

**Planning for Markets:**

**Understanding the role of planning policy and management approaches in sustaining markets in London**

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I, Rosita Aiesha, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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## **Abstract**

Over the last decade, there has been a growing interest amongst policy makers in the market's potential role in contributing to solutions in key social and economic public policy agendas. In particular, Planning Policy Statement 6: Planning for Town Centres suggests that markets have a role to play in revitalising town centres and offering retail choice.

To date, very little is known about the contemporary relevance of markets and specifically why markets have been prioritised in retail planning policy and received public policy interest. This paper investigates these issues further. Through a literature review, it develops a conceptual and contextual framework for understanding markets. It then draws on empirical research, i.e. survey and interview data from a study of London boroughs and a case study of one London Local Authority (Camden), to highlight the effects of current day-to-day management and planning approaches in sustaining markets.

The research demonstrates that the contemporary role of the market is multidimensional, e.g. they appear to play significant roles as *managed* public space but also act as an important social and economic space, particularly for marginal social groups. Moreover, the empirical evidence shows that, whilst proactive planning policies do not guarantee a vibrant market, they can play a key part in protecting their permanent loss; however, equally important is the supportive management approaches taken in shaping their social survival. The research findings have relevance for the theorisation of markets in a contemporary context, as well as implications for the practical effects of planning policy intervention on markets.

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# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1. Current Context

The concept of the market in its various guises either as an open-air or covered market appears to be a universal phenomenon, found across different civilisations throughout history. Their primary function was and still is trade (in particular food provisioning), focused around buying and selling within an allotted place and within easy reach of the public and the regulatory scrutiny of market officials (Spitzer & Baum, 1995; Bromley, 1998a; 1998b). In the UK, like many developed countries, market and market place trading has been arguably in decline since the 19th century (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Spitzer & Baum, 1995).

Nevertheless, markets today retain an enduring presence in urban centres across the UK. Whilst some new types of markets are reportedly thriving, many traditional forms of markets face a range of challenges (Coleman, 2004; Watson & Studdert, 2006). This is attributed to a number of economic and social changes in urban centres such as restructuring in the retail industry (i.e. increasing competition from large modern shopping centers, etc) and the changing patterns of consumption and shopping habits (Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; Zasarda, 2009). Furthermore, some markets are claimed to have suffered from a lack of investment and neglect from local-authority planning and management approaches.

Thus, a wide range of factors are attributed to the market's decline and in the redefinition of its social value, i.e. often perceived as a low value economy. These developments have raised interest in markets and led to questions of their contemporary relevance and purpose in a modern, globalised economy (Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; House of Commons, 2009). This debate, over the contemporary role of the market, is one of the key themes of interest in this research.

## Rise of planning and public policy interest

In the UK, the perceived decline of markets has increasingly been linked with past retail planning policy and management approaches and the inadequacies of existing central government decision-making instruments in protecting their vitality and viability (Watson & Studdert, 2006; House of Commons, 2009). The emergence of markets as a focus for planning policy appears to stem from concern arising from two interconnected developments in planning. Firstly, the impact of out-of-town shopping centres on traditional high streets, and secondly the rise in the dominance of large chain supermarkets and loss of small and medium sized independent retailers (including markets). These concerns have helped bring markets into the spotlight of planning policy makers (Jackson, 2005; House of Commons, 2009). This has been reinforced by numerous reports which suggest that markets could play a greater role in a number of public policy agendas as they bring a wide range of social and economic benefits and serve as a public good (e.g. Dines, et al, 2006; Taylor, Madrick, & Collin, 2005; Watson & Studdert, 2006). It seems that in response to these concerns and alleged potential benefits, in 2005, central government chose Planning Policy Statement 6: Planning for town centres (PPS6) as a mechanism to address market decline.

Planning Policy Statement 6: Planning for town centres (PPS6) represents not only national policy guidance but also 'strategic' advice and a statutory obligation from central government to be implemented at local level by local government (in England). PPS6, in offering positive planning for town centres and markets, states that:

*“Street and covered markets (including farmers' markets) can make a valuable contribution to local choice and diversity as well as the vitality of town centre and to the rural economy. As part of an integral vision of their towns centres, local authorities should retain and enhance existing markets and, where appropriate, reintroduce or recreate new ones. Local authorities should ensure that their markets remain attractive and competitive by investing in their improvement.”* (PPS6, 2005: paragraph 2.27)

The explicit support for all markets in this planning guidance is an indication of their cumulative strategic importance. It also seems to be a reactive approach designed to remedy the perceived problems of their decline and ultimately to correct the



'market failure'. Moreover, it implies that the government regards the planning system as offering a role to help address some of the reported challenges they face (e.g. mainly to ensure physical survival through the protection of land-use designations). This sits against a backdrop of government revisions of all the national planning policy guidance notes which seek to limit central government to giving 'strategic' advice and leaving greater scope for flexibility in its application on detailed planning control and policy matters at the local level (ODPM, 2004).

Furthermore, the rise in policy and political interest in markets needs to be understood through the context of wider ongoing policy debates particularly around building sustainable communities and liveability underlined by concerns with tackling the physical decline of the built environment. It is accompanied by a rise in the political awareness of the value (social benefits) of urban public spaces, especially 'ordinary' spaces - such as those represented by markets - in enhancing the quality of urban and social life. Government policy agendas have advocated that cities need to be planned and developed to meet social needs and to not only respond to market forces – through a growing awareness of their interdependencies and their importance in achieving wider political goals. This, it was argued, would create more sustainable places to live in (Evans, Aiesha & Foord, 2009; Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008).

For instance, the Urban Renaissance agenda has increasingly highlighted the 'sustainability' and 'compact city' models for tackling not only urban decline but also for bringing social and economic regeneration to urban communities in Britain (Rogers, 1997; Evans, Aiesha & Foord, 2009). However, what had been missing in this urban planning agenda (until the arrival of PPS6) is recognition of the potential role that markets have or could play in it or appraisal of the affects of urban regeneration on markets.

The existing research literature highlights some of the costs involved in the policy choices taken, particularly for markets. For example, the 'compact city' models and 'town center first' ideals, have had the desired effect of the prioritisation of city centre location for retail development in planning policy and generated increased investment in them. Conversely, planning restrictions on new retail development in

edge-of-town and out-of-town sites increased demands for and pressures on medium and large sites within town/city center sites often occupied by markets. Furthermore, many markets by their very public nature are often managed and owned by local authorities and as a consequence faced increasingly stringent regulations in relation to meeting, i.e. health and safety, food hygiene and disability access for disabled requirements, etc. (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; House of Commons, 2009). Those issues gave rise to the potential for conflict of interests that affected the everyday management and planning of such spaces. Resolving such conflicts also required the interaction of a broad range of stakeholders and practices.

Hence, through PPS6, planning is not only seeking to influence local decisions about the market as a form of land use activity to be protected. It is also seeking to extend influence by attempting to join-up what it perceives to be a disconnected set of local government decision-making structures for the markets overall management (House of Commons, 2009). Underlining this stance is a governance context in which the central state has increasingly become reliant upon a range of actors to deliver successful policy outcomes to resolve problems (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008).

There is currently little or no research evaluating the potential effects of the implementation of this new policy endorsement - through PPS6 - on markets. Although, it is recognised that every aspect of planning policy intervention is likely to have some form of social implication, for better or worse, whether or not it is recognised by policymakers or practitioners. Thus, the research will consider the extent to which this new public policy interest in markets is being introduced into and affecting mainstream and local practices.

Furthermore, the supportive policy, raises a number of pertinent questions, e.g.: whether planning - and specifically retail land-use planning - can play a role in sustaining all markets; whether it is the right policy mechanism and appropriate level of intervention to achieve desired goals; and the governance implications of such a policy stance. It also raises questions of whether policymakers are right in thinking local authorities are the only 'rightful' managers of markets given that there are also

many markets that operate outside of local authority control, and whether their valuations of markets align themselves with those of central government, given local contexts and priorities in service delivery.

#### Lack of a holistic and contemporary understanding of markets

Notwithstanding the public policy interest highlighted above, there is a surprising lack of a contemporary analysis and understandings of what a market is. The existing literature on markets in Britain provides a very limited conceptual analysis of the contemporary relevance and nature of markets. There is an absence of an integrated approach combining scholarly and theoretical literature from a broad range of academic disciplines and debates. Since the 1980s, sociologists, economists, geographers, urban planners and others have studied many aspects of modern retailing, consumption and public space but appear to have largely overlooked the role and contributions of markets in such topics. Although over the last decade, there has been a steady growth in interest amongst social scientists – mainly anthropologists and historians - in the subject as a research theme (e.g. Pradelle, 2006; Smith, 2002, Watson & Wells, 2005, Watson & Studdert, 2006). These have often focused on specific local case studies. Urban planners, however, have paid little attention to the study of markets.

The academic literature of direct relevance to markets for the UK is very limited and seems to be largely dated (e.g. Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Davies, 1985; Scott, 1973; Forshaw & Bergstrom 1983). Schmiechen and Carls' study although more than a decade old (1999), remains the only comprehensive social, architectural, historical and scholarly account of the 'British Market Hall'. Nevertheless, whilst focused on market halls, it provides a unique social-historical overview of markets and the processes and development of market traditions in Britain.

Within urban and retail geography literature there appears to be a marked absence of the theorisations or conceptualisations of markets and market trading (e.g. Dawson 1980; Guy, 1994, 1998, 2006; Scott 1973; Potter 1982). Where references to markets do appear, they are partial and tend to be peripherally located within

themes about retail activity. In addition, some (i.e. Skinner, 1964; Berry & Parr, 1988) draw heavily on the application of central place theory on the 'functioning' of market trade systems whilst others (Bromley, 1980; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Scott 1973) attempt to understand markets by 'classifying' them according to their physical features i.e. their periodicity; architecture; size and types of goods. This highlights retail geography's historical preoccupation with the classification of retail within an organised 'hierarchy' in urban centres and its structural components.

Uniquely, Glennie and Thrift (1996b: 226-7), through a cross-disciplinary perspective, move their examination away from the focus on the markets retail functioning - a site for shopping – in order to highlight their importance as a site for *everyday* consumption and sociality. The apparent lack of a more holistic analysis and attention in 'mainstream' themes, they suggest, is due to 'shops' emerging and remaining one of the principle ways in which people buy goods. Consequently, shops tend to be the normative focus in studies of urban, retail, and economic geography and other academic disciplines.

Most of the limited existing literature predates the retail transformations of recent years and therefore lacks an exploration of the continued evolution of market place trading in the contemporary context of major urban growth and the intensification of a globalised economy. It also highlights the absence of examinations of the ways in which urban change and planning processes have shaped the form and nature of contemporary markets in the UK.

This research is, in part, a response to the lack of any single up-to-date scholarly research (in any given academic discipline) that provides a holistic (i.e. by reconciling the social, economic and physical functions in analysis) and theoretical understanding or definition of a market consolidated for analysis. Preliminary observations, of the literature from a range of academic disciplines, revealed a complex and multiplicity of meanings associated with markets reflecting the differing academic perspective from which markets were being considered. Hence, broadly,

markets normatively perceived as retail and economic space unsurprisingly emerge as an important occupier of social, cultural and public space.

The existing literature also highlighted the importance of the historical role of state control and regulation in constructing such spaces. Hence, a review of existing literature will seek to integrate the existing disparate scholarly attention (combining scholarly and theoretical literature and from a broad range of differing academic disciplines and debates) given to markets to compile a single integrated narrative conceptualising markets and to then consider the implications of this on policy discourses and outcomes for this research. The research also seeks to explore further reasons behind the recent growth in public policy interest in markets.

## **2. Research Strategy**

This research will therefore attempt to bridge the gap in our understanding of the nature of markets. It will also examine the urban management dimensions of markets, i.e. in particular the role of land use planning and existing regulations and decision-making instruments, in shaping specifically local authority run (LA-run) markets. Through empirical evidence of London and Camden, it will explore how this translates into practice (in terms of responses and outcomes for markets at local level). Overall, the research has two aims:

- 1. To examine the contemporary relevance (and nature) of markets through representations of them as physical, functional, social (public) space; and**
- 2. To explore the role of planning policy and management approaches in supporting markets – through a survey of London and a single local authority case study – Camden.**

These two aims are interrelated and require the paper to be structured into two parts. The first will, through a critical exposition of existing literature, build a conceptual framework for understanding markets. In order to develop a conceptual

framework the literature review will focus on four main areas of concern: definitions and theoretical debates, historical evolution, contemporary issues and policy context – set out in Table 1. It will explore questions of the contemporary relevance of markets (from chapter 2-5) and set the scene for the empirical - case study - research. The second aim seeks to understand the role of PPS6 in local planning and management contexts in sustaining markets through empirical research and through contemporary practical debates.

#### Markets within the scope of this study

Furthermore, in relation to the first research aim, the literature review will focus more broadly on all market forms and types whilst the second aim will focus more specifically on public sector or local authority run markets (LA-run markets). For example, chapters two to three consider markets more generally and they include markets that are both indoor and outdoor (i.e. street markets; market halls); specialist (e.g. farmers' markets) and non-specialist (traditional ones which focus on selling everyday convenience goods) and encompass all those within public, private and other sectors within the UK. Chapter two provides a definition of markets for the purpose of this research paper. For chapters four and five the primary focus of analysis is on LA-run markets (regardless of ownership) that are based on custom, royal charter, local acts of parliament (passed through i.e. Food Act 1984, or Acts from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century) although many aspects of the discussion apply to and consider privately run markets.

The underlying rationale for the research focus on LA-run markets is due to the fact that PPS6 places a duty on local authorities to look after all markets within its jurisdiction (local authority and non- local authority run markets). Nevertheless, it singles out for attention LA-run markets, which are perceived to face the most challenges and are the largest market operator within the 'retail' markets sector. Therefore, the markets outside the terms of reference of the empirical analysis (chapter 7) are specifically markets run by the private sector and in other types of ownership and management configurations, and more specifically, i.e. car boot sales, wholesale markets, festival marketplaces and individual street traders or pedlars except where they are discussed more generally to illuminate a point.

## Conceptual framework

In response to the first aim, it is necessary to consider several further sub-questions, e.g. first, what is a market? Second, how did markets develop historically in the UK and third, what are the theoretical debates that can contribute to the conceptualisation of markets? Therefore, chapter two sets the scene by attempting to introduce the concept of the market by providing definitions of markets and contrasts different commentators' understandings of them whilst considering the problems of defining them. Chapter three attempts to develop a cross-disciplinary theoretical framework (e.g. by drawing on human geography, retail geography, sociology, anthropology, etc) for understanding markets via the representations of markets as a form of physical, functional, social and public space and by primarily drawing on theories which emphasise the importance of the social production of space (i.e. Lefebvre's '*trialectics*'). It will also explore the tensions between public and private provision of such spaces. Chapter four traces the historical evolution of markets i.e. the way their physical characteristics and social meanings have changed through their previous roles and functions. It also seeks to illustrate how the space of the market has been shaped and controlled over past centuries.

Furthermore, the conceptual framework also examines the current issues affecting markets by examining their attributed contemporary roles, their complex diversity in form, patterns of their use and changing nature in modern society, covered between chapters four and five. Thus, chapter five, in particular examines some of the contemporary challenges markets face and the perceived factors that are held responsible for threatening market survival. Additionally, this chapter highlights the potential roles and contributions of markets in a broad range of social, economic and environmental public policy agendas (i.e. the emergence of markets as a public good in policy debates). This exploration of the claimed contributions of markets not only provides a further layer to the conceptual framework but also highlights potential differences between theoretical and practical understandings of them. The analysis will examine the role of and affects of appropriate conceptualisations and its influence on policy responses.

**Table 1: Summary of Research Approach**

<b>Research</b>		<b>Broad Themes</b>	<b>Key Questions/Objectives</b>	<b>Chapter</b>
<b>Aim 1</b>	Conceptual Framework - Literature Review	Definition	What is a market?	2
		Theory	What are the theoretical debates that help contribute to the conceptualisation of markets?	3
		History	What are the historical underpinnings of markets?	4
		Policy Context	What are the contemporary planning policies, legislative and local governance/management contexts for markets?	4
<b>Aim 2</b>	Current Context		What are the key challenges markets face? What are the roles and contributions of markets?	5
		Empirical – Primary Research	London Survey	How is planning policy adopted and support offered for markets in practice in London?
		Camden Case study	What are the current policy and practices for markets at local level?	7
		Conclusion	An evaluation of the key research themes	8



## Empirical research

The second aim is addressed in part through the critical analysis of existing literature (in chapters 4 and 5) but mainly through the empirical research (covered by the London survey and case study of Camden in chapter 7). The existing literature suggests the themes of regulation and control are historically rooted in what a market space is and therefore chapter four will also broadly outline the contemporary urban management dimensions of markets (by examining their legislation, regulation, planning, urban governance contexts). This chapter also seeks to understand the rationale for policy intervention for markets specifically through PPS6, for this it is necessary to understand how and why markets received interest and emerged in retail land-use policy (which suggests a particular judgement/valuation of markets by the state) and a particular role for local governance structures to play at local level. Thus, this chapter will provide a critical overview of some of the key issues relating to retail change, changing policy responses and local government management contexts towards markets and will have specific application and focus on LA-run markets. An exploration of these issues and themes will provide the contextual background for the empirical research.

Additionally in response to the second aim, Chapter 7 provides synthesis of the empirical research findings derived from two interlinked investigative approaches undertaken in London. The first approach, through a survey of all 33<sup>1</sup> London Boroughs (local authorities) provides an overview of the extent to which PPS6 - a statutory requirement - is being implemented in local development plans. It examines the policy stance adopted in local development plan policy statements to determine the nature of official support offered to markets (within all sectors) and potentially an indication of the importance attributed (or value attached) to them by local planning authorities. Furthermore, it evaluates detailed case study evidence derived from one London Borough, Camden. It examines perceptions of the market (how markets are valued), the relationship and interaction between planning policies and actual 'day-to-day' management practices for LA-run markets and market trading – by examining attitudinal issues i.e. by comparing official policy with actual practice.

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<sup>1</sup> Technically, there are 32 London borough councils and the City of London is an independent governance body. However, for the purpose of this analysis the City is included because it contains a markets service.

Hence, the empirical research is set within a context of theoretical debates of the market's role, their changing nature in contemporary society (tackled in Aim 1) and about its current planning and management approaches adopted to resolve problems of its perceived decline, and set within an evolving urban governance context (tackled in Aim 2). The conceptual framework provided an initial scoping of the research theme, and helped to guide the methodology adopted and questions for analysis in the empirical research. Thus, the methodology for the empirical research is detailed in chapter six. It sets out a multi-method qualitative investigative approach combining a range of empirical primary data as well drawing on secondary documentary evidence.

Finally, the concluding chapter (chapter 8) will draw on both the literature review and empirical analysis to evaluate and consider the implications of the two research aims. For example, in relation to the first aim, it will analyse the implications of appropriate academic and theoretical conceptualizations of markets and their affects on policy discourses and outcomes, i.e. whether or not markets have the potential to be the vehicles for the delivery of wider policy agendas, etc. In relation to the second aim, it will consider the effectiveness of planning and management practices in supporting markets, particularly for LA-run markets. It will highlight the relationships between the two as well as their roles and limitations. More specifically, it will consider to what extent the planning system has a justifiable role in shaping the future of markets. In addition, it will evaluate the overall research approach and offer recommendations for future work on markets. The findings of the research will have both relevance for the theorisation of markets in a contemporary context, as well as implications for the practical effects of state intervention (public policy solutions).

## **Chapter Two: What is a Market?**

### **Introduction**

This section seeks to highlight the key defining characteristics of markets in order to develop a conceptual framework for understanding markets. It highlights the type of market of interest to this research. It sets the scene by tackling some of the basic issues through an analysis of differing definitions of markets, contrasts in different commentator's understandings of markets and the problems associated with this task. It acknowledges that definitions will vary according to the purpose for which they are being made. In defining markets, fundamental issues about what the focus of attention should be i.e. the market as a business, the activity or individual trader are also called into question.

The approach of this chapter is taken from a theoretical perspective in terms of explaining the nature and characteristics of the market and its activities. The focus of analysis is not tied to any one category or combination of markets but rather an attempt is made to pitch them at a general level although specific examples were chosen for the degree in which they represent the archetypal forms and for the way in which they illuminate the issues raised.

### **1. Defining Markets**

The word market appears to be a widely used term in everyday social and economic life where references to the job, housing, commodity, stock, meat, fish or food market is commonplace. It is used interchangeably to describe a number of complex human interactions and structures operating under differing spheres of 'market exchange'. In its broadest sense the word market is used to denote an integrated, all-encompassing and cohesive capitalist world economy (Harrison, Smith & Davies, 1992).

However, there are two distinct meanings of the word that can be identified. The first represents a mainstream economic concept of a market and its two basic functions, firstly, *'the action or business of buying and selling'* (University College London, 1933: 1208) and secondly, for the *'sale of a particular commodity'* (p.889). This signifies an abstract mechanism wherein goods and services are bought and sold, where the *market forces* of supply and demand meet in transaction through a specific trading activity (*i.e. stock market or money market*) (Harrison, Smith & Davies, 1992). Hence, the market allows any tradable good (resources) to be priced, traded, distributed and then re-allocated in society.

The second conception, refers to an actual physical landscape where people engage in economic practices: *'a place or location where goods and services are brought and sold'* (Goodhall, 1987). This describes not only what the activity is but also inserts a physical and spatial dimension into the equation. This definition indicates that the word market refers to a more tangible reality wherein people interact face to face in order to buy or sell goods in a given place, i.e. a market square where traders set up stalls to sell goods directly to consumers. In both conceptions, the use of the word market will vary in relation to other factors such as: size, range, geographic scale, location, types of local communities served, and types of goods and services traded, etc (Harrison, Smith & Davies, 1992) . The focus of this chapter and research analysis is on the latter – *the market as an actual place*.

The common law<sup>2</sup> definition of a market is that it is 'a concourse of buyers and sellers'. This is the starting point for many theorists (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004; Harriss 2002; Hartwell, A et al. 2004) and local authority practitioners the most commonly used definition (in Britain):

*" A market is a public concourse of buyers and sellers...comprising not less than five points of sale...the selling or exposing or offering for sale any article or the supplying or offering to supply any service in a street for gain or reward"* (Local Government Miscellaneous Provisions Act 1982).

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<sup>2</sup> Rules developed through old case law and precedents and a definition first developed by the Royal Commission of 1888 (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972)

This definition is useful as far as it helps outline the nature of the activity – buying and selling – and introduces the notion of a place for the activity - a concourse – that is a ‘public’ affair. It prescribes the minimum number of sale points required – five or more - to be recognised as a market and motivations behind trading activity - for profit.

Other definitions offer details of additional characteristics, e.g.:

Firstly,

- *"Market place trading involves a regular occurrence of agglomerations of traders in market buildings, open squares or streets... agglomerations are either daily or periodic markets, and comprised a major outlet for fresh foodstuffs and cheap manufactured goods."* (Bromley 1998a: 1315).

This conception importantly refers to the market as an ‘agglomeration of traders’ as well as highlighting locations, times and types and costs of goods as distinctive features of it.

Secondly:

- *"Markets are made up of a collection of small retail businesses typically operated by individual traders working from stalls. They may be sited outdoors or indoors and may operate daily, weekly, or less frequently throughout the year or seasonally. Market operators are, typically, local authorities though there are also a number of private market sites. Stall holders may operate permanently at one site or may travel to different markets on different days"* (MINTEL, 1996: 2).

This definition conceptualises the market as a collective of its constituent parts and more specifically a ‘collection of small retail businesses’. Both Bromley and MINTEL’s definitions to some extent emphasise the interdependency of ‘trader’ and market operator interactions within the market.

In addition, for Kirk, Ellis & Medland (1972:29) for something to qualify as a market, it must have the formal and legal recognition (i.e. charter markets usually granted by Royal Charter, or statutory markets created by special Acts of Parliament). This view leads them to exclude street markets from their definition of markets which are described as a ‘collection of licensed traders’ rather than part of a legally established market (e.g. where traders are licensed by the local authority) (Schmiechen & Carls 1999). This focus on legal and formal recognition is limited in

states where there is limited or no state regulation of markets, especially in less developed countries (Dewar & Watson, 1990; Bromley 1998a).

Moreover, definitions are complicated by the array of terminology used to label them - e.g.: marketplace, street market, public market, retail market, market hall, indoor market, open-air market, farmers' market, etc. - and seem to embody the core principles of the market in all but name. This suggests the existence of a continuum, derived from physical variations. For example, at one end open-air markets held within a designated square or linear street often referred to as a street market, and at the other end markets set within a 'defined' building often referred to as an indoor market or market hall. This is accompanied by many cross-cultural variations in the way the word market is used. Importantly most definitions considered appear to embrace a core idea of the market's function - that it performs a form of economic exchange between agents in a physically defined and often regulated place. However, the axis of variation ranges from the nature of the physical space to the nature of the goods sold (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Spitzer & Baum, 1995; Schmiechen & Carls 1999).

For example, in the USA, the term 'public market' is used to describe 'a municipally owned and operated building in which vendors sell goods from open stalls' - this is not unlike 'retail' markets found in the UK (Mayo 1984; Spitzer & Baum, 1995). Whilst the concepts of a farmers' market exists in both the UK and USA and are in principle similar i.e. about providing local farmers with a retail outlet to sell their produce directly to the public, they nevertheless have different sets of rules and regulations determining what can and can not formally constitute a 'farmers' market. In contrast, the 'retail' market in France or Spain can have all the characteristics of a farmers' market yet not be called so (Spitzer & Baum, 1995; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Mayo, 1984).

## 2. Key Components of Markets

The diversity of market spaces in existence today suggests that no single definition offers a satisfactory conceptualisation. This research has been able to identify five key components that appear universal to all markets, they include, i.e. 'nature of supply'; 'periodicity (time of operation)'; 'form (including location)', 'types of goods sold' – sub themes include 'type of market' and 'market functions'; and 'market status and management' approaches. Hence, these components are used as a framework to examine the nature of markets in the UK.

### *i) Nature of supply*

In the UK, the *nature of supply* channels determine whether a market is a retail or wholesale market. The retail and wholesaling activities are rarely mixed in a single market and the two functions are nearly always administered separately. Hence the 'retail' market acquires its name from the fact its *buyers* are usually the consumers (the general public) but can also include those buying for resale (Dawson 1980; URS Corporation Limited, 2007). Secondly, sellers, in most retail markets, are the stall traders and would have usually purchased their goods wholesale, or through an intermediary or other source but very rarely produce the goods themselves (Davis 1985; Harriss 2002; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). Hence, the 'retail' market acquires its name from this fact.

The only exceptions are found in speciality - craft or farmers' – market types where stallholders (the producers or their representatives) are prescribed to be the sellers of goods they have grown or produced, directly to the consumers. For example, most of London's farmers' markets are held by private operators and all goods have to be grown or produced within 100 miles of the M25 by traders (Harriss 2002).

### *ii) Periodicity (Times of operation)*

The vast majority of retail markets tend to be weekly markets - open 6-7 days a week often coinciding with the opening times of neighbouring retail provision. Typical opening times range from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon. For example, some farmers' markets will be held once a week whilst others held once a month. On the whole the operating times between farmers' markets or other

speciality markets will be relatively less frequent when compared to the more frequent 'daily', 'traditional' retail market types – although localised variations in opening times exist and are usually determined by the various local councils (Harriss, 2002; Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes 2005).

*iii) Form (including location)*

In the UK, the place of the market is usually a building (market hall), or an open air street or square formally designated or set aside primarily for market trading purposes. It is important to note that many markets combine a number of characteristics. For instance, from covered (e.g. 'Victorian' Kirkgate Market Hall in Leeds), to uncovered; and from detached to attached (to shopping centres); and from street markets located in edge of town centres (e.g. Bullring Market, Birmingham) to centrally located in town squares (e.g. Salisbury Market) (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes 2005; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). Typically, *street* market trading takes a linear form with individual stalls/pitches in either the centre or edge of large thoroughfares or as a group of contiguous 'designated' streets (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972:15; Harriss 2002; Schmiechen & Carls 1999).

*iv) Types of goods sold*

The types of products being sold most often define the function of a market, and determine the identity a market acquires overtime. The type of goods can be subdivided into three, a food only market, a non-food market, or a mixed products market, which would contain both food and non-food products. In practice, most markets sell a wide range of goods, from convenience to comparison<sup>3</sup> goods. For example, the historical feature of selling everyday food (fresh fruit and vegetables) appears to be a common denominator in most 'traditional' markets (Forshaw & Bergstrom 1986; Harriss 2002).

- *type of market*

Related to the types of good sold and at a broader conceptual level markets can be categorised into two distinct types either as a form of specialist or non-specialist market within the 'retail' market sector.

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<sup>3</sup> e.g. the basic distinction between convenience and comparison goods is that the former sells mainly foods, grocery and other every day frequently required household items, and the latter sells more non-edible durable goods such as furniture, household electrical appliances; clothes; shoes etc (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972)



The non-specialist markets are often known as 'general' or 'traditional' markets due to the fact that they tend to sell a range of everyday 'convenience' foods and other household goods. Secondly, specialist markets are characterised by a single product or theme used as a unique selling point which contributes to their formal identity and distinctiveness; and in which the most diversity is observed. For example, they include Farmers markets; Continental markets; Flea markets; Antiques markets; Art/crafts markets; etc.

- *market functions*

Linked to the above, the markets' function can be argued to be a relatively subjective component of its makeup. It is primarily determined by the type, quality, costs of commodities and catchment areas of the market which gives rise to its specific status and its attraction to a particular customer base. Some markets function by specifically aiming to cater for the everyday needs of local community (i.e. residents/workers) thereby by default serving a more public or social role. Moreover, others specialise to become leisure destinations for tourists and visitors and bring greater local economic benefits. Thus, inevitably expensive and/or specialised products can signify a high-end market, which is more likely to attract affluent customers from higher socio-economic groups (i.e. AB socio-economic classes), and those selling cheaper everyday essentials will convey lower status and likely to attract customers from lower socio-economic classes. Thus, the types of goods sold within a market are more likely to determine the function of a market and its differing roles and contributions markets (discussed further in chapter five).

(v) *Market status and management*

The nature of the markets legal status, type of management and ownership are a significant yet less tangible component and distinguishing feature of any given market. Typically, LA-run markets are based on custom; royal charter; local acts of parliament, or operate under the Food Act 1984. Non-local authority run (non-LA-run) markets include private and other types of market operators (i.e. traders,

entrepreneurs, etc) which also have the right to hold markets, i.e. through charters, private companies, or can often be operated through a licence or short lease from local authorities - if it owns the land the market is being operated from. In particular, some private markets operate through established market rights. Thus, the ownership and control of markets can quite often be fragmented, i.e. many markets can be LA-run yet not owned by it (this theme is detailed further in chapter 4).

Furthermore, most UK markets<sup>4</sup> are primarily provided and managed by local authorities (60%), whilst fewer are privately run and provided for (29%) (Zasarda, 2009). In addition to the above, there are a smaller number of markets, which operate through alternative management approaches. For instance, these include: trader led management, social/community enterprise, voluntary, partnership, arms-length, and other co-operative style management models (DCLG, 2010). The relative strengths and weaknesses of each of these are summarised in Appendix 4. More specifically LA-run market management issues – the main focus of this research - are detailed further in chapter four, five and seven.

Analyses of these key physical components provide a useful framework to outline the typical characteristics within most markets within the UK, whilst acknowledging that many local variations exist. However, for the purpose of this research the market is a physically defined place that is a regulated. It is recognised legally and socially as a market space and a form of retailing where traders set up stalls to sell goods directly through face-to-face interactions to consumers, and must comprise not less than five points for sale (stalls).

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<sup>4</sup> Excludes farmers' markets, wholesale markets and rural markets.

### 3. Distinctions between the Market and Other Forms of Retailing

The discussion has so far focused on defining the market but has not considered what falls outside this definition. Some have sought to highlight what markets are not as a starting point for understanding the distinctiveness of markets (Bromley 1998; Kirk Ellis & Medland, 1972; Spitzer & Baum, 1995; Dewar & Watson 1990).

The most common approach to defining markets in relation to what they are not is to contrast markets to shops. A clear distinction is muddled by the existence of markets that have a covered component i.e. market halls that appear to have some or all of the characteristics of shops, which have fixed structures, shop like fittings, displays, and overnight lockable features (Covered Market, Oxford). This means that they are similar in nature to a high street 'retail' shop but would not necessarily fall under such classifications<sup>5</sup>.

At the same time, there are many market-style stalls within department stores and supermarkets; shopping malls; shopping precincts and arcades – which are essentially shops within shops and not markets (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Davis 1985; Guy 1994; Scott 1973). Therefore, there is a suggestion here that the core premise in the definition of markets - a 'concourse of buyers and sellers' – appears to be applicable to other modern retailing forms, indicating a need for markets to be conceptualised as a form of retailing and to then isolate features that make markets more distinct from it. Hence, necessitating closer examination of the nature of retailing.

Furthermore, there are a number of specialist types of markets - 'festival marketplaces'- which developed as a result of the rise of leisure retailing (trends originating in North America in the 1970-80s) and often resulted in mainstream retailing taking over unique and historic market buildings (i.e. Faneuil Hall Marketplace, Boston and Covent Garden Market in London are typical examples) (Guy, 1994). Some argue (e.g. Guy 1994; Spitzer & Baum, 1995) that these 'festival

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. under the Town and Country Planning (Use Classes) Order 2008, category Class A1 for 'Shops' refers to the numerous retail functions shops can have, i.e. general grocery, newsagent, post office, travel agent, etc.

marketplaces' be excluded from market definitions as they have more in common with themed retail.

Studies of 'urban retail' have tended to theorise 'retail' from two key perspectives. Firstly, from cultural perspectives, in which retailing is conceived as a form of consumption accompanied by consumer behaviour models. Secondly, economic perspectives traditionally focus on retail location patterns (e.g. adapting Losch's *agglomeration theory* or Christaller's *Central Place theory* in Pacione, 2005) and the spatial switching of capital in response to market conditions and its impact on physical constructions of retailing environments (e.g. Berry's classification of urban retail locations in Pacione, 2005: 244). In addition, whilst there is a dearth of established theories and literature on *modern retailing* very few specifically cover the presence of markets in relation to contemporary retailing environments and shopping behaviour.

Retailing is often associated with the sale of commodities in small quantities to the consumer. One of the key distinctions between retail and wholesaling is that wholesaling deals with bulk selling to retailers and not directly to household consumers. This attribute of selling in 'small' quantities (is easily identifiable with many markets) and often regarded as a central function of all retailing activity, and is an important component of tertiary activity within an urban economic system (Scott 1973; Davies 1985; Dawson 1980; Guy 1994).

There are many different forms of retailing activity employing differing selling techniques, types of contact between the retailer and the consumer at the point of transaction and varying organisational forms all of which determining its character and how it will be identified. While, we are more likely to think of retailing in terms of shops - fixed premises at fixed locations with counter service – a continuum seems to exist mainly defined by the permanency and periodicity of activity. This extends at one end from - fixed shops, daily markets to peripatetic sellers, through to footloose retailers such as itinerant traders (i.e. street vending) to virtual 'on-line' shops and 'cyber-markets' (i.e. EBay) at the other end (Bromley 1998a; Scott 1973; Davies 1985; Guy 1994; 2006).

However, the most common expressions of fixed retailing are shops, department stores, shopping malls and shopping centres (Davies 1985; Guy 1994; 2006). A brief definitional examination of each type reveals that they appear to be conceptually quite similar to each other. For example: a shop is 'a place for retail sale of goods and services'; a department store is a large 'compartmentalised' shop selling all kinds of goods'; a shopping mall is 'shops within a large structure'; and a shopping centre is an 'area of town where most shops are situated or a 'complex of stores and restaurants' (Davies 1985; Guy 1994). Hence, by simple extension the definition of a shop could easily be applied to markets, because it also offers the 'retail' sale of goods and services' in a given place.

Thus, examinations of these seemingly disparate retailing forms suggest that their appearance of difference is superficial in relation to their underlying conceptual similarities, in particular the 'exchange relations' to be found in both forms. Furthermore, whilst the conceptual ambiguity over the question of the distinctiveness of markets from other forms of retailing exists, markets still manage to retain a very distinct socially recognised universal identity across the world (Bromley 1998a; 1998b; Dewar & Watson, 1990). Therefore, by implication there are further dimensions and nuances that need to be considered if distinct properties of the market are to be identified.

Therefore, one alternative perspective would perhaps consider the motivations of the shopper – a user led approach - in order to uncover the differing psychological perceptions and reasons for using these different shopping environments and the meanings they attached to different types of retail – including markets. This approach stems from extensive existing research (e.g. Bowlby R, 1997; Davies 1985; 1997; Miller & Jackson, 1998; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982, etc) which examines the complex retail environment-consumer relationship, i.e. the products and services consumed and the different shops, and retail formats (hence no comprehensive review of this research is offered, except for the example below).

According to Ng (2003), the physical design features of different retail environments embody meanings and influence the type of social interaction and quality of the

shopping experience. In brief, the distinctions between the shopping mall and the market are deciphered through the psychological needs and mental images held as well as demographic factors (such as age, gender and ethnicity) of the consumer. For example, for the consumers of the market the desire for 'festivity and social contact' (i.e. face-to-face interactions) and perceptions of it as a 'friendlier place' than other retail forms may mark out its attractiveness and distinctiveness to its consumers. In contrast, the malls attractions may lie more with its ability to provide consumers needs for safety, comfort and convenience (valued by both sexes, older and teenage consumers) and weatherproofed features. This analysis asserts the view that markets do provide a 'socially recognised' distinct shopping environment and experience for consumers (users) even though there appears to be conceptual ambiguities between it and other fixed shop retail formats. Furthermore, specific aspects of the decline of consumer choices for shopping at markets are explored in chapter five.

## **Conclusion**

During the last 30 years, there has been an increase in the diversity of retail forms emerging within the retail environment i.e. from local to global chains, independents, supermarkets and departments stores, catalogue and internet shopping, etc. A similarly plurality in the diversity of markets can be observed within the retail market sector. Thus, both fixed retail and markets appear to operate at different competitive levels and co-exist alongside each other rather than a complete eradication of any one form. They co-exist through complex consumer behaviour patterns that have become more discerning, educated, and gained more purchasing power. The proliferation of differing retail forms all represent choices for the consumer and exist within a spectrum of a pluralistic retail environment where they operate at a different competitive level than other forms of retail i.e. typically either as a secondary or niche retail form (Wrigley & Lowe, 2002; Guy, 1994; 1998; 2006; Pacione, 2005).

This chapter has demonstrated the conceptual inadequacies of existing market definitions due to its applicability to other forms of retailing. It raises the question of whether or not analysis is describing the correct components. Therefore, the limitations of this type of conceptualisation of markets suggest the need to widen

analysis beyond the normative and physical characteristics - i.e. from being a purely retail and economic entity - and into understandings of their contemporary symbolic, social and cultural significance. Thus, the following chapter will explore this aspect further by drawing on cross-disciplinary literature to develop a theoretical and more holistic understanding of markets.

# Chapter Three: A Theoretical Conceptualisation of Markets

## Introduction

This section moves on from normative understandings of the market to build a theoretical dimension to the conceptualisation of contemporary markets. A theoretical approach is considered a useful analytical tool, and will help fulfil three basic functions: by correcting misconceptions and confusion by systematically classifying related concepts; it will effectively organise knowledge by clearly defining the parameters of a given subject; and will facilitate theorisation by delineating major subparts of distinct properties and foci for further analysis (Tiryakian 1968).

Therefore, this section draws on a range of existing cross-disciplinary theoretical literature - broadly falling within urban and social theory – in order to enable a more 'holistic' understanding of the role and contributions of markets within a western 'developed' society. For example, the existing theoretical literature on markets suggest multiple interpretations and functioning's of markets i.e. as public space; as planned and regulated space, consumption space, social and cultural space, etc. This section seeks to outline and integrate the multiple meanings associated with markets.

### 1. Markets as Public Space

Notable, scholarly interest in markets first appeared (1962) through the pioneering work of the economic anthropologist Elliot Skinner. His work examined market trade in the African Mossi people and for the first time acknowledged the significance of markets for their social and cultural contributions, beyond their obvious economic exchange functions. Skinner's study whilst dated identified a number of key features that have enduring cross-cultural applications to the markets of today. He suggests that markets are: foremost a public place, a place for promenading oneself, where social relationships and interactions took place, a place where informal and formal exchange (public and private) took place, and a place for ceremony and ritual. In sum, Skinners analysis proposed that markets performed a public space role and



contributed in the formation of a public sphere. Therefore, the following sections will examine some of these functions proposed by Skinner further.

Before discussing the public space functions of markets, it becomes necessary to consider the nature of the relationships between public space and the public sphere. Markets but also parks, squares, streets, and other spaces between buildings all represent public space. On the one hand it is suggested that public spaces (such as market squares) are important sites for the gathering of crowds, for peace and quiet, festivals, speeches, celebrations, which all can access (from every background), to potentially congregate and interact with one another or not; and free from overt state interference. On the other hand it is commonly used to refer to the 'formal' or 'planned' spaces, often seen as state provided and regulated civic space, where struggles, protests and dissent, and other socially defined behaviour can occur but is often controlled (Carmona, M et al, 2003; Minton 2006; Madanipour, 2005; Warpole, 1993).

Moreover, for Kostof, the *accessibility* of public spaces is central to the constructions of the public sphere - where social exchange happens and where it brings benefits to public life (1992). However, public space is a 'purpose built space for ritual and interaction', which everyone is free to use (1992:123). Therefore, 'freedom of action' is a key characteristic of the *publicness* of public space which is accompanied by a series of trade-offs (risks) for the user of that space. Therefore, it becomes important to consider the social and political significance of public space, and the nature and extent of its publicness questioned, i.e. the issue of who has access and *who controls* space are central to it. This theme can also be traced to the wider discourse of the public sphere in modern democracies where struggles for rights, democracy and citizenship are supposed to be enacted and where its control signifies the nature of the power balance between the state and civil society (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008; Madanipour, 2005).

The literature asserts (as discussed below) that to understand thoroughly the role and contributions of markets, they should be examined beyond their representations as a form of public space but through their symbolic representations in discourses of the notion of a public sphere (or public realm). Thus, some theorists appear to use

markets as a conduit for the articulation of abstract conceptions of democracy and citizenship ideals that ought to be found in the public sphere. This then raises the question of what the role and purpose of the public sphere is.

For example, Arendt argues that within an *ideal* public sphere (drawing on an equally idealised ancient market form - the Greek Agora<sup>6</sup>), public spaces should provide a: place where 'citizens could meet, talk, trade and vote. A place for exercising freedom, free speech, where everyone became equal, and acted in the interest of a common good (Arendt, 1958; Arendt in Minton, 2006:9). This seems to connect markets physically, socially and politically with public sphere.

Furthermore, Arendt challenges the question of whether the public sphere can ever be truly *public*. She recognised that people were not born equal, rejected conceptions that aspired to make everyone homogeneous and equal in constructions of the public. Instead, she proposed that social differences should be recognised and accommodated in order to make a 'viable public realm and political community' (Arendt in Watson, 2006:11). She recognised that these ideals were rarely achieved in the public sphere. This barrier is in large part attributed to the entry and dominance of private interests<sup>7</sup> into the public sphere - replacing the social concerns over a common good with social concerns over private goals (focused on land and property ownership and the goals of wealth accumulation and protection) (Arendt 1958; Watson, 2006).

For Habermas, the public sphere sits outside of the economy and the state, where people can assemble to 'debate and deliberate'. Central to his conception, is the 'role played by the middle class [men] or the bourgeoisie in mediating between the private interests of the individuals and their ideals for a public or common good' for the masses (Habermas 1974; 1989). Set against a historical perspective, Habermas proposes a bourgeois (and paternalistic) public sphere emerged during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Western Europe, firstly, through its reliance upon the availability of printed mediums (i.e. newspapers) which allegedly helped connect the *public* spatially and

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<sup>6</sup> The Ancient Greeks awarded citizenship rights only to its free, non-foreign men but not women, slaves and foreigners, therefore more than half the population were excluded from the public (Arendt in Minton 2006:9).

<sup>7</sup> the private sphere of the household marks the distinction in the public (polis) sphere

created a public consciousness. Hence, this conceptualisation of the public sphere was reliant on access to and knowledge of state activity and representative government, freedom of speech (legally endorsed), free press and public assembly (Fraser, 1993). Secondly, it relied on a political struggle between the competing interests of the private sphere (of commodity exchange and the newly emerging bourgeoisie family) and the public sphere (of state intervention). In this struggle, the state sought spatially to more effectively regulate and control the processes of capitalist accumulation and proliferation of private capital interests in reconstituting the public sphere (Habermas 1974; 1989; Minton 2006).

For example, the emergence of a bourgeois public sphere in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had specific implications for markets. This was underlined by a process of modernisation, which repositioned the 'ordinary space' of the market into a wider project to improve, civilize, and order public life (explained further in chapter 4). Consequently, the improved market site became a site for the rituals of polite society that now excluded people and activities considered uncivilized. The market space re-emerged as a site of contestation as well as an integral part of the public sphere linked to a specific urban identity i.e. representing a symbol of civic virtue. The *publicness* of which appeared to be eroded by restricting public access physically through its removal off the street or enclosing it, and also separating other elements in the public space through the increasing use of gated squares, private streets, etc (Hann, 2004; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999; Minton, 2006:9). Hence, the space of the market re-emerged as a more commodified public sphere; as a space for consumption and less connected with *democratic ideals*. It is for this reason, Masschaele (2002) suggests, that there is a need to distinguish between the ordinary conceptions of markets as 'public space' and its modernised version emerging within the more bourgeois Habermasian conceptions of the public sphere (epitomised by the grand market halls of the 18<sup>th</sup> century).

The notions of public sphere examined so far have proposed in varying degrees – an idealised vision of urban public sphere - and acknowledged different structural forces which constrain the delivery of such ideals (especially in the context of a capitalistic society, where space is organised specifically for capital accumulation). Additionally, Shield (1992b) suggests that the *ideals* attributed to markets are not intrinsically unique to it but can also be assigned to more modern incarnations of

public space such as shopping centres, malls and festival sites which also appear 'accessible' to all. Some argue (e.g. Benhabib, 1992; Fraser, 1993; Watson 2006) that alongside the construction of the bourgeoisie/idealised and dominant public sphere, a *counterpublic* has emerged to challenge it. It argues for the centrality of the plurality in the public sphere rather than a singular sphere in modern culture and democracies. It also *suggests* a diversion of the discursive attention away from the political to the social and cultural spheres (Benhabib, 1992).

For Madanipour (2005:1-2), there is a key disjuncture in *constructing* an understanding of the public sphere through its public spaces. He states that space and society are 'dichotomously' organised through its subdivision into 'public and private' spheres and the nature of each realm being defined by 'spatial and symbolic boundaries'. For Madanipour the 'private and personal' is the space of the mind and home and the public sphere consists of 'interpersonal spaces of sociability among strangers, communal spaces of the neighbourhood, the material and institutional public sphere and impersonal spaces of the city. He highlights that:

*"the separation of the public and private spheres and spaces are a continuum, where many semi-public or semi-private spaces can be identified, as the two realms meet through shades of privacy and publicity rather than clearly cut separation"* (Madanipour, 2005:239).

Madanipour, also defines private space as being created by walls, boundaries and social conventions which excludes some people and public spaces which are supposedly accessible to all (Madanipour, 2005). He suggests that the boundaries between the public and private realms can be blurred especially when private interests enter and (re)shape the public realm. Most fundamentally, property rights and land ownership confer the rights over its use - where 'space-as-landscape has been transformed into property-as-exchange value' - and determines the extent it moves into the public or private realms (Madanipour, 2005). This highlights the key influence of land as commodity in public space (Lefebvre 1991; Shield, 1992a; Madanipour, 2005). For Jacobs (1961), the street marks the critical boundary between private and public realms.

## 2. The Decline of Public Space

Recent discourses of the public sphere continue with the growing concern over the privatisation of public space and its apparent decline. The key explanations for the cause of decline are again connected firstly, with the inclusion of 'private interests' into 'the public' that are confounded by the *actions to control or regulate* public spaces (Mitchell (1995); and secondly, numerous spatial practices which have bureaucratized and commodified space (as suggested by Lefebvre, see below). Together, they are perceived to have undermined their *potential for democratic action* (as advocated by Arendt).

In addition, Sennett (1974) links this apparent decline back to early developments of industrial capitalism which had ignited the erosion of public life to the point where people today have now increasingly retreated into the private realm, and accompanied by the privatisation of social relations. For example, public spaces offer far fewer opportunities for spontaneous and informal encounters with strangers<sup>i</sup> and where often encounters with strangers result in conflict and negative feelings with the potential for sociality reduced.

Furthermore, this decline of the public sphere has had a number of undesirable social consequences. For example, Mitchell (1995) asserts that the presence and exclusion of homeless people in public spaces draws attention to the inherent contradictions in who is and is not counted in the notions of the *public*. Others (Massey 1994; McDowell 1997; Watson 2006; Watson & Wells, 2005) highlight how social exclusion and gendered exclusion (largely women) takes place in these spaces. Furthermore, the impact of the *processes of gentrification* can have upon urban public spaces, which can lead into struggles over their symbolic ownership and identity (Smith, 1996; Fainstein, 1994).

Additionally, the privatisation of public spaces has been superimposed by its commodification by shopping malls and other forms (Crawford 1992; Goss, 1993; Sorkin 1992; Mitchell 1995; Staeheli & Mitchel, 2006). However, this process of commodification is not confined to shopping malls and can occur through the act of enclosure and gating of any space or community. Therefore, for Davis (1992) the

proliferation of private interests (i.e. capitalist agendas) results in their semi-privatisation. Therefore, suspending them from the ordinary everyday needs of people. It underlines the need to understand the role of regulation and planning in shaping this increasingly privatised public space.

### **3. Regeneration of Public Space**

For Jacobs (1961), effective planning of city spaces brings about the desirable components of a city. Space is planned in order to create environments that encourage commerce and consumption as well as control and design-out undesirables (people and activities) which detract from the economic effectiveness of such spaces. The practices of city design, planning and conservation (including the negotiations between different stakeholders) are particularly complex in existing urban spaces where change is incremental and contested. Thus, these practices influence not only the representation of urban spaces (i.e. within planning policies) but also the lived urban experiences (Aiesha & Perdikogianni, 2005).

Notwithstanding the above, centralised planning and 'Urban Renaissance' initiatives once welcomed in to transform declining post-industrial cities are now perceived to have intensified the privatisation and commodification of the public sphere (Minton, 2006). One of the key (seemingly innocuous) entry points for this is as a result of a planning system and process which relies on the granting of permissions to private sector business property development in return for financial development contributions, i.e. for public space provision through S106 contributions (Field, 1992). This practice often has the side affect of inadvertently increasing the private control and maintenance of public space.

Furthermore, large regeneration schemes (i.e. Canary Wharf development in East London) aimed at 'reclaiming the public realm' (the spaces between buildings) resulted in their departure into private control (to those paying for it). Kostof agrees that high profile 'large-scale' development often resulted in the deliberate 'trapping' of public space behind the 'mass of the buildings and behind the legitimate line of the sidewalk' and 'reinforces the private control of such space by divorcing it from

the street...’ (1992: 181). Thus whilst post-industrial restructuring was considered economically desirable (i.e. increasing land and property values) held the undesirable consequence of making all spaces within the city less public *‘in terms of their two basic principles: public stewardship and open access’* (Zukin, 1995: 34).

In addition, Shield asserts that during the post-industrial restructuring of the city, consumption sites (in the service sector) have now become important contributors to the economy. Shield (1992b) identifies the existence of a three-tiered hierarchy of public space marked by levels of their commodification. First, privately owned public spaces i.e. shopping malls which represent a dominant consumption site and place for retailing; second, traditional public spaces i.e. notably are occupied by markets, and other spaces (public buildings, monuments, heritage sites etc); and finally, ephemeral public spaces are those which generally encompass all forms of the 'mass media', internet and other communications.

Nevertheless, Shield (1992b) argues that these sites are not necessarily new but have now adapted to bring together leisure, consumption and economic activities that had 'previously been held apart by being located in different sites, performed at different times or accomplished by different people'. For example, modern reincarnations of traditional sites of consumption such as markets are sometimes incorporated into new consumption cultures and spatial practices (e.g. Spitalfields Market, London). These are underlined by regeneration efforts that encourage the spatial performance and practices typical of leisure spaces and commercial sites. For example, markets often converted for leisure and 'festival retailing' in order to encourage new consumer behavior, have also become a place that is itself consumed (i.e. sometimes through the recreation of a nostalgic past). Therefore, the market is not just a space for shopping or rational economic activities (buying/selling) but also a place for enactment of 'various forms of flanerie'. Thus, this newer form of consumerism appears to remove everyday act of shopping from its ordinariness and mundanity through the promotion of its leisure dimension temporarily diverting attention away from its fundamental 'economic rationales' (Shield, 1989; 1992b:6-7).

The regeneration initiatives of the city have held particular implications for those managing the space of the market or ones located near a regenerated area. Firstly, it could either result in its privatization e.g. the land occupied by markets may increase their economic value and experience commercial pressures for its redevelopment or sale by their owners/managers wishing to increase their revenues. Secondly, become an overly managed quasi-public space through the increasing surveillance of the market space and controls over who has access to it in order to improve security and sales i.e. this is mainly focused on retaining its order and formality by keeping out illegal trading activities and anti-social behaviour, which is linked to benefit the wider public realm. Finally, in some cases, the increasing use of design themes that employ “theme park” simulations which break down connections with local history and geography i.e. markets can sometimes become gentrified in neighbourhoods that become gentrified (e.g. Spitalfields market, London) (Anson, 1981; Foreman, 1989; Gould, 2008; Harriss 2002; Cybriwsky, 1999). All these features not only change the patterns of their use but also add to any existing social problems and divisions.

#### **4. The Core/periphery Dialectics around Markets**

A further dimension to understanding markets more holistically and beyond their public space role, suggests a need to examine its ‘social production’ (Lefebvre, 1974; 1991). For Lefebvre, space is not only socially produced through complex social constructions (based on values, and the social production of meanings) but also something, which affects spatial practices and perceptions. It is composed of different layers or levels, of spatiality reflecting both the 'mental' realm, which represents social and physical notions of space and 'material' spaces within which social life takes place (1991). Lefebvre’s analysis focuses on how space (spatiality) and more specifically the reproduction of - capitalistic - society both construct and deconstruct one another, which in turn produce socially recognised space; wherein social relations take place (Lefebvre, 1974; 1991).

Lefebvre advocated that in the context of a capitalistic and globalised society there are multiple social spaces and practices. Thus, this ‘space needs to be studied not as commodity, separated by different disciplines such as architecture, economics



and geography', or 'as a container with 'things in it', but space understood as a 'set of relationships' (Lefebvre 1981 in Shield, 1992a:51 and 1992b). Therefore, the 'social significance of public space ought to be understood through its functional and ritual usage which includes not only the relationships between people and activities (users) but also their affects on the buildings, objects and spaces they occupy' (Lefebvre 1974: 362). Although the users space is lived not represented nor conceived (1992a).

In responding to Lefebvre's (1974; 1991) assertion that the meanings of a place are created through the language, representation and the perceptions of it, it becomes pertinent to examine more closely the academic discursive language around markets. This language is often found to be pejorative and conveys the view that the market is often a *contested*, *traditional*, old-fashioned and *marginal* public space and sometimes a site for 'alternative' (not mainstream) retailing and consumption practices.

For instance, Hodges (1988:148) describes markets as being, 'anachronistic', and an 'old form' of retailing – part of the narrative of loss and the past - in relation to the present, more modern forms of consumer outlets. This is in spite of the fact that materially they have now become part of the new post-industrial consumption culture and spatial practice as proposed by Shield (1992b). Moreover, a further examination of the language around markets suggest they have also become incorporated into the *counterpublics*, which increasingly challenge the dominant constructions of the (idealised) public sphere by highlighting the importance of refocusing on the underexplored *marginalised* social and cultural spheres (Benhabib, 1992).

Furthermore, this language of marginality observed coincides with an apparent scarcity in theoretical conceptualisations of markets due their frequent overlooking by academics. Nevertheless, Creswell suggests that in the context of post-modernist conceptions of place and the city, *places considered to be marginal can often be symbolically central to the 'constitution of accepted forms of identity'* (Creswell, 2004:130) Therefore, worthy of academic attention. This view is shared

by Shields (1992a:3) through his examination of the importance of *Places on the Margin*:

*'Marginal places, those towns and regions which have been 'left behind' in the modern race for progress, evoke both nostalgia and fascination. Their marginal status may come from out-of-the-way geographic locations, being the site of illicit or disdained social activities, or being the Other pole to a great cultural centre...this type of 'marginality' is constructed as a result of being placed on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to each other...'*

Shield (1992a) suggests marginal spaces have a relationship with the 'economic and cultural centres to which they are connected (p.276). Thus, to be 'on the margin' implies exclusion 'from the centre', a duality that is kept together by their social, political and economic relationships. In this context, 'margins' become signifiers of everything 'centres deny or repress' (p.276). Shields argues that marginal places are not in that position because they sit on a physical geographical periphery but because 'they have been placed on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to each other' (p.3). This conceptualisation displaces the place into what geographers call a 'core periphery' dialectic.

Furthermore, the 'social definition of marginal places is intimately linked with the [human] categorisation of objects, practices, ideas and modes of social interaction as belonging to the 'low culture', 'the culture of marginal places and spaces, the culture of the marginalised' (1992a:4-5). Crucially, this core/periphery relationship highlights the 'central role' of 'spatialisation to cultures' i.e. 'cultural categorisation of spaces and places' removing it from being just a 'topographic margin' (Shield, 1992a:4). Thus, for Warpole space is very much 'an attitude of mind as much as a piece of geographical territory' and again signalling the importance of the social production of space (proposed by Lefebvre) (1992: 35).

The perceived marginality (representation) of the market highlight the need to re-conceptualise them through not only the increasing decline and privatisation of a public sphere but more broadly against the wider struggles between global and local

agendas. These relationships suggest a complex and interconnected dialectic, in which global capital's agenda is presumed to undermine local communities due to the mobility of its power and capital across the globe facilitated by modern technology and communication networks. One of the key concerns is in the way global forces create artificial proximity (between capital and labour and the elites) and homogenised environments, which displace the historical rootedness of local places (Castells, 1996; Sassen, 1991; Zukin 1991). Lefebvre agrees that global processes increasingly shape the production of social space, which specifically undermines the importance of local places (Lefebvre, 1974). For example, the homogenization affects produce similar places across the worlds i.e. in hotels, transport interchanges, shopping centres, retail chains and the 'Clone town' affect, etc (Simms, A et al. 2002).

In response to this viewpoint, Castells (1996) argues for the resistance of such homogenization and supports a greater role for local government to step in to mitigate the negative side-effects of the processes of globalisation. In the context of the emergence of globalised retailing chains, markets appear to symbolise the local through its connections with people rooted in local places and through its offer of face-to-face interactions in contrast to the impersonal exchange offered by the globalised retail such as supermarkets (discussed further in Chapter 5) (Castells (1996; Szmigin, Maddock & Carrigan, 2003). Therefore, markets represent (and have been socially placed in) the *counterpublics* – or *counter narratives* - that seek to resist the perceived undesirable consequences of global forces. Thus, in this quest, Lefebvre advocates resistance to the global forces through the reclamation of the spaces of everyday life or lived space - not the 'represented' or 'conceived' Although, criticised for his relatively romanticised notions of *everyday* life, he is nevertheless seen as an antidote to the bourgeois public sphere. This then also highlights the complex problems faced by those regulating space – of how lived experience and political expressions should come together.

## 5. Everyday Life and Consumption

Many theorists, including notably, Crawford (1999), advocate the focus on the 'everyday' lived experience, to form a new position in understanding the spaces of a city. She also emphasizes the city as a social product and particularly the importance of understanding the everyday experiences in ordinary spaces of the city. She suggests that the city is complex and multi-dimensional containing many 'overlapping and contradictory meanings – aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, political, economic, and experiential – rarely reconcilable into a single understanding' (1999:8). The focus on sites that are not usually the focus of the public space debate marks a movement to challenge conventional notions of what constitutes the *public* and public sphere. Importantly, it attempts to encompass the multiple *counterpublics* characterised by contestation rather than unity and competing interests and demands and struggles over its use.

In this equation, markets re-emerge as part of the 'mundane', 'ordinary' and 'everyday place' and 'restructured bottom-up rather than top-down falling outside the normative meanings of public space' (Crawford, 1999: 28). They are often presumed devoid of meaning yet 'acquire constantly changing meanings – social, aesthetic, political, and economic' which their 'users reorganize and reinterpret...' (p.29). For Watson (2006), these sites - conceived to be 'irregular, haphazard and ordinary' - represent the opposite of 'planned and monumental' and are spaces that sit in between. Hence, exploring the 'hidden', 'marginal', and symbolic spaces enables a different perspective and to see how they 'rub against the institutional and regulatory arenas at particular historical moments'. Thus, even marginality is a temporary and shifting state where 'the invisible becomes visible and vice versa in unpredictable ways' (Watson, 2006:6).

Importantly, in narratives of the *everyday*, the mundane places are spaces or places where everyday life unfolds in which aspects of consumption are intrinsically interlinked. Trentman (2004:10) argues that contemporary consumption has become about 'services, experiences, and citizenship'. Therefore, it is 'important to see consumption as a process and the social realities of consumption through non-commercial settings such as in the domestic household context, urban public spaces as well as in retailing'.

In addition Jayne (2006), argues that seemingly 'ordinary and mundane' consumption sites belie their complexity when compared to more 'spectacular forms' represented by the rise of corporate shopping malls and new themed and branded and normative consumer sites (i.e. theme parks, branded or chain shops, festival retail and other formal retailing) (as observed by Davies). In contrast to these forms, markets appear relatively 'mundane', 'ordinary' but nevertheless retain their identity as a form of 'everyday' 'inconspicuous' consumption space considered so alongside 'car-boot sales', 'charity and second hand shops', and the 'home' (Jayne, 2006: 93). Hence, the significance of these spaces ought to be understood through their *hidden codes and languages* (Jayne, 2006; Crewe, 2000). However, both types of sites appear to be equally distinctive and have the potential to offer the spectacular experience as well as the ordinary and mundane.

Furthermore, Shield reinforces the view that markets function as a space for the subject of everyday consumption. His viewpoint suggests that it is able to function in this way not just through its physical construction – its 'built form and architecture' - nor its 'legitimate functions' but in the way it 'symbolically shapes behaviour, and indirectly thought and cultural practices' (1992b:3). More broadly, Shield's perception is based on his criticism of modernist approaches that had previously separated economy and culture when conceptualising contemporary consumption practices (1992b: 2).

Hence, for instance, where markets were considered in economic geography they tended to group them as 'other', 'alternative' 'retail' or 'consumption sites' and only emphasised the rationales of economic necessity for their use. This approach missed out contemporary cultural and non-economic behaviour i.e. the search for sociality; for fun; distinction; bargains; discernment, sense of identity, etc. (Watson & Studdert, 2006). Thus, increasingly social theorists attempting to understand the contemporary relevance of markets, (i.e. Pradelle 2006; Glennie and Thrift 1996b; Watson & Studdert, 2006, etc), highlight the social relations generated in the market, i.e. 'festivity, theatre, animation and anonymity' as an integral part of the experience of everyday consumption activity.

## Conclusion

Thus, so far what has been observed from the development of this *theoretical* conceptualisation of markets is that they are broadly an important occupier of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic space. Importantly, they emerge as a key part of the narrative of the *ordinary*, *mundane*, and *marginal*, within the space of the subject of everyday consumption.

In addition, in their conceptualisation as a form of public space, markets were often utilised as a discursive tool within wider discourses attempting to construct an *idealistic* public sphere. Theorists highlight the existence of a dichotomy within the broader debates of the public sphere i.e. concerns over its increasing decline, privatisation and commodification accompanied by an increasing recognition of the value of ordinary spaces and broader range of urban spaces being encompassed as being important for the quality of life in cities. Thus raising the questions of appropriate policy interventions and questions of how they ought to be managed. This chapter has highlighted the way the market has been socially constructed and represented as well as how the theme of regulation and control are intrinsically connected to what the market is. This theme will be the focus of discussion in the following chapter and will build upon the conceptualisation of markets.

## **Chapter 4: Shaping Markets**

### **Introduction**

The examination of the social significance of markets in the previous section revealed it to be an important component in the understanding of 'what a market is'. However, this is considered a partial understanding due to the relatively theoretical nature of analysis. The literature also suggested that the space of the market has been shaped by a history of state control and regulation, and therefore important to its conceptualisation.

This created the impetus in this section firstly to examine how markets originated and developed in society overtime. In particular, it explores the historical development and emergence of state control of markets (i.e. the tradition of local authority/municipal control over markets) and within the contemporary context. Hence, it became pertinent to examine the way the states' apparatuses - its legal framework, planning policy, and management and governance context - shape the development of markets today. Thus, the preceding analysis in this section will focus on how markets were shaped by a collection of interventions rather than an attempt at a full history.

### **1. Historic Evolution and Development**

Existing literature suggests that the notion of the market is a universal phenomenon, found through out history across different civilisations (Scott 1973; Madanipour 2005; Dewar & Watson 1990). Historically, the first marketing activity - of buying and selling - is thought to have appeared when societies were able to produce a surplus of goods, which then led to their informal exchange or barter typically in an (un)defined space often near a physical or man-made landmark, i.e. river, forest, pillars, posts, crosses, etc. The focus of increased trading activity in such spaces would often then turn them into 'distinguished nodes', i.e. through a process of geographical inertia, formalisation aided by a concentration of other commercial and social activities, and transformation into focal points in early cities (Madanipour 2005:193).

In the UK, whilst markets appear to have been a significant component of settled life for more than a thousand years, there is evidence to suggest that many markets died or began to decline by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, although new ones emerged at the same time (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). Changes to markets often corresponded with major national trends, i.e. population, settlement, commercial and economic change. The most significant one is the transition from an agrarian to industrial economy (Schmiechen & Carls, 1999; Madanipour 2005; Waxman 1989).

For example, Britain was one of the first countries to experience *industrial revolution*. This was characterised, e.g. by large-scale industrial production, the rise in the concentration of trade in towns/cities, rapid processes of urbanisation, accompanied by rural depopulation, which had a dramatic impact upon societal development and consumption habits, etc. (Letters, M et al., 2003; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999; Kowalski, 1995). These structural changes were considered to have had very specific implications for the role of markets. For instance, as industrial enterprise and inland trade grew rapidly and spread across the country, it resulted in the breakdown in the ancient food distribution system that markets relied on. Where previously there had been a high level of regional self-sufficiency, now there was a need for a 'chain of distribution to supply consumer foods and other goods to the growing urban populations'. This is because 'pre-industrial distribution systems relied upon a complex network of fairs and markets, and on itinerant rural distributors and producers and retailer shops centred in market towns'. Foods and other goods were often bought directly from local producers or local markets/fairs from 'specialist distributors' where 'aggregate distribution costs were low' (Waxman 1989: 44).

In fact until the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the modern conception of a 'retail industry' was non-existent. Hence, the street market was the major site of consumption particularly for urban areas where a large portion of goods were bought in face-to-face interactions in open markets, fairs, artisan and small-scale food producers and hawkers in public settings but where very few transactions yet took place in shops (Everitt 2004; Waxman, 1989). However, the availability of cheap imports from the 1860's onwards began changing the nature of supply and distribution irreversibly. It



paved the way for the growth of a retail industry, i.e. the development of fixed shops and employed workers, and the separation of wholesale and retail components of market trade (Everitt 2004; Glennie & Thrift, 1992; 1996; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999). These developments mark the markets marginalisation from its central role in provisioning the city.

#### Historic regulation of markets

In Britain, as long as markets have carried out the role of provisioning places, the right to hold a market appears to have been governed by a public authority or official. Most markets were (and are still) owned by local municipal authorities and overall, they have the powers to not just control but also to direct and prohibit rival markets and other activities that may affect the operations of existing ones. Whilst their regulation varies overtime, the aim of regulation has more or less always been about the organisation and taxation for revenue income. The regulation of markets is set within a complex relationship between the practice of commerce and a series of market laws, customs and trading practices. The legal framework for market trade has evolved over hundreds of years with a substantial proportion of it formed through case law mainly in the last century (Schmiechen & Carls, 1999; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972).

Moreover, the regulations seem to essentially provide an *ethical code of practice*, which linger into present day municipal regulatory practices, i.e. determining the type, quality, weight, pricing, location of goods to be sold, and hours of operation, etc. (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). They appear to be underpinned by quite practical rationales, i.e. the devising of a legal and fixed boundary for where market trade could take place, which brought a number of physical and economic benefits to traders, consumers and regulators. For traders/producers it mainly provided a fixed location to trade in by offering a relatively fair price. For consumers this meant being able to access and buy everyday goods - especially fresh foods - in a convenient location. For the regulators the fixed location enabled effective scrutiny of the market environment with officials overseeing all aspects of trading activity (Schmiechen & Carls 1999; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). Due to the economic and social benefits provided by markets, they were increasingly seen as critical to public

welfare and in the survival of towns/cities (especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). Hence, the desire to regulate market spaces became the natural duty of municipal or local government (Schmiechen & Carls 1999; Bromley 1998a; 1998b; Waxman 1989).

### Market designation

The tradition of municipal intervention in markets also requires an understanding of the context of their development, primarily in terms of their increasing formalisation – from gaining *legal* rights to hold a market through to being formally recognised as such – and the consequent development of national governance structures that brought them further into state control in Britain.

Firstly, there appears to be three broad distinctions identifiable in the way markets were formed. The first are those (mainly ancient and pre-industrial) markets, formed spontaneously, with no legal origins even though many became legally recognised in time. The latter two types have a legal and formal basis, i.e. *Charter* market rights are those only granted by the Crown and secondly those formed by Acts of Parliament (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). Table 4.1 below summarises the key characteristics of the three types of ‘formally’ recognised market forms found in Britain.

Nonetheless, this summary (Table 4.1) does not include *street* markets *formed* on a public highway. According, to Kirk, Ellis & Medland (1972), street markets are not considered true markets because they were legally defined as a 'collection of licensed traders' unless they are part of a legally established market. Therefore, this definition precludes nearly all markets in inner London which are ‘designated streets, for use by street traders licensed under the London Local Authorities Act 1990 (discussed later in this section) by the various London boroughs (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972:15) In particular, in London, markets are often controlled by local authorities, but not always owned by them. Privately run markets fill in the gaps in areas where there has not been a historical pattern of retail market development (especially in suburban locations). A further distinction in markets can be found in

privately owned markets which were not established through the legal framework but operate with 'established' market rights.

**Table 2: Classification of Formal Markets**

	Legal status		Key characteristics of formal markets	
1	<b>Common law markets (franchise)</b>	a	Charter markets	Rights granted to any person or body by Royal Charter or Letter Patent
		b	'Markets by prescription' or lost charter	The possessor has no ancient grant but can show its establishment from time immemorial – thus attaining legal status
2	<b>Statutory markets</b>	a	special local Acts	Created by an Act of Parliament or common law market rights that have been bought into local authority control
		b	Public General Acts	
3	<b>Private (or non-LA-run) markets</b>		No legal status/protection	Not established through royal grant or Act of Parliament
Adapted from Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972: 27-29.				

In England and Wales, before the 19<sup>th</sup> century the system of 'royal' grants from the Crown was the most common way that markets and fairs were set up. The Charter - granted by the Crown tended to favour the gentry and local churches. These much sought-after grants seemed to bestow a form of monopoly to individuals or to guilds that sought them by protecting their rights and restrained others from abusing or attaining them (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972:27-29). Furthermore, in practice, the regulation of markets often meant the co-existence of unofficial codes of practice or customs with legal components. For example, long before charter markets it was customary to refrain from buying anything outside a town and only within a public setting so that the purchaser could buy safely, viable goods. Archaic practices, such as the rule that new markets or extensions of one could not take place within seven leuca (six and two thirds of a mile) of another market in order to avoid competition, persist even today (Letters, M et al., 2003; Schmiechen & Carls 1999).

## Development of local government control of markets

Until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, local authorities possessed very limited powers in most areas of governance, and lacked authority to plan and finance their services. They also had fewer powers to develop or maintain markets in their localities. This meant that any wider actions intended for town modernisation often required the setting up of several public commissions through local Acts of Parliament. For example, before 1820, market improvements were enabled through the municipal 'Town Improvement Acts' and Acts of Parliament specifically for market improvements. These generally became instruments for coordinating and financing urban improvements. Numerous, 'Improvement Acts' were created to tackle a range of issues, i.e. street paving; lighting; water supply and sewage; construction of institutional buildings such as Town Halls. Thus, between 1785-1850 parliaments passed more than 400 municipal improvement acts designed to remedy problems primarily to be found in *slum* areas (Waxman 1989: 46). Together these were intended to create a civilised urban space through the rationale of a *public good* in spite of private commercial interests steering their course (Hann 2004; Waxman, 1989).

A key transitional moment in the history of markets came through the implementation of the Local Government Act of 1885, which for the first time gave local authorities powers to establish markets. These new powers were conditional and designed to build upon earlier legislation. For local authorities this meant for the first time taking responsibility and ownership of 'market rights' by ending the longstanding elitist tradition of market ownership by manorial families. This often meant local authorities having to buy the common law rights to hold markets and levy tolls from mainly Manorial owners at high costs in order to then establish them as statutory public markets (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). This transfer of *private* market ownership into public control and the acquisition of markets by local municipalities marked the beginnings of municipal or public regulation of markets by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another equally important development took place in 1899, through the introduction of a new system of local government based on County Councils; County Boroughs; Municipal Boroughs and District Councils.

In contrast to the earlier powers, local authorities could now not only acquire but also plan strategically for all land uses, traffic flow and shopping habits through a reform agenda. Thus, late 19<sup>th</sup> century attempts at market reform appear to be driven by a bid to bring all aspects of the urban public realm under public or state control. This was largely through the implementation of the newly acquired responsibilities for improving the built urban environment, i.e. retailing in centralised urban areas and the desire to raise revenues and turnovers from higher rents in such places.

Furthermore, local authority reform underlined by modernising efforts delivered through early town planning also appeared to be responding to the demands of the rising (consumer) middle class for an improved public realm and a desire to improve the efficiency of the rapid urbanisation of cities. Hence, planning was concerned with controlling the mixing of what it perceived to be incompatible functions through the zoning of land uses i.e. largely a separation of residential from commercial activities, in order to achieve a visually attractive public sphere. In this context, markets – *provided they were well run* – were perceived to hold the potential of contributing in tackling some - if not all - of the economic and social issues towns/cities were facing at that time.

Consequently, planners in municipal governments undertook a range of ‘market-led’ interventions. For instance, decentralising marketing activities; removing itinerant trading off the streets whilst increasing space for fixed shop retailing and increasing their spatial monopoly in central locations; prioritising vehicular access; opening markets up through street widening actions through the removal of obstructions and buildings to create more open spaces (such as an open market area). In some cases, the enclosure of space undertaken as a way of limiting points of *public* access and the re-ordering of scattered stalls in market places. Thus, making it easier to police and create a sense of order (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Madanipour, 2005; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999).

Therefore, in this process of rationalising the market space, municipal planning interventions appeared to be underlined by two distinct goals. On the one hand, it attempted to remove markets from the ‘moral decay’ and un-healthiness of the

street and beyond the poorly designed traditional open-air marketplace. On the other hand, it increasingly moved them indoors by enclosing the space of markets in the form of iconic new covered markets aimed at achieving 'physical and moral improvement'. These actions appeared to be an attempt at creating order and containment of poorly designed pre-industrial trading activities, and protection from the weather in order to bring commercial appeal for the town centre (Madanipour, 2005:77; Schmiechen & Carls., 1999; Hann, 2004). Moreover, they were designed to create a civilised consumption site, which would appeal to both the 'genteel' and poor alike. However, inevitably this new space became more exclusionary and only appealing and affordable to the emerging rich *polite* society (Hann, 2004; Schmiechen & Carls., 1999).

However, despite their newly acquired statutory powers in the late 19th century, local authorities appeared to have taken a relatively apathetic and piecemeal approach towards managing their markets. Although some forward thinking, local authorities did recognise their importance and improved their facilities (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972:34). It is only in recent years (since the 1940's) that local authorities have had more substantial powers to plan for cities and places and try to retrofit contemporary concerns such as traffic and pedestrian flow and health and hygiene regulations around markets. For instance, in London, it was not until in 1927, that the London County Council (General Powers) Act gave London councils the authority to license street traders and implement health and hygiene legislation (Harriss, 2002; Madanipour, 2005).

Furthermore, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century modern lifestyles and transport modes resulted in the breaking down of previous historic relationships between public spaces (i.e. street markets and squares) and public buildings surrounding them. For example, the building of new transport infrastructure such as tramlines meant that several street markets had to relocate or close down. Public spaces increasingly began serving the function of easing the access and movement of people, goods, and services across the rapidly populated urban places (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Madanipour, 2005). The Second World War further exacerbated this, when many of London's street markets were seriously damaged by bombs and needed redevelopment, which resulted in further loss of traders and their pitches (Harriss, 2002).

The post-war period saw the arrival of immigrants from the New Commonwealth. These communities brought new diversity and boosted a number of traditional markets in London, especially in Brixton and East London. By this time, some forms of markets had lost their importance. Many markets became 'retail' markets (typically as part of the retail offer in town centres) whilst maintaining a relatively central place. Others changed uses or completely disappeared as part of post-war urban redevelopment processes and very few new markets were created because of proactive designations by local authorities (Glennie 1998; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Forshaw & Bergstrom 1983; Madanipour 2005). Further contemporary components of the markets' regulation – legislation, planning, and management - are examined in the proceeding sections.

## **2. Contemporary Legislative Framework**

Despite the longstanding presence of markets throughout Britain, the legislative and regulatory framework (beyond Royal Charters or Acts of Parliament) towards market provision appears to have developed piecemeal and shows a wide range of geographical variations. In English local authorities, the statutory duty on local authorities to manage markets began in the last century through the promotion of Acts of Parliament. However, it was not until the 1980s, that markets received stronger legislative regulations. The key legislative provisions for markets today are contained in a small number of legislative instruments. The Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1982 (LG(MP)A 1982) together with the Food Act 1984 are the most widely used in England and Wales (except in London where the London Local Authorities Act 1990 prevails (Allinson, et al, 2008; Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004). Their counterparts in Scotland are the *Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982* and Northern Ireland - *Street Trading Act (Northern Ireland) 2001*. Significantly, nearly all the legislation apply only to LA-run markets and are focused on the regulating of the activity – street trading – rather than the physical land-use of the market and its designation. Hence, all LA-run market traders need to obtain licenses for street trading from the relevant local authorities (Allinson, et al, 2008; Jones, Hillier& Comfort, 2004; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972).

## Local Government (Miscellaneous Provision) Act (1982)

For example, under the LG (MP) A 1982, *street* trading licences are issued by individual local authorities (at district council level), that have powers to designate streets within their area. The powers granted by the Act are adoptive - that is, the local authority must explicitly choose to 'adopt all or part' of the legislation. In order to exercise these powers they must also designate streets according to a stated rationale before licences and consent can be issued. If the powers are not adopted, the act cannot be used to prosecute illegal street traders (as the police under the Peddlers Act 1871 and 1881 would control such traders) (Allinson, G et al., 2008: 4).

Hence, LG (MP) A 1982, Schedule 4 allows Councils to choose which streets to designate (as Consent Streets, Licence streets, or Prohibited Streets) and is fundamentally about licensing street trading activities. It is through the process of granting permission that the local authority is able to control various aspects of street trading activity. Local authorities typically seek to control the maximum number of street traders, the locations from which they operate, the type of goods they sell (usually so that street traders are not in conflict with local shops), and control the hours and days of operation, etc. Street trading consent conditions can be varied at any point and a number of other discretionary conditions can be applied as necessary. Street Licenses issued are only valid for the local authority or other authorised operator within a prescribed locality or street and designed to limit the operations of traders to specific places and pitches. License costs are set to reflect the cost of administration for the local councils and vary considerably from area to area.

One of the key limitations of the Act is that it only applies to 'street' based markets. It has no application to 'off-street' markets or any markets that do not operate in a designated street. For example, readily applicable to private indoor markets - which are the predominant forms outside London; charter markets, farmers' markets or those under other alternative market management/ownership configurations (as outlined in Appendix 4) (House of Commons, 2009; Allinson, G et al., 2008).



## London Local Authorities Act of (1990-2007)

London has its own specific legislation - the London Local Authorities Act 1990 - that grants all its borough's statutory powers to license street trading, with the exception of the City of Westminster, which has its own legislative framework - Westminster City Council Act 1999. As most of the market activities in London are actually street markets by definition this means that, the Act has most relevance to market activity here. The Act grants all London boroughs statutory powers to license street trading and sets out the rules to apply to street trading activities only (London Assembly, 2008; Allinson, G et al., 2008).

A number of criticisms have been forwarded with regard to the application of this Act. For example, 'street' markets in London (legally defined as 'collections of licensed' traders within 'designated streets') face very specific challenges due to their exclusive regulation by this Act (discussed further in chapter 7). Consequently, as a large proportion of markets in inner London are LA-run 'street markets' they suffer significantly more when compared to other forms of markets. Again, the legislation does not have any application or affect on off-street or charter markets. The legislation is also accused of restricting the ability to promote, or generate a profit or surplus to reinvest into markets, which can often contribute to inflated borough administration and running costs. It is considered too protective of traders' rights and offering unclear guidance in places (i.e. on whether or not revenue generated from the markets could be used to promote and advertise them). More broadly, restricts the integration of street trading provision into a wider vision for the public realm (House of Commons, 2009; Allinson, G et al., 2008; London Assembly, 2008). Therefore, pushing local authority management towards a regulatory and enforcement path rather allowing them the flexibility to change and prevents adequate interventions as the situation demands.

Finally, the legislation examined above outline the key legal framework directly affecting Street trading, focusing mainly in England and London. There are numerous other *Acts* and regulations that regulate (but not examined here) street

trading and trader's activities. For example, traders not set up in the correct location could become guilty of obstructing the highways under highways legislation or those selling food would need to meet health and safety regulations (Allinson, G, 2008). What can be observed in the legislation governing markets is the prevailing rationale to restrict and control markets, to avoid the negative environmental externalities associated with them and to protect consumer rights. The case study of Camden (chapter 7) will examine specifically the impact of the legislative framework on practices for markets and street trading at the local level in London.

### **3. Planning Policy Context**

A factor underlining one of the key aims of this research investigation (introduced in chapter one) is the desire to understand the rationale for policy intervention on markets through PPS6. Therefore, it is necessary to explore how and why markets received interest and emerged into the planning policy arena.

Consequently, this section will first examine the policy rationale for the protection of markets, through analysis of its origins in national planning policy guidance, its key objectives and impact; and how it provides policy support for markets in PPS6. It also highlights some of the challenges markets face within a changing retail policy environment as well current local government context, in particular, it examines the changing nature of the role of local government and the emergence of markets as a local government service area.

#### **Planning policy rationale for the protection of markets**

This analysis begins by questioning the rationale for government intervention in protecting markets, this however requires both an understanding of the context within which the planning system functions and role of national planning policy. The UK planning system has been described as 'a means for 'regulating the development and use of land in the public interest' (Cullingworth & Nadin 1997:1) and designed to 'reconcile conflicting interests in land use' (PPG1: General Policy

and Principles<sup>8</sup>, 1992: 2). Politics, conflict and dispute are at the centre of land use planning because different interests rationally seek different objectives. Thus, through national planning policy central government is able to state its position on specific land-use policy themes. Hence, through planning policy it seeks to extend its influence by attempting to join-up disparate local government decision-making structures and interests and by attempting to move intervention away from the point of development (development control) to the focus on its continuous management. Therefore, PPS6's policy statement not only signifies a change in retail policy direction for central government, but also a new emphasis on the greater role of local government in its management (detailed below).

Furthermore, PPS6 (formerly PPG 6: Town Centres and Retail Developments, 1996) is one of the key central government – retail and town centre development management - land-use policy tools. It represents national (statutory) planning guidance from central to local government. It is applicable to planning bodies from regional, sub-regional to local planning levels in the preparation of e.g. 'local development documents, and may also be material to decisions on individual planning applications'. PPS6's predecessors have undergone numerous revisions since their inception and pro-actively focused on town centre well-being and importance of town centre management in its promotion (Tewdwr-Jones, 1997; Walker 1996: 174). Hence, it becomes pertinent to consider briefly the origins of PPS6 and its role as form of national planning policy guidance in England (Scotland and Wales have a range of separate national level planning guidelines and Circulars).

In Britain, since the 1940s the tradition of central government providing national planning 'advice' to local government has been a key function of the planning system. The 'original' aim of the PPG's was 'to provide concise and practical guidance on planning policies, in a clearer and more accessible form than in departmental circulars, the earlier series of development control notes and other statements (Cullingworth & Nadin, 1994: 44). The emergence of planning policy guidance on retail development – PPG 6: Major retail development (January 1988) - was the first in a new series of 24 national level planning policy guidance notes

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<sup>8</sup> Department of the Environment (DOE)

released between 1988 -1994 by central government for England and Wales. This new approach sought to communicate strategic subject areas of policy as well as consolidate other areas of central government policy (Tewdwr-Jones, 1997: 172).

For example, 'PPG13: Transport' (1994) advised local authorities to integrate land use planning and transport policies in order to reduce motorised travel and environmental impact of decentralisation of retail. Throughout their inception, many PPG's have undergone numerous revisions reflecting the changing political aspirations of the governments in power.

However, over time, they have been criticised for moving beyond their 'original remit' - to provide national 'strategic direction' - and into setting 'detailed planning control at the local level' and 'sporadic release' over the years, which is regarded as one of its key limitations. This is an issue the former (Labour) government's reform of the planning system (through the 2004 Planning and Compensation Act) attempted to tackle. More specifically, the government's own - 'Policy Evaluation of the Effectiveness of PPG 6', highlighted not only some of its successes but also ongoing weaknesses in achieving stated policy objectives (and integration with broader objectives for sustainable development, etc.) (Tewdwr-Jones 1997; ODPM, 2004).

The Policy Evaluation found that PPS 6's predecessor (PPG-6, 1996) had made notable impact in 'controlling out-of-centre retail development' and 'effective in changing attitudes to retail development' (ODPM, 2003: 92), and 'some successes in achieving objectives relating to accessibility of services by public transport, walking and cycling, and support for some central areas' (Simpson, 2006: 130). However, most of its problems relate to inconsistencies in the interpretation of PPG 6 and include, e.g.: inconsistencies in local authority decision making; lack of positive planning for town centres; increasing use as a 'development control tool'; and inadequate consideration of social exclusion and access to shopping facilities. (ODPM 2004: 80-81).

The Policy Evaluation, recommended that the revised PPG-6 should 'closely reproduce' the 'core planning policies' (ODPM, 2004: 5) but remove 'advice on good practice and implementation' to 'regional and local level' (ODPM, 2003:5). Furthermore, it should also be consistent with the Government's wider policy objectives i.e. to 'promote sustainable development' as set out in its Sustainable Development Strategy, Communities Plan, etc. Thus, nearly all PPG's (and other specific land-use themes such as housing, transport, etc) have gradually undergone revisions (over the last 10 years), as signaled by the name change to 'planning policy statements'. This is intended to reflect a new purpose for national level planning policy frameworks alongside the central government's wider Planning reform agenda (i.e. through a greater emphasis on *spatial* factors and integration of a range of social and urban policy goals) (ODPM, 2001).

In considering the origins of PPS6 and the nature of its support for markets, it becomes necessary to consider broadly, what it is trying to achieve (PPS6, 2005). PPS6 sets out the government's key policy goal for town centres through its 'focus on a range of issues relating to planning for the future of town centres and the main uses that relate to them' (PPS6, 2005: 1):

*"To promote their vitality and viability by: planning for the growth and development of existing centres; and promoting and enhancing existing centres, by focusing development in such centres and encouraging a wide range of services in a good environment, accessible to all"* (PPS6: para.1.3).

PPS6 and its underlying rationale appears to be about 'the question of the optimum location of different land-uses, hierarchies of centres, the structure of the urban form and the inter-relationship between transportation policy and town planning' and reducing car-based retail decentralisation which is seen to be undermining traditional town centres (Simpson, 2006; Schiller, 1986). However, in contrast to PPG-6 (its predecessor), PPS6 seems to place greater emphasis on local authorities to analyse the relationships between central areas and in assessing development needs and to widen the scope of policy beyond 'retailing' to other uses (i.e. markets).

Moreover, PPS6's stated objectives suggest a continued concern with urban decline and aggravation of urban problems (similarly identified in PPG-6, 1996), principally polarisation of many central areas, (especially the smaller ones) increasing problems of accessibility to services and deteriorating environmental quality. The problems and solution identified in PPS6 will nevertheless require the support of other policies outside PPS 6, in particular policies relating to the amount of travel and expenditure on transport infrastructure (Simpson, 2006). Importantly though it should be noted that recent, public policy concerns over the theme of urban decline are not new, and pre-date the emergence of PPS6 and need to be traced back to the post-war period.

In addition, one of the key planning issues PPS6 seeks to address is the need to counteract the impact of large chain stores and out-of-town developments on traditional *High* streets (shops and markets) by improving existing declining retail infrastructure and diversity within town and city centres. Arguably, implicit in policy there appears to be recognition that markets are under threat because of town centre decline and facing increasing pressures from a number of economic and social forces (discussed in chapter 5). In response, policy is advocating local authorities should invest in their markets so that they remain competitive in order to win back interest, diversity, and vitality back into *High* streets or other shopping centres (House of Commons, 2009).

Furthermore, important clues to understanding the inclusion of markets as a specific policy objective within PPS6 can be found in the policy wording itself. Firstly, PPS6's explicit positive support of markets sits in contrast to its predecessor PPG-6's more limited recognition. i.e.:

*"In exercising their planning powers, local authorities should therefore encourage diversification of uses in the town centre as a whole. Different but complimentary uses, during the day and in the evening, can reinforce each other, making town centres more attractive to local residents, shoppers and visitors. Leisure and entertainment facilities, museums and libraries, hotels and conference centres, street markets and restaurants, pubs, bars and cafes, universities and colleges all add variety" (Section 6 Planning Policy Guidance: town centres and retail developments, PPG-6, 1996).*

PPG-6's approach seems weaker because it does not disaggregate markets in its focus, and by using the term 'street markets' ignores the different variety in the forms and types of markets. The policy suggests a desire to achieve some form of optimum mix and overall 'diversity' (through a range of uses and facilities for day and nighttime and in 'easily accessible' central locations) rather than expressly seeking protection of markets – which PPS6 appears to be doing more explicitly.

PPS6's policy strength seems to lie in its very explicit and positive support for markets. Firstly, through PPS6, government recognises that markets can make three distinctive contributions: providing local choice and access to a range of goods, as well as contributing to the vitality and wider offer of town centres. Secondly, in identifying who should be responsible for protecting them - local authorities - the main recipients and implementers of PPS6 (as well other national planning policy guidance). Additionally, in terms of the role local government should play, it has suggested interventions for *markets* are better handled at the local level (even though not all markets are LA-run).

The policy wording indicates at one level how and why government is *valuing* and wishes to protect markets. For example, the inclusion of 'streets and covered markets (including farmers' markets)' (para.2.27) highlighted the recognition in the variety in the forms of markets and the need to protect all forms. The recognition of the 'contribution to local choice and diversity in shopping' suggests how markets are being valued and perceived by government, i.e. to complement the overall retail diversity of provision on offer as well as providing a local place to shop in. At a broader level, the role of markets are then linked back to PPS6's broader objectives i.e. the 'need to tackle social exclusion by ensuring access for all to a wide range of everyday goods and services' for which markets are perceived to have a potential role in contributing towards – hence the need to protect markets (ODPM 2004: 21).

However, it implies that 'all' markets have an equal and wholly positive contribution to make and creates an increased role for local authorities. This is based on two inaccurate assumptions. Firstly, that all markets are LA-run thus ignoring private

and other types of market operators. Secondly, that the management of markets are local matters and therefore local authorities have the most appropriate role in protecting them and bringing forward their positive management. In contrast, PPS6's valuation of the markets role appears to be a much narrower when compared with the broad-ranging contributions attributed to them in wider public policy agendas (discussed in chapter 5). Table 4.2 summarises the key governance tools for markets in England/Wales.

**Table 3: Key Governance Tools for Markets**

		<b>Key aims</b>	<b>Key outcome</b>
1	<b>National Planning Policy – PPS6 (statutory status)</b>	Adopted in the London Plan and Local Plans by planning authorities at local/sub-regional level.  Protects and prevents the loss of the physical land-use of the market.	Although a statutory duty, implementation is prone to a wide range of interpretations and geographical variations.
2	<b>Legislation:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Local Government (Miscellaneous Provision) Act (1982)</i></li> <li>• Food Act of 1984</li> <li>• <i>London Local Authorities Act of (1990-2007)</i></li> </ul>	Adopted by local authorities.  Focus on controlling the negative externalities of the activity of street trading and protecting 'consumer rights'.	Limited to 'street' based markets and not those in covered structures or buildings, or other forms.
3	<b>Royal Charters or Parliamentary Acts</b>	Protects market designations only - not the trading activity which legislation regulates	Prone to neglect by local authorities who control them, a wide range of geographical variations in their location and overall management exists.



#### **4. Role of Local Government Management**

Furthermore, the second part of PPS6's market policy suggests that local authorities should not only 'forward plan' for them but more implicitly allocate money and resources into their investment which will undoubtedly suggest a requirement for an interdepartmental co-ordination of resources for the achievement of policy aims. Therefore, this requires an understanding of the role and context of local government and their management practices towards markets. As a consequence of the changing retail planning policy environment – through planning policy guidance – over the last few decades local authorities have been given more responsibilities and control over retail development patterns under their jurisdiction and also a greater role in managing their outcomes. In relation to markets, it has extended this role further by instructing local authorities to recognise their space needs through a protective and management approach (PPS 6, para.2.27; Jackson & Watkins, 2005).

In addition, the changes in the wider 'regulatory' context of local government have also become complex. Local authorities not only have had to deal with a diverse range of policies, but also disparate set of stakeholders and interests. On the one hand, local authorities had to adapt to the evolution of central government policy, and accommodate them in the local development plan, developer requirements, environmental and physical site considerations, employment and local economic development objectives and traffic and transport issues. They also needed to consider the implications of urban regeneration strategies and related housing and social policy objectives (Guy, 2002 in Jackson & Watkins, 2005: 1458).

Firstly, Local government decision-making and service provision is perceived to have been affected profoundly by 'increased social complexity which is often attributed to changes taking place globally', they include: 'globalisation, economic restructuring (the move to a service-based economy), development of new forms of communication and IT, affluence, fragmentation of social life and changing lifestyle, etc'. These factors then challenge the traditional 'hierarchical, command and control forms of government' (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008: 69). This leads to the view (by the state) that society is too diverse and complex with no 'one-size-fits-

all' policy solution to social problems (i.e. tackling social exclusion). Consequently, giving rise to the rethinking of public sector cultures, structures and procedures and to the need for more 'collaborative' forms of policy delivery (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008:70; Morphet, 2008). Thus, heralding in a new environment for urban governance.

Secondly, the new style of 'governance' approach can be traced in the former Labour government's legislative reform for local government and the planning system. The fundamental changes were embodied in a number of key statutory instruments, i.e.: the Local Government Act 2000, the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004, and the Lyons Review of Public Sector Relocation (reform of public services) (Morphet, 2008). In addition, these reforms have provided the impetus for the changes reflected in the revisions to national planning guidance, such as those in PPS6. The combined impacts of these legislative reforms have particular implications for urban planning and regeneration at the local level.

For example, the new planning reforms introduce the notion of spatial planning in local and sub-regional level of government (in London), which aims to take a more integrative approach to traditional land-use planning. This means the formulation of local plans (formerly known as Unitary Development Plans – UDP's now called Local Development Frameworks (LDF's)) must now reflect the aims and objectives contained in not only national planning guidance but also those found locally, i.e. co-ordinate activities and policies with Community Strategies (ODPM 2004; Morphet 2008). Hence, achieving wider policy objectives through the development plan system (as stated in PPS-12, 2008). More specifically, in relation to markets, this means that local authorities have a statutory obligation to protect and forward plan for all markets through their new LDF documents.

The need to include a range of stakeholders in service delivery has led to (although not new) renewed attention drawn to its existing poor funding structures and its relatively limited ability to meet the new demands being placed upon it. This resulted in the rethinking of how public services should be funded which now emphasise cost effectiveness and competition and consumer choice. The collaboration between sectors has become a core part of the 'enabling' state (Carmona, Magalhaes &

Hammond, 2008; Morphet 2008). These have an impact on the management of public services and hold a number of implications for the management and delivery of markets as a local service and the range of actors responsible for it within local government. Although, the emergence of markets as a local government service area needs to be traced back to their historical underpinnings (examined earlier in this chapter).

For example, in the UK, historically, the management dimension for markets tended to be undertaken by local government along with other forms of public service provision. However, the post war years saw the growth of the welfare state, which further changed the role of local government. It became more multi-purpose, with internal specialisations, and organised for the delivery of specific areas of welfare policy, i.e.: housing, education, parks and highways management. This gave rise to a compartmentalised public service delivery approach accompanied by a lack of specific focus and understanding in the role of markets (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008: 69; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999).

Hence, the management of markets would have been carried out in a fragmented way, i.e. located functionally in different departments and with a regulatory focus on services. This fragmentation seems to be again rooted in the historical development of local governance structures in the UK. It reflected the local authority's priorities in other areas, such as ensuring pedestrian access obstruction free and meeting health and safety requirements along highways. This has given rise to the present day sporadic nature of market provision and the more *standardised* service delivery and *laissez-faire* approach. The evidence suggests that market decline is arguably linked to the fact that many local authority services have suffered from under-investment and therefore markets are generally subject to the same constraints and pressures as all other public services in local government (Carmona, Magalhaes & Hammond, 2008; Schmiechen & Carls, 1999; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972).

## Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how the space of the market has been *made, managed* and became a highly *regulated* space overtime within an ever-changing social, economic and political context within the UK. The long historical presence of markets has created a distinctive legal structure in the ownership and control of markets and mostly by local municipal regulation and management of them (Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). The markets frequent removal from its primary location - the street – serves to reduce its *publicness*, its increasing *commercialisation and* privatisation in the emerging modern public sphere away from its historic, social and economic importance (Hann 2004).

Local authority management approaches towards markets have been varied throughout the UK. The focus on regulation suggests the dominance of enforcement duties in local governance approaches for markets (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004; Kirk, Ellis & Medland, 1972). There are also problems arising from the disaggregation of responsibilities for markets, which suggests a long-overdue need for a more strategic and holistic management approach for markets in service delivery. In this respect, PPS6's policy support also represents a reactive policy response that seeks to resolve concerns over uncoordinated local practices for markets.

Significantly, market legislation appears to be designed for the regulating of the activity – of street trading – and hence less able to protect the physical land-use of the market and its designation. Therefore, lending weight to the need for planning intervention. Moreover, implicit in PPS6's support for markets are two less apparent objectives. The first is identifying a strategic role and lead for local authorities in creating a supportive environment for all markets under their jurisdiction (both local authority and non-LA-run markets).

The second objective appears to stem from central government's perception of the cause of LA-run markets' problems as lying primarily with local authority practices. Therefore, due to the local nature of the problems facing markets, central government suggests local governments are also best equipped to remedy them. The next chapter examines the nature of the challenges markets face as well further understanding of wider government public policy interest in them.

## **Chapter Five: The Challenges and Contributions of Contemporary Markets**

### **Introduction**

This chapter begins by providing analysis of the current state of the health of markets. This will include, firstly, an examination of some of the key challenges they are reported to face and the factors perceived responsible for their decline. Secondly, analysis moves to an examination of the potential roles and contributions markets are claimed to play particularly in relation to fulfilling certain public policy agendas. In doing so it will be possible to understand to some extent why markets have received growing favourable academic and policy attention and why they are in need of protecting as proposed by PPS6. Importantly, it will explore the claim that markets have been apparently 'neglected by the government' and why their 'public good potentials' are not always (and continue not to be) recognised by all policymakers, consumers and those in the retail industry.

### **1. Contemporary Challenges**

#### Day-to-day issues of trading activity

An analysis of the challenges markets face is pertinent given the bias of existing research interests which tend to over-emphasise the markets positive contributions (discussed later in this section) (e.g. Taylor, Madrick, & Collin, 2005; Watson & Studdert, 2006). Although, unanimously, they point out that many markets are in a state of decline and therefore in need of government protection. However, their focus on decline in terms of the symptoms - i.e. loss of markets and pitch demand – means they have tended to overlook some of the potential day-to-day issues and problems associated with market trading activities. Thus, an examination of these issues is required in order to gain clearer insight into the contemporary challenges markets face.

Firstly, a number of 'market' problems emerge as a natural consequence of street trading activity itself. For example, 'street traders can cause both vehicular and pedestrian congestion, and potentially restrict safety and emergency vehicle access to and from buildings' (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004:135). Second, some retailers are less likely to see the 'complementarity role' of markets but as a rival 'competing unfairly by taking some of their business away', by 'obscuring their shopfront displays' and by creating an undesirable 'ambience of the shopping environment' within towns and city centres (p.135). Third, markets generate a number of negative environmental externalities associated with 'waste disposal, litter generation, noise of generators, and smells, especially from hot food operations', which can exacerbate other local 'problems associated with crime and disorder' (p.135). For example, the market can become an outlet where 'stolen' and 'counterfeit and dangerous goods can be sold', and where the marketplace itself 'can increase opportunities for petty-crime i.e. 'street robbery and pick pocketing' (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2004:135).

Furthermore, many consumers are perceived to be deterred by the poor quality of the markets' environment when compared to other forms of fixed retailing i.e. supermarkets. For example, many markets – in particular outdoor forms -often lack basic facilities, such as clean public toilets, lighting facilities for credit card payments or trolley provisions; whilst some markets and market traders have a poor image i.e. customers fear being cheated and believe the quality of goods in markets is lower than shops and supermarkets (Ipsos MORI, 2007).

From a more broader perspective, the problems associated with the decline of markets appear to be multifaceted and distinct at a local level, whilst more generalised issues can be identified and aligned with broader national socio-economic trends and urban planning – hence not necessarily unique to markets (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Zazarda, 2009; Watson & Studdert, 2006). Thus, the effects of these socio-economic factors along with the role of planning in contributing to the perceived decline of markets will be examined further in this section.

## Major socio-economic and retail change

In general, the factors responsible for wider urban and social decline are not necessarily new. These include a range of well-known factors, such as those connected to: changes in living and working behaviour; dispersal and counter-urbanisation; increased personal mobility; a move towards service or self-service economy; new consumer lifestyles and a retailing revolution, etc. (Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; Zukin, 1998). For example, the new service sector generated new and increased employment patterns leading to major changes in the retail landscape i.e. shifts in the location of retailing; changes in the size and type of fixed shops; their external appearance and internal layout; and in the style of customer service (Evans, 1997).

From the 1950's, supermarkets grew in size and numbers and took farmers' produce into their centralised distribution networks, almost stifling the local market for produce. As farmers withdrew, traditional retail markets turned to selling general 'convenience' goods and foods from wholesale markets. Their image suffered and their popularity dwindled. Thus, the historic central role of markets being the only place to buy or sell goods with few competitors disintegrated with the modernisation of food retailing systems (Waxman, 1989).

Furthermore, in recent years, supermarkets have increasingly emulated some of the features and products, which had been the preserve of traditional retail markets i.e. such as selling loose fresh fruit and vegetables rather than pre-packaged ones that are then displayed in market like stalls within the shop floor. Moreover, the supermarkets greater spending power has meant they were increasingly able to buy in bulk long-shelf life products some of which may have also been sold in the markets and directly from the producers (Guy, 1996; House of Commons, 2009). Overtime, this has resulted in wholesale markets suffering and many market traders gradually leaving the market industry.

Linked to the newly emerging retail landscape, is the increased consumer demand, particularly in food consumption, for purchasing a diverse range of foods and goods conveniently through one weekly shopping trip in a supermarket rather than through



numerous trips to smaller local shops and markets. Furthermore, the increased ownership of fridge freezers and purchase of ready-meals, together with the willingness of the customer to travel further and fewer times due to work means that they had become more selective of the centres visited. This growing consumer preference is often held responsible for the rise of a small number of retailers – the global chain supermarkets - gaining considerable market shares in the retailing sector (Evans, 1997; Guy, 1996, Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005).

The power of the supermarkets is also perceived to have detrimental impacts on suppliers, farmers and smaller independent retailers (which include markets) and consequently the retail diversity on offer in the traditional high streets (Guy, 1996; Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2006: 1; Simms, A et al., 2002: 2). However, cause and effect in this trend is unclear and contested in the literature. An accompanying phenomenon has been the rise of the discount store, which has also increasingly become a source of competition for markets. This is in terms of the range of goods sold but also lower prices offered with the advantage of a more comfortable shopping environment.

Finally, some highlight the disadvantage market traders experience in the context of a fast changing retail sector and its inability to adapt and respond quickly to such changes. For example, market traders do not have the advantage of large block purchasing and rely upon the small/medium wholesalers whose numbers have decreased over recent years. The market trader is often a single person or someone who effectively runs an independent family business and does not appear to have all the resources to compete with the introduction of credit cards, seven-day a week trading, expansion of services offered by supermarkets, competitive pricing and changing trends in food shopping. All these issues have inevitably affected the market trading as a viable profession and hence fewer people are attracted to take up market trading as a full time living (House of Commons, 2009; Ipsos MORI, 2007).

For many markets, retail consolidation (growth and dominance of a small number of chains) translate into rising operational costs, declining occupancy, reduced viability and typically resulting in their under-occupation and requirement for financial

subsidy. Markets – particularly traditional LA-run ones - have appeared unable to respond quickly to these new retail trends in the way supermarkets have (Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; House of Commons, 2009). The following table summarises some of the main problems markets experience in the UK.

**Table 4: Summary of the Main Market Problems**

<p>(identified through a series of interviews with street traders and market managers) (Cross River Partnership, 2007):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Declining footfall (in terms of the number of shoppers and visitors);</i></li><li>2. <i>Lower sales/takings;</i></li><li>3. <i>Competition from supermarkets and high street chains, especially Sunday trading;</i></li><li>4. <i>Lower profit margins due to high costs and pressure on prices;</i></li><li>5. <i>Low-level street crime and harassment of potential customers;</i></li><li>6. <i>High pitch rates;</i></li><li>7. <i>Parking difficulties for shoppers and traders;</i></li><li>8. <i>Lack of marketing and promotion of the market to customers and new traders;</i></li><li>9. <i>Lack of awareness about market opening hours;</i></li><li>10. <i>Lack of investment in markets generally (e.g. existing - poor/old infrastructure; lack of electricity; poor street cleaning and recycling; deteriorated and unattractive stalls and associated equipment; and</i></li><li>11. <i>Overall reduction in the amount of money being spent.</i></li></ol>
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Thus, because of these major retailing and socio-economic changes many markets gradually began to lose their appeal, as they did not seem to be able to compete or be able to keep up with the pace of change. One effect has been the increasing perceptions of (specifically traditional) retail markets as low value marginal and mundane - declining retail - space. For example, (as discussed above) as a form of retail they were now confined to being either old-fashioned or niche speciality and a lower order retailing form increasingly socially unpopular because of consumer preferences particularly for supermarket shopping. Hence, the nature of the market's decline as captured through these processes of change mark its reduction in social and economic value over time.

This social devaluing can also be traced into the way central and local government's policies and practices have viewed and dealt with them. Many reports have

highlighted the lack of policy and strategic thinking for markets at a national level in contributing to the problems they face and their failure to recognise their value (e.g. Watson & Studdert 2006; London Assembly, 2008). For example, the survival of markets is perceived to be hindered by the fragmented nature of national, regional and local responsibilities. This means that, to date, there has been no overarching holistic national approach to markets. Hence, different central government (and local government) departments value markets according to their differing departmental agendas and therefore differently promote or seek specific benefits from them.

Specific challenges facing local authority run (LA-run) markets

#### *Market marginalisation*

Some argue (e.g. Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005) that the town and country planning legislation (since 1947), appears to have offered very little protection of markets. There appears to have been almost no planning policy recognition for markets specifically until the arrival of PPS6. For instance, policies for retail and town centre development often focused on encouraging and concentrating retail development whilst failing to provide meaningful policies for the protection of markets in these locations.

For example, 'town centres first' ideals brought new and increased development pressures on medium and large sites often occupied by markets. In particular, because these sites were also the only suitable large sites able to accommodate new developments, such as those demanded by shopping centres or large department stores and their accompanying car parks. Therefore, when compared to other market operators from other sectors, local authority policies are perceived to take a more short-term view of their markets, e.g. by overlooking their potential social, economic and environmental contributions in formal promotional strategies for town centres or city development. (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005; London Assembly, 2008).

Additionally, where the strategic goal was to improve the economic potential of the retailing and town centre environment, it meant allowing market sites to be developed for apparently more profitable modes of redevelopment. This often meant moving markets from their primary locations to more peripheral, marginal town centre locations away from the main foray of shopper activities and away from public transport systems. Thus, this action of exchanging the 'low value' market for glossier modern - high value - retail development, heightens the marginality markets already face (e.g. low demand, low yield, and declining customer base). More broadly, this also reflects regeneration planning's (traditional) focus on large booster or iconic projects (with a predominant economic agenda) and inability to engage with the low profile and marginal spaces of the city especially within the context of a globalised economy (Fainstein, 1999; Greed, 1996; House of Commons, 2009; Zukin 1995).

This is arguably further hindered by planning policies (dictated by national planning guidance) that had been preoccupied with the hierarchies of centres and classification of retail functions i.e. core and secondary frontages, etc. which have often labelled markets, as a speciality retail or peripheral retail form. Moreover, there seemed to be very little understanding in planning practices about the competition and complementarity between shops, supermarkets and markets, and the contribution that of differing market types and forms in creating vitality (economic) diversity (social) in places (town centres and neighbourhoods). These aspects will be investigated further in chapter 7.

There is also evidence of similar approaches even where regeneration of a market and its surrounding area is being undertaken (by the local authority) with a predominantly social agenda - in the interest of local community needs. In practice, markets considered under a package of regeneration initiatives also end up focused on improving the local economy and/or public (physical) realm. Consequently, these policies seem to focus more on creating commercial and aesthetic value in terms of both attracting desirable property or business investment or financial returns (i.e. rental income) from stall holdings and related activities (as discussed above). This will often mean reinventing the market from a traditional to a more specialist type of market (.e.g. Spitalfields Market, London). At times, this appears to be done with very little consideration for the communities they serve and the value they may have

for their neighbouring residents, users and stallholders (Harriss 2002; Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005).

The frequent failure to recognise the public good value or potential – particularly of traditional retail markets - arguably reflects a systemic and cultural perception of them locally as being relatively defunct urban spaces. To some extent, the roots of this can be traced back to their historic development as a public service area and to the way, they were made, managed, and regulated overtime (explained in Chapter 4). Consequently, they appear to be the market type that suffers most from being a low strategic priority service area for their local authority operators and thus tend to be regarded burdensome because they could not be operated for profit generation. This has often meant that local authority councils have tended to finance services of a higher priority to them, e.g. housing, social services and education whilst neglecting allocation of expenditure for the improvements and maintenance of markets (Watson & Studdert, 2006; Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007).

Arguably, in many councils, at a strategic and political level, support for markets appears to be inconsistent and piecemeal (House of Commons, 2009). Local authorities are frequently the market proprietors and are responsible for managing a substantial proportion of outdoor markets and nearly all indoor markets, as well as all decisions relating to their redevelopment; planning, parking, environmental health and trading standards. Therefore, a lack of strategic support for markets - especially if they were underperforming - is likely to hold negative implications for the health and survival of markets (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes, 2005; House of Commons, 2009).

For example, some local authority councils may deliberately pursue a strategy of disrepair in order to secure funds and to justify its redevelopment (e.g. The Castle Market, Sheffield). In others, local authorities are either unwilling or unable to afford large structural repairs apart from minor essential ones (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes, 2005). For instance, many market halls and covered markets (some over 100 years old) and purpose-built indoor markets from the 60's and 70's are naturally overdue renovation but not prioritised (e.g. Elephant & Castle shopping centre). Hence, today, many *traditional* local authority market facilities remain dated and

show signs of disrepair compared to the new modern shopping facilities and specialist private markets that they compete with which can afford regular refits, thus detracting from their appeal and viability (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2005).

Conversely, there are many exceptions to be found, of local authority practices actively supporting and developing their markets (e.g. Manchester, Liverpool and Bradford). In particular, they are more likely to favour and support specialist types of market developments i.e. arts and crafts markets over traditional markets (e.g. Greenwich Market, London). Thus, whilst the number of traditional markets has remained relatively constant over the last 5 years, the fastest growing segment of the markets sector has been specialist types, i.e. farmers' and other specialist food markets (Jones, Hillier & Comfort, 2007; Zsarda, 2009).

This trend is believed to stem from a particular valuation of specific types of markets by local authorities. On the one hand, sits the popular perception of traditional market types as being 'mundane', noisy, polluting and contributing to both pedestrian and vehicular congestion, whilst the specialist types are considered more modern and are likely to bring in higher business rates and increased revenues. Hence, overall, most private sector developers tend not to value markets highly, e.g. they perceive them as 'low yield' economies and therefore believe that returns on capital investment are better maximised elsewhere, and assume there will be difficulties in managing a significant number of independent traders together (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes, 2005; House of Commons, 2009). Recent practice indicates, that increasingly private developers are increasingly recognising the benefits of incorporating a retail market as an additional component, i.e. to act as a retail anchor in their commercial development and as a footfall generator (e.g. Swiss Cottage Market, London) (Ipsos MORI, 2007; MCA Regeneration Ltd, 2005).

Thus, market survival, for declining markets has often meant their regeneration and/or specialisation i.e. arts, crafts, specialist food, and 'festival' markets. Hence, the nature of decline appears to be happening at differing scales amongst differing types of markets, across differing geographies - hence, not all markets can make the same contributions. The popularity of such 'cultural' markets, whilst not

desirable for all markets (within and out-side the public sector), show that markets are not all in a state of decline and that they can support and revive local economies, create economic spin-offs, and add a cultural dimension to their surroundings (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes 2005; House of Commons, 2009; Zasarda, 2009).

The existing evidence suggests a complex pattern of change in the status of markets across the country. Furthermore, there are several challenges in examining the extent and causes of decline in markets today. There seems to be a lack of comprehensive national level 'primary' research data available; disagreements over how decline should be measured and what indicators should be used (e.g. pitch use or sales data, etc.). This problem stems from a historic lack of research interest into the market sector by academics and policy makers that seems to have reinforced their marginalisation experienced in academic and policy discourses.

This also relates to the fact that no two markets are identical, and a range of social, economic, and demographic factors influence the nature of the market. The location and physical constraints of the site determine the scale and configuration of the operation. Political support or opposition from various groups combine with other considerations in an endless combination of variables to determine the unique nature of each market. Thus, there appears to be a gap between anecdotal evidence and quantitative analyses, which need to be addressed in future, research to ensure a more robust picture of the full extent of the perceived decline (House of Commons, 2009).

## **2. Contemporary Roles and Contributions of Markets**

The government in PPS6 identifies only three – retail specific - contributions for markets, i.e. contribution to local choice, diversity and to the vitality of town centres. This relatively limited conception sits in contrast to the numerous claims of their potential roles (benefits) and contributions to public policy agendas made by recent research and policymakers. For instance, it highlights the role of markets in

enhancing public spaces, providing opportunities for recreation, leisure, consumption, social inclusion, and cohesion and mental health well-being, etc. (Dines, N et al., 2006). However, whether or not markets can actually deliver and fulfill these policy goals are very rarely investigated fully and to date remain a relatively open question. The following section will examine, some of the key claims made about the contribution of markets. These are outlined below broadly through their three key dimensions - social, economic and environmental.

### Social (Public Welfare) Roles

- *Improve food access and reduce health inequalities*

Markets often find support in policy agendas attempting to tackle health and social inequalities. A range of national, sub-regional and local level initiatives (five-a-day initiatives) and policies have increasingly begun to link markets directly with improving food access sufficient for healthy living and in contributing to sustainable communities (e.g. Social Exclusion Unit, 2001; London Plan, 2009:107; The London Food Strategy, 2006). A Cabinet Office (2008) report states that street markets in particular can provide access to affordable, good-quality food including fresh fruit and vegetables for those on low incomes. This further reinforces the view that traditional markets - once responsible for selling mainly fresh affordable food in poor neighbourhoods – now in decline are leaving a void (i.e. a food desert) in provisioning such groups (Lang, 1995).

- *Benefiting the excluded consumer*

A number of academic studies (e.g. Williams and Windebank 2000; 2001; Williams and Paddock 2003) examine social exclusion in relation to the notion of the 'excluded consumer'. These studies find within the 'coping strategies' of deprived households a higher reliance on 'informal modes of goods acquisition' such as the use of markets and car boot sales for the purchase of essential household goods (Williams and Windebank 2001: 509). The research suggests that markets can provide an important channel for acquiring goods cheaply, old and new for a variety of income groups; but critically for low-income groups. Thus, giving credence to PPS6's suggestion that markets provide 'local choice and diversity' (PPS6, 2005).



Furthermore, this research raises questions about what can be done to aid the excluded consumer and whether improving alternative and informal retail channels (including markets amongst others) should be considered in existing public policy agendas and not just formal retailing that is the usual beneficiary of town centre and retail planning policies. Although it is noted that the notion of 'food deserts' and 'excluded consumer' can both be tackled by recognizing the deficiencies in the availability of choice in certain forms of retail in lower income urban neighbourhoods (Rampton, 2002; Lang, 1995).

- *Benefiting the older consumer*

Another group often under-represented or excluded in research literature around consumption practices is the older consumer. One key study (Szmigin, Maddock & Carrigan, 2003) suggests that traditional markets and particularly farmer's markets are more user-friendly for the older consumer due to a number of personal preferences and perceived constraints. Firstly, they assert that the older consumer is much more community-orientated and not always served well by the supermarkets. For instance, the rewards points system and buy one get one free offers are of very little use and the sheer size of the supermarket can be physically daunting and alienating for the older consumer. On the other hand, traditional forms of retailing such as small shops and markets appear to offer a friendlier and closer personal contact and provide a greater sense of community than supermarkets do.

Thus whilst farmers' markets or markets generally are spatially located in physical place, the symbolic value - the sense of community - that is created is about identification with a particular alternative consumption pattern. In the case of the farmers' markets it is perceived to be about a reaction against 'the hegemony of the supermarket' and support for 'local producers' (Szmigin, Maddock, & Carrigan, 2003)

- *An affordable alternative to supermarkets*

One leading report by the New Economics Foundation (NEF) (Taylor, Madrick, & Collin, 2005) claimed that markets not only have the 'combined affect of conveying diversity and vibrancy but also provide value for money'. The research findings highlight that, compared to a local supermarket, street markets were substantially cheaper (40%) - when comparing like for like shopping basket items (2005:45).

Furthermore, the NEF report provides a comparison of the reasons behind shopping at street and farmers' markets although finding relatively different reasons for shopping at each. For example, the main reason cited for shopping at both the Ealing Farmers' Market and the Marylebone Farmers' Market was the quality of the produce in terms of "freshness" followed secondly by the desire to 'support local farmers' (Taylor, Madrick, & Collin, 2005: 42). In contrast, 'price' features as the most popular reason for shopping at street markets in Lewisham and Walthamstow. This study claims that markets provide a source of affordable and good quality healthy food particularly for those on low incomes and thus potentially providing policy solutions in social exclusion policy agendas.

- *Markets as sites for sociality*

A number of recent research studies ( e.g. Taylor, Madrick, & Collin, 2005; Dines, N et al., 2006; Watson & Studdert, 2006) look beyond the retail and consumption functions and emphasise their significant social and cultural contributions. One of the most comprehensive research reports to date by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) (Watson & Studdert 2006) specifically explored the importance of markets as social – public - spaces in towns and cities across the UK. The report confirmed that nearly all markets (types and forms) showed the signs of being a 'social space' and important sites for social interaction for all groups in the community, especially for older people and women. In addition, the space of the market provided a space for social inclusivity by providing a place to linger for all groups in a community and to build a sense of local identity. The report provided further evidence of how markets could potentially play a greater role than at present in wider policy agendas tackling social exclusion, healthy eating and community development and regeneration.

Furthermore, a number of these studies have found that 'both street and farmers' markets' have responded to the diversity of their customer's (particularly migrant communities) food needs by offering a range of indigenous and ethnic fruit and vegetables. In doing so they have provided an invaluable introduction and meeting-place into an area and community for new migrants (Taylor, Madrick & Collin, 2005; Choudhury 2009). This can also contribute to the way certain public spaces can acquire a specific ethnically based place identity, e.g. Queens Market and Whitechapel Market, London. Such spaces are important in 'promoting place identities', 'supporting ethnic-based networks' and 'economic opportunities' (Dines, N et al. 2006; Watson & Studdert 2006).

#### Economic role

A number of reports highlight an economic role for markets in terms of its employment function, i.e.: reduce unemployment by creating an easily accessible means for self-employment, provide low set up costs for new business start-ups; and provide an outlet for craftsmen and handymen or small scale manufacturers to sell and pilot their products. In addition, specialist markets in particular can not only offer local level job opportunities, and bring local economic spin-offs, but also, i.e.: help enhance the vitality and viability of town centers and attract tourists and visitors into an area (Lang and Raven, 1995; Hartwell, A et al., 2004; Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004; Taylor, Madrick & Collin, 2005).

- *Business start-up opportunities*

In terms of creating opportunities for new business start-ups, NEF found in Queens Market, (Oram, Conisbee & Simms, 2003) that it actively supported a large number of black and minority ethnic (BME) entrepreneurs who face particular barriers when starting businesses. Markets also serve as an invaluable entry point into employment and business in the area for new migrants (Taylor, Madrick & Collin, 2005). Thus, markets have the potential to fulfill a number of national and sub-regional level policy functions around helping to strengthen business skills, support

and training and competitiveness amongst working age group adults and small-scale business entrepreneurs.

**Table 5: Key Economic Contributions of the UK Markets Sector**

	markets sector
<b>Number of markets</b>	2,079
<b>Number of businesses supported</b>	45,700
<b>Number of people employed</b>	96,000
<b>Business turnover p.a.</b>	£3.5 Billion

NB: Data adapted from Retail Markets Alliance figures (in Zasarda, 2009: 21)

- *Complementarity retail role*

NEF asserts that all successful markets can bring benefits to both the local economy and community in terms of money being spent on markets and even non-markets days for other retail and public facilities in the town/city center. For instance, NEF (Taylor, Madrick & Collin, 2005:20) found that customers spent an average of £10 at the market with 56% of the 'market' customers also shopping elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Although, retaining quality High Street chains and department stores within town centres are still seen as a tried and tested measure of ensuring the overall vitality and viability of a centre (Guy, 2006). These features were perceived to help build an area's profile as a shopping and even visitor destination. This complementarity role is recognised and valued in PPS6's support for markets.

- *Diversity of town centres and cultural producers*

Furthermore, Evans (1997) states that despite the emergence of an increasingly globalised retail economy and increased privatisation of public spaces in town/city centers, markets maintain a historical presence. He suggests, in particular that outdoor market forms are still an important public and communal place and can provide a focal point in town/city centres (1997: 12). In addition, market traders act as 'informal producers of soft spaces', i.e. this also includes street-side buskers and artists, and others involved in performances and festival type events. The presence of such soft spaces helps animate them and contribute to the distinctiveness of places and create local identity, even though these producers are itinerant and have

a relatively transitory impact of transforming spaces especially during the day (1997: 104). These roles (diversity and complementarity) are to some extent recognised in recent policy. For instance, the London Plan recently identifies a more specialist role performed by some 'Strategic' markets such as 'Portobello Road, Borough, and Columbia Road, which are regarded as significant attractions for Londoners and visitors' (2009: 107).

- *Independent retailing*

A further beneficial feature of markets arises from its status as a relatively independent retail form. The markets tendency to be made up of locally owned, independent businesses (largely self-employed) traders are considered to contribute to the local distinctiveness and shopping experience offered by markets (Hallsworth, Cathy & Rhodes, 2005). Some have symbolically linked markets with a resistance movement concerned with eradicating the 'Clone Town' affect phenomenon. Debatably, this is perceived to arise from large global franchises and chains dominating the retail offer of many High Streets in the UK at the expense of independent outlets and erosion of local distinctiveness (Simms, Kjell & Potts, 2006: 1; Simms, A et al., 2002: 2; Friends of the Earth, 2006). In order to counter these affects they call for greater consumer and policy support for local independent shops and markets (Simms, A et al., 2002; Oram, Conisbee & Simms, 2003). Again, the support for markets in PPS6 seems to be responding to this concern, which has gained considerable wider political support.

#### Environmental Benefits

Following on from the clone town theme, some argue there are significant environmental benefits to be derived from purchasing food from markets and equivalent independent outlets. They suggest that markets alongside local shops are more likely to provide local food without 'food miles' and to be more energy efficient than huge superstores, Thus, relative environmental friendliness of markets has impact on food miles consumption and environmental footprint (even though they acknowledge they cannot be completely ameliorated).

Furthermore, these benefits are also perceived to have the combined effect of contributing to the local economy as well as sustainability. For example, the location of markets often within walking distance of a central location in town centres where public transport links are likely to be well connected reduces the need to use the car and therefore contributes to sustainability. However, these benefits can be more readily attributed to farmers' markets rather than all markets where there is the likelihood of food being sourced locally and increased food quality and choice (Szmigin, Maddock, & Carrigan, 2003; Taylor, Madrick & Collin, 2005; Friends of the Earth, 2002).

## **Conclusion**

Markets are declining or under threat due to a number of factors. Arguably, it is the negative perceptions of street trading activity rather than markets per se that have in large part contributed to their public devaluation and decline. In addition, the existing evidence suggests that a combination of the market's distinct characteristics and wider retailing (i.e. decline in local and daily shopping) and socio-economic changes - not necessarily new – have increasingly meant their trade and customer base declining. Thus, markets, unable to keep up with the pace of change, lost their appeal and social value. This social devaluing is reflected in the ways central and local government policies and practices have viewed and dealt with them. Overall, this had meant a failure to recognise their public good value at local government level. Although, recently, central government in response to such concerns has begun providing a strategic lead for local government market practices in addition to the obligations set out in PPS6 (e.g. DCLG, 2010). However, what remains to be seen is how these responsibilities are put into practice.

The problems associated with the decline and social marginalisation of markets suggests on the one hand misunderstandings of their roles and contributions and on the other their (in)ability to be fulfilled. Firstly, this highlights the importance of defining markets correctly by policymakers to avoid confusion over their roles in differing public policy contexts. For instance, recognising that not all markets can provide the same economic or social value, i.e. specialist markets differ from non-specialist markets, outdoor from indoor forms, public from private markets, etc. In

this context, most of the challenges are acute for markets operated by local authorities and not necessarily privately run markets (House of Commons, 2009; Zaslada, 2009). Secondly, the most important and under-stated, is the social role traditional – food orientated - market types can play in people's everyday lives. In particular, because of these markets' economic marginality, they can also play a critical role for marginal social groups, i.e. by providing food cheaply (e.g. the traditional outdoor Birmingham Bullring market). Additionally, the importance of the social role seems to provide an explanation for the question of why markets continue to survive despite the growth of supermarkets. Thus, this analysis has suggested that in part the reason why markets are perceived to be declining are closely linked to their attributed roles not being fully realised in public sector practice.

More specifically, for this research, it raises the question of how planning should respond to this need. As a starting point, it suggests that planning needs to broaden its conceptual and normative focus - markets as retail - (as conceived in PPS6), to a conception that gives due recognition to its social functioning (as identified here and in the 'theoretical' conceptualisation of markets in Chapter 3). The theme of appropriate conceptualisations in policy responses for markets will be carried forward in the following case study analysis of Camden's markets. In addition, it will explore further the extent to which existing local authority perceptions (values), policies (planning) and practices (management) for their markets contribute to their reported decline and marginalisation, and the effects of this on them.

## **Chapter 6: Research Methodology**

### **Introduction**

One of the key aims of this research is to explore the role and effects of planning policy and management approaches in supporting markets – through a survey of London boroughs and a single local authority case study – Camden. This corresponds with one of the key viewpoints that emerged from the conceptual framework, which asserted that markets are declining, and particularly because of neglect by local planning and management (discussed in chapter 4). In response to this concern, in 2005, the government assigned planning - through PPS6 - the role to offer them protection.

To date research evaluation of the policy's effect remains unexamined, i.e. in terms of understanding to what extent, this policy is being adopted and implemented and changing the planning and management approach towards them at local level. It was felt that an understanding of way policy was being adopted would help gain an understanding more generally of how local authorities were prioritising and valuing them. Therefore, the empirical investigation broadly sought to examine whether or not there was a gap between what is proposed in policy and what is put into practice. A lack of existing research on these issues prompted a requirement to take two investigative approaches.

The first approach is a survey of all 33 London borough's through documentary analysis providing an overview of the extent to which PPS6 guidance - a statutory obligation - is being implemented (where/how) in local development plans and other official documents. Its primary focus is on the policy stance adopted in local development plan policy statements to determine the nature of official support offered to markets and potentially an indication of the importance attributed (or value attached) to them by local planning authorities.



The second approach, using mixed methods, evaluates through a detailed case study evidence of a single London local authority - the London Borough of Camden – its' planning policies and management practices towards markets. It is specifically interested in the perceptions of the market (how markets are valued) the relationship and interaction between planning policies and actual 'day-to-day' local government management practice around markets and market trading. It will also examine attitudinal issues by comparing official policy with actual practice. Therefore, the methodology detailed below relates primarily to the empirical research from the survey of London boroughs (Part 1) and Camden case study (Part 2). Ultimately, evidence from both approaches would help fill a contemporary conceptual gap in our understanding of markets.

The mixed methodology utilised both qualitative and some quantitative data evidence from both primary and secondary data sources. It employed largely qualitative techniques, i.e. observations, semi-structured interviews (of key informants - policymakers, market trade managers, etc), and textual analysis (content and documentary analysis) to produce empirical evidence. This approach was considered appropriate given that no single method would be sufficient to investigate the key aim of the empirical research. This also helped counter any weaknesses relating to any one specific method but simultaneously sought to benefit from any advantages from its use at the same time (Walsh, 2001). Each method utilised is explained further below in Table 6.

**Table 6: Summary of Key Methods Used**

An internet search based survey
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documentary and content analysis using search engines of 33 London borough <i>home</i> web pages in order to quantify and describe the key planning and policy/strategy document approaches to markets in the 33 London boroughs.</li> </ul>
Telephone questionnaire survey
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• informal enquiry of all 33 London Boroughs to gather key statistics/facts on markets through a number of open questions</li> </ul>
Key informant interviews
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• informal and semi-structured and undertaken with key local authority officers and other stakeholders in Camden: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ 2 Senior market officers (SMO1; SMO2);</li> <li>○ Market service manager (MSM);</li> <li>○ Senior planning policy officer (SPO);</li> <li>○ Senior regeneration planning officer (SRO);</li> <li>○ 2 locally elected councilors (2 different political parties – EM1; EM2); and</li> <li>○ manager of private market operator in Camden Town (PMO)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
NB: the code at the end of each interviewee - e.g. SMO1 – refers to their anonymisation, further details are provided in Appendix 1. An interview schedule for the key informant interviews is provided in Appendix 2.

## 1. Survey of London Boroughs

The survey of London was chosen for study in part because the literature review suggested that it contained a typical cross-section of market types within boroughs that can be found across the country. In addition, the predefined government's administrative boundary for London seemed to provide a relatively convenient, and accessible (and more meaningful) geographical – sub-regional – level of analysis than if the focus was on a selection of local authority case studies across the UK. Hence, the survey of London boroughs included the use of two different methods: a desk-based internet survey and a number of short telephone interviews with 'street' or 'markets officials'.

Therefore, the survey of each London borough was undertaken in 2010 through a series of internet-based searches of web-based official documents and telephone (impromptu) calls to each relevant Local Authority departments that managed markets e.g., 'street trading' or 'markets office' teams. The key contacts were usually identified through information gathered on council internet websites or by phoning their switchboards directly. The, key advantage of the internet and telephone survey was that it helped to deliver relatively easily key qualitative (descriptive) data and where needed fill in gaps in data and knowledge. Some of the survey data also provided contextual background for the Camden case study.

a. A desk-based internet survey

The desk-based internet survey of the London boroughs used internet search engines to locate local authority websites. This was relatively straightforward given that it is common practice that all UK local authorities have an official 'council' run website. It was also reasonable to assume that it was common statutory practice for most councils (as part of their local service delivery) to have their key documents (that were officially endorsed by the council) to be easily available for general public access and scrutiny on their website. A preliminary internet search observation revealed that from within the councils' relevant 'planning' and 'street trading' internet pages it was possible to identify relevant strategies and policy documents for markets. These were mainly found in the *Local Development Plans* either the *Unitary Development Plans* (UDP) and/or the Local Development Framework (LDF) documents and other supplementary documents i.e. Market or Town Centre Strategies, etc.

In particular, the *Local Development Plans* were chosen because they were a reliable source of data and all local authorities had a statutory requirement to produce one and to make it fully available to the public as soon as the council officially adopted it. Furthermore, it would have a statutory duty to fully take into account any national government planning policy guidance/statements/circulars when compiling their *Plans* in order to be successfully adopted (PPS-12, 2008). Hence, PPS6's policy directions on markets (in 2005) would most likely to have been considered in nearly all boroughs' *Local Plans* across London (also because all boroughs contained one or more markets under their jurisdiction).

In addition, under the former governments reform of the *Planning system (discussed in Chapter 4)*, Local development framework LDF) documents were introduced to replace the existing Unitary Development Plans (UDP). Consequently, many local authorities in England were now within a transitional period moving from one type of development plan to another. Hence, some local authorities occasionally had two local planning documents operating simultaneously (with differing legal weight), and therefore an exploration, of one or both key documents (where applicable) were necessary to examine the key planning policy approaches for markets in local authorities.

#### b. Content analysis of web-based survey of key council documents

Once, key documents were identified from the internet search, a form of content analysis of the documents was deployed to extract the key trends in policy themes of interest to the research for this stage. The technique was used here to make inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within the text (i.e. policy wording). This involved a conscious and sometimes subconscious process of interpretation and weighing up. This method of analysis was considered particularly suitable for the research theme because it allowed the researcher to interrogate (i.e. sieve through) a large amount of material before narrowing focus, to provide an overview of the policy trends. Its strength lies in the fact that it uses materials 'naturally occurring' in the public domain – internet websites for local councils - and then from what is available, constructs an interpretation of text by focusing on its frequencies and descriptions. A pre-defined *coding frame* was tailor-made so that text could be quantified to produce a descriptive qualitative overview of the policy environment for markets in London. The research also acknowledges the limitations of the use of a content analysis approach, the main one being the 'inaccuracies of interpretation' and oversimplification of complex phenomenon (Bauer, 2001).

### c. The coding framework for content analysis

For example, the content analysis sought to provide a broad overview of how and to what extent PPS6's policy support for market is infiltrating locally into official planning policy making towards council-run markets in particular in London. This meant finding out in what ways markets were being *valued* within the official policy discourse for markets, through a set of key questions, which served as a coding framework in which to analyse each Local authority's policy stance or approach towards markets:

#### Key objectives of the coding frame:

1. To see whether or not there was a planning policy for markets and in what type of document this was located, i.e. the UDP or LDF documents;
2. To consider whether or not there were *other* policy documents i.e. Area Action Plans, Town Centre strategies, Market strategies – the presence of such documents would be assumed to be evidence of wider support for markets;
3. Where there was a policy document available covering markets, to evaluate the policy language, e.g. in terms of whether or not it was explicitly *supportive*:
  - examine whether it was a *general* or *specific* policy,
    - a specific policy would signify more prioritisation of markets and
    - a general policy would not disaggregate markets from broader themes e.g. for town centre and retail development approaches and therefore would indicate less prioritisation in land-use planning policy;
  - examine how the wording articulated the *role* and *contributions* of markets,
  - whether or not policy was *development control* focused
  - Whether or not it advocated *positive* approach for their protection, promotion or investment as prescribed in PPS6.

#### d. Telephone survey

In addition to the internet survey, a small supplementary informal telephone survey of each local authority was undertaken to gain an overview of other council-wide strategies or initiatives supporting markets. Its prime purpose was to gather a fuller picture by cross-referencing the nature of the written policy support found against other forms of practical support found within wider council initiatives/activities (not set out on the internet). The literature review had indicated that local authorities do not offer adequate support to their markets; therefore, it became important to see to what extent this was true. Therefore, if there was practical support, to outline the nature of that support, e.g. this could potentially be in the form of providing free parking for users on market days. This method was also used to corroborate information in instances, where (two local authorities) no documentation was evident on the websites, hence these local authorities were asked directly why this was the case through telephone conversations with either or both the planning or market trading service team officers.

## **2. Case Study of the London Borough of Camden**

The case study of Camden had specific objectives, which were in part exploratory, in part explanatory and in part evaluative and are as follows:

- To examine the nature of planning policy support for markets and its interaction with other aspects of decision-making structures for the management of markets within the council and outside
- To find out what local authority structures exist for the management of markets in terms of:
  - What are the forms of regulation/legislations/policies controlling/governing market-trading activity?
  - How are the responsibility and co-ordination of market functions organised?
  - What are the key issues affecting markets?
  - What relationships and interactions exist with non-LA-run markets in the borough
- To identify what the officially adopted attitudes towards markets are

- To find out the nature of the relationship between officially adopted policy and the implementation of policy (i.e. planning policy and other policies)
- To evaluate the local authority policies and practices that exists for the planning and management of markets.

Camden was specifically chosen because it represented a snapshot of a London local authority's practice around markets. It also contained a range of market types and ownerships (both private and borough-run markets) with some reportedly relatively successful and popular ones, i.e. in Camden Town Centre ,as well as the lesser known i.e. Chalton St Market. The research although focused on LA-run markets also wanted to explore to what extent Camden as a local authority interacted with other markets operators within the borough (such as private sector markets operating in the borough). Thus, in focusing research attention primarily on LA-run market practices in one borough the research recognises its key limitations, i.e. that it may be very area-specific and prevent generalisations across the country and to markets in other sectors.

The case study approach is ideally suited for this research theme, which appeared to be under researched. The use of a single case study provided a critical case in order to 'spotlight' real issues in one local authority's policies and practices around markets. The flexibility of a case study approach helped produce detailed and in-depth data evidence of the relationships, processes and practices at local level, i.e. a consideration of the multiple perspectives from a diverse number of relevant stakeholders/interviewees and the interaction between them within the given case. It enabled a method of triangulating differing data types and allowed a qualitative and in-depth exploration whilst helping to counter weaknesses relating to any one specific method (Ritchie & Lewis, 2004; Walsh, 2001).

For example, as part of the London survey, Camden's planning policies were also examined to find out to what extent policy support for market was infiltrating into the fabric of planning policymaking. That analysis was triangulated with the

documentary and interview data in the case study, e.g. to see if there was a gap between what is *proposed* in the planning policy documents and what is put into practice in local authority practices/management for markets.

### Key informant interviews

One of the key methods used to explore the key objectives (as listed above) for the Camden case study was with key informant interviews. The informants were identified through a process of snowballing from contact with one key person in the council working in the markets service team. The interview questions comprised a number of semi-structured and unstructured questions and were relatively informal in style due to the exploratory nature of some aspects of the investigation, and in many instances, re-questioning was required to clarify points over the phone or e-mail.

The key informant interview technique provided a largely qualitative yet subjective account of actual everyday management practices, policies, and processes in relation to markets at local authority level. The literature review, for instance, identified the absence of knowledge in relation to 'every day' practices for markets. This method would not only fill gaps in knowledge in the secondary data published documents but would also produce primary 'raw' data (first hand knowledge) that could be triangulated with each other (refer to Appendix 1 and 2 for interview participants and schedule).



### **3. Researcher Bias**

Finally, whilst every effort was made to reduce researcher bias in this research project, the author will nevertheless accept that it may not be completely eradicated given the authors position as a local authority-planning officer. However, whilst the research outlined above provided clear justifications for each approach, the authors own background (also gender, age, education, occupation, etc) will undoubtedly have affected the broader rationale for this research i.e. choice of research topic for investigation, methods used, etc.

For example, researcher subjectivity (professional background) may have inevitably entered into the analysis of qualitative data, i.e. the interpretation of the key informant interview data or documentary and content analysis relied heavily on personal judgements. However, the author also acknowledges that the research benefited from this positionality – in terms of insider knowledge - as it enabled better access to people and resources, particularly in relation to the case study setting.

# Chapter 7: Empirical Research Findings

## Introduction

The findings of the London study will be presented broadly in two parts. The first part - Part 1 - of this section, presents the key findings of a short survey of how London boroughs (including Camden) have treated markets specifically in their planning documents. It is also interested in the way they may have demonstrated their support for markets in other strategies and practical initiatives. Additionally, key aspects of Camden's approach will also be singled out for attention which will provide the contextual basis for the case study analysis.

Part 2 analyses case study evidence for Camden and discussed in detail the background context of Camden's markets and provides an evaluation of the planning and management (operational/administration) approaches for markets in Camden. Therefore, the proceeding chapter will present the primary data analysis findings through the following order:

### **PART 1: London survey analysis**

- A. How London Boroughs provide support for their markets
- B. How Camden provides support for its markets

### **PART 2: Case study analysis**

- A. Background context of Camden's markets
- B. An evaluation of the planning and management approaches of markets in Camden

## Part 1: London Survey Analysis

### A. How London boroughs provide support for their markets

This survey analysis was interested in specifically examining which local authorities or boroughs have actually implemented a market policy through their statutory development plan document hence the likelihood of becoming material considerations in planning decisions. It does not however consider the dates of when each plan was adopted and therefore difficult to see if that had any bearings on policy outcome.

The survey – through the content and documentary analysis - found that nearly all London boroughs had devised land-use planning policies for markets. These are mainly evident in their current local plans i.e. the Unitary Development Plan (UDP) and in some cases replaced by the new local development framework (LDF). The nature of land-use planning support for markets was most likely to be found in these two policy documents. It also found in nearly all boroughs evidence of other strategy documents, i.e. a market strategies, Area Action Plans or Town Centre strategies, and practical initiatives supporting markets.

Furthermore, in order to address fully the question of how London boroughs (including Camden) provided support for markets, a number of sub-questions were considered:

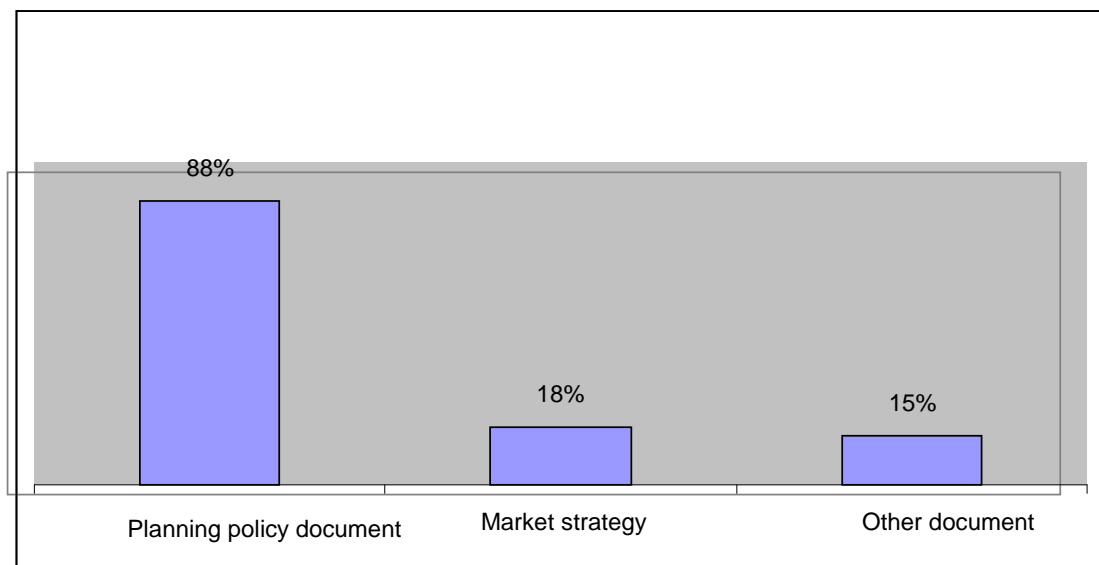
- 1. How many London boroughs in total had planning policy and other recognition for markets?*
- 2. Does policy support contain a general or specific focus on markets?*
- 3. Does the policy support convey a positive promotional attitude or is it development control focused?*
- 4. What are the role and contributions attributed to markets in policy support?*
- 5. What other borough practices/initiatives are there to support markets?*

Therefore, the proceeding section will present the findings for the primary data evidence for these specific questions.

1. How many London Boroughs in total had planning policy and other recognition for markets?

The survey found within the 33 London boroughs (including Camden); a large proportion (29 - 88%) had a planning policy for markets, either in their UDP or LDF documents (See Figure 1). Of these 29 boroughs, 76% had a policy in either UDP or LDF documents, whilst only 24% had a policy in both. In addition to the planning policy documents, a small proportion (15%) had markets considered in (but were not the focus) 'other documents', typically, e.g. 'area action' plans, 'regeneration plans', 'town centre' strategies, food strategies, etc. Significantly, only six boroughs (18%) had a borough-wide 'market strategy'.

**Figure 1: Key Borough Documents where Market Policy Support Exists**



2. *Does policy support contain a general or specific focus on markets?*

Analysis of the *policy stance adopted (through the content analysis of language used)* was undertaken (of the 29 boroughs that had a planning policy for markets), to uncover how policy statements supported markets. For the purpose of this research, a specific policy towards markets signified more importance than a general policy and therefore taken as an indicator of how boroughs perceive the role and value of their markets. For example, a *general* policy towards markets i.e. would refer to markets as part of a wide range of features that positively contribute to town centre vitality and diversity. A *specific* policy i.e. would single out and explicitly prioritise the markets role and contributions in the town centre or state why it was important to protect them. The research found that of those boroughs with an UDP policy (22), only 4 covered markets at a general level whilst specific policies are to be found in 18 boroughs; and of those with an LDF policy (20), only 7 covered markets generally, whilst very specific policies for markets are to be found in 13 boroughs.

3. *Does the policy support convey a positive promotional attitude or is it development control focused?*

Furthermore, a *development control* focused policy typically would emphasise reducing the impact to residential amenity and a *protective* and *promotional* policy typically would recognise their benefits/contributions (in addition to development control concerns). The research findings suggest that most policies for markets were a combination of development control combined with some degree of positive recognition of the role and contributions of markets (see Table 7).

**Table 7: Summary of Policy Focus**

<b><i>Nature of market policy</i></b>	<b><i>No. of boroughs</i></b>
<i>Development control focused</i>	5
<i>Protectionist and Promotional (seen as beneficial)</i>	7
<i>Both (of above two)</i>	16
<b><i>Total</i></b>	<b>28</b>

4. *What are the roles and contributions attributed to markets in policy support?*

Analysis of the *policy stance adopted* sought to uncover how the role and contributions of markets were being articulated in any given supporting policy statement. For example, Table 8 summarises the key ways local authorities have recognised the role and contributions of markets (where each borough often recognises more than one role).

Seven key themes emerge from the policy analysis. Markets are recognised mainly for their contribution to ‘town centre vitality’ and offer of ‘retailing choice’ (60% of all boroughs). Invariably, they did also recognise access to and provision of fresh food and healthy choices; enhancing the character and quality of the surrounding environment; acting as a visitor attraction and providing opportunities for leisure and tourism; contributing to area-wide regeneration and providing an affordable form of retail outlet. Overall, these findings suggest that most boroughs were placing the greatest emphasis on the same 3 key themes as PPS6’s policy statement: ‘contribution to local choice’, ‘diversity’ and ‘town centre vitality’.

**Table 8: The Roles Attributed to Markets**

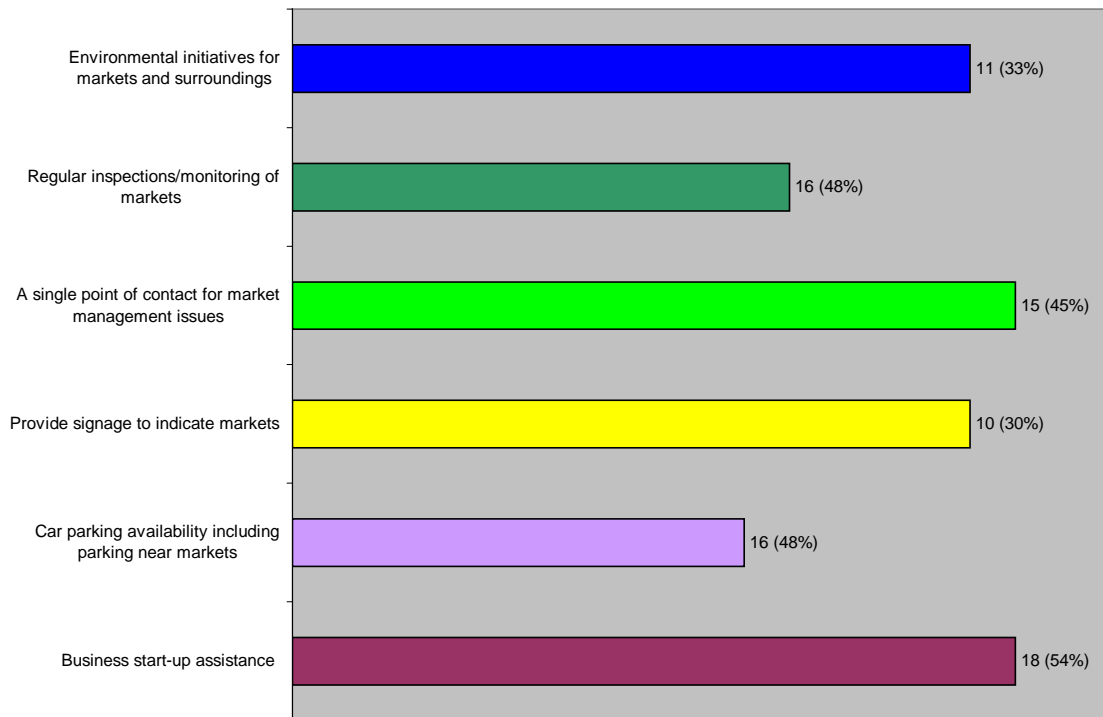
<b>Summary of Themes:</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>% of all boroughs</b>
<i>Town centre &amp; retailing</i>	20	60%
<i>Food &amp; health</i>	6	18%
<i>Quality environment</i>	8	24%
<i>Leisure/Tourism</i>	4	12%
<i>Employment</i>	6	18%
<i>Area regeneration</i>	5	15%
<i>Affordable retail</i>	2	6%

*[NB: Some local authorities recognised more than one contribution, therefore each percentage is based on the total number – 33 – boroughs]*

*5. What other council practices/initiatives are there to support markets?*

As a supplementary part of the internet survey of each borough (in market/street trading teams) an informal telephone survey asked open questions to determine whether or not there were any other existing local practices/initiatives to support markets (for local authority and non-LA-run markets). Nearly all (32 out of the 33) boroughs, stated they offered other council-wide support initiatives for markets. The following analysis (see Figure 2) summarises the types of local authority initiatives to be found headlined under six key common themes:

**Figure 2: Summary of the Six Council initiatives**



The findings suggest that overall over half of all London boroughs had one or more initiatives - other than 'land-use' planning policies - to support their markets. In addition, there appeared to be no relationship between whether or not a borough had a planning policy for markets and other council initiatives to support their markets. Furthermore, no boroughs had all six of the initiatives outlined above as well as supportive planning policies.



## **B. How Camden provides support for its markets**

### *1. Does Camden provide planning policy support for markets?*

Camden like many London boroughs had devised land-use planning policies for markets. This is evident in its current local plans i.e. the Camden Unitary Development Plan (UDP) (adopted 2006), which is soon to be replaced by the emerging local development framework (LDF) - Core Strategy and Development Policy documents in 2010. The existence of and nature of the planning support for markets in the two policy documents is taken as an indicator of the official policy stance towards markets, these are analysed below.

### *2. Does policy support contain a general or specific focus on markets?*

### *3. Does the policy support convey a positive promotional attitude or is it development control focused?*

A comparison of Camden's UDP and LDF policy stances reveal the following. Policy *R4 on Markets* in the current UDP appears to be a sub-policy of the strategic policy that aims to *protect and improve Camden's town centres*, and to provide for and retain a range of retail and protect local residents from the harmful impact of such uses. Policy R4 appears to be typically development control orientated and designed primarily to focus on mitigating the negative impact of new market developments rather than helping existing ones, for instance the policy states:

*"The Council will grant planning permission for markets (on or off street) that it considers will not cause individual or cumulative harm to the area"* (UDP, 2006:113).

In comparison, Camden's emerging new LDF policies offer both general and specific policy support in two documents, first, the Core Strategy document policy *CS7: Promoting Camden's centres and shops* and second, in the Development Policy - *Policy DP 11: Markets*. For example, the *broader Core policy – CS7* - recognises the contribution of markets in adding to the overall *vitality* and *viability* in existing retail centres (like the UDP). However, it is the more specific development

policy - *DP 11* - that offers explicit support and offers to '*promote and protect markets in Camden*' (in line with PPS6's policy aim) by resisting their permanent loss and considering them for new market proposals, e.g.:

- *resisting the permanent loss of market use unless comparable replacement provision is made or there is no demand for continued market use;*
- *taking into account the character of the existing market when assessing proposals for the refurbishment and redevelopment of markets;*
- *supporting new markets that will not cause individual or cumulative harm to the local area* (Camden Development Policies 2010:60)

Importantly, whilst the sub conditions of the two policies (in the UDP and LDF) reflect a similar approach to protecting public amenity issues, e.g. both policies consider issues of public safety, litter, noise, pedestrian and vehicle access and harm to the local environment, etc. However, there are some differences in their overall emphasis. For instance, whilst policy R4 appears to be designed specifically to help in the decision-making in planning applications for new markets, the emerging LDF policy, *DP11* places emphasis on the positive, promotion and prevention of the loss by offering support to both existing and new markets (reflecting the directions of PPS6).

#### 4. *What are the role and contributions attributed to markets in policy support in Camden?*

Furthermore, despite both policies (in the UDP and LDF) differing slightly in their policy objectives, they similarly recognise that markets provide certain benefits and contributions to the borough. For example:

- **R4** - states specifically that markets provide, firstly a '*significant contribution to the interest, diversity and vitality of shopping provision in the Borough*'; and secondly, recognising that '*some cater for the needs of local residents and workers, but others have become major weekend attractions for tourists and visitors*' (UDP, 2006:114).

- **DP 11** - more broadly states that *'markets make an important contribution to the variety and attraction of shopping in the borough and to the character of their local areas'* (Camden Development Policy, 2010:60).

Interestingly, both existing UDP and emerging LDF policies provide policy recognition for markets under a *core* strategic policy/chapter focused on the protection and management of town centres and retail development. This coincides with the fact that both policies were formulated after the publication of PPS6 in 2005 and would have been nevertheless shaped by the same directions in it for town centres and markets.

However, as identified here there are subtle differences between the two policy approaches in the two documents. In the LDF markets are mainly being valued for their role and contributions in offering 'shopping provision choice', adding 'variety' and 'character' to existing retail centres – the same as PPS6. In contrast, the earlier UDP policy differs by recognising markets for their tourism function, that they serve local community needs, and also implying that markets offer different things to differing users.

*5. What other borough practices/initiatives are there to support markets in Camden?*

Furthermore, in Camden, only four out of the six key local initiatives identified above (see Table 7.4) are offered to support their markets. These were business start-up assistance; favorable car parking; regular inspection and monitoring; and the carrying out of environmental initiatives for council-run markets. It did not provide promotional signage or a single point of contact (SMO1). Similarly, none of the other London boroughs (discussed earlier) provided all six of key local initiatives to support their markets either.

## Summary of the London survey findings

This research provides a broad overview of how each London borough has prioritised and thought about markets in their official policy and practices. The survey found a large proportion of boroughs had a planning policy for markets, in their either UDP or LDF documents. However, very few combine planning support with a broader strategic management approach, which would be indicated by the presence of a market strategy or equivalent.

The research found that a greater proportion of boroughs were likely to cover markets at a specific level than general in policy statements. The research suggests that most policies for markets were a combination of development control with some elements of a positive recognition of the role and contributions of markets. Therefore, most boroughs seemed to adhere to the main principles of PPS6.

Nearly all (32 out of the 33) boroughs, stated they offered other types of practical support for their markets. They did so mainly in terms of providing: business start-up assistance, favorable car parking, signage, single point of contact, inspection, and monitoring health and in environmental initiatives for markets and its surroundings. Although, there appeared to be no relationship between having a planning policy for markets with having other council-wide strategies/initiatives, the survey did not investigate to what extent these were related. However, this issue is considered to some extent in the Camden case study to follow.

Camden's planning policy support for markets suggested a similar approach to other London boroughs in terms primarily focusing on development control in order to protect public amenity issues but accompanied by emphasis on the positive promotion and preventing the loss of markets (in the LDF policy documents). Furthermore, Camden, like other boroughs, offered other support for council-run markets through key local initiatives in addition to the planning policy support.

In terms of the role and contributions attributed to markets, markets are mainly recognised as retail and for their contribution to town centre vitality and offer of retailing choice, which parallel the themes highlighted in PPS6. Therefore, it seems that fewer local policymakers are recognising the full range of potential roles/contributions/benefits that are attributed to them in the wider public policy debates - as discussed in chapter 5. To what extent this narrower view of markets will then marginalise its physical existence and subsequently shape the way markets are then treated within the local authority practices remains unclear; and will be examined further in the Camden case study. Nevertheless, this survey highlights the limitations of an interpretation based on the language of policy statements – which can only be interpreted as reflecting the official and aspirational qualities.

## **PART 2: Case Study Analysis**

### **Introduction**

Following on from Part 1, this section will examine in detail local planning and management (including day-to-day administration/operations) practices for markets through the case study of the London borough of Camden. Section A begins by providing the background context to all (both local authority and non-LA-run markets) Camden's markets even though the focus of analysis is on LA-run markets. It is supplemented by an overview of the overall health and statistical facts of all the markets situated in the borough. Section B moves on to council-run markets through an evaluation of the key approaches for the management of markets and the general attitude of Council officials towards them. In particular, it examines the structure of the management and the division of responsibilities for street trading and markets and the forms of regulation and policies towards them.

Finally, this analysis seeks to outline the key issues affecting local authority management of markets in Camden by reflecting primarily on the official attitudes and practices towards markets. This is examined through the responses to a number of sub-issues. For example, it examines the relationships and level of integration between planning and wider council approaches to markets and the effects of regulation/legislation and in particular the London Local Authorities Acts 1990 (as amended); and finally examines to some extent the nature of support from political and other council officials from differing departments in Camden.

### **A: Background context for Camden's markets**

The London Borough of Camden 'covers approximately 22 square kilometres (11 square miles) in inner London. It is the sixth most densely populated borough in London and has a population of 232,000. It is considered an affluent London borough containing some of the richest and the poorest areas in the UK although significantly it has the 13th highest level of social deprivation in London and 57<sup>th</sup>

most deprived of the 354 boroughs in England (Census 2001<sup>9</sup>). The southern part of the borough forms part of Central London with its dynamic mix of uses, activities and facilities of London-wide, national and international significance (Camden's Core Strategy, 2010 (adopted)).

In addition, there are 6 designated town centres, 36 neighborhood centres, and a significant number of retail parades in Camden (UDP, 2006). These vary 'greatly in terms of the size, role', and 'kind of shops and services they provide', and in the catchment area, i.e. 'distant people are prepared to travel to them' (Dick, A et al., 2009:6). There are 16 markets geographically spread across the Borough (see Map 1). Nearly all are connected to an established retail centre with its own catchment area, character and sense of identity, i.e. from a town centre located (tourist) market such as Inverness Street (Camden Town) to the more local neighbourhood centre markets i.e. Queens Crescent Market located towards the north of the borough (see Map 8.1). The retail sector characteristics of Camden also define the context in which its markets operate in the borough i.e. in providing access to diverse, affordable, and healthy choices of food/goods in deprived and affluent areas (Camden's Core Strategy, 2010 (adopted); Roger Tym & Partners, 2004; 2008).

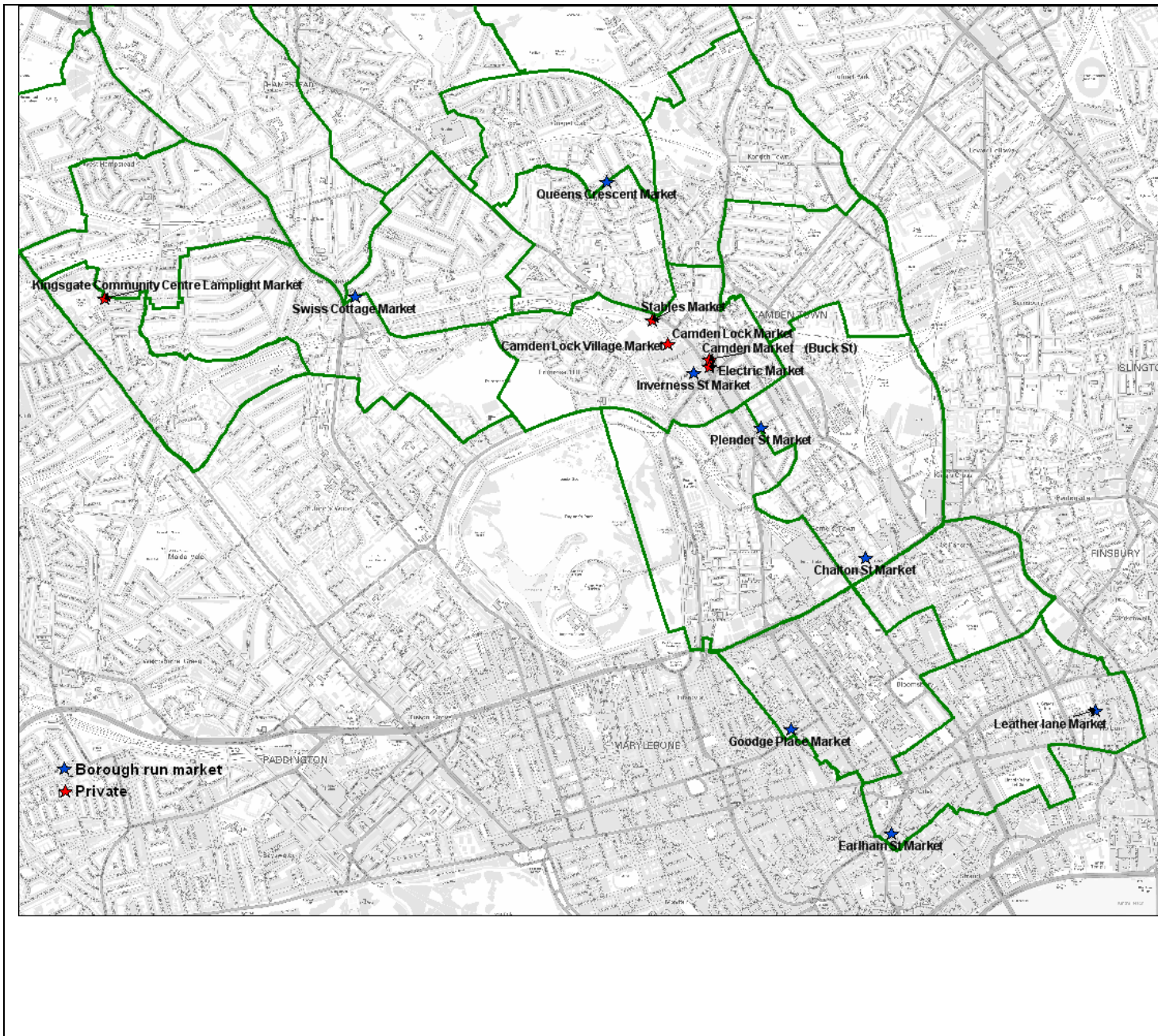
Collectively, these 16 markets comprise approximately 800 *available* pitches. Eight of these markets can be described as council – *borough* - run, *street* markets operating under its full regulatory control (i.e. in terms of licensing, operation and promotion; and the focus of this analysis). They include four charter markets (Leather lane; Queens Crescent; Charlton St; Plender St) and 'designated street markets' such as Inverness St; Earlham St; Swiss Cottage, and Goodge Place). Together LA-run markets employ more than 188 registered permanent traders across the borough. Most of the LA-run markets are *traditional* markets – defined by the fact they sell a range of everyday groceries and convenience goods from fruit and vegetables to clothing and are often regular weekly permanent markets with local catchments (see Appendix 3 for further details) (SMO1; SMO2).

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<sup>9</sup><http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/navigation/council-and-democracy/about-the-council/camden-statistics/2001-census/> (accessed on 30.5.2010)

In addition, there are a group of *speciality* weekly privately run markets clustered together in Camden Town Centre (i.e. Camden Lock Market; Camden Lock Village Market; Camden Market; Electric Market and Stables Market) that have become popular tourist destinations for the Capital - which fall outside of the regulatory framework and control of Camden council (PMO).

**Map 1: All LA-run and Non-LA-run Markets in the Borough of Camden**





The summary table in Appendix 3 provides details of the numbers and types of markets; the types of ownership, type of goods sold, number of pitches available, and the number of days in operation. In brief, the following key statistics can be outlined about Camden's 16 markets:

- 56% of the markets are council-run and 44% are privately run; of these,
- 50% are non-specialists *traditional* street markets whilst the remaining 50% are specialist or a combination of market types i.e. incorporating specialist and farmers' markets products, etc.
- In comparison to other London boroughs, Camden's markets characteristics offer a typical representation of differing market types.

### The Health of Camden's Markets

The health (in terms of perceived success/failure) of Camden markets seems to reflect the national picture - containing a mixture of what it considers to be relatively successfully thriving markets and those that are declining and in need of extra attention (MSM). For instance, the findings of a Camden commissioned report (MCA, Regeneration Ltd., 2005) provides some key points about the health of its markets, suggesting that they 'have intensified and have become well established over the last 15 years, whilst at the same time developing pedestrian and traffic congestion issues' around them. The absence of more detailed regular comprehensive assessments of market health (in terms of assessments of the extent and nature decline) is increasingly recognised as an issue of concern for the Council. Therefore, Camden, like most local authorities fall back on pitch availability and usage data, collected on each of its markets through each pitch license in order to monitor the health of their markets (MSM).

**Table 9: Changes in Pitch Availability and Usage Overtime in Camden.**

<b>Name of market</b>	<b>Length of time market existed in years</b>	<b>Current number of pitches available 2010</b>	<b>Current number of pitches in use per day 2010</b>	<b>Number of pitches in use per day 5 years ago</b>	<b>Number of pitches available 10 years ago</b>
<b>Charlton St</b>	<i>Charter</i>	70	18	41	54
<b>Earlham St</b>	25+	22 ( <i>stable</i> )	15	22	22
<b>Leather lane Market</b>	<i>Charter</i>	141 ( <i>stable</i> )	82	113	141
<b>Inverness St</b>	25+	34 (3 <i>pitches gained</i> )	34	18	33
<b>Plender St</b>	<i>Charter</i>	12 (2 <i>less pitches</i> )	7	6	12
<b>Queens Crescent</b>	<i>Charter</i>	75 ( <i>stable</i> )	22	53	77
<b>Swiss Cottage</b>		40	22	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>
<b>Total</b>		394	200	253	339

Table 9 compares only six of the council run markets (comparable data is only available for these markets) by: the current number of pitches available, the number of pitches available 10 years ago, the current number of pitches in use per day, and the number of pitches in use five years ago. Therefore, the two components - pitch availability and usage data - for Camden have been examined:

- there appears to be a slight increase in the current total number of pitches available (394) when compared to the number of pitches available 10 years ago (339) – an increase of only 55 pitches;
- Of those 394 pitches currently available, almost half (200) are in use.

- This contrasts with the overall numbers that were in use 5 years ago where more than two thirds (253 - 75%) were in use, which was significantly better than the current figures.
- The overall picture is that while the numbers of pitches have not declined to any great extent, the demand for pitches has been operating below full capacity (determined by the difference between pitch availability and usage) at any given time over the last 10 years. Thus, LA-run markets appear to have been operating marginally as a low yield economic activity.

This analysis highlights not only a lack of robust evidence collection and availability on the health of Camden's markets (apart from pitch data) but also reflects a nation-wide government concern (London Assembly, 2008). It is further hindered by the fact there appears to be no advised method given to local authorities (by central government) to quantify objectively the health and in disaggregating the role markets actually play by assessing separately, how markets can contribute to the overall vitality and viability of a centre (as suggested in PPS6). For instance, 'establishing what is a desirable balance between market floor spaces, compared to retail floor space as a whole and to what extent it should be protected', etc (Roger Tym & Partners, 2006:21).

## **B: An evaluation of the management (and administration) of council-run markets in Camden**

This section examines the key approaches to the management (day-to-day administration/operations) of markets, the key issues affecting practice and the general attitude of Council officials to borough-run markets. Discussions of the central issues follow:

### 1. What are the forms of regulation controlling market-trading activity?

In Camden, a trader, before trading must obtain an appropriate license, which is subject to a number of conditions, which governs their conduct on the markets. Breaches of these conditions incur penalty points on a trader's license, which may or may not result in a trader's license being revoked, or in the case of serious breaches, legal action (SMO1). There are three components to the regulation of markets:

**1. Standard Conditions<sup>10</sup>** - London Borough of Camden has created a set of rules legislated to it by the London Local Authorities Act 1990 (Section 27 (3) prescribing standard conditions applicable to all street trading licences. This also sets out rules set by the council on the following themes, e.g. relating to the everyday operations of the market - conduct of traders, conditions relating to the trading area, times, and commodities for sale, etc.

**2. Street trading Enforcement Policy<sup>11</sup>**: It contains a *Policy Statement* setting out publicly the principles of enforcement used by the council to ensure compliance with *Street Trading Legislation*. It spells out how the Street Trading Service team aims to regulate street trading in accordance with the Council's legal duties and the public interest and to support the maintenance and development of a successful street market.

**3. The Penalty points system<sup>12</sup>**: Camden council has mechanisms in place to penalise any Breach of Licence Conditions. It lists broadly 32 different

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<sup>10</sup> Camden internal policy document: 'Standard Conditions Applicable to Street Trading Licences from 1 April 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Street trading enforcement policy - <http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/business/business-regulations/trading-standards/street-trading-in-camden.en?page=3> (30.5.2010)

<sup>12</sup> The Penalty points system - <http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/business/business-regulations/trading-standards/street-trading-in-camden.en?page=3> (30.5.2010)

types of breaches and the amount of penalty points that could be received depending on the severity of the breach.

In addition, the following key national legislations underpin the regulatory functions around licensing, health and safety in the workplace, trading standards, food safety, etc (MSM):

- Enforcement Concordat Better Regulation Unit (March 1988)
- Equal Rights and Anti-discrimination legislation
- Trades Mark Act
- Others, i.e. health, safety and hygiene legislation.

## 2. How is the responsibility and co-ordination of market functions organised?

In Camden, like most other London councils (London Assembly, 2008), the urban management (and administration) functions specific to markets are organised within a complex hierarchy, e.g.:

- Planning policy for markets are dealt by town planners specialising in policy-making (compiling the UDP/LDF development plan documents); and planning applications are dealt specifically by planners within a development control team within the 'development management' or 'strategic planning' division;
- Regeneration schemes for markets are dealt with by a range of teams – planning policy, site development, planning projects, place shaping, etc – also within the 'regeneration and renewal' or 'strategic planning' division;
- A customer support team in the 'Planning and Public Protection' division administers registration and licensing applications made for street trading purposes. An administrator in this team usually puts forward a list of suitable candidates that could fill specific gaps within markets (determined by the demand for the type of goods offered by the trader) to the General Purposes (Licensing) Sub-Committee.
- The Council's General Purposes (Licensing) Sub-Committee is responsible for issuing licenses, overseeing the administration of various street trading function and have the power to vary or refuse a licence application or revoke a licence.

- Overall day-to-day management decision-making, enforcement and other operations are carried out by the *Commercial and Trading team* within *Streets Environment Services* division (this is part of *public realm and sustainability* and sits under the umbrella of the *Culture and Environment directorate*);
- In addition there are other service areas the markets team infrequently interact with cutting across several departments, mainly: engineering; highways; public realm and transport (street policy); town centre management; and invariably the economic and business development teams;
- Political decision-making involving councillors for market services are dealt within the *environment portfolio* in the Cabinet.  
(SMO2; EM1; SPO)

In general, there appears to be three broad divisions in the delivery of market functions shown within the council structures. The first is connected with administration and registration (i.e. trading applications and paying license fees). The second is concerned with the core day-to-day management and enforcement of regulations, i.e. licensing restrictions, restricted areas for trading, pitch allocation, daily provision of market infrastructure and enforcement and inspection matters (SMO1). The third less connected components are the strategic planning/management of markets and land-use planning for markets. Normally the strategic planning/management takes place through some form of collaboration between councillors and the market service manager and typically in isolation of land-use planning. Most land-use (i.e. planning applications) and regeneration decision-making for any markets (regardless of whether it is a public or private market), are taken in a – planning/regeneration – team/department (SPO).

Most often, officers in the *Street Trading Team* carry out the day-to-day management i.e. administration and enforcement of 'Street Trading Requirements' by working closely with Trading Standards, Environmental Health and Street Environment officers who are collectively responsible for dealing with other activities associated with street trading. Enforcement activities may also require an interagency approach with the Metropolitan Police and other local authorities. For

example, the issuing and submission of application forms and registration of received applications takes place within the customer support team, whilst, the decision to grant a trading license or not are made by a separate specially designed committee - the Council's General Purposes (Licensing) Sub-Committee (MSM).

### 3. What are the key issues affecting markets?

#### *a. A fragmented management structure*

The first observation of the organisation of responsibility and regulatory functions for markets (as highlighted above) indicates a highly fragmented management structure in the council which market officials claim have had specific negative effects on Camden's council's 'ability to effectively manage and invest in its markets' (MSM), e.g.:

*"...the Licensing committee, controls the handing out of Licenses and for the type of goods, one can sell... we [street trading officers] have to go back to committee each time we want to change the type of goods sold and hence want flexibility to be able to make quick decisions to change things at officer level when the need arises rather than the lengthier process prescribed in the Licensing process within the council" (SMO1).*

A market officer (SMO1) suggests that the fragmented and bureaucratic structure not only results in a lack of co-ordination of market functions but also creates inflexibilities that challenge the day-to-day management of the service. The key effects of this and other issues will be examined in the following sections.

#### *b. Absence of a strategic management approach*

The fragmented system of market management activities is perceived to be rooted in an absence of a 'strategic' vision or *over-arching* policy goal towards managing markets and street trading across the Council (MSM). According to a number of council officials (EM1; MSM; SPO) the practices currently observed in Camden evolved 'ad-hoc' over many years and generally reflected the attitude of the Council that street trading and markets were '*not a priority service*', e.g.:

*“It is a service that is tolerated but almost never promoted or money put into it. Historically, the markets had just been ticking over’ without much attention to how they were doing...” (MSM).*

Furthermore, the absence of a strategic policy or formal strategy that forms a linkage between all decision-making streams for markets across the different council departments means that the council’s markets suffer from decline due to a range of contemporary challenges, which have gone unresolved for many years.

E.g.:

*“the investment and updating of infrastructure had not been undertaken for many years although most of the decisions for such an activity would have to have been taken outside of the licensing, enforcement or markets department which did not have the financial resources to invest in markets...” (SMO2).*

### *c. Decline of market trading activity*

In general, there is a perception by council officials that all Camden’s markets are in a state of decline. Whilst market officials claimed that, the fragmentation of responsibilities and particular management approaches has had an overall negative affect on the health of markets, they also acknowledged the role of wider external factors similar to those contributing to national decline over the last few decades, i.e.:

*“Historically, the street trading within the market was carried out in an open space and largely ignored by the council. Overall, the market did not respond to ever-changing retail trends and increasingly became vulnerable to competition from larger retail formats operating locally” (MSM)*

Hence, a piecemeal strategic management approach has been an ingrained part of the ‘culture of practice’ around the markets service, and has lead to their overall marginalisation as a service overtime. In this context, markets were largely regarded ‘a marginal operation’ and therefore overlooked for investment input. This devaluation creates a number of critical issues for all the councils markets including contributing to their neglect and decline (both physical, economic and social).

With the exception of Swiss cottage and Inverness Street, the Council regards the remaining six markets to be failing or in need of regeneration (Table 7.6). This



reinforces the trend observed in the decline of *pitch availability* and *usage* examined earlier (Table 7.5). For example, the *traditional* markets like Leather lane; Queens Crescent; and Charlton St, have all experienced decline in numbers of traders and customers which has accelerated in recent years whilst for others like the regenerated Inverness St and Swiss Cottage there is a growing waiting list of traders at weekends. The market officers recounted that in the past, trading locations were thriving areas and popular with the shoppers, attracting visitors to the borough and most sites had lengthy casual trader queues, but are now suffering from low demand (SMO1; SMO2). In addition, Camden's own research (MCA, Regeneration Ltd., 2005) reinforced this viewpoint that *traditional* markets were facing a number of challenges but which poor market management and lack of commercial skills exacerbated.

**Table 10: Perceived Health of the 8 LA-run Markets in Camden  
(SMO1; SMO2)**

Name of Market	Type of council intervention	Current Health: in terms of : thriving or declining market
Inverness St Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The market was regenerated as part of <i>Liveability</i> government grant in 2005</li> <li>Part of wider public realm improvement project including complete re-design and re-branding of market stalls, and layout, and new range of products.</li> <li>Numerous smaller initiatives executed to improve the street environment surrounding the market site.</li> <li>Benefits from a successful location, i.e. Camden town centre and related activities and proximity with other successful private markets</li> </ul>	Thriving specialist traditional street market – formerly declining traditional market
Earlham St Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Part of a street wide public realm improvement project - <i>Clear Zone</i> - and pedestrianisation scheme to reduce noise and pollution; make the market and shops more attractive.</li> <li>Benefits from being located in the West End.</li> </ul>	Declining non-specialist traditional street market - undergoing regeneration (to be completed 2011)
Leather lane Market (Charter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Benefits economically from the proximity to a major jewellery centre - Hatton Garden, a designated creative industry quarter.</li> <li>Potential to attract nearby lunchtime office workers</li> </ul>	Declining non-specialist traditional street market - regeneration plans being developed.
Queens Crescent Market (Charter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>'Go Partnership' regeneration initiative undertaken for Queens Crescent market however did not deliver success for market due to social problems in area.</li> <li>Forthcoming (from 2010) area based 'place shaping' regeneration to be undertaken on the markets and its surrounding areas – tackle physical and social renewal</li> </ul>	Declining non-specialist traditional street market – regeneration plans being developed.
Chalton St Market (Charter)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Camden<sup>13</sup> in 1997 recognised Charlton St to be declining, which continues despite numerous initiatives attempting to boost the market and adjacent shops.</li> </ul>	Declining non-specialist traditional street market – regeneration plans being developed.
Plender St – Charter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relatively stable market</li> </ul>	Non-specialist traditional street market - stable market.
Swiss Cottage (formerly known as Eton Avenue Market)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regenerated as part of area wide initiative - Swiss Cottage 'Civic Quarter',</li> <li>Located in affluent and popular area of the borough,</li> <li>parking spaces available for markets</li> <li>located in Finchley Rd/Swiss Cottage Town Centre</li> </ul>	Thriving mixed specialism street market – formerly declining traditional market.

<sup>13</sup> Regeneration Strategy for Chalton Street, Somers Town, & King's Cross (1997)

The examples of Inverness Street and Swiss cottage - once declining traditional street markets - illustrate that successful markets required long-term investment once decline became evident. In addition, that any long-term regeneration efforts for market revival must not be for the market infrastructure alone but must adopt an *area-wide and environmental approach to its* regeneration (MSM; EM2; MSM). For example, i.e. Chalton street market despite receiving a 'face-lift' through new canopies failed to pick-up trade whilst the regeneration of Swiss Cottage market was considered more successful due to it being incorporated into a comprehensive development plan and was used as a catalyst for area-wide regeneration (SMO1).

Furthermore, one councillor (EM1) suggests, that the weaknesses in the management style has often been dictated by local circumstances rather than through the development of any particular business planning or strategic approach applied to the market service delivery, e.g.:

*'The preoccupation with enforcing the regulations and implementing legislation has taken focus away from the health of the markets and investment into them'* (EM1).

Hence, historically the relationship between market traders and the market management has been a narrowly defined hierarchy with little time devoted to joined-up thinking on the future successful performance of the markets. In addition, this is recognised as being set against a backdrop of 'intense competition from the High Street led by the large retailers with large financial resources, and the inert relationship that markets find themselves in which give rise to markets operating marginally with limited prospect of longer term investment' (MSM) (discussed in Chapter 5).

#### *d. Piecemeal planning policy approaches*

A lack of a coherent 'strategic' policy towards markets has not only resulted in the piecemeal regeneration of specific markets but also a disconnection of the management of markets with any land-use planning for markets. For example, there has usually been a notable absence of market service team input into the

development of a market policy during the production of the local plans, i.e. the UDP or emerging LDF document (SPO). In practice, the street markets team:

*“only ‘nodded support’ with the proposed market development policy (DP11 - Markets) in the LDF document at the final stages of the policy formulation rather than the ‘front-loaded’ and ‘joined-up’ policymaking - from the beginning and throughout the process – endorsed by the council and advocated by the government” (SMO1).*

In addition, the same could also be argued against the general workings of the *Planning* department overall - that until recently there has been a lack of joining-up between the current development plan policies for markets and with any other departmental activities on markets. For example, the current UDP policy – R4 – in practice only served as a development control function, significantly under-used as a policy tool due to the rarity in applications for the setting up new markets (which is actually what it was designed for). In rare events where planning applications did emerge, council officials often actively discouraged them in order to protect existing ones (SRO; SPO; EM2).

Furthermore, the planning policy team responsible for the local development plans had very little time for integration of the ‘positive’ planning around markets such as decisions to invest and regenerate declining markets as these were seen as the responsibility of the markets manager or service head. Other planning teams, i.e. those responsible for planning regeneration activities in the council often initiated these independently of the market team - although they would be ‘notionally’ consulted throughout the process of the delivery of any such activities (SPO; SRO; SMO1).

*e. Over-emphasis on regulatory control of markets*

Two broad distinctions within the regulatory framework can be observed, on the one hand they enable marketing activities to *become* legal (through registration and licensing) and on the other, they relate to markets *staying* legal (conformity to health and safety, taxation, labour duties, etc). The legislative instruments by their very

nature appear to dictate a focus on the controlling of street trading activities. This is underlined by the subtext that market activities generate many negative externalities that needed to be mitigated through the regulatory process (i.e. fair-trading and nuisance control) that needs to be then constantly managed requiring an interagency approach (EM2; MSM). This echo's the stance taken within Camden's current planning policy for markets – R4 in the UDP – focused mainly on mitigating 'impact to amenity' (discussed in pp.104-107).

There are many aspects of the market trading departmental functions, which appear to hinder the effective operation of the market portfolio. For instance, the licence issuing system operates outside of the day-to-day management department (issued by 'committee' through the *General Purposes (Licensing) Sub-Committee*) but is used as a way to limit the number of and types of traders (defined by the types of goods sold) in a market. Most market officials agreed that a control-orientated policy has always been advocated and put into practice within the division due to the legal obligations of government legislation and regulation instruments given to them (SMO1; SMO1; MSM). Therefore, control is strictly enforced particularly in high-profile areas such as Camden Town Centre and is perceived to have been an 'effective control mechanism' (SMO1).

Market officers cite their control dominated approach to do with a number of local conditions, e.g.:

*"...markets create for instance traffic and pedestrian congestion health and hygiene issues, litter and waste mismanagement, selling of illegal goods, markets not being setup in the correct locations, etc"* (SMO2).

Market officials also accept that there has been a failure by the local authority in providing basic services which are related to inadequate market infrastructure, i.e. 'suitable locations, taps and electricity, water supply, toilets (for both traders/public), etc' (SMO1; SMO2). These issues correspond with a number of challenges identified in Chapter 5. Furthermore:

*"...efforts to make sure that stalls are correctly being setup have actually reduced the time officials have to focus on enforcement related issues due to the lack of resources i.e. enough staff members to be more effective in the enforcement aspects of Street trading"* (SMO1).

*f. The limitations of the London Local Authorities Acts 1990 (as amended)*

Market officials link their focus on a regulatory approach with the requirements of the London Local Authorities Act 1990. They state that ‘like the majority of London boroughs the market operations in Camden are heavily determined by the provisions of this Act (but do not affect private and other market operators). The officials state a number of concerns and problems with the operation of the Act although they are not necessarily unique to it either (EM2; MSM; SMO1; SMO2).

- *Affects on revenue raising*

Firstly, market services rely heavily on revenue raised through the trading license and pitch fees and the costs are determined by the type of license (either annual or casual), location, trading day, and type of product being sold and the level of service provided in them. The legislation limits how much council’s can charge for street trading (those undertaken on a legally defined public highway) by only allowing them to charge enough ‘to cover in whole or in part the reasonable administrative or other costs in connection with market functions’ (MSM). Market officer’s state that this can work against them as it prevents:

*“...applying any form of commercial considerations to market activity and seems be too restrictive and hampers a more proactive approach to developing markets. What this has meant for Camden is that profits cannot be made from the running of the markets” (SMO2).*

Moreover, in Camden, the annual license for each market stall bought by a trader is the key income generator for the markets service. The ‘official policy is that the revenue from the markets recovers costs but this has never achieved in any of Camden’s markets’ (MSM). Therefore in addition to revenue from the license fees:

*“...annual budgetary allocations are made for each market operation. Finance for market construction is provided by a number of sources within the council - although there have been shortages of funds at this level. All other market services operate based on user charges” (MSM).*

This means that the market service is a loss-making and heavily subsidised service for the council, therefore leaving no money for its long-term investment.

- *Affects on Advertising and Investment*

Linked to the above, market officials highlight that the legislation ‘limits Camden from advertising its markets as part of the administration of the market’. Consequently, any advertising is done purely ‘by word of mouth’ (SMO1). The act also stipulates that ‘any money generated by the markets has to be put back into street trading within a ring fenced account’ (SMO1). This is perceived to have a negative impact on the investment into the market services, e.g.:

*“We’re looking to get 900,000 pounds from all our markets. That’s what’s budgeted but we don’t even get that amount, every year we’re in the red always. Most money goes into cleansing – cleansing is almost half a million pounds - not much left for advertising, it has to come out of the (ring-fenced) pot, it has to often get subsidised from somewhere else...finance staff are unable to help on this issue” (SMO1).*

Camden’s officials trace this problem down to the interpretation of the legislation:

*“...you can say advertising is nothing to do with the markets; on the other hand advertising should come under the administration cost, a part of the cost of running a market, because if you don’t advertise you’re not going to get people coming to the market”. (SMO1).*

Therefore, for market officials (SMO1; SMO2; MSM), advertising and income generated were perceived to be intrinsically linked to the success of a market. This feature has had acute negatives implications specifically in two markets - Queens Crescent Market and Chalton St Market:

*“...they are not doing well and not raising enough revenue, they require a lot of investment, get more traders by giving them more incentives, in order to get more traders and local community to use it again’. In the case of Charlton St market one of its key issues is to do with the fact that it was moved along the street - its now 100 yards away from Euston Rd. Nobody now really knows where the market is but has a lot of potential from city workers/channel tunnel rail link (at St Pancras Station), therefore promotion as well as investment is important” (SMO2).*

*g. The role of markets as a public service*

Furthermore, the inability to redirect revenues from markets is perceived (EM1; MSM) to be connected to the fact that ‘elected councillors have often considered the markets to be a *public service*’ and not a commercial and economic entity, i.e.:

*“...they are seen to serve local community, provide a source of fresh fruit and vegetables and enhance the retail centres they are located in and therefore there is a perception and actual practice that does not allow for the generation of profits from them” (SMO1).*

However, the intention is that:

*“...they should cover costs and any shortfall and therefore are subsidised. It is because they are viewed as a public service and run as a public service that many markets run at a loss and receive subsidies” (SMO2)*

Consequently, the focus on the public good potential has often meant a failure to acknowledge them also ‘as commercial entities’ and the need to update in-house ‘professional business expertise’ for their development reflecting local economic and market conditions, etc. (SMO1; SMO2; MSM).

One market officer suggests that the successful running of a market, e.g.:

*“...requires an understanding of the commercial workings of market trading... seeing it like any other form of retail, marketing it and having a customer focused approach as well as understanding its linkage with the social role attributed to markets...that it also serves a community” (SMO1).*

Thus, for the market service manager (MSM) there is no incompatibility issue in recognising the commercial value of markets at the same time as the perceived public good role, that in fact recognising both are key ingredients for success. In fact, ‘the ability to generate profit could mean delivering the public service function more effectively’. Thus, despite recognition of the public good potential by some in the council this has not led to greater investment or improvements in their management and protection.

#### *h. Inconsistent support by political and council officials*

Market officials claim ‘because the markets are running at a loss and becoming a drain on the council’s finances’ that they have now ‘shot-up into the political agenda’ of the council (SMO1; EM1; MSM). Despite the numerous political changes in the



council, no one political party had appeared to prioritise the service and tackled its longstanding problem of decline and lack of investment:

*“The markets had just been ticking over...without much attention to their health by any political party” (EM2).*

There now appears to be a cross-party consensus emerging over the last 5 years that seems to imply on the surface that they recognise that markets in Camden ‘face many challenges’ and that something ‘needed to be done to improve the overall market services’ (though the underlying rationales and informal political motivations were not explored) (EM1; EM2), e.g.:

*“Camden’s markets faced a number of the ingrained issues...which meant that revamping markets had to be considered...previously the markets were on the backburner. There came a point where the Council had to make a decision on whether to keep running a market service or not...the general consensus was to keep the markets” (EM1).*

In addition, the need for developing a long-term and strategic management approach has been slowly acknowledged by various council officials (MSM; EM2; SMO1; SPO). In response, a *phased* restructure of Camden’s market services (since 2008) marks the beginning of attempts to tackle its *ingrained* problems and for the service delivery to be able to ‘*operate optimally and cover its costs*’. One key organisational outcome has been in combining previously separate market functions together - Street Trading Services (dealing with the day-to-day operations of markets) and Street Enforcement (dealing with those breaching regulations/rules that used to be part of a more generic council-wide regulatory services).

This new amalgamated service is intended to deliver a more joint-up management service and ensure more ‘efficiency and consistency’ in service co-ordination and delivery (MSM). However, according to one senior market officer (SMO2), working in this new restructured team, the new practice means that:

*“...the old street trading is doing what it used to do... the amount of time spent dealing with markets means not much time to deal with enforcement matters...although dealing with enforcement issues usually means dealing with all public realm issues, i.e. public fowling; littering; fly-posting and fly-tipping; table and chairs; scaffolding; skips, and anything else that affects the streets...the work has just doubled” (SMO2).*

Thus, existing market officers face the burden of 'additional responsibilities without any extra resources allocated' (resulting in a dual role of market supervisor and enforcer). This is now perceived to be constraining their abilities to perform their prime duties (day-to-day operation of the markets) effectively.

Furthermore, as part of the phased restructuring of market trading services Camden Council has been in the process of developing a 'market and street trading strategy' in order to take a more strategic/holistic approach and identify the future *vision* for markets in the borough and regarded as a *necessary transformation that had been lacking in the past*. This is being developed in consultation with Camden's traders, the National Association of British Markets Authorities and other key stakeholders in the council, scheduled to be completed by the end of 2010 (MSM).

Currently, *phase 2* of the restructuring is underway and intends to also develop a 'business plan' specifically for each of the markets, which will address commercial and *social/physical* regeneration needs and link in with land-use planning and town centre management issues. The market service manager (regarded as the prime decision-maker for the service) identifies the following key point:

*"The effectiveness of service provision appears to vary between markets, with some of the newer markets apparently well serviced – e.g. Swiss cottage and Inverness Street market... whilst there are older ones which have had very little investment for which we (the council) provide basic cleaning and garbage removal service for their running. Thus, the new plan will make sure that each market's specific problems and needs are addressed individually"* (MSM)

Finally, because the 'restructuring' is being delivered in phases its impact cannot be fully determined yet. However, once fully implemented, it intends to deal with the 'strategic' and 'long term management issues but no timetable for that could be ascertained (MSM).

## **Conclusion to the London and Camden study**

The London survey highlighted that markets were significantly important enough to be included in nearly all boroughs' land-use planning policy documents. A close inspection of the policy wording revealed that in reality, these policies were geared towards protecting their physical designations and controlling their negative amenity impacts. Importantly, policy overall held a relatively narrow and normative view of markets - mainly as retail – and valued them less for the multiple benefits identified in Chapter 5.

The more in-depth case study analysis of Camden's policies suggested that the presence of a positive land-use planning policy support for markets did not necessarily then mean a positive management of them by other council departments/officials, etc. Thus, the planning policy highlighted simply an element of official policy stance rather than a reflection of a council-wide commitment to markets. It seemed the healthy survival of markets were largely influenced by other localised contextual factors i.e. geographical and local (economic) conditions, level of political and senior management support, etc. Market officials further confirmed this by identifying specific issues that affected each market, i.e. unique location, history, socio-economic and demographic context, shopping centre hierarchy and catchment areas as well as wider national structural factors.

In Camden, in terms of understanding the health of markets a narrative of their decline emerged reflecting the wider public and policy discourse of them (set out in Chapter 5). However, in contradiction to this wider discourse, decline in Camden, did not mean a loss in the total number of markets or even in the total number of pitches but meant low demand for pitches available in any given market. This means that markets in Camden have been operating below full capacity – low value economy - over the last 10 years or more. This inert in-house situation of markets is recognised as being confounded by external factors. For example, by the intense competition from large High Street retailers with larger financial resources and decline of local shopping which contributes to the markets marginality (low demand when compared to supermarkets) in the retail offer. Additionally, the provisions of legislation (London Local Authorities Act 1990) prohibit profit generation from the markets and therefore disabling the local authority's ability to help revive them.

Furthermore, this picture of decline manifested itself in a number of ways, i.e. it appears to have shaped the perceptions and valuations of them, which then permeated into the local authority's policies and practices for them. Firstly, the perceptions of decline appear to have become the prevalent and static viewpoint of them, in spite of some regenerated markets becoming successful (physically, economically and socially, e.g. Swiss Cottage). This static viewpoint perpetuates their pre-existing wider societal social devaluation. It creates a consensus amongst council officials (amongst all the key informants interviewed) that the boroughs markets were 'low value', 'loss making', 'defunct,' and 'marginal' spaces. Although, in contrast, elected officials have resisted this conception, by taking a more populist stance of them and arguing for their support as a public good (public service) potential, therefore their continued uneconomical subsidisation justified. However, it is the perception of marginality that has prevailed in practice across the council and has particular negative consequences for the overall management approaches for them as demonstrated in this case study.

For example, the case study highlighted a general laissez-faire attitude – the de-facto position – amongst practitioners, which then filtered into the way markets were managed. The fragmented system reflected a historical absence of a coherent policy towards markets, which evolved on an ad-hoc basis as differing circumstances and condition necessitated. It was arguably, pushed out by Camden's other service priorities such as ensuring pedestrian access obstruction free and meeting health and safety requirements along highways etc. Hence, enforcement duties played a dominant role.

Furthermore, the case study evidence, revealed an internal contradiction in understanding the roles and contributions of markets. This meant a failure to see the compatibility between markets run as commercial entities (requiring business planning and commercial expertise to run them successfully) with markets run as a public service being equally able to serve community needs. Thus, whilst official planning policy recognised their retail and economic value to some extent, this valuation seldom reached the market management and elected councillors who seemed duty bound to handle them solely as a 'not-for-profit' public service despite

recognising the need to treat them as commercial/retail activities. Therefore, inadequate conceptualisation of the multiple roles markets within both planning and management practices for markets seemed to fuel their marginalisation across the council that would inevitably perpetuate their overall decline. Hence, making the overall direction of the council's attitude towards markets more control focused rather than promotional (contrary to the sentiments of PPS6).

## **Chapter 8: Conclusion**

This research investigation had two central aims. The first aim was to examine the contemporary relevance (and nature) of markets through representations of them as physical, functional, and social (public) space. The second aim was to explore the role and effects of planning policy and management approaches in sustaining markets through a survey of London boroughs and a single local authority case study – Camden.

### **1. Conceptual and contextual framework**

Thus, one of the key objectives of this research was to develop through a critical exposition of existing literature a conceptual framework for understanding markets. In doing so, it provided analysis of our contemporary understanding of what a market is through a number of stages (chapters). Firstly, a 'definitional' analysis (Chapter 2) set out the common or normative conceptions of the market. Secondly, a theoretical analysis (chapter 3) suggested an alternative way of looking at markets, and in particular its multiple meanings. Thirdly, there was an analysis of the roles, contributions, and perceived causes of the decline of markets (chapter 4). Finally, the way markets have been made, managed and regulated overtime and within the contemporary contexts were explored (chapters 4 and 5).

The definitional analysis (Chapter 2) began by unpacking the competing definitions of a market, revealing the complexity underpinning such an apparently simple concept. It highlighted the limitations of existing market definitions and the ease in which it could be applied to other forms of retailing such as (fixed) shops. Attempts to draw distinctions between the market and other forms of retailing were made more complex by their varying modern manifestations that blurred the boundaries between both market types and other types of retailing.

Overall, the analysis suggested that the usefulness of the word market lies in its appropriation as an umbrella terminology to encompass its diversity and complexity

in nature. The definitional analysis was considered limited as it seemed to strip markets from their wider economic, political, and social contexts. This wider context was brought out in a theoretical cross-disciplinary analysis.

Through the theoretical cross-disciplinary analysis (chapter 3), this paper highlighted the multiple meanings associated with markets held across a range of academic social science disciplines. This also examined whether these could provide a basis for a unified conceptualisation of markets. Theories of spatialisation offered different conceptions of the market space in which the focus of analysis was not only on the physical ('land as territory') and on the built form, but also the social and symbolic meanings attached to such spaces. The literature suggested multiple interpretations and functions of markets, beyond their normative retail/economic conceptions, as key components in the social and political constructions of a public sphere. This appears to be in line with public policy discourses of them where markets exist as a form of multi-purpose space (although, in planning policy discourse they remain as retail space).

More broadly, the theoretical conceptualisation suggested a dichotomy in the academic debates on public space and public sphere. Thus, theorists highlighted their virtues while noting the decline they now face (e.g. 'the retreat of state' and the 'privatisation' and 'commodification' of their provision, etc). Importantly, the literature suggested that public concerns with the decline of the public sphere could be traced as far back arguably to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

The historical analysis (chapter 4) of the evolution of markets reiterates this viewpoint of public concerns with decline. In particular, the processes of modernisation reproduced and redefined the spatial form and role of the market. Hence, the space of the market is a place of conflict, contestation, and negotiation; a manifestation of wider changes in society and in the urban built environment. Many of these changes, often seen as progressive, made markets less public. For example, government interventions acted to abolish certain activities whilst regulating and controlling others. The commodification of market spaces resulted in its conversion from customary 'communal' practices to formal commercial practices that proved to be more exclusionary to certain people, practices, and activities than

before. Therefore, the market's longstanding social presence also contained a historical discourse centred on its control, regulation, and segregation/zoning of its activities.

More importantly, this analysis highlighted the multiple ways in which the planning and regulation of markets is intricately related to conceptions of what it is. Furthermore, the history of markets is not only a history of their physical presence or existence as a form of retailing, but also a narrative of how the local government and the state shapes, regulates and manages this space. This theme is carried forward into the contemporary context and into the case study, analysis of local government practices around markets in London and Camden.

In the contemporary context, markets receive renewed social and political interest. The analysis highlighted two recurrent themes in public policy - on the one hand, their potential benefits (e.g. a wide range of social and economic benefits) and on the other the decline, they now appear to face. The existing evidence suggests that a combination of the market's distinct characteristics, negative perceptions of street trading activities and wider retailing and socio-economic changes (highlighted in chapter 5) have contributed to a decline in their trade and customer base.

Secondly, the interest in the potential for markets to perform a 'public good' has led to their adoption in a wide range of public policy agendas, and specifically in planning policy. In particular, the analysis suggests that markets play an important role in social exclusion policy agendas that aim to help marginal social groups. However, whether or not markets can actually fulfill the wide range of public policy goals attributed to them remain untested and requires further research.

## **2. Empirical Analysis**

In addressing the second aim the empirical research explored the role planning could or should play in protecting markets, and whether policy intervention was justified and effective. The research first examined how London boroughs had



prioritised and thought about markets in their official policy and practices. Secondly, it examined, through a detailed case study, the reality of 'day-to-day' local government management practices around market trading. This examined both attitudinal issues and perceptions of the market, i.e. by comparing official policy with actual practice, etc.

The historic development of markets as a public service area means that the main recipient and implementer of PPS6 is local government. Hence, due to the statutory obligation to adhere to the recommendations in PPS6 set by central government, nearly all the 33 London boroughs surveyed had adopted some form of land-use planning policy statement supporting markets as a form of 'retail' in their development plans (applicable to all market types and operators within the boroughs).

The survey suggested that nearly all boroughs were primarily linking markets with town centre development (like PPS6) and the potential for them to assist in their regeneration and therefore needing to be a key part of any town centre strategy. It also suggested that boroughs were inadvertently recognising the markets wider contributions, i.e. that they were more than something that generates footfall and profits and act as retail anchors but also as a flexible public space which could accommodate other uses such as entertainment and community events. Additionally, some were recognising markets for their ability to provide affordable fresh food for diverse ethnic and lower socio-economic groups, which reflect the aims of tackling social exclusion and promoting healthy eating in wider public policy agendas.

Furthermore, the survey of London boroughs outlined previously unexplored aspects of planning policy - the adoption of government policy locally – but it did not consider to what extent other local and contextual factors (apart from PPS6) influenced decisions to have a market policy within each borough, and how it may have affected non-LA-run markets. The case study research of Camden to some extent considers these aspects, but for one borough only.

Nevertheless, this lends weight to the central government view that the planning system must play a key role in offering support to all markets. The overall coverage in local planning policy suggests interest in markets as more than an 'add-on' in policy statements and that policy is becoming integrated within the more mainstream planning themes.

In contrast, the Camden case study suggests that planning policies in practice primarily focused on mitigating the negative externalities associated with marketing activity. Therefore, the focus of policy appears designed for 'development control' (i.e. in planning application decision-making) even though there was strategic level support and protection for them. Similarly, the approach to the day-to-day management of markets operated through a regulatory control approach, i.e. through 'harsh policing' approaches leaving little room for their long-term strategic management and service planning. This is in large part attributed to the pre-existing complex range of statutory duties market managers need to take into account in order to meet government licensing and regulatory requirements. Consequently, both planning policy and management approaches were relatively distinct and for good reasons operated independently of each other (i.e. each operating under different sets of regulations, legislations, and policies).

Therefore, the regulations of markets have often meant their negative representation in official perceptions and policies. Regulations placed emphasis on the control of the negative externalities associated with and generated by the market space (i.e. the health, traffic, and aesthetic hazard issues) whilst overlooking their potential economic and social benefits - as an important source of employment and consumer service (outlined in chapter 5). Hence, state policies have often included a complex mix of 'persecution, tolerance, regulation, and promotion' (Bromley, 2000: 17). This resulted in policies that have tended to marginalize and devalue the space of the market (i.e. physically and socially) but without complete eradication from urban shopping centres or in social significance.

In recognition of the challenges markets face, there appears to be a growing political will within the local authority to take a more pro-active and strategic approach towards markets. This does not seem to be directly connected with

PPS6's influence locally but rather coincides with a growing political interest in them and moves towards co-ordination of policy approaches for markets at central government level. This could help provide clear objectives for the council to work from, i.e. understanding that markets can operate compatibly both as a commercial and public service entity, etc.

### **3. Research contributions**

- Role of appropriate conceptualisations

This research investigation sought, through its' conceptualisation of markets, to understand the nature of markets and their contemporary relevance. Examination of this highlighted the unresolved issue of whether markets are fundamentally retail or public space and the nature of the relationship between these two. The research suggests that the lack of clarity continued to play itself out into current public policy discourses on markets. On the one hand, national governments planning policy limit the markets conceptualisation to retail functions by framing them through PPS6 – a tool designed primarily to control and manage retail land-use location and development. Incoherently though, the government also recognised the critical role of markets in wider public policy agendas through their multifaceted public good potentials. This is in large part attributed to the fact that different government departments were valuing markets as a policy vehicle for delivering other differing departmental policy goals. Importantly, the empirical evidence from this research indicated a much narrower view – markets valued as retail – filtering down into local level practice. Hence, there continues to be a theoretical muddle around conceptualising markets. Clarification of this at the academic/theoretical level would contribute to a more effective policy approach regardless of whether that is social or urban planning policy.

The need for a clearer conceptualisation of markets would require a better understanding of the diversity of market types and an appreciation of their differing functions (roles/contributions). This would then provide policymakers with a more nuanced understanding of the differing challenges or threats facing differing types

and operators of markets and aid the delivery of appropriate interventions, in terms of their management and planning approaches.

For example, in attempting to generalise the diversity of market types this research has been able to identify two distinct types of ‘retail’ markets – speciality and non-speciality markets - based on the type of goods sold. The non-specialist ‘traditional’ markets selling everyday essentials tend to be LA-run and are more likely to be valued for their social or public roles and contributions but are also regarded as the ones facing the greatest challenges. The specialist markets on the other hand are more likely to be privately run or under an alternative form of management arrangement, and are more commercially successful and stable than traditional types and valued more for their economic roles and contributions (see Table 8.1).

**Table 11: A Typology of Markets found in London**

Physical components			Subjective characteristics		
Type of market	Market management	Type of Goods sold	Perceived Market health	Probable clientele	Perceived roles
Specialist	LA-run	Food	stable	Higher income groups	Greater economic roles
		Non-food			
		Mixed			
	Private	Food	Most stable		
		Non-food			
		Mixed			
	Other approaches	Food	stable		
		Non-food			
		Mixed			
Non-Specialist	LA-run	Food	Most decline	Lower income groups	Greater social roles
		Non-food			
		Mixed			
	Private	Food	Some decline		
		Non-food			
		Mixed			
	Other approaches	Food	Some decline		
		Non-food			
		Mixed			

The table provides a summary outlining broadly some of the key physical components of markets identified in chapter 2 and some of the key subjective characteristics discussed here and in previous chapters.

Moreover, the research highlighted the multifaceted roles, contributions - social, economic, and environmental - attributed to markets, and that different markets could potentially serve several economic or non-economic roles. It also suggested the importance of recognising that not all markets could deliver the same benefits and that some markets had a greater potential to deliver specific benefits over others. For example, non-speciality traditional market types - selling everyday convenience goods at low cost were the types that were more likely to fulfil a social role, especially to marginal social groups. By contrast, it is the speciality high-end product markets (i.e. farmers' or crafts markets), that are favoured by developers (within the public and private sectors) for investment in redevelopment or regeneration schemes. They are more likely to deliver higher economic returns by attracting more affluent customers (e.g. Buck Street Market, Camden).

Furthermore, the research highlighted the reasons for market decline to be far more complex, going beyond the need for appropriate conceptualisations of them. More specifically decline has meant decline in 'the core business' across the entire retail market sector, as evidenced by falling shopper numbers, decreasing stall occupancy rates, and declining market turnover which has coincided with growth of supermarkets, cheap retail outlets and other socio-economic factors. Significantly, the evidence also suggests that these factors have affected all markets in differing ways, even though there continues to be some successes in all market types.

However, it is argued that LA-run 'traditional' markets are the ones facing the most acute problems, largely attributed to poor local authority management of them. This is often criticised for being too bureaucratic, costly, lacking financial resources for investment and a lack of the appropriate 'business' skills and planning within in-house market teams. Conversely, these issues do not appear to affect private sector markets, which benefit from a relatively more pro-active, cost-effective, and profit driven business approach. Furthermore, local authority planning policy has also been accused of contributing to this decline largely through unfavourable land-

use, re-location and regeneration decision-making. Thus, creating the impetus for both these components to be reconciled in solutions for markets.

- Management solutions

In terms of finding an effective management approach, the key questions local authority decision-makers would need to consider is whether to retain all their markets or relinquish control of some. They would need to consider whether to have a set of strategic priorities for their whole markets portfolio, individual aims for each market, or to have differing management approaches for differing markets under their control. There is a steady growth of best practice of alternative management approaches tried by some local authorities, from which lessons could be drawn upon. The examples, of the success of Borough Markets' 'Trustee' led social enterprise model; Glasgow's 'Arms Length' public-partnership approach alongside the more common and tried and tested successes of the private sector management approach (e.g. Camden Town markets) suggest there are many alternative models already being used, that work well and could offer solutions for LA-run markets experiencing problems.

For example, in Camden, the council (elected members) expressed a desire to retain and rejuvenate their entire markets portfolio with local economic and community needs maintained. Therefore, on that basis a number of *intermediate* options present themselves as potential alternatives to the existing problematic in-house management approach. For example, the Partnership, Arms-length or Shared management models present viable options, i.e. to form a mutual alliance between the local authority and external third parties with differing levels of formality and informality agreed (for the further details of their strengths and weaknesses refer to Appendix 4). These would allow the local authority flexibility to retain overall ownership of the markets portfolio and control the strategic planning and management for markets whilst delegating to the external provider the 'day-to-day operational' management and some or all regulatory/enforcement functions. This scenario would provide the benefit of a level of accountability to remain within the local authority.

The decision-making could also consider the option of singling out one or two markets for a completely different model to the rest, due to specific public benefits they bring. For example, Camden's Queens Crescent and Charlton St Markets are relatively small unprofitable markets for which the council has expressed a desire to retain due to their social roles and contributions to a particular low-income community. Therefore, under this scenario, one option would be to form a co-operative not-for-profit model with explicit social goals such as a 'social-community enterprise' 'voluntary' or 'shared management' option, with representation from the local community and traders. Although each of these approaches have slightly different merits they could all fulfil the goal to maintain community and social needs over profit maximisation (see Appendix 4).

In contrast, the success of private sector markets in Camden Town suggests that they are better equipped to deliver more competitive and profitable markets. They are largely specialists and do not suffer from lack of capital investment or promotion, and are operated as a commercial business and not as a public service, hence prolonged loss making is not an option as it would result in market closure. Private markets also appear to benefit from the fact that most operate outside the local authorities licensing framework although some are either licensed under LA markets rights or have their own charter rights (detailed in chapter 4). Therefore, the transfer of all or some markets operations - particularly the more specialist types fulfilling a leisure/economic role - to a private sector operator is an option that should not be ruled out. This could help free up resources for the markets not doing so well.

Despite the specific problems local authority markets face and the merits of alternative management models, there are still numerous merits in it continuing to operate markets - providing existing problems can be resolved. This is due to the fact the local authority is in the best position to implement a long-term view in supporting and prioritising markets, particularly for non-financial reasons, i.e. in the public interest. It can also help integrate the markets development into the wider planning and regeneration of the public realm, for both LA-run and non-LA-run markets (existing or new) within a given locality. Thus being able to recognise strategically (within both land-use planning and management practices) the complementarity between markets and the differing roles different markets perform,

outside and within its control. Nevertheless, the research has highlighted the need for further research to evaluate what the impact has been for those market operators changing management models across differing sectors.

Furthermore, regardless of the management approach taken, local authorities would still need to tackle some of the other critical issues they face. In particular, as argued above, in order for markets to become more successful, they need to have more than a pro-active management and good planning approach. They also need the following: integration with town/shopping centres and local communities; long term investment; promotion; adopt a unique selling point (i.e. specialisation where appropriate) cater for its customer base, and/or community needs within its catchment area; develop local partnership working with key stakeholders; and draw lessons from best practice from other markets (House of Commons, 2009). The implementation of these components would be further aided by legislative reform, in particular in London, to the LLA Act 1990, which would help steer the regulatory emphasis away from management and help remove some of the existing obstacles it perceivably creates.

#### Role of planning

In considering the role planning has played and could play in remedying the challenges faced by markets, the research evidence found that the role of planning is relatively limited and lies primarily in providing the physical protection of land-use. This could be achieved by enabling local planning decision-makers to give greater recognition to the space needs of all markets and by protecting their existing designations (for both LA-run and non-LA-run markets), i.e. their prime locations and especially those near public transport. This appears necessary and justified due the intense competition in central locations for space and pressures from other sources.

Central governments recognition of markets – even though it is through national retail land-use planning policy - PPS6 - has been able to effectively raise the profile of a previously forgotten component of the built environment and created a new



political platform for it. PPS6 has played an influential role in shaping local planning policy. The policy support for markets endorsed in PPS6 on the surface appears to contain the right approach since it suggests that markets are best supported locally - through local governance. It is attempting to steer planning intervention away from its preoccupation with development control to its protection (the traditional focus) and to its continuous management (through its promotion and investment). Hence, recognising the interdependencies between appropriate planning and management activity for the healthy survival of markets. Thus, planning has so far contributed in shaping the physical expression of the market as well as leading the way in shaping the public discourse around it, both nationally and locally.

Whilst, PPS6 reflected a desire to connect the planning and management of markets, in practice, the case of Camden, demonstrated that despite the presence of planning support for markets there was almost no integration between planning and management activities. Furthermore, this disconnection needs to be understood through the context of a historically fragmented planning and management approach confounded by distinct sets of regulations/legislations/policies that different LA departments adhere to. This strongly demonstrated the inherent complexities in achieving such a goal and that the role of planning is much more limited when compared to the larger complex role market management needs to play in ensuring the successful survival of markets.

Furthermore, PPS6 through local planning policy, presents a desire to protect and prevent the further loss of markets, however, evidence suggests that the main problems are not necessarily to do with the loss of markets but about the issue of decline, i.e. low demand from traders and consumers, etc. Decline, nevertheless, remains a relatively subjective concept due to the lack of clear and consistent data collection. The evidence suggests that whilst poor planning decisions can obviously contribute to the decline or loss (of both LA-run markets and non-LA run markets), poor day-to-day 'operational' management is considered to be far more detrimental to the long-term health of any market. Thus suggesting a greater need for improving the management more than the planning approaches for markets.

PPS6's emphasis on the continued pro-active management of markets underlines a potentially new collaborative role between market managers and planners within the decision-making process. For example, the research has shown declining markets need to respond to wider trends in retailing and consumer demands in addition to changing local contexts. Thus, in relation to assessing whether there is 'a continued demand for a market's use' the market managers (through contact with traders/customers overtime) would need to utilise their knowledge or data of pitch usage, demands for particular types of products, turnover rates, consumer habits, catchment areas, etc. This ultimately necessitates a long-term commitment to monitoring market health within the LA. Therefore, it could connect with and deploy the planners skills in 'evidence-based policy-making' to utilise a range of social (demographic) and economic datasets to understand local and national contexts. This approach could help deliver more reflexive outcomes for markets, such as appropriate responses for market size, infrastructure capacity and conditions, etc. The empirical research suggested that this is an under-utilised much needed resource that could be beneficial for the purpose of a more successful coordination of the strategic planning for markets within a locality.

Moreover, a supportive local institutional context with a supportive regulatory and legislative context is just as much needed - where opposing interests and established practices need to be reconciled before market interventions and policies have the potential to be successful. This inadvertently requires bringing different local stakeholders together into the decision-making process. For instance, the development of a successful council-wide market strategy would require local political endorsement and cross-departmental support for it to work given the fragmented nature of market responsibilities.

Finally, this will mean Local authorities helping to facilitate the expansion of all markets within the borough, i.e. by treating sympathetically new non-local authority market applications, and to enable them to run in isolation or co-location within a traditional market. Importantly it will also require recognition that locally each market is unique and reflects the character and demographics of the surrounding area. Therefore as no two markets are identical, a one size fits all approach will not do and each market will still require individual solutions (e.g. in the form of individual business plans).

#### 4. Evaluation of empirical research

The choice of a mixed method approach proved invaluable given the nature of this previously unexplored research theme and time constraints involved (and scope for MPhil study). For example, the use of the web-based and telephone survey, and the use of discourse style content analysis for the London survey proved to be a relatively accessible way to obtain background and descriptive level data that was missing in the research topic. However, it was not without its limitations, particularly in relation to determining *causality* between borough policies and practices. For instance, it was difficult to ascertain the extent of the relationship between local authority planning support for markets and its influence on the other wider council 'support initiatives' for markets and the underlying rationale underpinning those.

In contrast to the London survey, the case study of Camden revealed the time-consuming nature of a detailed approach and complexity in navigating through and understanding the structures and decision-making instruments and the diverse range of actors involved in one local authority for markets. Although informal discussions with participants requesting clarification of 'council-workings' and the researchers insider knowledge helped overcome some of these barriers along the way. The case study highlighted a number of localised and historic factors influencing the decision-making structures around markets therefore making the results very area-specific and difficult to generalise across other London boroughs and across the UK.

Therefore, any further research would require careful representation of case studies and geographical spread and, i.e. comparing boroughs with markets policies/initiatives with those without formal market support, and then evaluating their respective outcomes. Additionally, it would need to tackle a number of questions raised in response to the two key themes of this research, and which have been highlighted throughout this analysis, e.g. the need to have clearer definitions, and the need to examine the true extent and causes of the perceived decline. This also relates to the fact that there appears to be a gap between anecdotal evidence and quantitative analyses. Importantly, to undertake more in-depth research on a number of different market types, types of ownerships and management approaches (including non-local authority owned/run markets) and

within different local authority settings across the country to understand e.g. differing policy approaches and their effectiveness. In addition, the user (customer) and trader perspectives and roles would be a further useful and important dimension to consider which has been under-explored in this research.

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## Appendix 1: List of key informants interviewed

Date	Job Title	Code for interviewee	<b>London Borough of Camden officials:</b>
08.01.2010	Senior market officer	SMO1	<i>Commercial and Trading team - Streets Environment Services division; Culture and Environment directorate</i>
22.05.2010	Senior market officer	SMO2	<i>Commercial and Trading team - Streets Environment Services division; Culture and Environment directorate</i>
07.06.2020	Market service manager	MSM	<i>Commercial and Trading team - Streets Environment Services division; Culture and Environment directorate</i>
14.06.2010	Senior planning policy officer	SPO	Forward planning – Planning and Public Protection; <i>Culture and Environment directorate</i>
25.06.2010	Senior (regeneration) planning officer	SRO	Regeneration and renewal – Planning and Public Protection; <i>Culture and Environment directorate</i>
14.05.2010	elected councilor (Labour party)	EM1	Current cabinet member with market service portfolio
21.05.2010	elected councilor (Conservative party)	EM2	former cabinet member with market portfolio (more than 5 years)
<b>Private sector informant:</b>			
8.08.2010	manager of private market in Camden Town	PMO	Camden Town Markets

## Appendix 2: Interview Schedule

The following are key questions the key informants were asked about in relation to the planning and management of markets in the Camden case study. Some questions were directed to all key informants whilst others were directed to very specific individuals as indicated in the table below. All interviews were undertaken through an 'informal discussion' style and notes were taken during the course of the interviews. The questions were used to provide a semi-structure so that certain themes were covered as directed by the main aims of the case study. Most questions were not asked in any particular order and there was always scope for improvisation and prompting in the line of questioning.

<b>Outline of the key questions covered</b>	<b>Which questions each key informant responded to:</b>
<p><b>1. Background fact finding questions of Camden's markets:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How many markets are there in Camden?</li> <li>• What type of ownership/control are they under?</li> <li>• Who owns the market rights? What type of status do the markets have</li> <li>• How many markets in total do the council own and/or run?</li> <li>• How long have these markets been in existence?</li> <li>• What kind of products/forms/times do Camden's markets have?</li> <li>• What type of clientele do markets serve?</li> </ul>	SMO1; SMO2
<p><b>2. What are the forms of rules/regulations controlling market trading activity?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the things a trader needs to do and know about before setting up a stall?</li> <li>• What rules does the council have for market trading?</li> <li>• What regulations/legislations/policies apply to them?</li> <li>• What are they designed to do?</li> <li>• What issues/problems/concerns do these raise?</li> <li>• Which markets does it apply to? Does it affect non-LA-</li> </ul>	SMO1; SMO2; MSM

run markets?	
<p><b>3. How is the responsibility and co-ordination of market functions organised?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explain the decision-making process for markets and identify the key decision makers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Who and where in the council do the decisions for markets get taken?</li> <li>○ Who is responsible for what responsibilities? i.e. who deals with licensing applications? day-to-day operational and administrative actions; enforcement issues?</li> <li>○ Who/what does the market trading team do?</li> </ul> </li> <li>• What other teams/departments are involved in market trading matters and traders?</li> <li>• What regular initiatives/actions does the council take towards supporting markets and traders? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Are they effective in supporting markets?</li> <li>○ How could they be improved?</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	SMO1; SMO2; MSM
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the roles of elected councillors? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Who makes decisions about the markets portfolio?</li> <li>○ How are they involved?</li> <li>○ Are they supportive or not?</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	EM1; EM2
<p><b>What decisions does planning take? How are they involved?</b></p> <p>Who makes the decisions on planning applications for new markets</p> <p>How is planning involved in the regeneration initiatives concerning market?</p> <p>Who initiates regeneration?</p> <p>How does planning interact with market decision-makers?</p>	SPO; SRO

<p><b>4. What are the key issues affecting markets?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is the overall health of the markets' portfolio perceived?</li> <li>• What do you think are the key issues/concerns affecting markets?</li> <li>• How well is the current system working?</li> <li>• What is the perception of how well the decision-making for markets works?</li> <li>• How are the markets doing in Camden? Are they doing well? if not what are the reasons for not doing well? if doing well why is that?</li> <li>• Which markets are specifically doing well/ or not well?</li> </ul>	<p>All interviewees from council</p>
<p><b>5. What are the solutions and what can and is being done to resolve current issues?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How can the situation of markets be improved in the council?</li> </ul>	<p>All interviewees from council</p>

<p><b>Key questions for private market operator (at Camden Lock Market) (PMO)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long has the market/s been in existence?</li> <li>• Who owns the market?</li> <li>• Who is involved in the day-to-day management of the market?</li> <li>• What type of management approach is used? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ On a day-to-day level how do things work?</li> </ul> </li> <li>• What type of regulations/legislations/policies are used to run the market?</li> <li>• How is the overall health of the market perceived? Is it considered successful or not? What are the reasons for failings/successes?</li> <li>• What interactions/contact do they have with the council and in particular the council market managers and planners? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ How do planning policy or other council decision-making (i.e. regeneration/redevelopment/public realm improvement) affect them?</li> </ul> </li> <li>• What are the issues affecting their markets and the markets sector as a whole?</li> </ul>
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### Appendix 3: Key Characteristics of Camden's Markets

Summary listing the key characteristics of Camden's markets (in 2010), by: ownership, market type, goods sold, number of pitches, and periodicity (SMO1; SMO2; PMO)

	Name of Market	Type of ownership	Type of market	Type of goods & function	No. of pitches available	No. days
1.	Inverness St Market	Borough run	Street	Non-specialist, mixed goods.	34	7 days
2.	Earlham St Market	Borough run	Street	Non-specialist, (3 permanent traders sell food ) mixed goods	22	6 days
3.	Leather lane Market	Borough run, Charter market	Street	Non-specialist, mixed goods (3 permanent traders sell food );	141	5 days
4.	Queens Crescent Market	Borough run, Charter market	Street	Non-specialist, mixed goods (3 permanent traders sell food ) monthly; farmers' market once month	75	2 days
5.	Chalton St Market	Borough run, Charter market	Street	Non-specialist, mixed goods (3 permanent traders sell food);	76	1 day
6.	Plender St Market	Borough run, Charter market	Street	Non-specialist, mixed goods.	12	6 days
7.	Camden Lock Market	Private	Covered	Specialist (arts, crafts, clothes etc) Tourist market	400	7 days
8	Camden Lock Village Market	Private	Covered (small shop units)	Specialist (arts, crafts, clothes etc); Tourist market	500	7 days
9	Camden Market (Buck St)	Private	Covered	Specialist (arts, crafts, clothes etc); Tourist market	n/a	7 days
10	Electric Market	Private	Covered (indoor)	Specialist (arts, crafts, clothes	n/a	1 day



				<i>etc; Tourist market)</i>		
11	<i>Stables Market</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Covered (indoor shop units)</i>	<i>Specialist (antiques, vintage etc); Tourist market</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>Daily (7 days)</i>
12	<i>Birchington Road Market</i>	<i>Borough run</i>	<i>Street</i>	<i>Non-specialist, Food (fruit and vegetable)</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6 days</i>
13	<i>Goodge Place Market</i>	<i>Borough run</i>	<i>Street</i>	<i>Non-specialist, mixed goods</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6 days</i>
14	<i>Kingsgate Community Centre Lamplight Market</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Indoor - Community centre</i>	<i>Non-specialist, mixed goods, Bric-a-brac, Non-food</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>1 day</i>
15	<i>Parliament Hill Farmers' Market</i>	<i>Private, (London farmers' market)</i>	<i>Indoor - School</i>	<i>Specialist, Food</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>1 day a week</i>
16	<i>Swiss Cottage Market</i>	<i>Borough run</i>	<i>Street</i>	<i>Specialist, mixed goods (1 day farmers' market)</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>3 days</i>

## Appendix 4: Summary of Different Market Management Models.

(Adapted from DCLG report 'Retail Markets – management models' (2010).

<b>Management model</b>	<b>Structure</b>	<b>which markets useful for</b>	<b>Benefits/value</b>
<b>Private</b>	Run as business for profit Either licensed by local authority or outside its license framework	Failing individual markets For both specialists/non specialists	Contributes to local economy Improves retail offer i.e. themed/speciality products
<b>Trader</b>	Co-operative model Run by traders Cut losses	Failing individual markets Traditional and farmers markets Markets in rural areas Infrequent times of operation	Can serve local community needs over profit maximisation
<b>Social-community enterprise</b>	Business with strong ethical/social agenda Profit not main driver	Small markets Infrequent times of operation	Maximise local economic, social, and environmental benefits Can serve local community needs over profit maximisation
<b>Voluntary sector</b>	Managed by volunteers Set up by community organisation with support of members of the community	Community focused Small-scale with small profits Infrequent times of operation	Can serve local community needs over profit maximisation Often surplus donated to charity
<b>Public</b>	Service provided and owned by local authority market team	Portfolio of larger markets in any location	Seen as public service brings retail choice to town centres can serve public interest/community needs
<b>Partnership</b>	Public-private agreement Local authority retains strategic management/planning but operational management outsourced, i.e. to private company or between local authorities and businesses	Failing portfolio of markets Lack of capital investment and in-house expertise	Profit generation Improvement of the market environment Specialist market offer created can serve public interest/community needs
<b>Arms length</b>	Limited liability partnership Local authority retain	Failing portfolio of markets Lack of capital	Investment of markets Expands market offer

	ownership of markets but a long-term lease of market management to partnership	investment and in-house expertise	can serve public interest/community needs
<b>Shared management</b>	Between different public sector organisations Can be formal/informal arrangement	Small markets Small town/parish councils with market portfolio Large cities with markets portfolio	Sharing service approach i.e. costs and staff resources for portfolio Share best practice Procuring specific aspects of service, e.g. security, waste management can serve public interest/community needs