately entwined as global fresh food sourcing and cultural and ethnically bound habits and tastes mingle with local food sourcing practices on the traditional food market. As the evidence presented in Chapters 5–7 has shown, the traditional marketplace is affected by changing localized socio-demographics, social norms and cultural practices. Case study research in the North East and Eastern regions of England thus demonstrated how markets are intimately linked with the towns and cities where they are located. The Grainger Market in Newcastle, a city affected by economic decline, was struggling to adjust to fierce competition and change in the surrounding food retailing environment. By contrast, Cambridge market, located in a city with an expanding economy, appeared to be adapting and innovating more successfully to meet changing retailing and consumption practices. However, the research showed that fresh food trading on the traditional market is much reduced on both markets, accounting for 16% and 11% of total trading on the markets in Newcastle and Cambridge, respectively. Although where fresh food was being traded, global and local fresh produce sat alongside each other on the market stall and for some traders there was no need to make a distinction - it was what they had always sold on the market and this *was* the 'market product'. Some commented on how the market had adapted to 'cosmopolitan localism' (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010) and how it now offered a wide choice of imported fresh produce. Other traders did make distinctions between global and local produce and, in some instances, this had resulted in an ambiguous definition of 'local' food as itinerant traders transported 'local' produce to other towns and cities to evoke local traditions and tastes (Winter 2003, Ilbery and Maye, 2006).

A third finding relates to market trader identities. The results presented in the thesis reveal how market actors' identities are informed by the different use of space inside the market frame and influenced by the socio-spatial demographics outside the market frame. As was particularly evident in Chapter 7, it is clear that traders' economic practices, and the identities they assume, are informed by particular cultural meanings and understandings that vary according to the

marketplace (Friedberg, 2004). Many long-standing traders perceived the market as a place where they are dependent on each other as well as on their relationships with their customers. Competition between traders was considered important but there was a perception that this should not be tied up exclusively with making money (Plattner, 1982). In addition, traders may adopt a role and employ particular sales techniques to attract particular customers. For example, a trader selling his own locally reared meat on the traditional market referred to himself as 'a butcher', whereas a trader selling her own locally reared meat on the farmers' market referred to herself as 'a farmer'.

The importance and significance of practical knowledge systems is a fourth key finding. The thesis has argued that these particular forms of knowledge help to define food provisioning expertise in the traditional market system. Trading fresh food on the traditional market is based on a commodity relationship as well as embedded ties (Hinrichs, 2000, Kirwan, 2006, Goodman, 2009). There was recognition throughout the case studies that technically-imposed supermarket standards impact on the global food chain and threaten 'practical knowledge' by the use of, for example, 'different rules'. However, some market traders considered these standards *inferior* to those customarily employed by the traditional system. These traders suggest that their customers continue to rely on their own culturally-informed fresh food sourcing knowledge rather than standards imposed by global systems. Practical knowledge also helped forge performative links between trader and wholesaler and trader and shopper that helped ensure consistent fresh food supplies and regular sales on the market; thus practical knowledge and trust remain an important part of trading relationships. For shoppers, practical knowledge may also be part of a culturally informed connection to the marketplace and the tradition of shopping on the market for fresh produce. For younger shoppers, with less cultural connection to place, the results suggested that shopping on the market was often part of an economically informed decision based on comparative pricing with fresh produce available in the supermarket.

The fifth and final key finding that emerged from this cultural economy analysis of traditional markets concerns value and, more specifically, what constitutes 'good value'. The results suggest that notions of 'good value' are formed through the parallel experience of shopping in the supermarket and on the farmers' market. Traders and shoppers alike use a 'sliding scale' of moral and monetised values to distinguish 'good value' from 'cheap food' as the 'market product' takes on cultural form; notions of 'good value' are often articulated by traders and shoppers using the supermarket as an 'arbiter of quality' (cf. Kirwan, 2004). The trading practices of traditional food market traders also highlight how 'good value' is a discursive construct. For example, one butcher felt that his 'traditional' cuts of meat were better value (and cheaper) than the more convenient to cook cuts favoured by his younger customers.

9.3 Limitations of the research

Crewe (2003: 352) observed that '(a) number of different models of markets and exchange seem to be emerging which, in different ways, might help to develop our theorisation of the connections between commodities, consumers and their spatial and temporal worlds'. The cultural economy approach employed in this thesis moves beyond thinking about and framing 'the market' as a singular institutionalised entity or space. It argues instead, following Crewe and others, for the need to think of markets as 'bundles of practices and material arrangements always in the making' (Berndt and Boeckler, 2011: 565). In doing so, the research has attempted to include power structures more effectively and used Polanyi's 'institutionalism' and de Certeau's 'tactic' as a means of conceptualising the cultural economy assemblages that 'make up' markets and the processes and practices of market exchange. This does not deny that other theoretical approaches could have been drawn on in this cultural economy approach, including, for example, Lefebvre's general theory on the social production of space (although reference is made to his notion of rhythmanalysis). Thus, it could be argued that the framework employed to conceptualise the cultural economy approach put some limitations on how the research was conducted and on the eventual outcomes achieved. However, a decision was

made that other alternative theorisations, whilst valuable, did not sufficiently address how dominant power structures affect the practices and processes of market exchange in the everyday context. These alternatives were thus used to inform, rather than structure, the theoretical framework employed (see for example, Chapter 2).

There are various other more 'practical' considerations that posed limitations on the research that also need to be mentioned at this point. These include the fact that the research was limited to England, rather than the UK. It is also acknowledged that a wider, comparative study involving European or international traditional food markets would have added more depth to the outcomes. At the micro-level of the research, it is accepted that there are also some gaps. For example, more in-depth interviews with both market shoppers and those shopping on farmers' markets and in supermarkets would have been beneficial but time and resources prevented this from happening. Finally, the fieldwork research on the case study markets was staged over two periods: phase one took place in November in the North East of England and phase two was completed in March in the Eastern region of England. It is acknowledged that this seasonal variation could have had some impact on the findings.

One final issue and potential limitation of the research is that it is trans-disciplinary in the sense that it does not 'fit' neatly into work on food systems, retail or consumption studies although its general approach is geographical. This did present challenges in terms of locating the study within existing academic literature, particularly during the process of writing the literature review. By using the cultural economy framing to bridge disciplinary perspectives, it is hoped that this challenge has been overcome and ensures that the approach adopted does not become a limitation but an opportunity to add to a body of literature on markets that works across rather than within disciplines.

9.4 Directions for future research

The thesis highlights how traditional food systems are under-researched in agri-food, retail and consumption literatures. To recommend all the potential ways that this research gap could be addressed is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, some key elements related to fresh food provisioning are highlighted.

One significant knowledge gap relates to standards (building on from recent work of Larry Busch). By focusing on traditional food markets, there is a role for directing future research towards current policy making and the effects standard setting and implementation have on traditional food systems. Research on how technically-imposed standards affect practical and local knowledge systems for fresh food has been limited (but see Freidberg, 2004) and it is suggested that further research could probe decision-making on standard-setting and its particular effects on traditional food systems in the UK and beyond.

Further research using a cultural economy framework to investigate consumer attitudes to fresh food shopping on traditional markets, farmers' markets and supermarkets could extend and enhance the findings of this thesis. In addition, home delivery versus the 'market experience' is an area that could also yield valuable new and novel contributions to the research literature. There have been various separate studies of 'traditional' and 'alternative' food systems and retail practice, including small shops and farmers' markets (e.g. Kirwan, 2004, Everts and Jackson, 2009, Spiller, 2008). However, the rapid increase in home delivery (including supermarkets, farmers' markets and a range of other niche retail and fresh food producers), suggests that a comparative study of traditional food markets, farmers' markets, small shops and supermarket shopping could prove useful. This could consider the potential effects of home delivery on the sociality and cultural understandings that attribute meaning and value(s) to food as part of peoples' everyday lives.

Another related comparative study could usefully examine how much *fresh* food is sold on both traditional food markets and farmers' markets. This would provide valuable insight into the fresh food sector in the UK. Farmers' markets are often associated with fresh and local produce, but the 'snapshots' provided by this research suggest that whilst farmers' markets may have more producer/traders proportionally selling fresh food than traditional markets, it is limited (the research suggests less than 33%). This is further limited by the very restricted operating days of farmers' markets compared to traditional food markets. More research on the actual volumes of fresh food sold could provide valuable data that contribute to future policy-making in the fresh food retail sector. The recent Select Committee (CLGSC, 2009: para.66) took the view that there is 'no reason why farmers' markets should not retain their identity within a larger 'ordinary' market'. This begs the question what affect this shared use of site or close proximity of the farmers' market has on the identity, and economic viability, of the traditional food market. This is another area where comparative research could be valuable to future local policy-making and planning.

9.5 Final concluding remarks

The traditional market is part of the surrounding food retail environment and whether it survives or thrives is dependent on wider economic and societal dynamics and change; it could be seen as 'an informal barometer for economic trends and consumer confidence' (Bestor, 2004: 296). Analysis of the real life context of the traditional food market reveals that the traditional market continues to act as a central node in towns and cities where commodities and cultures intersect as they adapt to changing market forces, population demographics and consumer preferences. However, the value(s) assigned to fresh food traded on the market fundamentally shapes how it performs in the contemporary context and ultimately determines whether its role in fresh food provisioning declines, survives or thrives.

How fresh food is assigned monetary, social and symbolic value by market actors' everyday practices is complex and demonstrates a 'sliding scale' of moral

and monetised values as fresh food takes on cultural form (Bestor, 2004). These processes and practices are highly localized and dependent on geographical location, history, socio-demographics and the regional or local approach to food and farming: they also reflect more deep-rooted social and economic divisions associated with the UK North-South divide. Social and spatial health gaps, the inequality of social class, and the economic fall-out from industrial decline all add to the complex combination of factors that affect how food is both distributed and retailed on traditional markets.

These conclusions have implications for wider issues connected with inequality, food access and health and for how practical knowledge, or 'know-how', can be used at the local level to give people a sense of identity by using their buying and selling 'power' in the traditional market to 'outwit' more dominant power structures, such as those imposed by the supermarket. For example, a recent report on the health equity dimensions of urban food systems (Dixon et al., 2007: 123) notes how the 'nutrition transition' has shifted the urban majority away from fresh fruit and vegetables, whilst the minority urban 'rich' have begun to consume more 'quality' fresh produce. As the regulation of global foods is increasingly dominated by autonomous supermarket standards and conventions, an 'ontological insecurity' has arisen. The decline in traditional food cultures, associated with seasonality and locality, has resulted in health-related issues, like obesity and anxiety over what constitutes a healthy diet. The findings from this thesis demonstrate how those trading and shopping for fresh food on the traditional market are using their inherited and culturally-informed knowledge to 'outwit' this 'cultural form of food insecurity' (ibid:124), and represent a (much-reduced) vestige of a more equitable dimension of urban food systems that make fresh food available to both high and low-income groups.

The findings demonstrate how traders and shoppers alike expressed the embodied and sensual pleasure they received from the 'market produce' but this was tempered with a narrative associated with 'killing' and 'dying' as competition from the supermarket took hold. This suggests that governance (and government) is a crucial player in the future of the traditional food market. As

the traditional wholesale distribution system and traditional markets become increasingly separated and privatised, practical knowledge that has sustained the system over centuries has become threatened. Engagement with providing an equitable food system in a public space becomes more distant and is replaced by supermarket dominance.

The cultural economy framework recognises that power operates through relationships between actors in the food chain and is manifested in the 'workaday norms and practices' that move food through the system (Freidberg, 2004: 216). The findings underline how knowledge systems help define food-provisioning expertise in the traditional system. Trading fresh food on the traditional market is based on a commodity relationship as well as embedded ties (Hinrichs, 2000, Kirwan, 2006, Goodman, 2009); the value put on the fresh produce depends on both economic factors and less tangible factors bound up with cultural and moral understandings. As de la Pradelle (2006) suggests, the significance of the traditional food market is partly formed by what is *not* happening there, but this does not negate the significance of its role in fresh food provisioning as place and culture entwine with the 'embodied and emotional pull of the market' (ibid:2).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

Semi-structured Interviews with market professionals
GUIDE

March 2009

Justification:

- Preliminary interviews to provide focus/ identify current issues from a range of professionals working within the traditional food retail market sector;

- To identify key issues related to fresh food provisioning for inclusion in the questionnaire for market managers/operators.

Topics/guide:

- the supply chain;
- frequency and days of week that markets are held;
- management structures/issues;
- shared use of sites – change/issues;
- traders - numbers and types of fresh food;
- shoppers - including footfall;
- the future – including effects of economic downturn

Appendix 2:

ccri countryside and community research institute	QuickTime™ and a TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor are needed to see this picture. **collaborating partner**	E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

NATIONAL RETAIL MARKETS SURVEY

Please return by:

YOUR RESPONSE TO THIS SURVEY IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT WILL:

- **Provide vital information about the current state of traditional markets;**
- **Help to build a more detailed and accurate picture of the contribution markets make to the supply of food in England;**
- **Update findings from the first National Survey of Retail Markets held in 2005.**

PLEASE FIND 15 MINUTES TO FILL THIS IN AND RETURN IT BY EMAIL TO:

Email: jsmith@glos.ac.uk

OR: IF YOU PREFER TO PRINT THE QUESTIONNAIRE

RETURN IT BY POST TO :

Julie Smith
CCRI
PhD Researcher
714395
Countryside and Community Research Institute
University of Gloucestershire
Dunholme Villa. The Park
Cheltenham. GL50 2RH

OR BY FAX TO:

FAO: Julie Smith,

Fax No. 01242

Your contribution will be kept anonymous and confidential and all data collected will be used solely for research purposes in accordance with the Data Protection Act, 1998.

PLEASE ONLY FILL IN DETAILS ABOUT THE ***SINGLE*** MARKET NAMED BELOW:

Operator:
Name of market:

YOUR CONTACT DETAILS

1. Market address (including postcode):	
2. Contact name:	
3. Email:	
4. Phone (office and mobile):	

SECTION A. DETAILS ABOUT THE MARKET

5. When was the market established?	

6. Which of the following best describes the market? *Please cross ONE box.*	**X**
Outdoor general retail market	
Indoor general retail market	
Combined indoor/outdoor retail market	
Farmers' / local produce market	
Continental/ speciality market	
Other. Please specify:	

7. How often is the market held? *Please cross ONE box and specify days of week and times the market is held.*		
Weekly.		Day(s) and time(s) held:
Monthly.		Day(s) and time(s) held:
Quarterly.		Day(s) and time(s) held:
Annual.		Day(s) and time(s) held:

8. How many stalls and/or pitches are available to let each week?	
9. How many individual traders are currently on the market? *(including permanent, licensed and leased, and regular casuals)*	
10. What percentage of stalls are currently fully occupied?	**%**

11. How is the market currently managed? *Please cross ONE box.*	**X**
Public sector (local authority)	
Private sector	
Privately managed for public sector	
Public/private partnership	
Other. Please specify:	

12. Where is the market located? *Please cross ONE box.*	**X**
City/ town centre	
Retail peripheral (within 1 – 5 miles city/town centre)	
Out of town (beyond 5 miles city/town centre)	

13. Does the current infrastructure adequately support the market?
Please cross ALL that apply and add any comments as necessary:

	YES	**NO**	**Comment**
Parking			
Bus stops			
Road use on market days			
Access to water/electricity			
Toilets			
Other. Please specify:			

14. Please give a rough breakdown of the age of people who shop on the market. Please insert percentage in each box.

over 65 yrs	**%**	**40-64yrs**	**%**	**20-39yrs**	**%**	**16-19 yrs**	**%**	**children**	**%**

15. How far do people travel to visit the market? *Please mark with a cross ALL that apply*

Up to 1 mile		**Up to 10 miles**		**From the surrounding region**		**From the UK**		**From Europe/ international**	

16. What is the mix of shoppers using the market? ***For example, people living locally, office workers, young mothers, those buying specific ethnic foods, recreational/ tourists etc.***

17. If you have indicated tourists or those on leisure/recreational visits shop on the market, how much do you think that the market depends on this trade?
Please cross ONE box.

Essential		**Helpful, but not essential**		**Makes no difference**	

SECTION B. CHANGES TO THE MARKET SINCE 2005 (last National Survey)

18. Has the location of the market changed since 2005?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. previous location				
b. current location				
c. distance of move				
d. date of move				

e. reason for move	

19. Have the days or times that the market is held changed since 2005?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. previous days and times held				
b. current days and times held				
c. date of change				
d. reason for change				

20. Has the management/operator of the market changed since 2005?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. previous management/operator				
b. date of change				
c. reason for change				

SECTION C. FOOD CHOICE ON THE MARKET

21. How many traders sell food?	

22. What percentage of market traders sell food? *Please cross ONE box.*											**X**
100%		**>75%**		**>50%**		**>25%**		**<25%**		**<10%**	

23. Does the sale of food add significantly to the success of the market?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, how important do you think that the sale of food is? *Please cross ONE box.*				
Very important				
Becoming more important				
Becoming less important				
Not very important				

24. Please rank the following food categories in order of volume sold. *For example, if the market sells most fresh fruit, put 1 in the box, if second highest volume sold is fish, put 2 in the box, and so on.*	
Fresh Fruit	
Fresh vegetables and salad crops	
Meat, including poultry, rabbit, game & other processed meat products	
Fish	
Dairy, including milk, cheese, yogurt, eggs & butter	
Dried/tinned foodstuffs	
Bread, cake, biscuits and sweets	

Ready to eat, consumed on or off premises	
Other. Please specify:	

25. Please cross ANY/ALL box(es) that indicate what you mean by 'local food'.	
Produce from the local area (within 10 – 50 miles of the market)	
Regional produce eg. apples from Kent	
UK produce eg. raspberries from Scotland	
Other. Please specify:	

26. What percentage of food sold on the market is local food? *Please cross ONE box.*												**X**
100%		**>75%**		**>50%**		**>25%**		**<25%**		**<10%**		

27. Please rank the following food categories in order of volume of local food sold. *For example, if the highest volume of local food sold is vegetables, put 1 in the box, if second highest volume sold is fresh fruit, put 2 in the box, and so on. If it doesn't apply, put NA in the box.*	
Fresh Fruit	
Fresh vegetables and salad crops	
Meat, including poultry, rabbit, game & other processed meat products	
Fish	
Dairy, including milk, cheese, yogurt, eggs & butter	
Dried/tinned foodstuffs	
Bread, cake, biscuits and sweets	
Ready to eat, including sandwiches, other café food etc	
Other. Please specify:	

28. If local food is sold, please describe how it is integrated on the market *(for example, as part of the sales of existing market traders, or because the market has integrated with a local farmers' market)*

29. If local food is sold, do you think this brings more trade to the market in general?	**YES**		**NO**	

If yes, why do you think this is the case?	

SECTION D. OTHER MARKETS AND FOOD RETAIL CHOICE

31. Are other markets that <u>sell food</u> (eg. local farmers' market, continental market) held on the same site?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. name of market(s)	1. 2. 3.			
b. manager/operator(s)	1. 2. 3.			
c. frequency held	1. 2. 3.			
d. days and times held	1. 2. 3.			

32. Are other markets that <u>sell food</u> held nearby- ie within a 6 and two thirds mile radius?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. name of market(s)	1. 2. 3.			
b. manager/operator(s)	1. 2. 3.			
c. frequency held	1. 2. 3.			
d. days and times held	1. 2. 3.			

33. Do you know which wholesale market traders source their fresh food produce from?	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify:				
a. name of wholesale market(s)				
b. distance from the market site				

34. Have there been any changes to the fresh food produce wholesale market(s) since 2005? *(for example, have any nearby wholesale markets closed, do traders use any different options like local food hubs?)*	**YES**		**NO**	
If YES, please specify what these changes are:				

35. What are the other options for food shopping within 1 mile of the market? *Please detail number of supermarkets, convenience and independent food shops, cafes and restaurants etc. (an approximation will also be valuable).*	
Superstores	
Supermarkets	
Convenience stores	
Independent grocery stores	
Take-outs	
Cafes and restaurants	
Other. Please specify:	

36. Please mark on the bar below how the market interacts with other food retailers in the market area.

|_____|

No contact **Close working relationship**

SECTION E. CURRENT TRENDS

37. How has the number of traders on the market changed since September 2008?
Please cross ONE box.

Increased		**No change**		**Decreased**	

38. How has the number of traders <u>selling food</u> on the market changed since September 2008? *Please cross ONE box.*

Increased		**No change**		**Decreased**	

39. How has the number of shoppers on the market changed since September 2008?
Please cross ONE box.

Increased		**No change**		**Decreased**	

40. How has the average spend on the market changed since September 2008?
Please cross ONE box.

Increased		**No change**		**Decreased**	

41. Do you think changes to any of the following have influenced trade on the market since September 2008?
Please mark with a cross ANY/ALL that apply indicating how you consider this affects trade on the market.

	Positive	**Negative**
Pricing of other food retailers		
Public transport costs		
Car parking costs/availability		

Trader costs - for example, wholesale produce costs, fuel and rental costs		
Other. Please specify:		

42. How much do you think that the market contributes to the local economy and to the general feeling of local community? *Please cross ONE box.*

A great deal		**Makes some contribution**		**Makes no difference**	

43. If you feel that the market does contribute, are there any specific ways you feel that this contribution could be strengthened in the future?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. *If you have any additional comments or concerns, please write them in the space provided below.*

Appendix 3:

Semi-structured interview guide for market managers/officials
October 2009

- Assurance of confidentiality – Consent Form
- Ask for consent for recording

INTRODUCTION

- Ask for brief summary of work background/ how came to be working in this job/ what does this job entail?
- What is this market like? What are the best things about it?
- What has changed since you have worked here?

ABOUT THE MARKET

- Who are the customers? What do you think influences why people choose to shop on the market?
- Do traders tend to stay a long time? Are they family businesses?
- How do you work with the traders? Does this work well?
- What are the relationships like between traders and shoppers?

FOOD CHOICE AND THE MARKET

- What do you think influences why people choose to shop on the market for fresh food?
- How much fresh food is sold? Is there more or less for sale than previously?
- Do you think people shop here for main staples or just top-up?
- How important are the cafes? Why?

- Where does the fresh food come from?
- Have you noticed more locally produced food being sold? Have you noticed any other changes e.g. more of any particular kinds of food being sold? Seasonal trade?
- Has the economic downturn affected how many traders sell food? If so, how?

- How much interaction is there between the market and other food retailers?
- How much with other food markets – what about the farmers' market?
- Do you visit/ shop on other markets yourself? How do they compare with your market(s)?

PROMOTION AND EVENTS

- Is the market used to promote any healthy eating/general health messages?

BUSINESS SUPPORT AND MANAGEMENT

- How important is the market to the City?
- What is being done to promote the market? How important is this? Could more be done? If so, what?
- How is the relationship with those that manage the city centre?
- What elements about the markets are important for promoting it?

CLOSE

- If you could change anything about the market what would it be?
- Any other comments?
- Thank you

Appendix 4:

Semi-structured interview guide for market traders October 2009

- Thank you for taking part
- Introduce self and research
- Assurance of confidentiality – Consent Form
- Ask for consent for recording

INTRODUCTION

- Ask for brief summary of work background: why did you become a market trader/ why choose to sell food?
- What is this market like? What are the best things about it?
- How has the market changed since you began to trade on it?
- Has the economic downturn affected you?

ABOUT THE MARKET –traders and shoppers

- How long have you been trading on the market? Do traders tend to stay a long time? Are they family businesses? How do the traders get on with each other?
- How long is your working day?
- Do you trade on any other markets?
-
- Who are your customers?
- What do you think influences why people choose to shop on the market?
- Where do you think they would go if the market wasn't here?

FOOD CHOICE AND THE MARKET

- Why is the market a good place to buy fresh food?
- Is there more or less for sale than previously? If yes, how has this changed?

- Who are your suppliers? How often do you visit the wholesale market/other suppliers?
- How do you label the food? Do you try and emphasize where it comes from? Does it make a difference to sales if it's from the UK or locally grown/produced?

OTHER FOOD RETAILERS/MARKETS

- What is the relationship like between market traders and other food retailers in the city? Has this changed over the years?
- What is your relationship with the farmers' market?
- Do you visit/ shop on other markets? How do they compare with this market ?

PROMOTION AND EVENTS

- Is the market used to promote any healthy eating/general health messages? Do you think that this is a good idea?

BUSINESS SUPPORT AND MANAGEMENT

- How important is the market to the City?
- What is being done to promote the market? How important is this? Could more be done? If so, what?
- Do you feel that the market has the right balance of stalls at the moment?

CLOSE

- If you could change anything about the market what would it be?
- Would you recommend being a market trader to others? Why?
- Any other comments?
- Thank you.

Appendix 5:

Semi-structured interview guide for market shoppers

October 2009

- Thank you for taking part
- Introduce self and the research
- Assurance of confidentiality – Consent Form
- Ask for consent for recording

INTRODUCTION

- Do you live near the market? How far have you travelled today? (ask for postcode)
- Are you a regular visitor? How many years have you been shopping on the market? (ask for age range)
- What has brought you to the market today?

ABOUT THE MARKET

- What is this market like? What are the best things about it?
- Has the market changed over the time you have been using it? Do you visit more or less often? Or the same?
- Do the traders know/recognise you? Does this make a difference?
- Do you visit other markets? If so, which ones? Why do you choose to shop on this market in particular?

FOOD CHOICE AND THE MARKET

- Why is the market a good place to buy fresh food? What have you bought today? How much have you spent? What percentage of your normal weekly food shopping does this represent? (Newcastle only)
- Is there more or less for sale than previously? If yes, how has this changed?
- How important are the cafes? Why?

- When you are choosing fresh food, what influences your decision? For example, do you notice where the produce is from/ whether it is in season/how it is displayed? Does this affect your choice? If so, why?
- Where else do you buy food? Does convenience/opening hours/price affect your decision? How?
- Have you ever been to the farmers' market? How did it compare to the traditional market? When/why would you choose one over the other?
- Has the economic downturn affected how you shop? If so, how?

PROMOTION AND EVENTS

- Have you ever been given any recipes/nutrition advice in the market? Do you think that this is a good idea?

BUSINESS SUPPORT AND MANAGEMENT

- Do you think that the market is important to the City? Why?

- What is being done to promote the market? How important is this? Could more be done? If so, what?
- Do you feel that the market has the right balance of stalls at the moment?

CLOSE

- If you could change anything about the market what would it be?
- Any other comments?
- Thank you

Appendix 6:

Food basket items for shopping basket survey where applicable fruit and vegetables were priced per kilo
Apples - cox's
Oranges
Satsumas
Grapes
Bananas
Onions
Fresh tomatoes (loose)
Carrots
Cabbage (Savoy)
Potatoes
Cauliflower
Wholemeal bread
White bread
Oats
Wholemeal pasta
White pasta
Brown rice
White long grain rice
Fresh chicken
Lean minced beef
Fresh pork sausages
Fresh cod
Fresh eggs
Semi-skimmed milk
Cheddar cheese
Butter