



# UNDER CONSTRUCTION

A case study about The Hague Market

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Master Thesis  
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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 PRESENTATION OF THE THEME

Marketplaces are commercial and gathering areas strongly connected to the development of cities in Europe. From the early days in history, when they were the only supply venue of food and other basic articles for urban settlements (Urbact Project, 2015a), they offer settings for socialisation, performing a role of public space specially for regions that lack these kinds of areas (Janssens & Sezer, 2013a). Nowadays, however, due to the strong competition represented by supermarkets and the lack of recognition by local governments across Europe about their importance (Watson, 2006 and 2009; Janssens, 2014), some Marketplaces face the risk of continuously fading or of being simply extinguished in the soon future.

Although many municipalities keep unaware of the possibility of addressing marketplaces more widely, some recent initiatives are trying to enhance their recognition and foster urban markets redevelopment. It is the case of the 'Urbact Markets' project from the European Union which goal is to 'understand and explore the role of urban markets as key drivers of change in terms of local economic development, regeneration and sustainable living' (Urbact Project, 2015b, para. 1). At the same time, there is a growing literature bringing the theme of marketplaces' (plural) importance for cities (e.g. Balat, 2013; Costa et al, 2015; Filipi, 2013; Fulford 2005 & 2007 Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Mehta & Gohil, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; Qiang, 2013; Reijndorp, 2009; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Watson, 2006 & 2009). These old well-known settings of urban everyday life are being academically recognised as much more than commercial areas, framed as important urban development actants.

Within the kaleidoscope potentialities of street markets, its relevance for a positive experience of diversity is acknowledged (Costa et al, 2015; Fulford, 2005 & 2007; Hou, 2010 ; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Janssens, 2014; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; PPS, 2003; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Urbact Project, 2015a; Watson, 2009). Since intrinsically characterized by the reunion of different participants, marketplaces are indicated to be explored for the performance of integration in their surrounding areas (neighbourhoods and sometimes whole cities).

Integration policies (closely connected to the presence of diversity in cities) as well as its impacts for socializing processes within urban contexts, are themes that keep attracting authors since the late twentieth century (Dikeç, 2012; Favell, 2008; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Philips, 2010; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Sennett, 1970/2008 & 1977; Valentine, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2008; Uitermark et al, 2005). It is undeniable that globalization gave rise to closer connections between nations, raising new challenges in dealing with the migration fluxes effects, i.e. cities characterised by ethnic and racial differences (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998 in Watson, 2009). As so, observe and reflect on the social interactions and the conviviality with differences in the cities became essential for geographers, sociologists and planners to deal and project for this new reality.

The intention of this thesis is to explore the role that marketplaces can play in assisting the integration processes within cities. It intends, however, to follow a different trend than the recognised in the accessed academic literature framing street markets, one that mostly evaluates

the effectiveness of encounters and exchanges occurred 'by chance' during the market event, at 'ground level'. By 'ground level' it is meant the different kinds of engagements between sellers, between sellers and consumers and between visitors their selves taking place in the market. The present study will explore marketplaces' integration potentialities through an 'organisational level', analysing the possibilities for generation of more social cohesion, (i.e. disposition to collaborate for a common goal) between the varied stakeholders and groups joined within and around the market. The market becomes the motor since it is the matter that unites these parts, providing 'sustained encounters' (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011).

The Hague Market is taken as a case study for the mentioned research purpose. It is the biggest street market in the Netherlands and located between two highly multicultural and complex neighbourhoods of The Hague (Transvaal and Schilderswijk). After a long period being overlooked by the municipal government, responsible for its administration, the market is currently passing through extensive (physical and management) renovation. The refurbishment, besides the construction of new permanent stalls is also raising questions about the importance, future and potentialities of this market.

Following a path of experimentation, The Hague Market is being used as a centralizing tool of common purposes for representatives of market traders, neighbourhood and vicinity entrepreneurs. Moreover, the reuniting function appears as well in the creation of partnerships with other institutions and projects such as collaboration with schools of practical knowledge in the area of Transvaal and Schilderswijk. How this network generation connecting different stakeholders makes the market performs further its integration potentialities is the focus of this research.

## **1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTION**

The objective of the present study is to evaluate the integrative potential (i.e. capacity of enhancing integration) of Marketplaces beyond the interactions performed during the realisation of the market event/ days (named here 'ground level'). The street market involves not just the presence of sellers and buyers in a specific area, but at least also regulating agents, neighbourhood, products' producers and other retail sellers of the region where it is located. Taking this fact as a starting point, how can the market perform an integration function bringing these stakeholders together for common goals?

The intention is to check the hypothesis that marketplaces can be explored for the generation or improvement of local collaboration and bounding, strengthening and facilitating communication between different actors, developing more social cohesion and respect for differences. Integration is taken as the reference for overall evaluation of the just outlined points, considering also that European countries have shown in general a renewed commitment to the matter (Phillips, 2010).

The resulting research question is:



## What is the Integrative potential of The Hague Market through its organisational level?

This broad concern leads to the following 2 sub-questions for an answer:

***a) To what extent The Hague Market's organisational level motivates de creation of partnerships and promotes more social cohesion in its Internal Realm?***

***b) To what extent The Hague Market's organisational level motivates de creation of partnerships and promotes more social cohesion in its External Realm?***

The developed questions need a little glossary to avoid misinterpretation and clarify some used terms, adopted to simplify the questions' structure and length:

- ***Integration:*** The term relates to the capacity of 'bringing closer' persons with different features and is discussed more in depth in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.).
- ***Organisational level:*** The term is employed meaning 'at planning, strategic and decision-making level', where groups and institutions are part of a network that performs activities related to the market's functioning and organisation. The current organisational level of The Hague Market is performed through a cooperation approach.
- ***Internal Realm:*** The realm of developing partnerships within the market i.e. group of stakeholders deeply involved in the functioning of the market and its core commercial activities. Reunites market traders and the Municipality of The Hague. More detailed information is found in Chapters 4 and 5.
- ***External Realm:*** The realm bounding The Hague Market (as a unity) with 'external stakeholders' i.e. persons not developing commercial activities in the market or involved in its direct management. Include besides the Internal Realm (as a unity) other actors from The Hague Market's area which were brought closer through the developed cooperation approach.

### 1.3 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

The societal relevance of this research is two-fold. First it addresses the unstable situation of urban street markets across Europe, which face a tendency of economic-and-city-importance decay over time, demanding awareness and new approaches from governments. Second, the contemporary importance of developing adequate understandings and actions for Integration in European cities, since the continuously evolving Globalisation and Migration processes experienced by them.

#### 1.3.1. Marketplaces Reality

Marketplaces around Europe and worldwide face the strong competition of supermarkets and other stores' chains, which gained ground in cities over the time and led most street markets to a peripheral place on the urban importance and action's agenda. The situation is worsened by the common traditional mentality held by municipalities when framing marketplaces, a historical heritage from the time of cities flourishing: markets seem as chaotic noisy places that occupy public places, blocking the way of other users and resulting in a burden for the residents, since generate a mess and leave dirt after finished (Janssens, 2014).

In the last centuries however, even being hard to manage municipalities were dependent of the markets' presence for the supply of food, earning also from the taxes paid by the traders. With the economical and supply importance diminished, some city governments tend to see street markets with a negative fading lens, resulting in negligence over its maintenance and future existence (Janssens, 2014). The resulting scenario of a marketplace treated that way is one of an emptied event, filled with discourses of nostalgia from partially idealised gold times (see Watson, 2006).

Although a recent trend, some academic researches were conducted in the last years over markets (e.g. Balat, 2013; Filipi, 2013; Fulford 2005 & 2007 Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Mehta & Gohil, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; Qiang, 2013; Reijndorp, 2009; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Watson, 2006 & 2009), revealing that they can be much more than the commercial gathering places that city authorities sometimes take them to be. They are flexible spatial and temporal organisations that provide vivid and inclusive public spaces, facilitating an improvised and spontaneous synergy between people, which is at the centre of everyday life of the city. Marketplaces can give also a sense of the life and 'soul' of a city, interesting as well for attracting tourists, improving the mix. Such kinds of events can provide places to mingle in areas that lack public facilities (Janssens & Sezer, 2013a, p. 169).

Despite the panorama about marketplaces' future presents some possible change, encouraged by academic literature, much still have to be done in the sense of transcribing the scientific knowledge to new government policies, ground where a new reality can be effectively produced. A good practical initiative in this direction is the project entitled 'Urbact markets', developed by the European Union which states: 'Local governments *have re-discovered or are rediscovering* the centrality of markets in their city and their relevance to urban development, their role in jobs creation and entrepreneurship and their importance for the social development of the neighbourhoods. Markets have a broad impact over cities: most of the quality of life indicators are influenced, such as *social development and integration*, sustainability, availability of products, mobility and employment' (Urbact Project, 2015a, emphasis added).

Section 1.3.3. develops further the reasoning.

### **1.3.2. Dealing with Diversity and Integration**

As already outlined in the Presentation of the Theme, Diversity and Integration are contemporary focus of societies, researchers and governments. They are clearly addressed in the writings of Phillips (2010), Valentine (2008), Van Leeuwen (2008), and also found as central issues in books of renowned writers as Richard Sennett and Jane Jacobs, evidencing as well its connection with socialisation in public spaces. These are evolving matters that in Europe are nowadays directly impacted by migration (Watson, 2009, p. 1585), requiring constant re-evaluation. It is not by chance that their relevance is noticed in the case study of The Hague Market: different parties representing the market traders (CVAH and VETRA) clearly show an ethnical division, which possibly result of the difficulties of dealing with diversity and integrating.

While Diversity as an important contemporary matter is not contested, exemplified by situations as the one briefly mentioned, the way in which researchers address it is however as varied as the concept can etymologically explain. How to frame the issue also creates impact for the development of policies concerning integration between different groups. Integration is a very debated and

elusive concept, turning harder to measure the efficacy of policies' outcomes (Phillips, 2010). Even so, European countries have shown in general a renewed commitment to develop national actions defending the improvement of social mixing and promoting ethnic desegregation and unity, since the questions of immigrant integration have become increasingly politicized (Phillips, 2010, p. 209; Watson, 2009).

The Netherlands is not an exception in the European scenario of high amount of immigrant's reception. Dutch society is internationally advertised as a tolerant, open, cutting-edge one, but is this *tolerance* seen (and felt) in the dwelling of the inhabitants? The answer for this question is too beyond the scope of the present research; however it is important to reflect about it, since tolerance refers to integration and offers a new perspective on the innovative capacity of cities. It largely depends on the city's openness towards minorities and foreigners, which is more than tolerance of different religions or sexual preferences. The degree of openness of a city depends on the degree to which newcomers gain access to the existing networks (Reijndorp, 2009., p. 93). In opening ground for newcomers to integrate in networks, experience and knowledge can be exchanged between different individuals and groups, enriching social and economic capacities of neighbourhoods and cities.

### **1.3.3. Entangling Marketplaces and Integration**

The present study joins the discoveries that open new horizons for marketplaces' presence in cities. It provides information about the possible integrative potential of markets in neighbourhoods, encompassing in The Hague Market case study the integration of 'native Dutch' and 'immigrant' groups, considering as well other less prominently recognised diversity characteristics. It is coherent to reflect about 'why questions of integration tend to focus on religious or cultural differences, or socially constructed ideas of "race", when other groups (such as class and identity groups) are also socially and spatially separated and often marginalized?' (Phillips, 2010, p.210; Watson, 2009). Transvaal and Schilderswijk, besides highly multicultural are also considered disadvantaged neighbourhoods of The Hague (VROM 2007; DHIC/CBS/RIO 2015). The aspect intersects ethnical origin and possibly deepens processes of social exclusion in the urban fabric.

In exploring the role of street markets through an organisational level, one that possibly bounds more profoundly the involved stakeholders, it is expected to produce meaningful data for society and more specifically to The Hague and its municipality. The Hague has more than half of its inhabitants from foreign origins, mixing more than 140 different backgrounds (Baldewsingh, 2015a). The resulting information will better inform the municipality of The Hague and also other cities governments about the extent that street markets can be employed in development of neighbourhood integration and social cohesion enhancement.

Projects for better integration are a demand on European cities and should be performed. It is necessary however to pay attention to the nuances and sensibilities naturally connected to the matter of diversity experience. The different social groups and individuals need to feel safe in this approximation (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Marketplaces' with its characteristic open- well-known-atmosphere and democratic environments (Janssens & Cezer, 2013; Watson, 2009) is hypothesised, can function as a fertile ground for this mixing and integrating, even if through an organisational and more durable level .

#### 1.4. SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Academic literature already revealed substantial information about marketplaces and its importance for cities as urban development strategies. Their potential for the experience of diversity and socialisation was also already mentioned, as in the question posed by Janssens and Sezer: *How can marketplaces function as urban development strategies that facilitate the interaction among different people and groups in the public space of the city, and hereby support inclusive city life?* (2013a, p. 170). The focus is also found in Watson's article *The Magic of the Marketplace: Sociality in a Neglected Public Space* (2009), where she explores the potentiality of markets as public spaces where multiple forms of sociality are enacted.

Although the theme was already addressed in publications, scientific information over specifically the integrative potential of marketplaces is still quite new (Watson, 2009), a growing trend to be further developed. What is innovative however about this research is the intention of evaluating marketplaces' potential in integrating different stakeholders, addressing a 'network layer'. It means taking the integration possibility from the 'ground' of the everyday life event of the market, in the exchanges performed by traders and consumers, and bring it to a supra organisational sphere, where you involve and unite agents, institutions and projects around the market's realisation.

There are divergences in academic literature about what can be called a meaningful encounter, an experience that can actually deconstruct prejudice and develop more positive judgements about the others (Valentine, 2008). A meaningful encounter is a core matter if the intention is to develop better integration and, although marketplaces are intrinsically gathering and socially mixed spaces, how much they can provide stage for meaningful encounters is still a theme to be studied.

Understanding that brief functional meetings (with the goal of acquiring specific products) can reveal cordiality but not necessarily lead to a mentality change and prejudice deconstruction – see Valentine (2008) and Watson (2006) – the focus is taken from the 'ground level' to what is called here 'organisational level'. In this supra layer the creation of networks bounding different stakeholders around the existence of the street market can foster a deeper contact between them. The effectiveness of the partnerships existence in this context, which promote sustained encounters (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011), for the achievement of better integration is a new direction in scientific research framing marketplaces.

#### 1.5. OVERVIEW

This thesis is further structured in six chapters. The theoretical framework appears as the first (following) element to develop this report. The themes of Markets and Integration as well as some of the core concepts connected to both topics were mentioned and briefly discussed during chapter 1. To organise the content the literature accessed is divided in two groups, corresponding to the two theoretical universes addressed.

Chapter 2 (Marketplaces from a wider perspective) discusses issues that appear in the most contemporary research understandings of markets, framing them as places with multiple potentialities besides the intrinsic economic activity. The chapter is a review addressing the historical development of marketplaces and the current (almost paradoxical) perceived tendencies of their present and future functioning on cities. Some remarks are also done about the 'risk' posed

by the use of markets by neoliberal approaches, normally resulting in gentrification. Their inclusion in such agendas may eclipse their possible democratic and inclusive development. To conclude, considerations are made about the relevance of partnerships creations around the market's presence and planning.

Chapter 3 (Approaching Integration and Diversity) addresses issues related to Integration. These are general relevance matters for social life in the twenty-first century, especially considering multicultural environments as the one present in the context of the Hague Market. Integration appears as a 'policy demanding' aspect generated by the existence and experience of diversity in societies, with more acute expression in cities. Under the umbrella of integration related matters and considering the partnership approach of the case study, a reflection over what is (the desired) social cohesion is done. Integration policies tend to let implicit that a cohesive society is the overall goal. The concepts of social capital and social trust are also discussed since their relevance for partnerships.

The forth chapter presents and explain the adopted methodology for exploring the case study of the Hague Market. It starts explaining why a case study and why about The Hague Market. Following, a short explanation mentioning that the research is conducted within a qualitative framework, which reflected in the choice of the employed methods. Mixed methods are used consisting of document analysis, (ground and short) ethnography and stakeholders analysis and semi-structured interviews. What each of the methods is, how was performed and for what purpose was chosen is also explained.

Chapter 5 presents 'The Hague Market's Universe' i.e. explain the profile of the market, the connected reasons that led to its current refurbishment and the practical impacts it is generating. The goal of this chapter is to provide descriptive information about the market's physical and more importantly, social setting. It also reports the creation process of the cooperation approach, explaining the 'connection degree' of each stakeholder. Based on such ground Chapter 6 presents the results about the integrative potential of The Hague Market through its organisational level. Considering the variety of involved stakeholders the differences in patterns are traced, with accounts to the nuances and reflections over the noticed trends.

Chapter 7 consists of the conclusions, starting with the answer to the research question. The considerations over the results as well as a reflection about the research process and suggestions for further development are included.

## 2. MARKETPLACES: KALEIDOSCOPE PERSPECTIVE

It gets clear through the set of readings – both academic and not (Balat, 2013; Costa et al, 2015; Filipi, 2013; Fulford 2005 & 2007 Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Mehta & Gohil, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; PPS, 2003; Qiang, 2013; Reijndorp, 2009; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Urbact Project 2015 a & b; Watson, 2006 & 2009); that research over street markets is still a recent tendency, especially if considering their possible roles beyond the commercial importance. Most texts were produced after the year 2000. In what concerns Europe, context in which The Hague Market is included, the debate on markets has started only recently. Markets do not have their own space at EU level, being mixed with retail, agriculture, or other administrative bodies. This is not surprising since many countries, regions and local governments show a similar lack of specific body or department devoted to markets (Urbact Project, 2015a)

In the gathered material a universe of diverse cases and even apparently paradoxical conclusions (*markets are facing a decay process* (e.g. Polyák, 2014; Watson, 2006) *versus* *markets are being recognized as important urban tools and reappearing* (e.g. Costa et al, 2015) are noticed. What is intended with this chapter is to present marketplaces' subject considering the main aspects involved in it that are connectable to The Hague Market's case: the relevance of markets for the development of urban settlements; the fading tendency most of them face due to competition with other retail sectors; the concomitant current renewed interest over street markets because of their 'authenticity' and more-than-economic relevance; and the core responsibility of local authorities in both the fading and redevelopment tendencies of markets. Moreover, it is evidenced that even when government authorities present interest in supporting or creating new marketplaces, the reasons leading to the fact can be unfortunately not driven by 'democratic' intentions.

To organise the subjects addressed, the current chapter was divided in sections. Nevertheless, since the matters are highly connected, it is impossible to trace a clear division between topics and overlaps in the content will naturally appear. Also due to the nature of the subject, the order in the sections is arbitrary and does not imply a hierarchy of importance.

### 2.1 MARKETS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES THROUGH HISTORY

Marketplaces are intrinsically connected to the development and growth of urban settlements in the western world, fundamental places for exchange and supply (Costa et al, 2015; Delanda, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013b; Watson, 2009). In Ancient times they could be related to the Greek *agora* and to the Roman *forum*. The Grand Bazaar in Istanbul which construction started in 1455 is often cited as the world's oldest still-operating market (Costa et al, 2015, p. 14).

In Medieval Europe under the Feudalist system markets were essential for the resurgence of cities and main actors in the commercial revolution that characterized the early centuries of the second millennium (Delanda, 2010, p. 7). They were located at the heart of urban settlements, often surrounded by the institutions of power: town hall/ law court, representative business premises and church. As a result, markets facilitated the development of new services as retail shops and craftworks, enhancing the growth of a city and its population. Important roles for what

marketplaces offered chance were: work and trade, food and other daily goods provisions, festivities, social life, reunion and information achievement. These settings were highly sociable places where people could establish relationships within the community (Costa et al, 2015). The phenomenon could be found all over Europe in small or big cities (Urbact Project, 2015a).

Throughout history, cities and markets have sustained each other, the former providing location, demand, and social context for the latter; the latter providing sustenance, profit, and cultural verve to the former (Bestor, 2001, p. 2992 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 245). For a city government one of the main tasks was to provide the daily goods for the city through the markets' presence. It was from its ability to guarantee a constant flow of food and other necessary goods that the city gained its legitimacy to rule and, related to this, its right to collect taxes (Steel, 2009 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 249). The income generated through taxes paid by market traders was crucial to support the expansion of the city. Even more vital to city authorities, was the legitimization offered by the markets to the authorities: as the guardians of a continuous food supply. These supply impacted not just the economic and geographic growth of cities, shaping as well their appearance (Janssens, 2014).

Despite their historical core importance in the development of urban settlements, markets also posed serious difficulties to local authorities. According to Janssens (2014) although providing meaningful income and products, for many officials markets were seen as a problem: they were chaotic places where different people came together to do business, a feature that made them hard to manage. In addition, since conditions were favourable, markets grew and spread out through the city, occupying public space and becoming a burden to residents. They created a mess, they left their dirt and they blocked the way for other users (Janssens, 2014, p. 102).

The challenges and concomitant benefits of markets resulted in a paradoxical task for local governments: on one hand they had to facilitate the market and its growth - both city and their own authority depended on it. On the other hand, they had to regulate and police the marketplace, as its exuberant expansion threatened the everyday life of the city. In an attempt to constrain the market's activity, also acquiring more control over it, many European local authorities developed a system based in the existence of market halls (Fulford, 2005; Janssens, 2014; Polyák, 2014). These became sophisticated tools in the municipality's hand to respond to the challenges of modern urbanization. Through price control, quality assurance and hygiene standards, market halls helped municipal institutions become an unsurpassable link in the food chain between farmers and consumers (Polyák, 2014, pp. 51-52). Despite the containment attempt, the local authorities could not achieve a complete domain over urban street commerce as desired and less regulated street trading found ways of surviving even if illegally.

With industrialization developing through Europe, process aligned with the appearance of liberal policies, cities became more detached from its countryside and consequently less concerned with safeguarding the inflow of food (Janssens, 2014, p. 106). Food quality turned increasingly to be considered a matter between buyer and seller, so the city administration's focus shifted from facilitating markets to policing the marketplace (Falkenburg, 1912, p. 300 in Janssens, 2014, p. 106). In accordance with the historic developed aversion to the street sellers, market rules became even stricter.

Another consequence of industrialisation was the appearance of department stores, competing with a function until then performed exclusively by markets. Fulford (2005) reports that by the 1890s and the period of Ebenezer Howard's garden cities (...) markets had already started to face considerable competition, beginning to be seemed as out-dated. This opinion arose not because they were no longer functional, but since no longer fitted into the thinking of professional planners, architects and government officials about public space. Improving food supply was no longer a priority, and authorities drove their attention to services such as gas and water, slum clearance and (during the inter war years) public housing. Public markets became neglected and as a result were gradually pulled down (Schmiechen & Carl, 1999, in Fulford, 2005, p. 5).

Through this brief report about the historical development of markets in European cities it is possible to understand that as soon as the markets could be replaced by other kinds of supply establishments (department stores, supermarkets), which were much easier to control, governments stopped supporting and celebrating the markets' presence in cities. This process however was not just an outcome of the 'indispensability diminishment' of markets for cities' sustainment. It was also a result of the conflictual historic relation between markets and local governments, matter that impacts street markets' functioning and presence until nowadays in urban locations not just in Europe (Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013b; Polyák, 2014; Qiang, 2013; Watson, 2006).

## **2.2. MARKETS' FADING TENDENCY**

There are enough evidences found in literature over the critical situation faced by marketplaces around the globe (Balat, 2013; Filipi, 2013; Fulford 2005 & 2007 Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Mehta & Gohil, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; PPS, 2003; Qiang, 2013; Reijndorp, 2009; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Watson, 2006 & 2009). As example, in the United States many markets, especially the ones serving medium to low income communities have failed or are facing problems with sustainability (PPS, 2003, p. 9) In Britain over the past 20 years or more, markets have been under threat, closed down or resituated, suffering from limited strategic thinking at national level and a distinct lack of investment as local authorities choose to invest in programmes and services that are deemed higher priority, such as education and housing (Watson, 2009, p. 1577). Polyák (2014) reports that in Budapest open-air markets have been closed down and market halls turned into supermarkets because of what local government calls their 'uncontrollable nature', serving as magnets for 'loiterers, the jobless and the homeless' (Janecskó, 2010 in Polyák 2014, p. 48).

Once a site of adventure, new products and entrepreneurship, the markets in recent past came to symbolize loss and decay of social cohesion in neighbourhoods. Traders recall romantic images of a bygone era in which income was at least twice as much as today, and when the profession of market trader was prestigious, because it made workers independent from an employer. At that time the profession was passed from father to son, who, since a young age, helped in the market. Nowadays, in an absolute contrast, most traders prefer their children to go to college and find a job outside of the market, because in their eyes, the future looks hopelessly bleak (Janssens & Sezer, 2013b, p. 249; Watson, 2006).



Besides the evident competition with supermarkets and shopping malls and the negligence or even aversion of some local authorities (reported also as an historic heritage in the section 2.1.), there are other ingredients mixed in this cauldron. Research evidences show that corruption (Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013b) and nostalgia (Watson, 2006) also play a role in increasing insecurity and pessimistic sensations about the future. In her research Watson (2006) mentions that despite economic evidences of decay (e.g. competition with other retail sectors) were present, nostalgia was noticed as a meaningful 're-feeding' tool in a deployed vicious circle through whitewashing the past, keeping the *status quo* and strengthening the resistance of former market traders and population in accepting newcomers. She argues that nostalgia works constraining integration possibilities through fuelling the resentment towards new immigrants in distortions of the past and present facts. Moreover this nostalgia seems to mask the 'real' reason of decay: the fact that the area and market were left forgotten by local authorities and other actors for years (Watson, 2006).

Nostalgia concepts will be more in depth mentioned in Chapter 3, focusing in Integration, Diversity and the emerging difficulties related to them for partnerships' developments. Anyway, what is interesting to notice through the work conducted by Watson (2006) is the intersection of Integration and Diversity with the universe of marketplaces. In the context researched was clear a sense of loss in social cohesion, expressed by overloaded resentments from former inhabitants towards asylum seekers. The key role played by nostalgia in this market context, straightforwardly, is of washing the ethnical conflicts of the past, when the market was more successful and the racism was directed to Black immigrants, not recognized as English citizens. Nowadays prejudice is pointed to Asiatic and Muslim newcomers and the former Black 'outsiders' are considered part of the community's coherent whole as if they have always been. The acknowledged cohesion of the past, however, never existed (Watson, 2006).

It is undeniable that many markets around the globe face a hard time and are unsure over their future existence. However, this panorama cannot be seemed as an absolute account for the reality of markets nowadays. While the traditional concept of markets is vanishing from the market halls, which face decay, the characteristic spontaneity and exchange are flourishing on the pavement outside the halls, in squares, parks, and parking places, in the districts less frequented by tourists or affluent residents. Some of these 'parasite markets' are surprisingly successful. (Polyák, 2014, p. 54)

The next section will address some statistical numbers over markets in Europe and introduce what can be called a 'redevelopment tendency'.

### **2.3. A COUNTERPOINT: MARKETS IN NUMBERS AND REAPPEARING**

Despite the just argued general tendency of decay and insecurity about the future faced by a big number of markets, the importance of semi-informal market arrangements persists today, even with food distribution increasingly taking place in supermarkets (Polyák, 2014, p. 54). To illustrate the fact, extrapolated figures from a survey carried out in 2008 showed that some 25,000 retail markets, including open-air/street and covered markets, operate in the European Union, with more than 450,000 retail market traders operating businesses in those markets. Additional to that, over one million people were deemed to be working in these retail markets, with the total turnover surpassing 40 billion Euros (Costa et al, 2015, p. 15).

Alongside the meaningful numbers representing that markets keep maintaining a place in cities despite the challenges, there is a new tendency appearing. Concomitantly and perhaps paradoxically with the fading process noticed in many urban centres, it can be also perceived that open-air markets are enjoying an increasing popularity worldwide. '*Public markets are making a comeback*' (PPS, 2003, p. 9) is reported in the document by Projects for Public Spaces over the panorama in United States. Cities that preserved their public markets (...) have brought new life and vitality to them (PPS, 2003, p. 9).

The proliferation of public markets guides witness the emergence of a new idea of markets. In the tourism industry's quest for authenticity, open-air markets are often appreciated as public spaces *par excellence* that by being local and global at the same time transmit a sense of familiarity, and where rare encounters with local people and local products are made possible (Brand, 2005, p. 156 in Polyák, 2014, p. 57). As an example of the phenomenon, thousands of farmers markets and craft markets have sprung up in cities throughout United States, attracting people back to the public spaces of their downtown and neighbourhoods (PPS, 2003, p. 9). In European Cities a similar pattern can be observed and farmer's markets are popping alongside more traditional marketplaces (Janssens, 2014, p. 98).

With the redevelopment trend also stated, it is necessary to analyse more closely which are the features of marketplaces that are celebrated (in both academic writings and not), being responsible not just for marketplaces survival in urban centres but also for leading to their 'revival'. That is why it becomes essential now to consider more in depth marketplaces through wider lens that understands them beyond the economic importance.

## **2.4. MARKETS' IMPORTANCE BEYOND ECONOMY**

### **2.4.1. Both Local and Global**

Ünlü-Yücesoy (2013) reports that just from the 1980s scholars started questioning the ideas of the market as a purely economic institution, and the marketplace as a mere container of economic transactions. Since that time professionals from anthropology, social history, sociology, and cultural studies were attracted to analyse markets as nodes of complex social processes and generators of cultural activity (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 190).

A perhaps common observation is that when we visit a new town for the first time, we often head to its main marketplace, to get a sense of the city. With the bustle of the traders and the chatting of the customers, we feel the pulse of city life (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 247) and its distinct identity (Mehta & Gohil, 2013). Through more scientific lens, the characteristics of the markets are closely related to the demographic, social, and economic structure of the city (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 194).

In marketplaces it is possible to feel and consume a sort of 'authenticity' of the place. They provide fresh typical foods and in the process of developing alternative consumption practices, contribute to changes that make spaces more desirable (Zukin, 2008, p. 736 in Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 174). Moreover, markets itself can be places of cultural heritage (Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013), transmitting local history, culture and traditions. They can be even 'exotic', offering goods and products which are difficult to find elsewhere (Watson, 2009, p. 1581) As a consequence, Markets located in town

centres are often the flagship of the town's retail system, acting as a touristic attraction - e.g. 'Boqueria' in Barcelona (Urbact Project, 2015a)

What is interesting is that although working as identity spots, 'barometers' for cities and neighbourhoods (Seale, 2015) expressing the nature of a location, marketplaces also have a global feature. Reijndorp argues that markets for centuries have formed part of a supralocal, familiar environment. That is why immigrants when in a foreign city look for places like markets. There they suspect they can deal with the situation because the routine is the same all over the world (Reijndorp, 2009, p. 98) and the social conduct is known, codes being shared by all the parties (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 193).

#### **2.4.2. Public Place Function**

Markets, generally speaking, can be intimately related to public spaces. This becomes evident since what people say about good public spaces dovetails with what they say about good markets. (Fulford, 2007, p. 1). 'Good public spaces' would be the ones where people come together and meet each other, where opinions are formed, and where 'the public' as such takes shape. Public space is, thus, not simply 'out there', but comes into being in the interaction of people (Arendt, 1958 and Habermas, 1974 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246)

In this intertwined association, markets can also work in *activating* open areas which fail to work as proper public spaces, providing uses for underutilized and vacant sites (Janssens & Sezer, 2013; Hou, 2010, Morales, 2009). Physically accessible spaces such as empty squares, avoided dead-end streets or dilapidated parks, but also busy intersections fail to be public spaces. Also spaces where certain groups of people do not feel welcome (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246). The opening of a market or its enhancement can be used to transform and renovate public space into an attractive and flexible public gathering spot for the city, where people see each other and meet (even beyond market opening hours) (Costa et al, 2015, p. 18) thereby improving both the social and the spatial qualities of those spaces (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 245).

Marketplaces works reversing the trend of internalizing and controlling the commercial activities in the urban settings (Hou, 2010, p. 113; Watson, 2009) exemplified by the image of shopping malls, seemed as simulated public space, contrived as such by spatial and capitalist economic strategies (Goss, 1993, p. 40 in Watson, 2009). As crossover spaces between the public and private, temporary and permanent, formal and informal (Hou, 2010, p. 112) markets can work as 'alternative public spaces' (Crawford, 1999) even when privately owned. They can bring disparate groups together, engendering a renewed community spirit and constituting a new sense of everyday public space where a condition of social fluidity can break down the separate, specialised, and hierarchical structures of everyday life (Crawford, 1999, p. 34) observed in more controlled places as shopping malls and supermarkets.

Descriptions over marketplaces indicate a similarity with what Anderson (2004 & 2011) calls a cosmopolitan canopy (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, Janssens & Sezer, 2013) a protective umbrella peculiar to urban life (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 200): '*The cosmopolitan canopy is peculiar in that people of diverse backgrounds feel they have an equal right to be there. In this space, they can observe and be observed by others, modelling comity unwittingly*'. (Anderson, 2011, pp. 278–279 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246). The cosmopolitan canopy helps to lift the impersonality and mistrust that emerges from living

in a crowded and highly differentiated city. With its special characteristics of activities and the nature of human conduct, the marketplace requires urban inhabitants to treat each other with a certain level of civility. The marketplace is an embodied practice of acknowledging heterogeneity and co-presence in the city. (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 200)

#### **2.4.3. Place for Interaction: Potential for Enhancing Integration and Social Cohesion**

When entering the sphere of the *cosmopolitan canopy* of Anderson, and considering markets as places where diversity and difference stem from the lived experiences through sharing places and face-to-face interactions among individuals (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 191), another potentiality of marketplaces appear: their contribution for the experience of diversity and integration within localities and even cities (Costa et al, 2015; Fulford, 2005 & 2007; Hou, 2010; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013a & b; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Morales, 2009; Urbact Project, 2015a; Polyák, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; PPS, 2003; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Watson, 2009). When diversity and integration are here stated, it is implied the relations between people with different characteristics, being them of age, gender, ethnicity, religion, social class and others. Markets can be a place to negotiate the differences and develop a 'local mosaic' where social cohesion in the market's neighbourhood can be kept or improved.

Evidences can be found about this capacity over some marketplaces examples around the globe (Hou, 2010; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Pottie Sherman, 2013; Watson, 2009) where foreigner groups can interact more openly and in a relaxed way with indigenous populations. In cases of the themed night-markets, diversity promotion and immigrant integration have emerged as part of the rationale for their development. City governments see lively international marketplaces as targeting immigrant integration, neighbourhood revitalization (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 185) and community building (Hou, 2010). The feature of 'unsettling of cultural codes' is what makes such places/ events attractive (Valentine, 1998, p. 201 in Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 185)

Increasingly community leaders and local governments see (public) markets as means of addressing some of the more vexing problems of our cities: the need to bring people of different ethnic groups and incomes together (PPS, 2003, p. 5). Social integration of a market, in the definition by Costa et al, (2015) means that it contributes to the fulfilment of the population's expectations of the neighbourhood and creates a space for social and cultural interaction and exchange (Costa et al, 2015, p.73). They can even encourage the development of other community activities (PPS, 2003, p. 7). In those areas with a high percentage of immigration, markets also offer familiar products which facilitate multicultural integration (Watson, 2009). With more multicultural integration, in the contemporary scenario of European cities, markets can help building a stronger community. In fact, as seen in some cities, when a market disappears (e.g. Búza Square Market in Pecs), the neighbourhood degrades (Urbact Project, 2015a).

In the research conducted by PPS (2003) over markets' capacities for social integration, the surveys brought interesting evidences. Customers' response to the question, '*What is the greatest benefit of the market to the community?*' pointed to the integrative feature of markets: 'Brings people together' ranked as the highest response at 28.2% then followed by 'products' (17.7%); 'price' (15%); 'helping the local economy' (13.7%) and 'business opportunities' (5.1%) (PPS, 2003, p. 28). When asking the vendors what they like best about the market, the largest percentage of the vendors –

59% – said ‘people’. This category included responses such as ‘meet people’, ‘diversity’, and ‘sense of community’. ‘Place’ was second at 30.5%, a category that included responses such as ‘atmosphere’, ‘entertainment’, ‘fun’ and ‘culture’ (PPS, 2003, p. 34). ‘Economics’ (encompassing ‘good for business’, ‘making money’, and ‘boosts economy’) was in third place overall, at 23.8%. The results indicate that even for vendors, apparently it is more than economic opportunity what attracts them (PPS, 2003, p. 35).

Costa et al (2015) argue that for some segments of residents, in particular the elderly and groups that sometimes have weak social relationships (e.g. newcomers), the market and local commerce represent a crucial way to maintain friendly and human relations (Costa et al, 2015; Watson, 2009). For those people, having a place where they can meet and communicate is of vital importance (Costa et al, 2015, p. 67), generating senses of belonging and attachment (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 192). Observations made by disabled shoppers in Watson’s research (2009) revealed that, despite appearing relatively isolated, they seemed to be enamoured with the vibrant activity around them and stayed on average for longer periods than other shoppers (Watson, 2009, p. 1584). Watson also found evidences of social inclusion and social care practices in marketplaces: a variety of inclusive behaviours and ‘care work’ were daily performed by traders in the markets studied, benefiting mainly older people and people with disabilities, although many customers were similarly looked after (Watson, 2009, p. 1583). In Watson’s view, this active engagement was partly a result of the familial structure of market employment. These strong family connections, evident in all the older markets, provided a sense of social cohesion which played an important role in the care-taking practices.

Demonstrating a double way connection, the social integration fostered by markets can also enhance political and popular support (e. g. partnerships) for the market and lead to increased market trade, thereby adding to the economic success of the market. Moreover both the social integration and the good economic functioning of markets contribute to the social cohesion of a neighbourhood by improving livelihood and dynamism. It thus enhance the way that people identify with the neighbourhood and the market and live together, contributing to the overall sense of well-being of residents. (Costa et al, 2015, p. 75)

Although clearly implied in the last paragraphs, the connection *marketplaces – interaction – integration - social cohesion - quality of life* in practice may not happen so simply. Marketplaces have a *potential* to generate such outcomes but each case has its specificities. Anyway, the openness of market spaces, the proximity of stalls to one another, the lack of restraint on entering and leaving market sites clearly can give rise to a multitude of easy encounters and informal connections (Watson, 2009, p. 1582). This ‘rubbing along’ (Watson, 2009), is in a way a rather limited interaction – a smile, a nod – but interaction nevertheless (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246), possibly opening space for deeper contact. A minimal level of encounter in the form of inhabiting the same space as those who are different from oneself, such as markets can embody, has the potential to play a part in challenging racist discourses and stereotypes of unknown others (Watson, 2009, p. 1582).

Anderson’s cosmopolitan canopy (2004 & 2011) was already mentioned. According to him, the marketplace creates a *zone of comfort*. People do not simply encounter the unknown, but also feel comfortable enough to relax and actually experience it. Another concept coined by Anderson is the one of ‘folk ethnography’: *‘People are repeatedly exposed to the unfamiliar and thus have the*

*opportunity to stretch themselves mentally, emotionally, and socially. The resulting folk ethnography serves as a cognitive and cultural base on which denizens are able to construct behaviour in public. And often, though certainly not always, the end result is a growing social sophistication that allows diverse urban people to get along'* (Anderson, 2011, p. 277 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246). Is by the practice of 'folk ethnography' in the special setting allowed by markets, where cultural and social boundaries become invisible or at least soften or dissolve for a moment (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 193), that they can facilitate social cohesion and a sense of community (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246).

In such sense marketplaces also perform a function of *schools* (Polyák, 2014), teaching through practice lessons of conviviality and promoting the development of a civic cosmopolitan society (Anderson, 2004 in Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 191). Markets can perform the heart of a community's social vitality and be the foundation of a functioning democracy (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 192). Although the claim that the space of the market can be connected to the notion of democracy or can be generative of urban politics might be too grand, markets can nevertheless serve to dissolve some of the predictable boundaries and divisions and open up new possibilities for sociality (Watson, 2009, pp. 1589-1590).

An interesting account which could perhaps explain why markets present this 'social glue' holding sociality in place (Watson, 2009) and opening space to all the developments interaction can foster is the one developed by Fulford (2005 & 2007). Part of his conclusions was that in markets functional encounters are 'heads up' encounters. People congregate around stalls with their 'heads up', absorbing the sights, sounds and smells of the market, and actively engaging with the public realm. In a supermarket, by contrast, functional encounters are 'heads down'. The focus is on the task of shopping, with little design to distract or to cause heads to look up (Fulford, 2007, p. 6). Moreover, not just the nature of functional encounters is different, but also the intensity (high in markets and low in supermarkets). Thus, by creating 'heads down' retail environments with a narrow range of functional encounters, supermarket-type environments remove the process of shopping from the public life; whereas the 'heads up' type of retail that is created by successful markets, with the broad range of intensities of functional encounters that they support, brings the two together (Fulford, 2007, p. 7). Fulford argues that by creating 'heads up' retail, markets can help to create 'heads up' public spaces and eventually 'heads up' cities. Furthermore, 'heads up' environments help to bring people together who would normally be living apart (...). This will improve peoples' day-to-day lives by helping to break down harmful stereotypes, which in turn reduces social friction and strengthens community buy-in and identity. (Fulford, 2007, p. 7)

#### **2.4.4. Widespread Enhancement**

When a marketplace is highly frequented and adopted as a place of conviviality by neighbourhoods, not just the social feature but also the physical environment tend to be improved. Through the interaction taken in the markets people also gain confidence in the city as a place. This improves the quality of urban environments in terms of attractiveness, liveability and eventually, safety, which attracts other people into the neighbourhood and might catalyse improvement in the city, especially in places that have experienced periods of deterioration and decay (Parham, 2012 in Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 246). According to the research conducted by PPS and Partners (2003), markets also support nearby businesses. 60% of customers surveyed said they had or would visit other stores in

the area (on the day surveyed at the market); of that another 60% said that they visited stores in the vicinity only on market days (PPS, 2003, pp. 39-40).

Furthermore markets can be considered as pillars of public health, by providing affordable fresh and healthy food (Costa et al, 2015; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; That is particularly important for poor and lower-income families, where markets offer a range of food and non-food products at prices adapted to the modest budgets, providing convenient alternatives to supermarkets and shopping malls (Urbact Project, 2015a; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 195).

#### ***2.4.5. Employment: Upward Mobility Opportunities and Subsistence in Crisis' Time***

In the research conducted by PPS and Partners (2003), in the universe of sellers the highest proportion was of ethnic vendors: 82.9% were non-Caucasian, demonstrating at least that immigrants and members of minority groups can take advantage of the public markets (PPS, 2003, p. 31). In fact the economic activity of markets, its informality, with low barriers to entry compared to starting a retail shop (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 247) - little investment and professional qualifications required (Urbact Project, 2015a) make upward mobility available to individual vendors and their families. (PPS, 2003, p. 45) This low barrier to entrepreneurship is especially relevant for the most vulnerable groups in cities, such as immigrants who have little formal education, and experience social and cultural obstacles when entering the labour market (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 247; Mehta & Gohil, 2013), such as language limitations (Pottie-Sherman, 2013). With inexpensive food and merchandise, markets provide a refuge for the working class and particularly migrant workers seeking to make ends meet in the big cities (Yu, 2004 in Hou, 2010, p. 111). Through the employment in markets, they facilitate the integration of new migrants to the city (Öz and Eder, 2012, in Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013). Despite until now arguing about the openness of markets to shelter newcomers, they also provide upward mobility for national residents with little qualification (Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013).

The openness of markets for employing newcomers is closely connected to their flexibility and adaptability. Due to their low infrastructural and administrative needs, markets are capable of responding very quickly to changing demands from consumers. (Polyák, 2014, p. 53) The flexibility of markets also make them especially relevant in times of economic malaise, when local governments have very tight budgets while claims for social benefits and demands for physical improvements are high (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 247). When formal jobs are difficult to find, the poor turn towards street vending as a source of income (Horn, 2009 in Mehta & Gohil, 2013, p. 278).

### **2.5. FROM HASSLE TO GOLD: DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO MARKETS**

Previously was stated a process of decay faced by markets in a wide range of cities around the globe. At the same time, a tendency of their revalorization and reappearance is also noticed. Both processes are indeed happening nowadays. The Urbact Markets project published material states that even with more or less homogeneous historical development in all European countries and cities, the industrialization first and the retail evolution afterwards produced a divergent path for the markets in every country and region. As a result, currently the situation of the markets in each city varies considerably (Urbact Project, 2015a). The information seems coherent, although perhaps too general. Further searching, it was noticed that historically markets lost part of its glory and

economic/ power relevance for cities with the appearance of other means of products supply (Fulford, 2005; Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013b; Polyák, 2014; Watson, 2006). So it is better argued that the '*divergent paths for markets in every country and region*' mentioned were actually variations of the way of managing the changes markets undoubtedly faced when became 'not indispensable' for cities survival.

This section is about the diverging ways of managing markets and considering their importance nowadays, through the lens of governments. Drawing once more over the historical report made on the beginning of this chapter (section 2.1.), not just out-dated indispensability but also the historical conflictive relationship between markets and local governments made the last ones 'stop' supporting the firsts' presence within cities as soon as not more dependent on them.

A common feature noticed is that governments (with a special focus over municipalities) tend to see marketplaces settings as inhospitable and unpleasant. Through the literature examples worldwide including China (Qiang, 2013; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013), India (Mehta & Gohil, 2013), Istanbul (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013), Seattle (Hou, 2010), Budapest (Polyák, 2014), and Amsterdam (Janssens, 2014; Janssens & Sezer, 2013b) evidences of the mindset 'markets = problems' were revealed. Reports include arguments that markets and street vendors lead to: overcrowded places with bad hygienic conditions, insignificant commercial transactions, a chaotic urban image (traffic congestion, excessive noise) and tax evasion. They reflect an 'underdeveloped status of urban economy' and thus should be upgraded or substituted by modern supermarkets (Hou, 2010; Mehta & Gohil, 2013; Qiang, 2013). As a result a big amount of markets face decay and are shut down.

In such mindset the statements made by the deputy mayor of Budapest in 2010 are very explanatory: 'Open-air markets are symbols of poverty (...) the urban landscape is negatively affected by fruit and vegetable stalls' (Janecskó, 2010, in Polyák, 2014). According to this framing of markets, they are intolerable from the viewpoint of a certain kind of economic development: no hotels, restaurants, or other businesses in need of a sterile, optimistic environment will move into the vicinity of open-air markets (Polyák, 2014, p. 48). As a result of such thinking (and when markets cannot be 'simply' closed by the popular appeal they have) the enforced management adopted by authorities follows commonly two paths: Or they perform a more strict approach based on 'containment of disturbance' through e.g. the withhold of permissions in specific areas; or they think about the possibility of privatising markets – by giving the markets for third parties the city breaks away from any responsibility leaving the markets 'to the market' (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, p. 259). These attitudes represent the authorities' lack of faith in markets urban potentialities, revealing the belief that the market is a place of sin and the market trader the embodiment of all the woes of it (Janssens, 2014, p. 113).

Despite the collection of examples demonstrating a 'narrow thinking' from municipalities over the positive impact of markets' presence for cities nowadays, there are interesting initiatives from institutions and even governmental bodies appearing which try to change this mindset. Project for Public Space in the United States (PPS) is a non-profit planning, design and educational organisation which since 1987 has led the effort to revitalize existing markets and develop new ones (PPS, 2015, para. 2). The researches conducted by PPS on the field try to widen perceptions over markets, creating a new paradigm and approach, identifying opportunities and potential implementation strategies for the whole world (PPS, 2003, p. 6, Fulford, 2007).



PPS has been playing an important role on market's theme. According to the own organisation, it is at the forefront of making markets economic and social catalysts again (PPS 2015, para. 2). Drawing partially over PPS's example, the European Union launched in May 2012 the project called URBACT Markets. It was recently concluded (April 2015) and aimed to explore the role of city retail markets as key drivers for social, environmental and economic change in European neighbourhoods. The project's ultimate objective was to create and implement action-plans using best practice marketplace policies gleaned from European cities in order to improve and build better cities (Urbact Project, n. d.).

The URBACT Markets provided the opportunity to the nine participant cities of Attica (Greece), Barcelona (Spain), Dublin (Ireland), London (United Kingdom), Pecs (Hungary), Suceava (Romania), Toulouse (France), Torino (Italy) and Wroclaw (Poland) to explore the just mentioned aspects. Using a participative approach, engaging a wide range of stakeholders, each city has built its own Local Action Plan and has learnt from the diverse network of other cities, each with slightly different management arrangements and cultural approaches to markets (Costa et al, 2015, p. 68). Within the written conclusions of the project it is clearly stated that the role of municipalities and public bodies in the management of markets must not be neglected (Costa et al, 2015, p. 24).

## **2.6. A RISK FOR DEMOCRATIC GOALS: MARKETS AS 'BRANDING' TOOLS**

Marketplaces through the historical development of cities were located in central areas, nodes attracting people for commercial and interaction purposes. In many urban settlements they can still be found there. It was stated that they can represent the soul, the distinctive character of cities and areas and through its features become the 'heart' of localities. These points besides other potentialities reported (section 2.4.), were stated as positive aspects for urban development intentions, reasons that could explain their recent reappearance and also motives encouraging a change of cities governments' mindsets. However, it is unfortunately naïve to consider that marketplaces presence and development defence from authorities is always driven by democratic intentions nowadays.

Sharon Zukin (2008 & 2009) considers marketplaces presence in cities according to profit oriented goals. She argues that public spaces (and we can consider markets as part of this group) are often created to foster private advantages (Zukin, 2009). Moreover markets invite the 'consumption of a special kind of authenticity' such that, 'in the process of developing alternative consumption practices, they contribute to changes that make spaces more desirable' (2008, p. 736). When included in the neoliberal approach adopted by local governments to 'revitalize' cities, public markets are often designated to serve a well-defined clientele whose purchasing power is stronger than average, resulting in exclusive spaces for both vendors and customers and raising property values in and around the market (Zukin, 2008 & 2009; Filipi, 2013).

Urban regeneration focusing representation and aiming beautified public spaces and landscapes looks at markets as mere aesthetic phenomena, ignoring their social, economic and ecological dimensions. Despite all arguments that highlight the markets' social relevance and inclusive capacities, markets do not automatically embody progressive policies. As public space is often treated by neoliberal urban policies as a landscape whose foremost function is to impress and stimulate visitors, open-air markets are often thought of as spectacles of authenticity and vibrant

street life, instrumental in gentrifying neighbourhoods and increasing real estate prices. What determines the inclusivity or exclusivity performed by a market lies in the details. This is where the task of designing, organising, and managing a market gains its ultimate significance (Polyák, 2014, pp. 49-59).

Drawing over a reference similar to Zukin's, Pottie-Sherman uses a statement by Lees et al (2007) to make a crude consideration about neoliberal approaches to markets: *Like other urban (re)development projects that pay lip service to social mixing, the marketplace is often accompanied by the displacement of the poor, and diminishing 'levels of social mix, ethnic diversity, and immigrant concentration'* (Lees et al., 2007, p. 293 in Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 174). Pottie-Sherman explains that nowadays gentrification is coined as 'revitalisation' by some local authorities and as a result the long-term inclusivity of markets is overlooked by the focus over economic success. (Pottie-Sherman, 2013, pp. 182-185).

What can be concluded is that once turned aware that markets can (still) benefit cities, independently of the depth and wideness of this consciousness, some local authorities decide investing in their refurbishment and construction considering the generation of more city marketing and income - and disregarding their 'democratic' potential. The previous accounts can be included in the growing literature on the changing position of marketplaces as a result of pervasive neoliberal discourse on urban administration, representing the marketplace as a socially contested urban space. The marketplace becomes an object of state intervention as a newly generated commercial space and ground of distinction for members of the middle classes who seek authenticity and alternative consumption possibilities (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013 in Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 191).

A last remark to be done within this topic is that even driven by authorities aiming 'democratic objectives', a market's refurbishment or construction can have negative consequences. Spatial improvement of a neighbourhood triggered by a successful transformation of public space through markets might in the longer term be disadvantageous for the immediate residents. Speculation and gentrification can raise property value and, related to that, rents of houses and apartments, which might cause displacement of those who fail to profit from the developments. In these cases, the potential for the marketplace to activate public space is not fully realised, and their quality as inclusive urban spaces is compromised (Janssens & Sezer, 2013, pp. 247-248).

## **2.7. BEYOND THE EVERYDAY LIFE EVENT: MARKETS' NETWORK FRAMING**

In this chapter a wide range of information over markets was presented. With a historical core importance in the development of urban settlements, markets currently evolve in paradoxical paths: they are encountered facing decay due to economic competition with other retail sectors and local authorities' negligence or redeveloping as core urban revitalization instruments. Despite their multifaceted democratic potentialities (i.e. the possibility of developing cities benefiting the large population in an inclusive manner), they are expressively being employed within a neoliberal discourse that acknowledges gentrification and exclusion as revitalization (Filipi, 2013; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; Poliák, 2013, Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013). Even when projected with social integration and upward mobility intentions, it may happen that markets fail in achieving democratic results. Due to pre-established urban dynamics, the enterprises' success may lead to the displacement of disadvantaged populations (Janssens & Sezer, 2013).

To address both the risks of gentrification and exclusion of populations and explore more in depth the integration potentialities that markets' settings provide, it seems reasonable that markets should be approached and developed within a 'network' structure, through the creation of partnerships (Vita, Bevilacqua and Trillo, 2013). A network structure implies the existence (or development) of social networks. A social network is a set of socially-relevant nodes connected by one or more relations (links). Nodes, network members or even *actants*, if we consider an Actor-Network-Theory terminology, are the units that are connected by the relations, being most commonly persons or organisations. Anyway, in principle any units that can be connected to other units can be studied as nodes. These include groups, neighbourhoods, departments within organisations, positions or countries (Marin & Wellman, 2011).

In a network structure patterns of links between nodes are often more important than the defining properties of the nodes themselves. The connections in a network may be characterized in a variety of ways: 1. through links (by their presence or absence, the absences indicating the borders separating one network from another, or defining a clique – i.e. a network in which all possible inter-nodal ties are present); 2. By their strength, that is, by the frequency of interaction among the persons occupying the nodes, as well as by the emotional content of the relation; 3. By their reciprocity - i.e. the mutuality of obligations entailed by the link (DeLanda, 2010, p. 17; Friedkin, 2004; Marin & Wellman, 2011). For a network to exist the links must be constantly maintained/performed (DeLanda, 2010, p. 17).

Despite the fact that for social networks a central element is not always present or necessary, a concept can be borrowed from Rydin (2012) to define the marketplace in the proposed network setting as an 'obligatory passage point'. In obligatory passage points, actants are required to come together around the dominant framing and then engage in specific negotiations within the context of such framing. A specific actant may be implicated in the definition of this obligatory passage point and become accepted as a focal actant (Rydin, 2012, p. 26). The marketplace's existence and functioning is the 'force field' joining the nodes of the network to be analysed in this case study. Moreover, the adoption of the social networks' framing intends clarifying the *structure* through which integration can be performed and social cohesion can arise.

The potentialities of marketplaces as urban development strategies were already presented, even in the most relevant aspect for this research: promoting more integration between diverse groups participating on the market, which in turn can lead to more neighbourhood social cohesion. There is already academic work crossing integration and marketplaces (Fulford, 2007; Hou, 2010 ; Janssens & Sezer, 2013; Janssens, 2014; Lin Pang & Sterling, 2013; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014; Pottier-Sherman, 2013; Reijndorp, 2009; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Watson, 2009) however no evaluation was made yet about the possibility marketplaces have of bounding *more deeply* the stakeholders around the market's organisation and through this bounding perform more integration. The written material over integration and markets tend to consider (just) the potentiality apparent on the *event of the market*, on the daily selling activity, when consumers, visitors and traders meet 'randomly' and interact. This kind of integration will be labelled here 'at ground level', for elucidation purposes.

The main consideration of this work is to evaluate the possibility markets have in fostering integration through an *above* layer: a level where partnerships are developed around the market's existence bounding more deeply groups and projects: a network level where considerable attention

should be paid to the linkages (relations). Furthermore, the referred bounding through this above layer seems to be important also as a means to *protect* markets against the tendency of generating exclusion through its economic success.

Although a similar direct approach to markets integration possibilities through an organisational level was not accessed, there are good examples of partnerships and collaborations created from and for the markets' existence which bound more deeply varied stakeholders. A first case to mention is the night market in Seattle (Hou, 2010). A key aspect in the success of the event has been its ability to bring together a coalition of individuals and organisations despite their political and ideological differences. On one hand, the potential of the night market to address a multitude of issues including economic development, public safety, community building and recreation has made it possible to attract the diverse organisations. (...) Besides an organised group of youths, the different organisations included non-profit social service organisations and business associations, as well as city agencies including the Seattle Police Department, Department of Parks and Recreation, and Department of Neighbourhoods (Hou, 2010, pp. 115- 116). According to Hou, the collaboration of the different organisations and individuals was critical to the event's success ensuring also that all the major stakeholders in the neighbourhood took ownership and pride of the market (Hou, 2010, pp. 116-117).

The night market in Seattle is a topical event, not with continued yearly activity. Even so, Hou highlights that the event's main importance was providing means for the local community to reshape a public space and create a new 'public realm' in which productive dialogue, collaboration and negotiation were possible. The planning and organisation of the event involved interactions and collaboration across a host of barriers within the community. Specifically, it created opportunities for intergenerational interactions and collaboration between organisations and individuals despite the differences. The good example of the Seattle case lies in creating a positive outcome from the reunion of stakeholders, experience of working together that can empower them to take on further challenges in the future (Hou, 2010, p. 121).

A second interesting example of markets bounding different groups in cities was reported by Polyák (2014) and is called Micronimics project. It is a case that reveals markets as laboratories of self-employment and enterprise creation. The activist group City Mine(d), settled in Brussels developed the Micronimics project and negotiated with the City Hall a status of 'artists' for members of an immigrant community so that they could sell their goods tax- and permit- free at specific markets. Through the opportunity, the immigrants could learn vending skills, experiencing demand and supply, and moving on to create their own enterprises (Polyák, 2014, p. 55).

Polyák also mentions the activities of the group called KAP-HT (Our Treasure, the Market – Hunyadi Square), created in Budapest by Gabó Bartha in May 2007 when the district's municipal commission voted to eliminate the open-air market at Hunyadi Square. The markets' dissolution was proposed for the construction of an underground parking garage serving the 'House of Europe', a cultural centre to be built in the subsequent years. KAP-HT first reason for existence was to defend the permanence of the market, acknowledging the importance of economic viability, community cohesion, and access to healthy food and to self-employment in the only remaining open-air food market in Budapest's inner districts (Polyák, 2014, p. 55). The details of the renovation plan for the market area are not relevant for this discussion, but yes the fact that the civil mobilisation won the

case and the market remained. This result was reached after long negotiations and interventions by the KAP-HT group which pointed to the importance of involving local residents in the decision-making process (Polyák, 2014, pp. 55-57).

The KAP-HT focus after the market was allowed to remain shifted towards less political, more community - and local economy-oriented activities. The organisation is now involved in the life of the market, elaborating strategies for improving services and product variety (by introducing new herbs and vegetables, extending the selection of goods and foods) as well as opening up alternative channels of communication between the market traders, the wider public, visitors of the market and the local authorities (Polyák, 2014, p. 57).

Through partnerships and collaboration, neighbourhood organisations and individuals can pool together resources to transform the existing public space. Partnerships and collaboration in turn can help strengthen another dimension of public realm in the area: the network and reciprocity among individuals and groups within the community (Hou, 2010, p. 121). When reuniting stakeholders in cooperation having as a central feature the marketplace, a historically constituted democratic gathering area, the chances of achieving more than practical outcomes and generating better disposition to deal with difference and consequently integrate are worth to be evaluated.

### 3. APPROACHING DIVERSITY AND INTEGRATION

This chapter addresses a set of broad themes related to the case study which go beyond the environment of the marketplace. They are connected to the realm of human interaction, the possibilities of it resulting in positive or negative experiences and the effects for purposes on social settings. The chapter's organisation try to build a logical theoretical path of matters that impact the functioning of partnerships and collaboration in a very multicultural setting as the one of The Hague Market. The themes of Diversity and Integration (section 3.1.) are first presented addressing their contemporary relevance for cities/ countries in Europe. Following, some remarks are made about psychological features (section 3.2.) that can explain the 'failure' of simple contact for effective integration outcomes. Section 3.3. discusses the possible relevance of the presence of partnerships and collaboration for better understandings across diversity lines. Developing further, an important explanation of what is the (desired) social cohesion in the setting of The Hague Market (section 3.4.) is made. Finally, to conclude the chapter (section 3.5.) the concepts of Social Capital and Social Trust are presented, encompassing matters of reliability and reciprocity which are indicated to be core features for effective cooperation plans.

#### 3.1. FRAMING DIVERSITY AND INTEGRATION

##### *3.1.1. Why Diversity and Integration became 'on spot' in Europe?*

The necessity of paying attention to Diversity, a word that applied to society is related to the existence of a plurality of cultures, behaviours, beliefs and material features coexisting in space, became prominent as processes of globalisation with diverse patterns of migration have come to affect all parts of the world. Many cities, both large and small, are increasingly characterised by ethnic and racial differences (Fincher and Jacobs, 1998 in Watson, 2009).

While Diversity as an important contemporary matter is not contested, the way in which researchers address it is however as varied as the concept can etymologically explain. How to frame the issue also creates impact for the development of policies concerning integration between different individuals and groups. Integration, for its turn, is a very debated and elusive concept, turning the evaluation of policies' outcomes even harder (Phillips, 2010). Nevertheless, European countries have shown in general a renewed commitment to develop national actions defending the improvement of social mixing and promoting ethnic desegregation and unity, since the questions of immigrant integration have become increasingly politicized (Phillips, 2010, p. 209; Watson, 2009). A plethora of policies and programmes has been mobilised across Europe under the rubric of social inclusion, from work and employment reforms, such as initiatives around flexible employment and youth unemployment, aiming integration of ethnic minorities and questions of citizenship (European Commission, 2004 in Watson, 2009, p. 1583).

Diving further in Europe specifically, the creation of European Union in 1993 and the current European Citizenship measure, with the consequent right of free movement, settlement and employment across the EU, not just migration increased but also new European economies, legal systems, and political institutions started integrating. A European society seems to be in the

making. Alongside the familiar patchwork of nation-state-societies, new forms of cross-border mobility, networks, and exchanges have emerged. However, at the same time that this new reality appears, the recognition of identity and bounds is still associated to the distinctive nationalized societies. Then Europe (concomitantly) keeps looking like that well known old continent, defined by national rivalries, memories of conflict, cultural distinctions, and patriotic identities (Favell, 2008, p. VIII). Another important aspect to be mentioned and added to this already seething cauldron of nations, impacting directly the experience of diversity, is the voluminous immigration of Arabic background populations (especially Turkish and Moroccan) which came to constitute an important working force in aftermath of the Second World War in northern European Countries. The migration of citizens from previous colonies to the former metropolis-countries (intensively observed in France for example) also adds to the scenario.

As a result of the *acute* concentration of diversity provided by migration, the debate about integration became increasingly heated over time, turning the matter an issue to be directly dealt with. It is curious to realise that the perception of Diversity/ Integration as a theme of importance was raised in European societies mainly by the focus on migrants. It is coherent to reflect about 'why questions of integration tend to focus on religious or cultural differences, or socially constructed ideas of *race*, when other groups (such as class and identity groups) are also socially and spatially separated and often marginalized?' (Phillips, 2010, p. 210; Watson, 2009). Differences, not only of race and ethnicity but also of class, gender and sexuality, and identities are constituted in multiple and complex ways in the various spaces of the city which shift and change producing different city spaces, imaginaries and associations across different times of the day and night (Schlor, 1998 in Watson, 2009, p. 1585).

Although gender, age, sexual preferences are indeed matters of diversity that with time also gained focus in literature and policies, apparently in the European context these 'other diversity features' raise fewer conflicts, being comparatively less prominent and action-demanding. A hypothesis for such development could be the fact that these features are 'old realities' existing in society, for which it kept evolving through time. They are not directly impacted by the (recent) migration fluxes, although intersect cultural and ethnical features increasing their effects on social interaction. Despite their undeniable relevance, for The Hague Market's context differences of culture, religion and ethnicity related to migration are the most prominent. Consequentially, at least to conceptualize how Diversity/ Integration are understood as important policy issues, the focus will be mainly over ideas connected to multicultural and multi-ethnic environments.

### ***3.1.2. Difficult to Define, Complex to Deal with***

In terms of theory, the academic literature has emphasized the contested nature of the concept and the complexity inherent in the different socio-economic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of the integration process (Dikeç, 2012; Favell, 2008; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Philips, 2010; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Sennett, 1970/2008 & 1977; Valentine, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2008; Uitermark et al, 2005, Watson 2006 & 2009). Politicians and policy-makers, however, rarely define what they mean by 'integration' and, in practice, it can have multiple meanings. The lack of precision makes difficult the evaluation of policies outcomes and failing points. Phillips outlines some 'social integration' troubling questions: *how easily can minority ethnic groups that have been represented as 'outsiders' in dominant political discourses, be integrated into the*

*mainstream society through social mixing or other means?* (Phillips, 2010, p. 210) If they are outsiders, there is (at least) an unconscious social fear that their arrival may destabilize the host nation-state, which generates a certain resistance and unease from the original inhabitants (Valentine 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Watson, 2006).

The concepts of *integration* and *inclusion* are addressed in ambiguous ways through European Union member states (Phillips, 2010). In the *Common Basic Principles* defined by the European Commission and registered in *A Common Agenda for Integration*, integration is described as a two-way process, performed *equally* by minority groups and the major population. Favell (2008) states, however, that for an immigrant in Europe, *integrate means to naturalize*, to go native. This implies the same perception made by Phillips: that politicians and policy-makers may conflate the notions of integration and assimilation (2010, p. 211), in which the expectation in both supranational and national spheres is that most of the adaptation will be actually undertaken by the minority ethnic population (Reijndorp, 2009). The real desire is that all the values and cultural habits of the country are accepted and incorporated by the new resident. He is the one that has to adapt to the on-going features of the nation-state: he has to *renationalise* (Favell, 2008, p. 137).

Uitermark, Rossi, and van Houtum (2005) also recognise the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the scholarly as well as policy philosophies with respect to ethnic diversity and, on the other hand, the day-to-day experiences of actors in the urban public sphere (Uitermark et al, 2005, p. 623). Persistent ethnic segregation, for example, is often blamed on the failure of minority ethnic groups to adapt to the host country and to mix with people outside their own community (Phillips, 2010, p. 211). Politicians and media discourses about socio and spatial segregation generally accuse immigrants as self-segregating, choosing to live separate lives within their immigrant communities (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 718), even if it is not always the case. The self-segregation of white people in the suburbs, public housing estates, or privileged and protected gated communities is hardly ever touched. Contrary to popular imaginings, the highest levels of ethnic segregation in multicultural cities usually occur in the higher-status white neighbourhoods (Tonkiss, 2014; Reijndorp, 2009), but this is simply viewed as normal (Phillips, 2010). Reijndorp (2009) argues that residents in districts with a higher status are beginning to show concern at the growing number of expats in their neighbourhood - so they too are believed to be an obstacle to social cohesion (Reijndorp, 2009, p. 99).

The power of the 'white flight' and other majority native groups' strategies (e.g. harassment and avoidance) to perpetuate ethnic segregation is an often underestimated aspect by policies aimed at promoting social mixing at the neighbourhood level (Harrison, Phillips et al. 2005 in Phillips, 2010, p. 211; Reijndorp, 2009; Valentine, 2008; Watson, 2006). Taking as first motivation for such behaviour the fear that white majority has about the destabilization of the nation state, Valentine (2008) and Watson (2006) found out that through the dominant society lens, minority groups were seen as dependent from the state, receiving also a 'special treatment' from it - in taking advantage of the welfare system and receiving preferential assistance in terms of benefits, housing and health care, as well as receiving financial and political support for their own faiths, languages and wider cultural practices. This idea of parasitism was then contrasted to the unfairly non-recognized contribution to society that the white majority community made (Valentine, 2008, p. 327; Watson 2009), resulting in spread resentment. Despite a real reduction in welfare benefits and resources gained by the white working class in the last decades, Watson argues that it is clear from the reports she collected a very



striking exaggeration of the benefits asylum seekers are actually entitled to (Watson, 2006, pp.60-61), a distorted reference to *keep fuelling* the animosity.

What has to be understood is, although the resistance and mistrust from the white majority has some acknowledged elements - it is perhaps hard to have mutual regard for groups that are perceived as an economic or cultural threat; the narratives of economic and/or cultural victimhood and consequent behaviour can as well serve positive ends for some people, for example, by providing them with a scapegoat for their own personal social or economic failures (Valentine, 2007a in Valentine, 2008). This can be a reasonable explanation why individual everyday encounters do not necessarily change people's general prejudices. This not consciously assumed behaviour represents perhaps the hardest shade to overcome, since prejudiced individuals can have a vested interest in remaining intolerant *despite* positive individual social encounters with communities/ individuals different from themselves (Valentine, 2008, pp. 328 – 333, emphasis added).

As a remark, if the *two-way* integration process defended by the European Commission on the *Common Agenda for Integration* is to become effective as a reality, European Member States have to undertake structural initiatives targeting the host population to reinforce its abilities to adjust to diversity. These measures are still underrepresented in national strategies (Commission of the European Communities 2007: 8 in Phillips, 2010, p. 222) being a meaningful barrier against positive outcomes. Policies addressing equally self-segregation of minorities and white majority's resistance may represent an advance however, just if conscious about some psychological features that are constructed and reinforced in societies. Understand the relevance of these matters (*next section – 2.2*) as well as the role played by governments in increasing their negative effects is essential for integration outcomes.

### **3.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INFLUENCE:**

Psychological features inherent of human beings can impact the effectiveness of integration policies through the relation they have with the experience of contacting difference and the positive or negative association with it. In the psychology discipline the importance given to contact in mediating difference has long tradition. In the 1950's the psychologist Gordon Allport developed what became widely known as the *contact hypothesis*. His thesis – which influenced the social sciences more widely – was that the best way to reduce prejudice and promote social integration is to create interpersonal contact between members of different racial or cultural groups, increasing positive attitudes toward each other. Contact in Allport's lens could be an effective strategy because it lessens feelings of uncertainty and anxiety by producing a sense of knowledge or familiarity between strangers, which in turn generates a perception of predictability and control (Valentine, 2008 p. 323; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011).

Even although indicating optimal conditions under which the contact should take place to be effective (equal status of the two subjects/groups in a given situation, existence of common goals or lack of any competition between these subjects/groups), was concluded that such approach doesn't work productively (i.e. generating the positive acknowledged consequences) outside laboratories. The fact is that the needed conditions are hardly present in everyday life. What we commonly see is exactly the other way around: often deeply entrenched, uneven power relations are not suspended during face-to-face contact but saturated and exceeded (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, pp. 720-721).

A point to be better analysed is *why* the simple contact doesn't work out effectively in improving the relations between different groups? Is *just* a matter of unequal power? Which are the intrinsic human features that in conjunction to the social environment can prevent its positive outcomes? To address these issues a review of main ideas brought by Sennett (1970/2008 and 1977) and Van Leeuwen (2008) about the experience of difference will be briefly made, paying attention also to the role *nostalgia* can play hampering it.

### **3.2.1. Sennett's Ideas and Remarks about Nostalgia**

According to Sennett cultural diversity cannot be experienced ideally nowadays (or in the 1970's when both *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life* and *The Fall of Public Man* were written). For him this fact happened as a consequence of the development of a secular belief in *intimacy* as a value in interpersonal relations, the emergence of issues of *personality*, *narcissism* and the *familiar-centred social life*, which scaled leads to the appearance of community clustering and the unease towards outside elements.

The problem pointed out by Sennett is that, through the development of intimate and family life, the consequent focus on immanent matters, personality construction and the necessity of deeper self-investigation of feelings and characteristics to determine who somebody is (opposing the construction of this identity through external practices on the 18th century), people started believing that relations with others are just worthy if contain an open expression of feelings, if there is a warm/ cosy sensation when with these others. Closeness between persons, according to the author, became a 'moral good' (Sennett, 1977, p.259) and this expectation ends up crossing the walls of private life, reaching the public sphere, unbalancing the opposition between these two realms. The individual that reaches society and public space with the intention of deeply connecting with other citizens will face frustration towards an unfriendly and competitive society.

The familial relations scaled up result in community identification, coined 'destructive *gemeinschaft*' by Sennett. The last term is borrowed from the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, who defines *gemeinschaft* as a community in the sense of full and open emotional relations with others. This group identity however, considering the lack of public contact among others can just be constructed, through Sennett's perspective, as an illusion, based on fantasy. Moreover, the effort made to realise what this identity is and to keep it when facing society ends up filling the space that should be occupied by real social practices and actions by these communities (e.g. defence of workers' rights). Community becomes then a weapon against society (Sennett, 1977, p.339). In Sennett's words: we face an urban 'crisis' because something is dying out in city life at the present time, not because the cities are growing. And the elements of urban life present seventy or a hundred years ago are dying in such a way that the myths of a *purified community* have come to shape and stultify the city (Sennett, 1970/2008, p. 50, emphasis added).

The excessive protection adopted by families and communities and their 'society withdrawal' come from an assumption that the city's diversity threatens the security and attachment the family (and community) members feel for each other. The good, old, rural families, by contrast, were supposedly loving and secure. The trouble with this popular image is that it simply is not true (Sennett, 1970/2008, p. 58).

Such a setting of 'gold old times' in the imaginary of these closed communities is filled with nostalgic accounts. Within the different sociological approaches to nostalgia writers like Weber, Tönnies, Durkheim and others implicitly shared the view that earlier societies (particularly those characterised by rural, or non-urban life) were different, this difference being represented as a loss. These earlier arguments resurfaced in the latter part of the twentieth century in conservative nostalgic formulations of community which characterised the imagined loss of community as the source of all social ills. Thus, nostalgia operates with an *idealised* imaginary of the past. Furthermore, radical sociologists tend to critic nostalgic discourses as a vehicle for maintaining the *status quo*, for resisting socio-cultural change, and for denying the inequalities and social divisions of the past. Finally, for those who can claim a stake in the past, nostalgia plays an active role in the construction of nation and a sense of belonging, leaving newer arrivals excluded from a narrative of continuity in place. (Watson, 2006, p. 50)

Nostalgia since intrinsically 'sceptic' about a better future works blocking motivation for new experiences, reinforcing family clustering and over protection. What Sennett wants to bring to conscience is that experiencing conflicts and disappointments is an essential learning experience. To put together different points of view in a dialectical way can widen horizons and teach about life. When families keep encouraging the conflict avoidance, the fewer children will be prepared to deal with it when appears. The only remark to be done about the authors' ideas, considering integration, is that he takes the necessity of contact to an *extreme*, believing it to be beneficial even if forced and immanently conflicted. Sennett forgets apparently that the real evidences show that such contact can mostly result in violent outcomes.

### **3.2.2. Van Leeuwen and the Subjective World**

Van Leeuwen defends in his article (2008) that If we want to understand what both inspires and threatens multiculturalism, we have to gain a better understanding of the existential aspects of living with diversity. He states that people try to avoid diversity and the conflict it can create because it can be emotionally painful. In fact, when facing diversity it is normal to feel uncomfortable to some degree, since it challenges our *common sense* ideas. This 'threatening characteristic', is important to notice, is there by the simple fact of dealing with difference, independently of the religious/ cultural aspects of the difference faced. Common sense is defined in Van Leeuwen's words as the *unproblematic patterns of interpretation that incorporate a deep familiarity with a certain social and natural world, building an embodied knowledge that does not function as a 'hypothesis' or 'representation', but rather as a 'direct understanding'*. Common sense penetrates deeply the emotional universe of a person and its establishment within a society happens through shared practices of acting and speaking, creating a group sensing and knowing that provide a certain background consensus. Common sense is maintained through affirmation in everyday contacts and through rejection of what falls outside its scope (Van Leeuwen, 2008 pp. 148 - 151).

Cultural otherness challenges what is considered 'normal' for us and this can be disorienting in terms of identity and how persons recognize and frame their selves in the world. The emphasis van Leeuwen brings however, is that there is also another side of contact, something of *fascinating* in this meeting, leading to the experience of a somewhat 'beyond you', your awareness of your finitude, your incapability of comprehensively understand all about life. So in this sense, through what Van Leeuwen calls *Strong Evaluation*, diversity should be encouraged, since is acknowledged a

general positive experience for the individuals' maturation. The problem, and in this point Van Leeuwen resonates Sennett, is that the fear to face diversity is continuously constructed by media, family, work, school relations (New & Merry, 2014), even if in an unconscious attempt, resulting in a reinforcement of community clustering.

In the ideas developed by Van Leeuwen a cautious awareness is recognized about the needed conditions for a contact with positive outcomes. Being conscious of the *affective ambivalence* of cultural diversity, the hypothesis developed by the author is that cultural strangeness cannot in any event fascinate those who perceive the presence of this strangeness, rightly or wrongly, *as an acute threat to their own psychological integrity, their vital integrity and/or to the national integrity* (van Leeuwen, 2008, emphasis added). If the threat is not acute, there is emotional scope for experiencing the 'sublime'. However, as soon as we feel that we ourselves are not safe, the positive sense of delight turns to terrible. When danger or pain presses too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight. But, at certain distances, they may be, and are delightful. Van Leeuwen calls this necessary condition the *safety-requirement* (Van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 158).

Still concerning ethnic difference, the *common sense* idea from indigenous 'populations that a multicultural society is linked to chaos, the fear of foreigners on a more vital plane and the notion that newcomers will destroy the 'integrity' of the nation state (Van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 169) was already touched in some moments of this chapter. It was also exemplified that governments and media play an important role in advertising and feeding such fear. If a nationalistic ideology has a hold on thinking, in the sense that people are convinced that multiculturalism is pathological and the presence of foreigners a danger to the survival of the nation, this reinforces the shift towards a negative experience of cultural strangeness. And clear examples are often seen as the 'war on terror', generalizing associations between 'ethnic minorities' and 'crime' and guiding to a narrow conclusion that *they are all dangerous criminals* (Van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 165). Explicit advertised violence, together with moral panics about threats to the economy and culture posed by immigrants and their descendants just heighten anxieties about the inclusion of 'outsiders' in the nation-state (Phillips, 2010, p. 209). It results in a virulent nationalism where certain groups are perceived as not belonging, leading to most extreme consequences such as immigrants having no right at all to live on that territory, regardless of whether they have adapted culturally or not (Van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 165).

### **3.3. DRAWING STRATEGIES TO WALK ON A SLIPPERY PATH**

The developed overview about main issues connected to the experience of diversity and integration showed that they are debated themes without a unique lens to see them through or a clear path to be adopted. Contextual aspects play an important role and cannot be disregarded when encouraging experience with diversity and more societal integration. Neither should the importance of the psychological immanent features that make experience with diversity both 'dangerous and fascinating' be overlooked. As could be perceived, to overcome the natural resistance that people have to face what challenges their common sense and consequently open the chance of a positive experience in this meeting is not a simple matter to solve. However, what researches discovered should not be considered invalid and some considerations can work as 'tips' for further practical trials.

A first insight taken by experience is the one that shows that simple contact does not imply a *meaningful encounter*, as labelled by Valentine an experience that can actually deconstruct prejudice and develop more positive judgements about the others (Valentine, 2008). Although 'baseline democracy', represented by many everyday urban public encounters and low-level sociability (e.g. holding doors and sharing seats), should not be totally disregarded because doesn't effectively deconstruct prejudice, the claim for meaningful encounters is absolutely coherent and such interaction should be fostered. A good way to do so is perhaps by proportioning *sustained encounters* (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011) in the urban environment - or in the specific case study, through partnerships existence. Matejskova and Leitner state that in sustained encounters if the prejudice is not completely deconstructed, at least a higher degree of empathy is developed, creating a better understanding of, for example, why migrants insist in keeping strong cultural practices from their original country.

Drawing the argument even further, for Amin (2002, p. 959) integration is best achieved in what he terms the 'micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter'. These 'micro-publics' include: sports or music clubs, drama/theatre groups, communal gardens, youth participation schemes and more. Constant meetings for the organisation of the marketplace, its functioning and related themes could be included in this category. This kind of approach is also made by Nava (2006) who uses the term 'domestic cosmopolitanism' to signal that she understands integration to emerge from engagements with otherness not just in the micro-publics of the city (which she defines as more abstract sites such as the street and the shopping centre) but also in spaces organised around purposeful activity (Nava, 2006, in Valentine, 2008, pp. 330-331). Considering the indicated academic understandings, the exploration of the potentialities of partnerships' developed around marketplaces for integration is already acknowledged. If this urban settings were already recognised as meaningful 'tools' in challenging the fear of unknown others and the construction of stereotypes (see chapter 2 - sections 2.4. and 2.7.), it seems reasonable to consider and explore if they can have (even) more effective results for the mediation of differences (leading to integration) if performed through a level of partnerships and collaboration development.

A presentation over Integration and Diversity, broad themes entangled to the social setting of The Hague Market, and taken as 'guidelines' to answer the research question was made. However it is still important to draw understandings over connected topics that address directly the idea of partnerships creation and working together. To do so concepts of Social Cohesion, Social Capital and Social Trust will be (shortly) explained.

### **3.4. A MEANINGFUL REMARK: WHAT IS (THE DESIRED) SOCIAL COHESION?**

Social Cohesion can be implied as a desired social result in measures aiming integration – e.g. it commonly appears in conversations about the goals of promoting partnerships around the Hague Market. It is not by chance that it is cited as a possible positive outcome of the use of marketplaces for urban development strategies (Costa et al, 2015; Janssens & Sezer, 2013; Polyák, 2014; Watson, 2009). However, although widely mentioned, a clear elucidation of social cohesion in the academic literature framing markets is not made. To employ the term without opening ground for misinterpretation it is necessary to frame what is (the desired) social cohesion for a multicultural setting as the context of The Hague Market. A difficulty on this task though is that, as well as

integration or an integrated society are framed differently through nations, governments and policies, the understanding of what is *social cohesion* and a *cohesive society* also lacks a consensus. Social Cohesion is one of the basic enquiries of Sociology, if understood within the core point *what holds society together?*

The necessity of framing the term is to find out (or construct) a definition that matches the present research intentions and the 'most adequate' relation to integration in society, especially for a diverse setting as the one of The Hague Market. An interesting consideration made by Cuellar (2009) may be a convenient starting point. The author links democracy to social cohesion stating that it is the basis for a stable democracy. Social cohesion would be 'the consolidation of plurality of citizenship, reduction of inequality and socio-economic disparities and fractures in the society'. Democracy and social cohesion are complementary parts of including an active citizenship (with both rights and responsibilities) in the public decision-making process (Cuellar, 2009, p.3).

Mann (1970) dives deeper to understand the sociological phenomenon of 'cohesion' and leaves clear a general correlation between understandings of integrated society and social cohesion, sometimes employing 'social integration' and 'social cohesion' as synonyms. It is also stated that despite the complexities of individual sociologists' arguments, there is still agreement between almost all theorists that some minimal degree of *value consensus* exists in liberal democratic societies, i.e. being to some (minimum) extent *cohesive*, which permits them to handle conflict and remain stable (Mann, 1970, p. 72, emphasis added).

Drawing further, Mann explains that this 'consensus' is also framed differently by varied authors. Some stress the commitment of social subjects to *ultimate values*, e.g. generalized beliefs in equality and achievement. Others stress commitment to *social norms*, e.g. an adherence to the 'rules of the democratic game' and opposition to those who introduce strong conflictive elements (e.g. class ideology) into politics. Finally there are the theorists that stress commitment to *beliefs* about how society is actually organised. This last group is subdivided in two by Mann: some (1) believe in the harmonistic structure of society and political elites (against say, a belief in class conflict) while others (2) stress the essential benevolence of other individuals within the society, e.g. the trustworthiness of others. For all these mentioned authors, widespread commitment to any of these *values, norms* and *social beliefs* confers legitimacy and stability on present social structure (Mann, 1970, p. 73), thus *cohesion*.

Friedkin (2004) with a more recent perspective than Mann's, states that the literature on social cohesion has become increasingly confused as the number of investigators who research it has increased. The main source of confusion in the author's view is the proliferation of definitions of social cohesion that have proved difficult to combine or reconcile (Friedkin, 2004, p.409). Considering the remark, a path to social cohesion's definition will be taken looking for a coherent framing for The Hague Market's multicultural setting.

Classical foundations of Social Cohesion treat it as a causal system that determines individuals' membership attitudes and behaviours. Cohesion is defined as 'the total field of forces which act on members to remain in the group' (Festinger et al 1950, p. 164 in Friedkin, 2004) or in similar terms. Since the early developments, measures of social cohesion evolved to consider any attitude or behaviour that could be construed as indicative of *a person's attraction or attachment to a group (or social category) or to other members of a group*. Exemplifying the effect of this assumption,

Cartwright (1968, p. 91, in Friedkin, 2004, p. 412) expresses that most theorists agree that group cohesiveness refers to the degree to which the members of a group desire to remain in the group. Thus, the members of a highly cohesive group, in contrast to one with a low level of cohesiveness, are more concerned with their membership and are therefore more strongly motivated to contribute to the group's welfare, to advance its objectives, and to participate in its activities. In sum, more cohesive groups seem to be more willing to perform collaboration (and partnerships), constituting a social network with a higher number of stronger interpersonal ties (DeLanda, 2010).

Friedkin analysis over social cohesion theoretical definitions (2004) find similar patterns as the ones outlined by Mann (1970): The degree of *attitudinal consensus* or *behavioral uniformity* in a group has been employed by scholars as measures of group cohesion since interpersonal disagreement and behavioural discord among group members may reduce their attraction to the group (Friedkin, 2004, p. 414, emphasis added). Less consensus and uniformity are implied as less cohesion. Here remarks have to be done concerning the concept of cohesion and the extent of *uniformity* and *homogeneity* required for its achievement. Some cases of highly 'cohesive groups/societies' are achieved by coercion and/or authority (i.e. industries' employees) in which no signal of positive interpersonal ties is verified (Cartwright, 1968 in Friedkin, 2004). Moreover, it cannot be understood that the desired social cohesion to be achieved through integration in a multicultural environment (as the one of The Hague market) is one that homogenizes the members, destroying the existing diverse cultural richness. Heterogeneity has to remain in the personal and subgroups existence as important matters of identity and expression. Simply put, the envisioned cohesion is one like of a mosaic, where each piece accommodates in the setting to form a complete image (i.e. achieve/perform a common purpose) without *blending*.

Social cohesion does not require small networks, high density networks, or networks based on strong interpersonal ties, such as friendships. A large, complexly differentiated group, with members connected directly or indirectly (through intermediaries) by paths of positive (weak or strong) interpersonal ties, may be cohesive if the group's social network has particular structural characteristics. Thus, theoretical advances in social network analysis have put some flesh on the fundamental insight of Durkheim (1933) that social integration is consistent with social differentiation. Social network structures may enable the production of consensus and the coordination of behaviours (i.e., the coherence and solidarity of attitude) in both small undifferentiated groups and large complexly differentiated groups (Friedkin, 2004, pp. 417-418).

From the stated, can be concluded that for multicultural heterogeneous groups as the stakeholders around the (presence of the) Hague Market cohesion should rely over *consensus about certain critical value(s) and consequent behaviours*. An important last reflection is then *why* some level of consensus is considered necessary. The answer comes from a sociological core tenet: values are by definition *beliefs governing action*. Since action in itself should be considered non-random, the men that cooperate with each other, gets implied, have some degree of congruence between their values. Seem plausible to conclude that if men cooperate they must come to some form of agreement, explicit or implicit, to share power. And as Durkheim leaves clear, of course there is no social contract which does not rest on shared normative understandings (Durkheim, 1964 in Mann, 1970).

### 3.5. CONCERNS OVER SOCIAL CAPITAL AND SOCIAL TRUST

Putnam's work (2000) appears as a core reference when the concept of 'social capital' is addressed. The main assumption under this term is related to the importance of well-constructed social networks for an optimal (individual and societal) life. Social capital is most effectively built by non-hierarchical in person relations where networks are established and also feed-back links based on norms of reciprocity and trust (Putnam, 2000). In such sense the idea of social capital is also intrinsically connectable with social cohesion – can be implied that more cohesive societies have more concentration of social capital, thus more potential for generating collaboration/ cooperation.

The presence of social capital makes people more secure in the sense they can rely on others in the case of necessity. That is even more important when facing especially the urban life where, according to Putnam (2000), the density of social connections is lower than in villages. The 'contacts', who somebody knows, reveals pretty meaningful when one face a challenge it cannot solve alone (e.g. grave illness). Moreover, in case of disasters or economic crisis the 'social capital fund' can be extremely helpful for a faster and more effective societal recover. And then, once again, the close connection with trust and confidence in reciprocity appears. Before drawing remarks over the importance of trust, a meaningful reasoning of Putnam (2000) should be explained.

The author coins and explains a distinction between the terms 'bonding' social capital and 'bridging' social capital. The first refers to cases when one is socialising with similar persons (e. g. same age, race, religion, political view, educational level). It is a sort of realm where cohesion tends to be more easily reachable, but also a way to reinforce exclusive identities and maintain homogeneity. The second term is especially meaningful for this research and multicultural societies in general, since imply drawing connections with persons across diverse features, building broader identities and reciprocity. In spite of the concern about bonding social capital possibly discouraging the 'bridging' kind, Putnam is emphatic mentioning that the two types are not interchangeable, thus both are needed for ideally functioning societies and satisfactory life (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam (2000) lets clear that social capital and trust are closely connected. Also a relation between 'trusting' and 'feeling cared/ considered' is implied. Drawing from 'social capital' to 'social trust' the work from Svendsen (2014) appears as meaningful. Despite shortly mentioning Putnam, he refers to the concept of 'social capital' and develop a similar reasoning in his book (2014) dedicated to the role of Trust as a 'precious raw material' - one that can make a core difference for society and even economy.

Social trust, argues Svendsen (2014), is the trust in people you have not met before, one kind of trust that historically evolved from 'individual trust' since social groups became too large for all persons to be personally known. Social trust deviates fundamentally from individual trust because it is expanded to include people about whom the trusting party has no direct information. Thus, social trust reflects a positive perception of the generalised other. It is a belief that the people one may interact with will behave decently. A person's level of social trust reflects a standard estimate of an unknown other's trustworthiness (Svendsen, 2014, p.15).

Social trust, as well as social capital, may say something about the ability to cooperate: the smaller you perceive the risk of being conned, the easier it is to cooperate with a stranger or an institution about which you do not have complete information (Svendsen, 2014, p.15). And this is especially



influential for voluntary cooperations (as the ones started in and around The Hague Market) which are based on *self-enforcement* and that establish informal agreements without written rules (Svendsen, 2014, pp. 14-16). If further expanded this sensation/ experience of social reliability can result in time, money and effort saving because trust diminishes the demand for surveillance (Putnam, 2000; Svendsen, 2014).

Drawing back to some core considerations of Putnam, trust can be created via face to face contact in voluntary associations and small communities, and subsequently this 'individual' trust spreads in society as social trust in most other people. Voluntary organisation, is further argued by Svendsen (2014), makes it harder to cheat each other because you have to face the other person 'next week' in the association (Svendsen, 2014, pp. 42-44). Such voluntary system is performed through a principle of reciprocity: I scratch your back and hope that you will scratch mine (Svendsen, 2014, p.54); and indeed people who received assistance/ help from others are more likely to give back. Following the reasoning, through 'giving' in a system of reciprocity you end up helping yourself and that can further result in a ripple effect where a group behaviour can be changed (Putnam, 2000).

Despite the admirable functioning of a reciprocity system make it *per se* 'worth trying', an important remark related to (social) trust is that while it takes long to be developed, it can be destroyed very fast. In a broader societal context, if too many people cheat the system breaks down and there is no longer gain from trusting each other. And then, sort of obviously, the temptation of controlling to avoid such risk becomes very grand for bigger groups as cities or countries. However, Svendsen argues (2014), this strategy may soon backfire. The more control citizens are exposed to, the more superfluous the reserve of trust in the population will seem (Svendsen, 2014, pp.50-51).

Trust and control are not necessarily opposites, but a balance needs to be found. If parliament goes too far and controls e.g. local governments excessively, and the municipalities then keep their institutions in a tight leash it works against trust encouragement. Trust is futile if everything is controlled and people are treated as not reliable. In the opposite direction, various studies show that both productivity and the quality of work increase when a company shows trust in its employees - the work environment 'simply' becomes better. Employees are more content when they feel they are met with trust and also their performance improves (Svendsen, 2014, pp. 51-55).

To conclude the considerations about social capital and trust it can be argued that reciprocity, trust, reliability and collaboration are deeply connected and their presence within a group/ society not just turn it more effective as also reflect in its cohesiveness. If the reasoning is further extended, the predisposition to behave in such terms (trusting and collaborating) can open space for better dealing with difference and thus resulting in more integration. So, concluding, these 'subjective' elements are worth to be evaluated in the case study of The Hague Market to check the importance they have for partnerships approach and for closely bounding persons and institutions.

## **4. METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. WHY A CASE STUDY ABOUT THE HAGUE MARKET?**

The Hague Market is the biggest street market in the Netherlands and located between two highly multicultural and complex neighbourhoods of The Hague (Transvaal and Schilderswijk). After a long period being overlooked by the municipal government, responsible for its administration, the market is currently passing through extensive (physical and management) renovation. The refurbishment, besides the construction of new permanent stalls is also raising questions about the importance, future and potentialities of this market.

Following a path of experimentation, The Hague Market is being used as a centralizing tool of common purposes for representatives of market traders, neighbourhood and vicinity entrepreneurs. Moreover, the reuniting function appears as well in the creation of partnerships with other institutions and projects such as collaboration with schools of practical knowledge in the area of Transvaal and Schilderswijk. Such highly dynamic market setting, summed to the adoption of a cooperation approach for the dealing of stakeholders, make it a very rich environment for a case study. The present research was developed during five months of internship in the Markets Department of The Hague (March to July of 2015) period when the refurbishment process of the market was happening.

The choice for a case study framing is acknowledged due to a cause-consequence matter. A case study is a good approach when the inquirer has clearly identifiable case(s) with boundaries and seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the case (Creswell, 2007, p.74). The Hague Market is definitely such kind: it is a marketplace in a deeply transformative moment and with a singular reunion of social and physical features that make it individually a very rich context for the intended investigation. The case-study allows a more in depth exploration of it through multiple methods (observations, interviews, audio-visual material, and documents/ reports). Nevertheless the case study adoption does not imply that all results and final considerations are valid only if context-related, i.e. worthy only for The Hague Market, because lead to conclusions related to universal matters of human interaction, socialising and work together that provide insights for different settings' investigation.

### **4.2. ADOPTING A QUALITATIVE APPROACH**

Considering the nature of the research topic and question it seemed logical to choose for a qualitative approach and related methodology. A qualitative research allows subjectivities and agency to be addressed and considered scientifically, avoiding economic or structural determinism. The desired way of framing and evaluating Integration, as well as the market's possible role in performing it, can only be made qualitatively. It is connected to perceptions about dealing with diversity, social cohesion, collaboration, reciprocity and trust that cannot be efficiently numerically measured. Simply put it is concerned to the way people interact, how they feel through it and what it potentially generates as outcomes.

Ontological and epistemological aspects that are present under a qualitative approach's umbrella and that were considered as 'broad guidelines' for this research include: understanding society as dynamic and ever-changing; the acceptance of conflict, coexisting paradoxical social worlds; the fact that knowledge is partial and that the subjectivity of the researcher and researched is a factor in every stage of the research process. Moreover, the production of knowledge is inter-subjective, a relational process between researcher and researched and where the researcher has ethical and social responsibilities to the researched (Pratt, 2009). In a qualitative approach it is accepted and stated that there is no (absolute) impartiality in a research, resulting also in not claimed *absolute* and *undeniable* truths.

#### **4.3 THE METHODS CHOICE AND THEIR RELEVANCE**

The choice for a case study research entails the employment of varied methods for data collection and, as already implied, the ones taken for this research were of a qualitative kind. Multiple methods use is also a way of performing a sort of triangulation, i.e. using different bearings to give the correct position. The employment of multiple methods is an attempt to maximize the understanding of a research question (Valentine, 2005).

In the specific case about The Hague Market and its potential for integration and social cohesion, the gathering of information from different sources and origins was essential. It allowed understanding the situation before and after the idea of developing cooperation and partnerships around the market. Furthermore a mixed-methods plan helped to avoid (at least partially) a weak point on the present work: the lack of Dutch language domain from the researcher, feature that opens margin for misinterpretation of data.

The methods chosen for this work included what Winchester (2006) framed as the three categories of qualitative methods: oral (e.g. interviews), textual analysis (e.g. over documents and policies) and participant observation (or ethnography) (Pratt, 2009, p. 605). The order in which the methods are explained below resemble a sort of sequence in which they were applied. Document Analysis and Ethnographic research were conducted basically at the same time, but almost completely before the Interviews. To talk directly with the stakeholders (interviewees) and ask them core questions over the research topic some former understanding of the context was needed, reason why the mentioned order of methods' performance was adopted.

##### **4.3.1. Document Analysis**

The Document Analysis encompassed the gathering and analysis of official written information. It was necessary for the following purposes: understand the recent situation of the Hague market and the two neighbourhoods around it (Transvaal and Schilderswijk); reunite official data about Integration in The Hague and more specifically in Transvaal and Schilderswijk; understand how was the agreement for the Market's refurbishment and finally to understand how the city of The Hague (immersed in the Netherlands' national context) frames both Markets and Integration through what is stated in the municipal policies. Moreover, within the scope of document analysis, statistics about the ethnicities present in Transvaal and Schilderswijk as well as data about the origin of the traders in the market was relevant since an ethnical division is perceived in the current market parties' organisation. The documents were accessed with the assistance of the Google Translation tool.

The following material was analysed (original Dutch name between brackets):

- **The Hague's policy of Markets** (*Rollende retail: Levendige handel in een aantrekkelijke buitenruimte : Nota Markten, Straathandel en Kiosken 2016-2020*);
- **The Hague's policy of Integration** (*Hoofdlijnenbrief Integratie*) and additional **Antidiscrimination policy letter** (*Beleidsbrief Antidiscriminatie*);
- **Strong Communities Action Plan** (*Actieplan Krachtwijken: Van Aandachtswijk naar Krachtwijk*) and related documents;
- **Statistics from The Hague's municipal database** (*Buurtmonitor*);
- **Registry of market traders** (*Handelarelijst*);
- **Survey and report about The Hague market** (*Toekomstvisie op kleurrijke winkelgebieden in Transvaal, Schilderswijk en Stationsbuurt: Deel 2 -De Haagse Markt*);
- **Covenant for the market reconstruction** (*Convenant inzake de vernieuwde Haagse Markt*).

The document analysis served as a first step to approach the markets' context and build a ground for the interviews realisation. It indicated main topics to be clarified with the interviewees i.e. how much some indicated trends and facts reported in the documents were or not perceived by the contacted persons in their daily activities and relations connected to the Hague Market.

To avoid misinterpretation of municipal policies and reveal a more comprehensive vision including also past framings in both themes of Integration and Markets three representatives of the municipality placed in the Town Hall in the city centre were contacted:

- **Contact A:** representative from *Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling – DSO* (Urban development Department - interviewed on 24/06/2015);
- **Contact B:** representative from *Dienst Stadsbeheer – DSB* (City Management Department - interviewed on 15/07/2015);
- **Contact C:** representative from *Dienst Onderwijs, Cultuur en Welzijn – OCW Afdeling Integratie* (Department of Education, Culture and Welfare: Integration Sector – interviewed on 12/06/2015).

Due to the 'additional' nature of such meetings and conversations (not directly answering the Research question due to the distance of the contacted persons from the Hague Market's partnerships' development plan) they were not framed within the scope of the semi-structured interviews.

#### 4.3.2. (Ground and Short) Ethnography

Ethnography is considered to be (together with interviews) one of the most widely employed Qualitative methods. From the Greek *ethnos* (the nation) and *graphē* (writing), ethnography is most closely associated with the discipline of sociocultural anthropology and is focused on understanding the situatedness of social behaviour, lending itself well to analyses of the everyday interactions of people and culture. It ideally implies long-term, in depth engagement with specific communities or societies (Hart, 2009, p.217). Ethnography is performed through *participant observation* which is a scientific term to define 'spending time being, living or working with people or communities in order to understand them' (Cloke et al, 2004; Hart, 2009; Laurier, 2010). The adoption of Ethnography method was widely employed in researches about the social universe of markets (e.g. Janssens, 2014; Pottie-Sherman, 2013; Watson, 2009), a reasonable choice concerning the nature of the topic.

In this case study the interaction to be analysed and what it reveals about Integration and cohesive behaviour could just be performed by closely observing the persons' relations in and through the organisational level, in the environments where the partnerships and collaboration are idealized, discussed and performed. For that reason the ethnography developed in this research was performed in two ways: as a ground building measure through the internship of five months in the Markets Department of The Hague (named here 'ground ethnography'), and as short participant observation in the Market Chambers' meetings (named here 'short ethnography'), which also included some visits to The Hague Market.

Through the ground ethnography important information about the start of the cooperation approach within and around the market were identified and explained - more information about how it is and was developed is provided in Chapter 5. Since the Markets Department itself is a core stakeholder in this organisational network, basically all the interactions between institutions, projects and representations involving The Hague Market happened somehow around the department. Moreover, the ground ethnography allowed, through the internship duration, the topical completion of gaps within the gathered information from documents and interviews. To employ a scientific term to an important used tool within this ground ethnography it is identified as 'Small Talk' by Driessen and Jansen (2013): a central, yet taken-for-granted, ingredient of ethnographic fieldwork that consists of a daily life basic social skill of 'hanging around' involving in light talk or conversation, chit-chat and even gossip (Driessen & Jansen, 2013).

The short ethnography consisted of irregular visits to the market and joining four meetings of the Market Chamber. It was adopted as a supplementary measure (associated to the interviews and documents' analysis) to understand how the relation between Municipality (represented by a team from the Markets Department) and The Hague Market (performed by representatives of market traders) is developed, including the relations of the traders (and the groups they represent – see explained division in 4.3.3.) among themselves. Since the language limitations the short ethnography allowed an understanding of non-verbal communication and spatial arrangements in the meetings. It collected evidences of how the different groups of stakeholders (Municipality x Market and further subgroups) behave with each other in such occasions through gestures, jokes, tone of voice, and through how they organise their selves in the physical environment (sitting places and groupings – identification of patterns). The Market Chamber meetings does not reunite all the involved stakeholders of the case study, but accounts for the entire group of representation of the Internal Realm of the market, as definition explained in Chapter 1 (section 1.2. ).

#### **4.3.3. Stakeholders Analysis and Semi-Structured Interviews**

Stakeholders are actors (persons or organisations) with a vested interest in projects, actions and/ or policies being promoted (Schmmer, n.d., p.1) .They can also be called, to put it simple, the interested parties forming a network of agents involved in a specific case. In projects development the Stakeholder Analysis is framed as a process of systematically gathering and analysing qualitative information to determine whose interests should be taken into account when developing and/or implementing a policy or program (Smith, n.d.; Schmmer, n.d., p.1). It aims to evaluate and understand actors from the perspective of an organisation (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000, p. 239) and the analysis consists normally of a set of tools for generating knowledge about the actors to understand their behaviour, intentions, interrelations and interests (Varvasovszky & Brugha, 2000,

p. 338) with reference to their past, present positions and future potential (Brugha & Varvasovszky, 2000, p. 239).

In this research the Stakeholders Analysis consisted of tracing the involved actors in the collaboration approach with and around The Hague Market and the depth of their involvement. It includes two identified 'distinct' groups: 1. the parts that are directly involved in the management of the market and the organisation of its internal function (i.e. forming the Internal Realm); 2. the persons and institutions that were contacted and connected to the market during its reconstruction process (External Realm). The identification of the stakeholders was realised through the participant observation within The Hague's Markets Department and small talk with the employees and managers. The identified ones are the following:

- **The municipality of The Hague:** for explanatory purposes in this research it is crudely divided in two, which are named 'Town Hall' and 'Markets Department'. The 'Town Hall' refers to the part of the municipality staff/ institution located in the centre of The Hague, (literally in the Town Hall) which is responsible for broader political decisions. The 'Markets Department' accounts for the group located close to The Hague Market, in a building in Transvaal (see Figure 1 in Chapter 5) which actually started performing the cooperation approach.
- **Market traders:** approached through traders' representatives on the Market Chamber (*Marktkamer*), further divided in members connected to one of the two traders' unions (CVAH and VETRA) and independent traders (with no official connection to any of the mentioned unions - were elected to participate in the chamber meetings);
- **Institutions and Social projects around the area of the market:** the group include two schools of practical teaching (*De Einder* and *ROC Mondrian*), a non-governmental organisation (*Multicultureel Ontmoetings Centrum - MOC*) responsible for a food bank and social restaurant, a group developing an urban farming project in the vicinity of The Hague Market and the group responsible for the market's cleaning.
- **Entrepreneurs of the Commercial Buildings on the 'heads' of the market:** approached through representatives of what is called the Entrepreneurs Chamber (*Ondernemerskamer*);
- **Inhabitants of the Market's vicinity:** approached through representatives of what is called the Neighbourhood Chamber (*Buurtkamer*).

The universe of identified stakeholders led to a further demand of selecting interviewees that could express, even in the name of a group, opinions about the evolving of the collaboration approach ( i.e. how much it was being enforced and developing or not positive bridges between the different stakeholders). Before explaining how the choice was made, it is important to explain the kind of performed interviews and the development of the interview guide.

Semi structured interviews were the applied type. They are defined as a way of talking with people in a self-conscious, orderly and partially structured way. Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, the interview unfolds in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important (Longhurst, 2010, p. 103). It is about openly listening, paying attention in a non-judgemental way and allowing a 'comfortable atmosphere' where interviewees can sincerely expose their opinions and feelings. When analysing and presenting the data it also implies being careful and systematic with the things people reported (Krueger and Casey, 2000, p. xi in Longhurst, 2010).

The interviews were conducted following a set of questions (interview guide) developed from the theoretical framework described in Chapters 2 and 3. The complete interview guide can be found in the appendices, but to present the way in which the questions were prepared according to the conceptual themes and information demand, the following table is illustrative:

Question Number	Addressed Theme	Where related information is found?
1, 2 and 3	Basic Information about Interviewee	No direct relation with literature
4, 5 and 6	Depth of connection with the area, market and cooperation approach	Chapter 3: Sections 3.1. to 3.3.
7	Social Cohesion and Social Capital	Chapter 3: Sections 3.4. and 3.5.
8	Integration and Diversity	Chapter 3: Sections 3.1. and 3.2.
9	The Importance of Markets	Chapter 2: Sections 2.2. to 2.4.
10 and 11	Dealing with Diversity	Chapter 3: Sections 3.1. and 3.2.
12	Integration	Chapter 3: Sections 3.1. and 3.5.
13 and 14	Social Cohesion and Collaboration	Chapter 3: Sections 3.4. and 3.5.
15	Social Cohesion, Collaboration and Integration	Chapter 3: Sections 3.1. 3.4 and 3.5.
16	Marketplaces Integrative potential	Chapter 2: Sections 2.4., 2.6. and 2.7. Chapter 3: Section 3.3.
17	Markets and Integration	Chapter 2: Sections 2.2, 2.3., 2.5. and 2.6. Chapter 3: Sections 3.1., 3.2. and 3.3.

**Table 1:** Operationalisation of Theoretical Framework content to questions on the Interview Guide

Considering the definition of semi-structured interviews, the set of questions was adapted through the flow of the interview according to the interviewee and its current degree and nature of connection to The Hague market. Additional questions were asked when the researcher needed specific practical information from the interviewees (e.g. market previous functioning, cooperative development, dealing with difference) as well as when it noticed an insistence in specific aroused theme(s) through the conversation. There were even specific cases in which the intended semi-structured interviews ended similar to unstructured ones, since the emphasis and continuous report about specific topics and lack of space for the employment of predetermined questions. Despite the matter, the needed information was also taken in such cases and the constant or absent concern with some topics by such interviewees was also extremely meaningful for the further analysis.

Framing the selection of the interviewees, representatives of all the identified groups of stakeholders (see list above) were interviewed, with the exception of the group responsible for the market's cleaning (because of a language limitation and lack of time to develop a mediation and translation scheme). Within each stakeholder's group (e.g. institution, union) the definition was done by reasons encompassing the position within the specific group the person represents (e.g. if it is a manager, a director) the person's own disposition to be interviewed (e.g. first positive answer when the group was contacted) and the existence or not of language barriers. In total fourteen persons were interviewed in depth. The list of them (with fictional adopted names) and the stakeholder it represents is below:

- **Markets Department:** two representatives (Antônio and Teresa), chosen by the core performance in the Collaboration approach;

- **Market traders:** five representatives (Luis, Fernando, Felipe, Rafael and Marcelo) chosen by the presence in the Market Chamber and own disposition to be interviewed. Includes representatives from both unions (CVAH and VETRA) and elected representatives, including the *Cooperatie* chairman. For more information about each of these subgroups see Chapter 5;
- **Institutions and Social projects around the area of the market:** the group includes the director of both schools - *De Einder* and *ROC Mondriaan* (Miguel and Cassio), the director of the MOC (Lucia) and a main contact person from the urban farming project (Paulo);
- **Entrepreneurs of the Commercial Buildings on the 'heads' of the market:** two participants from the Entrepreneurs Chamber (Fabio and Mario), one from each commercial building (see Figure 1);
- **Inhabitants of the Market's vicinity:** one representative from the Neighbourhood Chamber (Camila).

Considering the informal context of the research (the street market), the nature of the stakeholders and the language limitations five 'unexpected' persons (beside the selected 14 interviewees) participated together on some of the planned individual interviews. Since also involved in the market cooperation plan, they spontaneously expressed some points of view during the interview, helping the previously interviewee. Because their close connection to the markets' universe their accounts were also transcribed, coded and included in the analysis. The remarks made by a trader's representative wife (Ana) and by a professor from *De Einder* responsible for the internships in the market (Bernardo) were especially helpful.

It is important to mention that a comparatively big amount of market traders' representatives was interviewed (in comparison to the amount from other stakeholders) due to the group's population size - more than 500 registered persons. Moreover internal division of traders and a historical role performed by the unions of salesmen (i.e. CVAH and VETRA) in the former dealing with the Municipality were noticed before the interviews' stage. After the refurbishment started, new representations towards the Municipality were initiated resulting in new influence settings. The recent changes and the still 'under construction' social arrangement demanded a wider range of interviewees to draw conclusions. More information about the nature of the parties and the functioning of the former and present arrangement will be discussed about in Chapters 5 and 6.

After the transcription of all interviews the coding process was performed in two stages. Although it is not possible to make a strict division between the themes (and by consequence adopted codes) the first scan and coding was done over a subdivision related to broad themes addressed in the Interviews - material matters or clear categories induced by the interview guide (e.g. The Hague Market, the Neighbourhoods, Cooperation Plan). The second scan, intended to 'overlap' the first stage of coding, identified more 'subjective features' related to the realm of integration, social cohesion and sensations related to work together, equality and trust. Where necessary further subdivisions were made in the codes while producing the results' chapters. The Code Book with the adopted categories can be found in the annexes.

The semi-structure interviews were essential for the present research. They served not just as a means to evaluate in a more 'democratic way' the current depth and quality of the cooperation plan started within and around The Hague market as well as allowed the emergence of topics, subjective features and intensities that were not previously noticed through the ethnographic method, resulting in a more comprehensive (despite not exhaustive) understanding of the scenario. The results of the research combining all the adopted methods are described in the Chapters 5 and 6.



## 5. THE HAGUE MARKET'S UNIVERSE

This chapter will present 'The Hague Market's Universe' i.e. explain the profile of the market, the reasons that led to its current refurbishment and the practical impacts it is generating. The content is built as a *collage* done over a research conducted in 2009 (last in depth investigation about public, products and 'quality' of the market), main written information from The Hague's municipal website, a covenant signed in 2011 for the market's refurbishment, considerations of the new markets' policy of The Hague, ethnographic observations and information provided in the interviews. The goal of this chapter, shortly putting, is to provide descriptive information about the market's physical and more importantly, social setting. Based on such ground remarks about the integrative potential of The Hague Market through its organisational level will be done in chapter 6.

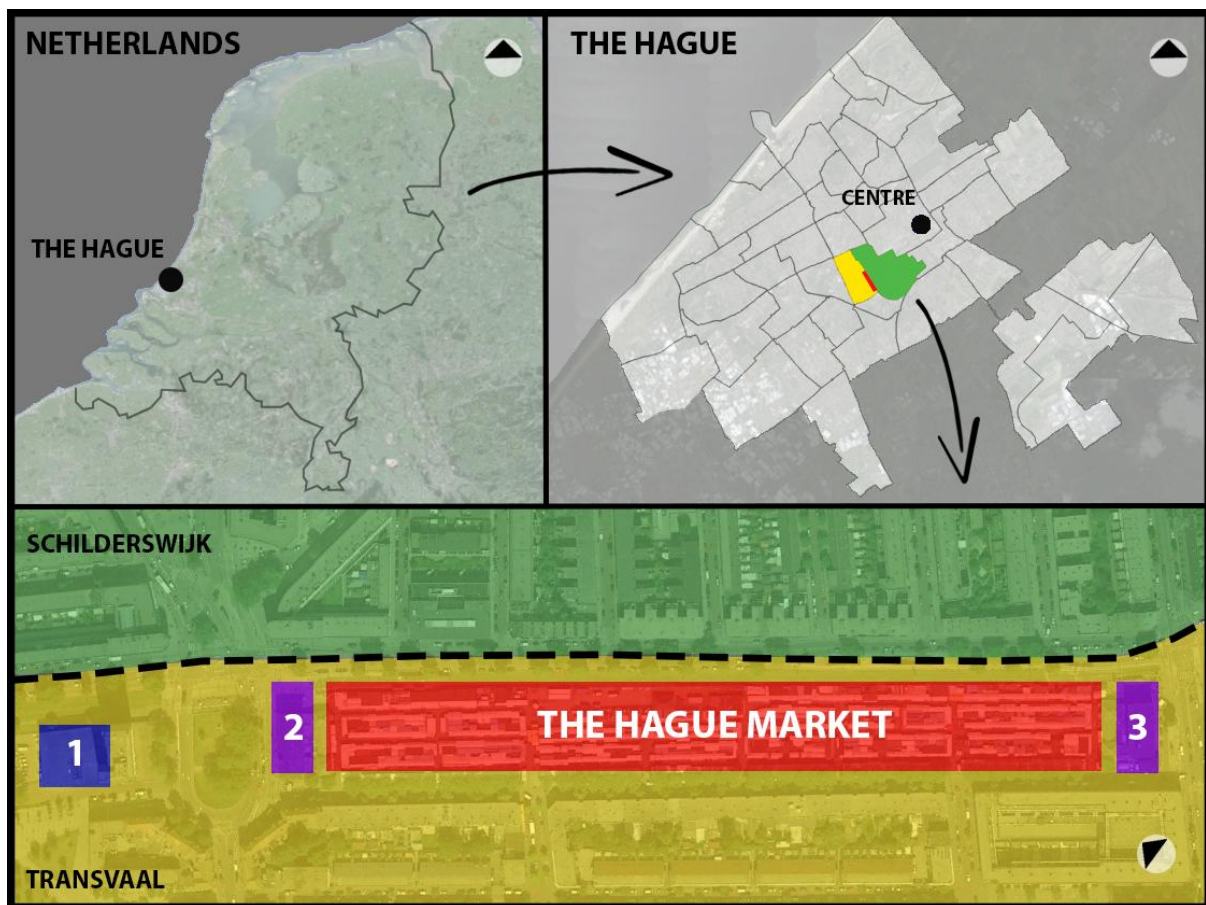
As a chapter outline, the market 'profile' will be presented in section 5.1. Section 5.2. addresses the surrounding neighbourhoods and their influence over the market's functioning. Section 5.3. reports the demand of a refurbishment, explaining the involved stakeholders and the main (physical and management) changes it brought. This section also addresses future the ideas from the city new market's policy. The practical development of the cooperation approach within and around the market is explained in section 5.4.

### 5.1 THE HAGUE MARKET: A PROFILE

The Hague Market is the biggest street market in the Netherlands and perhaps Europe (Municipality of The Hague, 2013). Originally *Haagse Markt* in Dutch and colloquially named *Haagse Mart* (without the 'k') it is an unusual example of a street market not located in the city (commercial) centre. For around 75 years it is already deployed slightly to the southwest of The Hague, to where it was moved from Prinsengracht on 1938 due to increasing traffic (De Haagse Markt, n.d.). It can be found placed between Schilderswijk and Transvaal, two highly multicultural neighbourhoods of The Hague (Holland.com, n.d.). The market ground is delimited by the Hobbemaplein and the Hoflandplein (North – South) where two 'twin' commercial buildings are deployed and by the Herman Costerstraat and the tram line (East – West), occupying an area of approximately 23.000m<sup>2</sup> (WPM Groep, 2009). Figure 1 illustrates the reported information.

The multicultural feature of the area is resembled by the market through the range of products, diversity of visitors and traders' multiple origins. The market is regarded an accessible meeting place where a mix of different social and cultural groups interact, presenting an important contribution to the residents' integration as well as the integration of foreigners - confirming the information of sections 2.4.1., 2.4.2. (para. 3 & 4 in both) and section 2.4.3. Concerning the economic impact, The Hague Market is an economic artery (DSO, 2004), an entrepreneurship incubator with employment opportunities taken as heart and motor of Schilderswijk and Transvaal (Municipality of The Hague, 2011, p.2). Its existence is what mainly attracts consumers for the stores in the vicinity of the market, resembling market's description in section 2.1. (end of para. 2) and section 2.4.4. (end of para. 1). The contacted entrepreneurs of the buildings in Hobbemaplein and Hoflandplein were very clear in their statements: 'if there is no market we have to go somewhere else'. Mario for example just opens his store in market days because 'in the other days there is nobody coming'. The fact

indicates that the market is not a closed world, its strength or weakness affecting the local commercial development.



**Figure 1:** Scheme localising The Hague Market. Number 1 refers to the location of the Markets Department; 2 and 3 to the locations of the commercial buildings at Hobbemaplein and Hoflandplein, respectively. Source: Google Earth with author's edition

The Hague Market is open four days a week (Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday) from 9:00 to 17:00h and reunites 526 stalls (Municipality of The Hague, 2015, p. 7) with varied products - clothes, shoes, furniture, fresh fish, exotic snacks, fruits and vegetables, computer equipment, strollers, suitcases (Haagse Markt Facebook page, 2014). It receives approximately 35.000 visitors and offers employment for more than 1000 persons, performing the markets' roles described in section 2.4.4. The *Haagse Mart* corresponds to a major part of The Hague's street market offers, since the city has currently 8 markets and the others are less frequent and considerably smaller.

Despite the expressive numbers, it was noticed in recent years a decay in the amount of public and products' range (Municipality of The Hague, 2011; WPM Groep, 2009), phenomenon resulting of a set of reasons mentioned in documents as well as through the interviews. It involves the economic crisis, the so called and widely publicized 'danger' of the area where the market is located, the low income of the surrounding neighbourhoods and also the continuous (until recently unaddressed) decay and lack of maintenance of the market's physical environment.

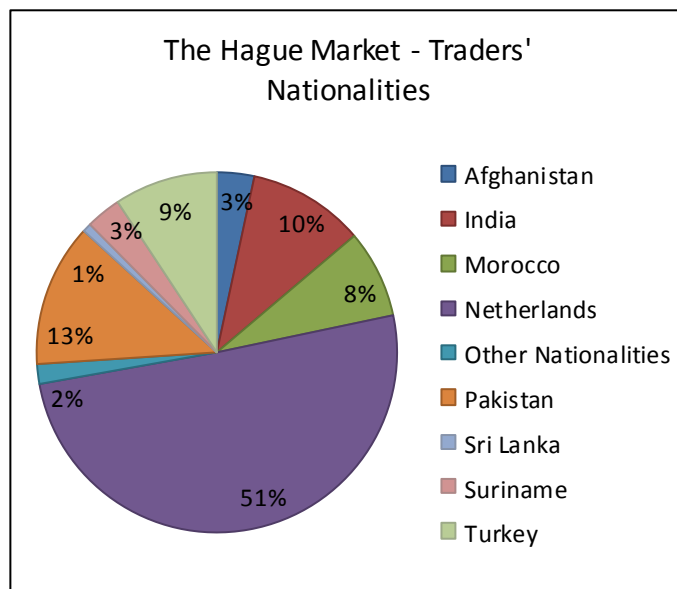
Before drawing considerations about The Hague Market's 'decay' it is important to present further the picture through main facts and figures. According to the last in depth developed survey about the visitors of The Hague Market (WPM Groep, 2009) the figures revealed that it receives a very

diverse group considering age trends, with the elderly slightly overrepresented. Concerning gender the amounts are basically the same (49% men X 51% women). The visitors are of varied ethnicities, including non-western immigrants (from China, Vietnam, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Tunisia, Egypt, Siria). The main groups are presented in table 2.

Ethnicity	Percentage
Dutch*	33%
Turkish	10%
Moroccan	13%
Surinamese/ Hindu	22%
Antillean / Aruban	05%
Other**	18%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 2:** The Hague Market visitors Ethnicity. Source: WPM Groep, 2009.

\* includes many non-western immigrants with Turkish / Moroccan / Surinamese roots. \*\* includes combinations of the above mentioned.



**Graph 1:** The Hague Market - Traders' Nationalities. Source: Mercato Database, June, 2015.

The numbers just reveal partially the mentioned striking multicultural diversity of the audience, partly attributable to the demographics of Transvaal and Schilderswijk (see Section 5.2.). Moreover the social diversity is also noted in the origin of the traders, as illustrated in the graph 1.

The market undoubtedly attracts many immigrant visitors being defined as *a folk, ethno and discount market*, since the also indicated price friendliness (WPM Groep, 2009). The following quotes from the interviews further exemplify the noticed diversity of The Hague Market:

*... When you walk on the market you see that there is enormous... 'assortiment'? (...) I come here and I am surprised by the diversity... (Teresa)*

*The whole world is here... And poor people of The Hague, from the rich areas they also come to do shopping here on the market... They find everyone here in the market (...) it is a meeting point of The Hague and of the world and therefore it is a very important spot in The Hague. (Miguel)*

*Because when you walk here on the market you see at the 'horeca' (catering) stands (...) A lot of people who are drinking coffee or tea or what else and talk to each other, have conversations with each other, are from different cultures... Is not only Turkish or Moroccan or Dutch people, but it is a mix. (Cassio)*

*... All the different groups they are coming on the market, we have Jewish people, we have Indian, we have Surinamese, we have Christian, we have Muslin. Everything goes on the market and respects each other. (Fernando)*

Considering the residence location of the visitors the figures showed that around a quarter of them are from Transvaal (9%) or Schilderswijk (15%). A group representing 46% of the visitors come from other neighbourhoods/ areas of The Hague, 14% from immediately surrounding cities and only 16% from other cities in South Holland Province or further locations. In what concerns the regularity of visits the inhabitants from Schilderswijk and Transvaal tend to come in a huge majority (90%) more than once a week to the market. They are also the main consumers of the market according to the research. The fact adds to a meaningful noticed trend of loyal visitors: the amount that declared going to the market at least once a week corresponded to almost two thirds of the universe consulted: 63%, independently of the residence location group (WPM Groep, 2009). The evidence demonstrates not just the commercial but also the socialising function of The Hague Market, further exemplifying the consonance with ideas reported in section 2.4.3.

A curious commonly attributed reason for the visits - the low prices, which was also mentioned by interviewed traders and surrounding entrepreneurs as one of the biggest attractions was not reported in 2009 as the main reason for the visits, despite highly appreciated by the public. The figures showed that 68% of the visitors went to the market driven by the purpose 'to do some shopping', followed by 'socializing' (19%) and then the low prices (10%). The most common expended amount ranged from 5 to 25 euros.

Along with the Albert Cuyp market and Dappermarket the Hague Market has the largest amount of open hours per week. However, despite the size and the just mentioned fact, unlike the Albert Cuyp for example, which is a top touristic location in Amsterdam, nationally and internationally known, The Hague Market figures as a local market (WPM Groep, 2009, pp. 12-13), barely known outside the immediate surroundings of the city. The fact was confirmed through the interviews with Dutch persons raised outside The Hague: none of them heard about it before being assigned tasks related to the market or moving to the city:

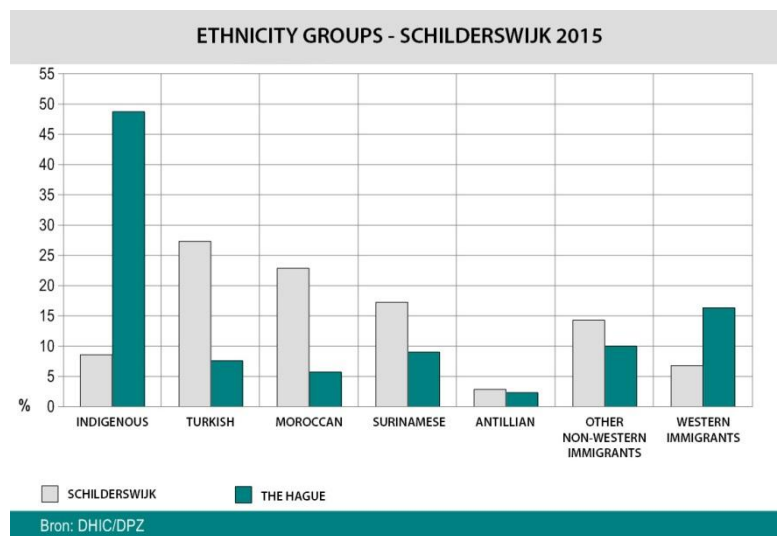
*... Very honestly I didn't know that there was a Hague Market, I didn't know at all. There are some markets in Holland that everybody knows, for example in Amsterdam and the new Markethall in Rotterdam ahm... But The Hague Market I never heard of. (...) The last year I have been several weekends over here with friends and they were surprised about the market. They didn't know it. Because everybody knows the market in Amsterdam, so in marketing, there is still some change to be made. (Teresa)*

*... It is my opinion still, because nobody outside The Hague, from my friends, my age friends' group, my peers have never heard of it (...) all the other cities around us are promoting their stuff so much and we are like (thinking) 'The Hague Market is big! Why don't you guys shout it out!?' You know? (Camila)*

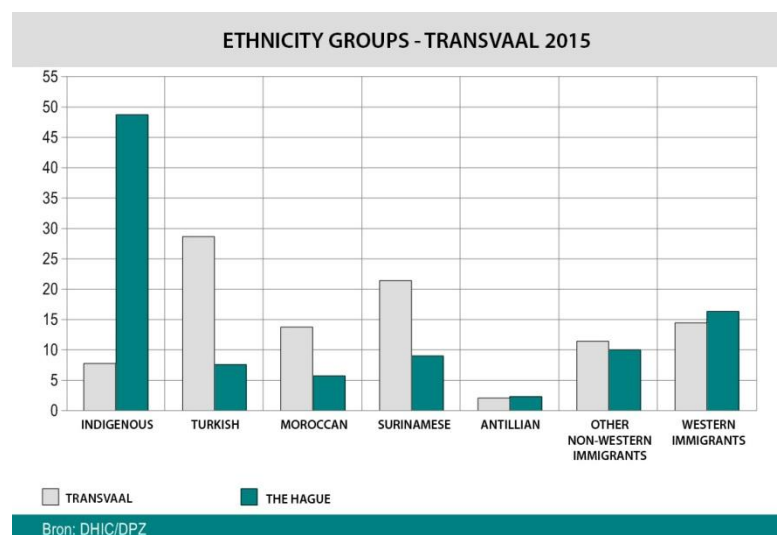
That there is room for improvement in the marketing of The Hague Market it is undeniable, its 'fame' is at odds with the idea of section 2.4.1. (para. 2). The research findings in 2009 and also the just conducted interviews point to that. However it appeared that the problem relies not just in the lacking (touristic) advertising. The Hague Market also suffers from the 'bad marketing' related to its location in The Hague. Considering the intertwined character of the market and its surroundings it is advisable to push (partially) the 'pause' button in the market's description and shortly explain a bit of the context, physical and social, of where The Hague Market is located.

## 5.2. PHYSICAL CONTEXT: SCHILDERSWIJK AND TRANSVAAL

The Hague Market is located in a bordering area between Schilderswijk and Transvaal (see figure 1), two neighbourhoods located slightly southwest of the central touristic area of The Hague which were developed as working-classes residential areas since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Op Trek Transvaal, n.d.). Around the 1970s the main feature of both Schilderswijk and Transvaal started changing with the large deployment of immigrant residents. Nowadays they are framed as dense, busy/lively highly multicultural areas, encompassing more than a hundred different nationalities. In the graphs 2 and 3 the approximate percentages of the ethnicities in 2015 on both Schilderswijk and Transvaal is presented. The most striking fact is the comparatively short amount of indigenous population: 8,2% in Schilderswijk and 7,8% in Transvaal, while throughout The Hague it is of 48.8% (DHIC/DPZ, 2015).



**Graph 2:** Ethnicity Groups in Schilderswijk. Source: DHIC/ DPZ, 2015



**Graph 3:** Ethnicity Groups in Transvaal. Source: DHIC/ DPZ, 2015

It must be said that indeed walking through the streets of these neighbourhoods you feel 'somewhere else' than in The Netherlands. In a playful and positive remark about contacting the area's diversity, one of the interviewees mentioned her first impression when visited Schilderswijk:

*...ow, it feels like I am on holidays. Don't need to go to Egypt to feel being there! (Lucia)*

Although the diversity was praised as a positive feature from the market's surrounding area (and indeed represents a great potentiality) many groups are still closed and not interacting with others. The consequent 'lack of social cohesion' intersected other social and economic features through the last decades resulting in what was mentioned as a general decay in the environment. The following remarks present some opinions of the interviewees about it:

*(It is) 'Fucked up' (...) Well, no the neighbourhood is yeah... it is, let me say it is changed the last 20 years, 20 years yeah. Not (in a) good (way). Not good, yeah. I think it is old it is dirty, a lot of thieves*

*and that kinds of things are happening, yeah. No I am not happy with the neighbourhood. Let me say it that way. That's the nicest way to say it. (Fabio)*

*... I never lived nearby because this neighbourhood has more troubles than other neighbourhoods because of crisis, no money, yeah, little bit of crime so... I have two daughters and I don't want them to be raised here. You can imagine... (Mario)*

*(It changed) too much. When I started, back in 1980, it was super. But you can say that (...) from 2000 it is getting down and down and down. And right now you can say is in the bottom. (...) The people who are living here they are the poorest people, they are living all in welfare and they get money, you know? Once a month. And the market is 4 days a week. Usually they come just to spend their time, not for buying. (Rafael)*

In fact the negative remarks are not a coincidence. Both Schilderswijk and Transvaal were mentioned within the 40 selected 'priority neighbourhoods' of the Netherlands in a famous national report from 2007 (VROM). Since then they carry the label of 'Krachtwijk' (power neighbourhood) which mostly works as a euphemism for the real associated idea of 'problematic area'. According to the *Actieplan Krachtwijken* (Power Neighbourhoods' Action Plan - VROM, 2007) the 40 neighbourhoods were selected by an accumulation of problems: high rates of school dropout and (youth) unemployment, dilapidated living environments with few opportunities of social contact, inadequate integration of newcomers, lagging emancipation of mostly non-western woman, lack of relevant social networks, health inequalities, crime and insecurity sensation. Since the problems are not isolated their *tenacity*, was defended, relies in the fact they are reunited and reciprocally impacting each other (VROM, p. 03, 2007).

The *Actieplan Krachtwijken* and consequent specific neighbours' action plans (see RIS148835a and RIS148835c for Schilderswijk and Transvaal) intended to tackle the mentioned problems through common actions developed in partnership with local stakeholders, feature that would per se acknowledge the cooperation approach currently performed in The Hague Market. Besides Integration is a key mentioned concept in the reports and by its connection with this research more specific attention will be given to it in chapter 6.

Back to 'facts and figures' of Schilderswijk and Transvaal, what is noticed through the interviews' considerations and current demographics of 2015 is that not much improvement is perceived since 2007. The average household income in 2012 (most recent statistics) in Schilderswijk was of €23.154 and in Transvaal of € 23,274, while for The Hague the amount reached almost 32.000 Euros (DHIC/CBS/RIO, 2015). This shows that in the framed *Krachtwijken* it keeps being approximately 25% lower than the city's average. In what concerns inactive persons' rates (intersecting the matter of benefits' dependents) in Schilderswijk and Transvaal it is of 21.3% and 17.6% respectively, while in the whole city the percentage is of 11.5% (DHIC/UWV, *bewerking DSO/PSO*, 2015)

More than statistics or the majority low income of the residents, which to some extent benefits The Hague Market's commercial activities, what is specially harmful for the market is the 'bad image' of Schilderswijk and Transvaal constantly emphasized and reproduced by the media. The fact connects to the remarks in section 3.2. (last paragraph). A 'curious' noticed trend was that while The Hague Market was not previously known by the people from outside The Hague, the 'power neighbourhoods' where it is deployed were 'old acquaintances':

*...Yes, yes (I already knew about it). This area is well-known in a national level for being a multiracial area, with a high level of so-called crime, social level of so-called social security users and also known as a place where potential (...) radical groups or radical people come from. (Antonio)*

*Yes, yes (I heard about it before). But only in the negative way and not in the positive way. And that is what bothers me also, because the media is always picking up the negative things and what you see in this area, in this neighbourhood is that there is a lot of entrepreneurship, but that is not what is coming in the media. Always negative things that come in the media. So that is, I think that is difficult for the market also... (Teresa)*

The interviews and ethnographic observations revealed that the nationwide reproduced image in the media does not present a fair account of Schilderswijk and Transvaal. The areas, despite the issues, are much more positive than the painted picture. And The Hague Market from being impacted by the 'bad areas' published statement can become a tool of positive advertisement in the coming years, helping to improve the surrounding social conditions to some extent.

### **5. 3. REFURBISHMENT: AN INCREASING DEMAND**

Section 5.1. presented introductory information about the Hague market and some main facts and figures. Despite some remarks about what was not working on it (e.g. positive marketing) not much attention was given to the issues that led to its current refurbishment process. The main features associated to the 'market's decay' are addressed in the next section (5.3.1.) while accounts about the directly involved planning stakeholders (5.3.2.) and the refurbishment process follow (5.3.3.). An important impacting matter is the management system which also since the reconstruction agreement was planned to be reformulated. The management aspects that make it a debated matter are presented as well (5.3.4.).

#### **5.3.1. Pressing Needs**

The research conducted in 2009 besides revealing visitors' profile also made considerations about The Hague Market's failing points. The two mainly addressed themes were the physical structure/appearance of the market and the management system that stiffened it over the years and was restraining its economic development. Concerning the markets' physical atmosphere the following remarks are meaningful: outdated and moderately maintained public space, concentration of garbage both inside and outside the market's area, lack of resting places, unclear and narrow entrances and too narrow corridors between the stalls (WPM Group, 2009). The decrease of visitors, the stale range of products with continuous diminished variety - no longer meeting the demands of consumers and the sensation of insecurity with a susceptible to vandalism space further adds to the picture (Municipality of The Hague, 2011, p. 2). The interviews also revealed the perceived scenario:

*... It was a kind of mess. There was no structure, problems... When you have a business, you are used to invest, to renew your business. Yeah, that was not going on that time... It was impossible for a couple of years (to invite commercial partners to the market). My shop was ok but when they must come here they think 'ow yeah, that's shit'. (Luis)*



*... But you saw it before the renovation, everything is broken, it is dirty. Everybody is doing their own way. (Fabio)*

*Waste management... Specially the plastic bags and everything that is floating around everywhere. Visitors that have no way to, nowhere to put their garbage, anything. (Camila)*

The Hague Market was hit by an accumulation of issues over the last years, including economic crisis and the surrounding areas' decay. Undeniable seems however that the municipality of The Hague was negligent about the market's maintenance and also took too long to enforce the promised reconstruction and reorganise the market, officially ruled by it. The fact shows that until recently The Hague Market could be included in the tendency described in section 2.2. Below some images from the place before the reconstruction:



**Figure 2:** Pictures of The Hague Market before the refurbishment. A: 09/2013; B: 11/2013; C: 02/2013. Source: Haagse Markt Facebook Page. D: (no date). Source: <http://www.vandaagopstap.nl/images>. E: 03/2015. Source: Author's archive.

### **5.3.2. Reconstruction: the Planning Stakeholders**

In 2011, after more than a decade discussing the planning process of The Hague Market, the municipality together with the market traders (represented by the CVAH and the VETRA), signed an agreement for The Hague Market's reconstruction (Municipality of The Hague, 2011). In the Covenant (2011) the commitment for a collaborative and active posture to be taken by municipality, CVAH and VETRA is stated, where each party agrees to cooperate for the market's quality increase, mentioning the variety of products, the promotion of the market and the definition of a new legislation. Parties shall consult each other if and as often as necessary to plan the renovation and realise the management of the Hague Market (Municipality of The Hague, 2011). Despite the praiseworthy approach the practical way to enforce the intentions was not clearly mentioned. The document turns to be sort of abstract.



If the enforcement way was 'not obvious' what is made clear through the municipality documents is that the refurbishment did not intend to be just a physical site's reconstruction, but also a whole new structuration of the market's management system. After the Covenant's publication (2011) and based on it a new legislation was implemented requiring the creation of a Market Chamber. Compounding it besides the municipality, CVAH and VETRA also elected representatives of the market were included. The need of such a chamber came as an envisioned solution for a, until then, not comprehensive representation of market salesmen' opinions and intentions. Here an important explanation is required: CVAH and VETRA are two unions of market traders which existence is not circumscribed to The Hague Market. Their actions and members encompass other street markets in South Holland and The Netherlands. At the same time, not all the traders are connected to one of the parties, resulting in the mentioned partial traders' representation towards the municipality. Nevertheless until recently the fact was apparently unnoticed. Another important fact further impacting the flow of negotiations is the perceived ethnical division of the unions: the concentration of Dutch indigenous traders in the CVAH and the ones of foreign origin in the VETRA. Further remarks of ethnicity impacts will be done in chapter 6.

### 5.3.3. Reconstruction: the Realisation

Although the agreement was signed in 2011 the refurbishment actually started in March 2014, with the official opening ceremony scheduled for November 2015. The project is being built in four stages, each regarding a portion of the market that is broken down and reconstructed with the deployment of new pavement, wider footpaths and new *permanent* stalls. While the work is happening the existing stalls of each stage are replaced in the adjacent Herman Costerstraat, allowing the market to keep fully functioning despite the ground work (Haagse Markt Facebook page, 2014, emphasis added). The permanent units replace the former mobile containers and what used to be an open public ground in non-market days is turned into closed gated area. Below some pictures of the design of the new market and reconstructed areas:



**Figure 3:** Pictures/Scheme of The Hague Market after the refurbishment. A: 06/2015. Source: Haagse Markt Facebook. B: 07/2015. Source: <http://denhaag.fm.nl>. C: 03/2015. Source: Author's archive. D: 3D aerial scheme 07/2014. Source: <http://www.denhaag.nl/home/bewoners/foto/Fotoalbum-Haagse-Markt-2014.htm>. E: 03/2015. Source: Author's archive.

Positive remarks about the overall atmosphere of the renewed marketplace were made by some of the interviewees:

*It is very nice. I heard a lot of people they are coming now, customers and they say 'ah it is nice, it is safer' and I think, and I **hope**, that when the market is already done, in November, that we sell more. (Marcelo, original emphasis)*

*Yes, a lot of people think it is very nice; it is clean, bigger, safe (...) And also myself, I am proud now. Some business partners i like to invite them: 'come to see the market. It is nice'. (Luis)*

Even with positive already perceived outcomes by the traders, the decision of the design happened at odds to the 'common decision' process agreed through the Covenant (Municipality of The Hague, 2011). The ethnographic research and the interviews revealed that the traders' considerations about the design and some technical solutions were not taken into account. Apparently the adopted layout came as a top-down municipal decision. The following quote illuminates the matter:

*There is only one thing that I see: everything the Gemeente wants, they do. I was I think it was about 8 times here, 8 years ago we heard the first time that the market and they, they show us a paper how the market will be. I say, no that is not good. And not to put it like this (the project design). What has happened now 8 years later? The same as what they had. What they want, they do (Marcelo)*

The salesmen despite in need for a refurbishment apparently had already lost faith that it would ever happen, with a settled mindset 'we must see to believe it'. The scepticism resulted of the long *planning-promising* process that took more than a decade to materialise. As a consequence some traders faced an economic setback with the refurbishment, which associated to the higher renting taxes can pose a limit to their commercial activity, linking to theoretical remarks done in section 2.6. (specially last paragraph). Moreover some discussed matters nowadays deriving from the new layout are the size of the stalls (with reduced front area in comparison to the former containers), the adaptation to the system of permanent stores that need to be shared between different traders (since they are not always individually assigned – see section 5.3.4.) and the location of the stores of each trader, since the market is being 'geographically' reorganised. Although per se bringing polemic, the physical design is not the unique ground of debate. The proposed new legislation with core changes is also raising some resistance.

#### **5.3.4. The Management System and Goals: from Street Market to 'Open Shopping Mall'**

The Hague Market besides the huge spatial and social scale (more than 500 traders currently enrolled) has a very complex management system. To explain why changes in the market administration are evoking misunderstandings and resistance, the former and partially still current rules (since the 'in transition' nature) should be first briefly explained.

The Hague Market is managed by the municipality of The Hague which is the responsible for issuing permissions and caring the physical maintenance of the market. There are different kinds of enrolment categories of traders following a sort of hierarchy of permanence/frequency on the market and consequent influence on decision making:

- **Vaste Standplaatshouders:** traders with permission to work 'permanently' for 1, 2, 3 or 4 days on the market, with their specific shops.
- **Standwerkers:** traders that sell normally one specific product which are assigned different locations depending on the day.
- **Dagplaatshouder/ Meelopers:** traders that don't have a permanent permission and that can come every market day early in the morning to try a spot for that specific day through a raffle system.

The upward mobility of traders (till reach the *Standplaatshouder* status) and allocation of places was until recently defined through a Seniority system (*Anciënniteit* in Dutch). Simply putting it worked based on a waiting list for market spots and the longer registered traders had the priority to take the best places. The effect of such scheme is that it makes extremely difficult for new traders to get an opportunity. Only traders enrolled for years in the waiting list could start the climb. Another stiffening feature is that the trading permission was issued for indefinite time (WPM Groep, 2009). The trader could stay 'as long as it wanted' in the market independently of its business performance (e.g. quality of the shop/products). Furthermore the stalls were (and still are) provided through a renting agreement, i.e. even the *Standplaatshouders* working four days a week could not buy its stall. These are the main *official* aspects being changed or under negotiation through the new legislation and Market Chamber meetings. Additionally a historically constituted practice is included as a controversial point: when a trader decided or had to stop its commercial activity in the market, a preference was given to the neighbouring traders to take over the place, as a right to 'expand' its business. It was enforced in a similar way to the Seniority system.

The explained former adopted management in The Hague Market, based in problems contention and control, is now framed as 'medieval', obsolete and not matching the demands of flexible modern commercial functioning. The remark is made by Contact A (see Chapter 4) which is involved in the development of the new markets and street trading policy. During the data collection period (from april to july 2015) two consecutive draft versions of it were accessed plus the possible official one published in July 2015. A general perceived trend in all versions is the recognition of street trading as a positive thing. That was argued as the core change from the previous versions of markets' policies in The Hague which understood the activity as just generating nuisance while spoiling the public space (resembling description of section 2.2). The mindset change was an outcome of a new political decision according to Contact A. The document (Municipality of The Hague, 2015) clearly states that markets and other categories of street trading provide dynamic life for the streets, increasing the attractiveness of the city for residents and visitors and create jobs at the bottom of the labour market (Municipality of The Hague, 2015). In such sense the policy reflects ideas defended in section 2.4.

Although the cohesive positive statement over street trading, in what concerns the future of The Hague Market the same degree of consensus and clarity is not noticed in the three analysed versions or through municipality contacted persons. The undeniable reality is that The Hague Market is not more a place of itinerant trade, with an official status of 'sedentary trade with a market character' (Municipality of The Hague, 2015, p.3). Practically putting it should resemble more a shopping mall in its way of functioning.

About the management after the refurbishment, the future is still unclear. The Hague Market's privatisation (rumour) also defended by the Contact A as the most reasonable option to give

freedom to entrepreneurs, reducing bureaucratic procedures and better coping with legislation changes, was not clearly stated in the last version. This part is at odds to the drafts that declared 'the current state of a cooperative approach (see Section 5.4.) is an intermediate step towards full privatisation' (author's translation). It seems that the official version declaring that 'organisational and technical management is being currently explored in The Hague Market which can proceed from public market to a public/ private collaborative ruling' market (Municipality of The Hague, 2015.) without clearly mentioning how, was a way to keep some degree of abstraction since the future administration shape is still under discussion within the own municipality.

The already known fact is that new rules for The Hague Market envision its refreshment, widening the range of products with a prior focus on the customers and its preferences (Municipality of The Hague, 2011). For such goal the seniority system is displaced and supremacy is given to entrepreneurship: the new criteria for issuing permissions is the *quality* of the proposed new business and if it matches a market's demand, avoiding the overconcentration of specific products while others are lacking. Moreover the permissions are not more issued for indeterminate time and the historic practice of expanding the stores (preference given to neighbouring traders) is under discussion. The allowance or not for stalls ownership is also being studied as well as changes in the opening hours and holidays scheme.

It is important to say that such decisions were already oriented in the research performed in 2009 (WPM Groep) as a way to booster the market. Other main remark currently working as a development guideline is the creation of a 'group mentality', (replacing the noticed 'each man for himself') in which traders are supposed to reach commitment to a jointly agreed retail concept taken as a supra uniting goal. In a trial to enforce such recommendation, despite the unclear future management organ/ system, what is being currently performed by the Markets Department of The Hague is a cooperation approach. It appears as a sort of 'middle way path' between the 'black or white' of public or private.

#### **5.4. A COOPERATION APPROACH**

Throughout The Hague Market's reconstruction planning and performance a cooperation approach was developed on the Markets Department of The Hague. Such path envisioned a common way of planning by working together with traders, inhabitants and entrepreneurs of the vicinity of the market as well as further extending the bond of it with the area through partnerships with other local stakeholders. Despite under a common collaborative umbrella, two realms were noticed: one more directly involved with the internal organisation and functioning of the marketplace, involving traders and the Markets' department (Internal Realm); and another involving what can be called 'external stakeholders' i.e. institutions, projects and representations that were brought closer to The Hague Market in the last two years but which do not take essential part in its commercial management (External Realm). The division is drawn for explanatory purposes and some overlap does happen. The next section (5.4.1.) reports the creation of the *Cooperatie* while the section 5.4.2. explains the way the external stakeholders were connected to the market.

#### 5.4.1. The Cooperatie

The *Cooperatie* is a cooperative started by market traders in September 2014 with the support and encouragement of the Markets Department. The contact of the involved traders was built through their appearance in the Market Chamber meetings. Three years ago this chamber was created as the formal traders' representation along the municipality for the market's further planning. As already mentioned it came to replace the adopted practice until then of dealing just with the two unions present in the market, the CVAH and the VETRA. The Market Chamber joins officially two representatives of CVAH, two of VETRA and four elected traders chosen specifically to be representatives in the chamber, despite any association with the unions. There the salesmen discuss together with representatives of the Markets Department about The Hague Market functioning and organisation. It is important to mention that the involved traders work in a voluntary basis.

Within the meetings of the Market Chamber the idea of coming to a Cooperative was announced and further performed. Nowadays one of the four elected representatives occupies the place of chairman of the *Cooperatie* and the meetings of it virtually overlap the Market Chamber. There are planned elections for the *Cooperatie* board in August and for new chamber members in December. In the election system the strength of the votes is determined by the enrolment category that each trader is part of. So shortly putting the *Standplaatshouders* that are four days a week in the market have the highest vote weight and the scale keeps decreasing until reach the lower weight, from the *Dagplaatshouders*. In the Market Chamber meetings all the current representatives are *Vaste Standplaatshouders* in the market.

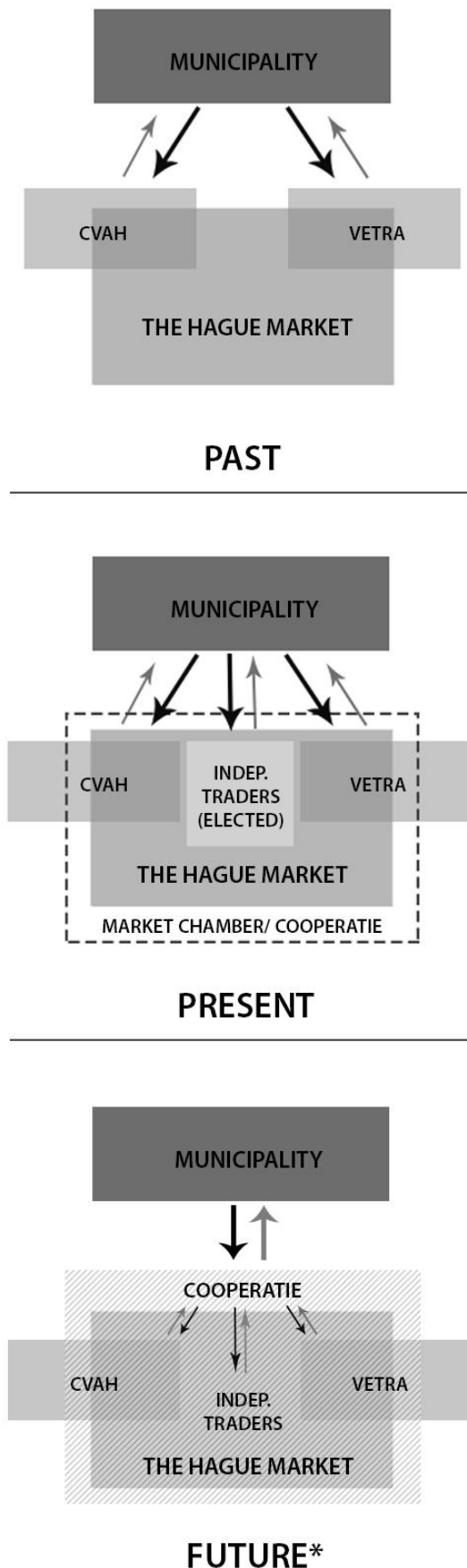
The intentions of developing a cooperative for the future management of The Hague Market came from the assumption it will bring positive outcomes for both the Municipality and the traders' groups. The following quotes present the opinions of each part:

*... What my current strategy is, is that I try to put the co-op in place. I try to come to them as being a single, a single organisation for us, the municipality, to deal with when it comes to give them roles or responsibilities which are now ours and therefore I strive to a membership of the co-op by 70 or 80% of the people that make it easier for the municipality to deal with the market. (Antonio)*

*...Yeah, for everybody (the Cooperatie). (...) Because I want an organisation who represent all the people (from the Hague Market), so we make a decision it is checked by all the people and not by 2 parties (CVAH and VETRA). Because what you see on the market is that we have 350 people (...) and they have all different plans. For some they want straight, sometimes they want right, sometimes they want left, sometimes they want more, they want less... It is always what, and that is, we try to do, to make one group with the 'noses in one direction'. Only that is very difficult... (Fernando)*

So the plan from the Markets Department is that gradually the dealing of the municipality instead of performed with assorted market representatives will happen from institution to institution, i.e. Municipality with *Cooperatie*. Figure 4 presents how was, is and is supposed to be the organisational dealing between municipality and The Hague Market.

As can be noticed the proposed plan implies the replacement of the historically constructed role of the 2 traders' unions – CVAH and VETRA by the *Cooperatie*. Despite apparently leading to a more democratic and direct approach to The Hague Market, the fact evokes certain resistance from the



**Figure 4:** Scheme of The Hague Market's management system, stakeholders and performance

traders deeply involved with the unions. More considerations about it will be done in Chapter 6. The important fact to consider by now is that the meant purpose to reunite the traders together disregarding their connections or not to unions is their empowerment and the development of a strategy that 'defend' their rights against the plan of a market's privatisation.

The *Cooperatie* is a very recent initiative and besides the whole restructuring of representation towards the municipality it also entails some other challenges. The involved traders present in general good will; however it is undeniable that they need to achieve new management skills to rule a complex institution with more than 350 intended members. And time is demanded for such purpose. It was stated by the *Cooperatie*'s chairman that in his vision the organisation should reach a good stage in approximately five years, when could be able of standing alone 'over its feet' and commonly buy and manage the stores in the market. It is important to emphasise that the goal of refreshing the market and taking the refurbishment as The Hague Market's watershed, with the enforcement of the new rules (quality over seniority and others mentioned in section 5.3.4.) is officially agreed by the *Cooperatie*.

Widening the picture, there are further economic and social drives motivating the approach currently taken on the market's development. Intentions born from individual understandings that see the necessity to go beyond the borders of the market ground and involve surrounding agents, considering them also stakeholders. Understandings that consider 'a comprehensive approach' the ideal way of empowering the market - but not just it. The following quote represents well the noticed drive:

*... My ambition would be that the people would start understanding that if you talk about the market and talk through a spatial point of view that they would understand that, If you come here by tram, the market does not start there (in the market official plot), the market already starts here (near the tram stop around 200m from the market) (...) so that they would, through a spatial point of view, the entrepreneurs and the street, this street, that street, that (other) street, and the people in the market start understanding that this is one nice shopping area or residential area where they should work together in order to make it a beautiful place to be, to shop. (Antonio)*

#### **5.4.2. Local Cooperation: Bridging**

The reported 'collaborative mind-set' appeared within the Markets Department which currently has a work team around 80% formed by outsourced employees and consultants. That perhaps explains the different approach performed, if in comparison with the identified behaviour until three years ago. Within the established new mindset, in great part result of the new director's approach, a 'communication team' was formed to provide information to the market traders and also surrounding inhabitants and entrepreneurs about the refurbishment that was going to happen.

*...the first thing I did was getting to know people... You could say some stakeholders among the traders are important for me because I think they know about schools in the neighbourhood or they know about the culture in the market or they know about rules (...) So what I did was going door by door, ringing the bell and telling 'hello I am here, I am from the municipality. This is my job and I would like to know you' and the first question I asked was 'you live near the market, what is your experience with the market? And do you know that the market is getting renovated?' So I tried to start a conversation, that was the first thing I did. And I think in a few months I did it about 3 or 4 times, ringing bells. And with some people I got connected. (Teresa)*

Through the explained 'in the field' approach inhabitants of the market's surroundings were invited to participate in what became the *Buurtkamer* (Neighbourhood Chamber). In a very similar way the salesman from the commercial buildings on Hobbemaplein and Hoflandplein were also approached and invited to be part of the *Ondernemerskamer* (Entrepreneurs Chamber). In the chambers' meetings not just an opportunity to inform the local stakeholders was created. Also a space for ideas' exchange and expression of opinions about the market was developed. Despite an admirable and more democratic way of dealing with people directly impacted by the market's reconstruction, the process was not smooth since the beginning and also today some conflictive points have to be dealt with. Anyway, the initiative is praised as a positive one by approached entrepreneurs and inhabitants:

*(...) Well, it is going good, I think it is. Now I hear something when... Which fase will start and... They are going to try to connect the Marketskamer (Market Chamber) and the buildings in the front of the market, so. It is a good thing, I think it is a good thing. (Fabio)*

But the neighbouring inhabitants and entrepreneurs were not the only contacted persons. Institutions and projects on Schilderswijk and Transvaal were also approached (as partially already implied in the above quote from Teresa) and ideas of possible partnerships between The Hague Market and these named 'external stakeholders' also appeared. These include connections with two

schools of practical knowledge (*ROC Mondriaan* and *De Einder*), a social institution called MOC and an intended urban farming project to be developed in an emptied building 'just around the corner' of the market. Each of these connections is in a different degree of performance since the 'nature' of the partnership developed, bureaucratic demands and time.

To present a picture of the range achieved by this local cooperation approach and give hints to the depth and density of connections it arouse until now, their processes will be shortly outlined:

- **Neighbourhood Chamber:** Has periodic spaced meetings for around one and a half year. Once participated of a Market Chamber meeting (April 2015), when could meet the traders' representatives and discuss some topics involving the functioning of the market. Since they declare they are also consumers of the market they want their opinions to be taken into account in a new survey being performed about The Hague Market public. As a 'pay-back' visit the Neighbourhood Chamber also once received the visit of the *Cooperatie's* Chairman.
- **Entrepreneurs Chamber:** Also has periodic spaced meetings. In their opinion the main goal to be involved is/ was to get information about the refurbishment plan (e.g. how that could impact the functioning of their stores) and also to try developing together marketing strategies and further opening times, since The Hague Market's presence and functioning is a main attraction bringing customers to their enterprises. For such reason they believe it is better to talk closer after the reconstruction is finished. The Entrepreneurs Chamber didn't has yet contact with the other mentioned chambers.
- **Partnership with De Einder:** Was built effectively since September 2014 through the contact with the Markets' department and the just created *Cooperatie. De Einder* currently has a stall in The Hague Market where it works as a kind of internship agency, bridging the contact between traders, the students of the school and also nowadays some 'vacant' youths from the area of Schilderswijk and Transvaal. One of the main goals of De Einder is that their students can leave the school with a job, a possibility they see in the market. They started with three internships and currently have around twenty – 'growing fast' according to *De Einder* interviewees. Besides a 'coffee service' for the market traders is being planned together with the Markets' Department. De Einder is also connected to ROC Mondriaan in The Hague Market.
- **Partnership with ROC Mondriaan:** The agreement between the Markets' Department and ROC Mondriaan already existed before the refurbishment. The school has interns working in the security of the market, since the nature of the study programme they teach. What is currently been tried is to adapt the 'shape' of the partnership for the service to be more in accordance with The Hague Market's current needs.
- **Partnership with MOC:** The MOC (*Multicultureel Ontmoetings Centrum*) is a non-governmental institution deployed in Schilderswijk with the overall intention of helping the poor local population and further encouraging closed ethnic groups to interact with the neighbourhood and other cultures. Within the activities performed by the MOC there is a Food Donation Bank (*Voedselbank* - providing food packages to the population) and a Social Restaurant. The collaboration of The Hague Market with the project is still in a very early stage. Both the institution and the Markets' Department – together with the responsible for the cleaning service in the market, are trying to find legal and practical ways for the food which will be not more commercialized to be donated to the MOC.
- **Urban Farming Partnership:** The connection between The Hague Market and the Urban Farming Project (to be developed in a building very close to the market, in Schilderswijk) is still in the 'brainstorm' shape. One of the reasons is that the Urban Farming construction is still depending on the last legal licenses approval to be built.



Besides the mentioned partnership projects in which some degree of contact was built, there are other great imagined ideas (e.g. stands for cultural 'presentation' in the market). Apparently the refurbishment of The Hague Market as well as breaking the ground down and giving a facelift to the place is also allowing people to think creatively about how to make use of its economic activities and social diversity. However a 'question mark' about the future developments of the mentioned 'local cooperation' appears in a short deadline: the refurbishment should be finished until the end of 2015 and there is no clear definition of how the collaborative path involving partnerships construction will be kept and *if* will be kept by the municipality of The Hague:

*Yeah, I have been thinking about that a lot, just thinking about when the market, the reconstruction is finished, what will happen then? Because I think... For what I know now the Buurtkamer (Neighbourhood Chamber) will not continue... But, ahm... The big gain or what push forward what we've had is that we do know some traders from the market. So we do know who to contact if we have a problem. So, even if there is no Buurtkamer we still have somewhere to go and we don't have to go through the Gemeente (Municipality)... I do like 'short lines'. And we have to see how that will evolve later on, that is how I see it now. (Camila)*

What is currently envisioned by the Town Hall (evoking here the crude division within municipality between 'Town Hall' and 'Markets Department' outlined in section 4.3.3.) is that after the reconstruction is done the role of managing the city markets should be restructured within 'normal settings' i.e. with employees of the municipality and not more outsourced personnel. This implies that if some further support is given to such cooperation approach it will have to be assumed by new persons. These, for what was observed through the data, need to have a 'drive' for such kind of common planning otherwise possibly top-down decisions may be taken, as seem easier to build and apply.

As an ending point for this chapter, conducting to the considerations about integration of the following, a remarkable quote about a personal 'drive' for collaborative approaches:

*The higher level purpose to me is that the market is not only a physical place but it is a place where the people meet, where people meet other cultures. (...) And I am looking at the soul of the market. Because I think you can make a very beautiful market, but when the people don't like the market, there is no soul in it, it won't work... It is not their market. So the more I get the neighbourhood and the institutions in the neighbourhood connected to the market, the more they feel it is also our market. It is not only the market which is behind the fence, but is also... More meaning than only marketplace. (...) I think that everywhere where people are coming together to cooperate ahm... And things are, you are achieving things together, it makes, it is like being addicted. For me it is addiction! Haha, because you get optimistic, things are getting better and you want more so ahm, I hope that this effect will also be here but, again, we are at a very start, so it is very vulnerable what we are having over here. (...) It is like this (making a gesture of 'very thin'). You can bell and it... It is like a dream that 'ops' can (break down). (...) So that is also a little bit of my ahm... Frustration you could say (...) what can you do in 2 years' time? (Teresa)*

## **6. The Hague Market as a Local Cooperation Epicentre: Findings**

In Chapter 5 an explanation of The Hague Market's context was done, including features of its physical and social setting as well as former management and new intentions. The practical development of the cooperation approach initiated in the Markets Department was also reported. Based on the provided information it is now possible to present the results over the market's Integration potential, considering the outcomes of the approach for the experience of diversity and the generation of social cohesion. Section 6.1. presents overall findings of the organisational level of the market. Section 6.2. discusses the results about the functioning of the Internal Realm. Following, section 6.3. reports the scenario in the External Realm. Concluding the chapter some additional findings about what was mentioned (and noticed) for partnerships to work properly are discussed.

### **6.1. GENERAL ACCOUNTS ABOUT A COOPERATION APPROACH**

First of all a general consensus about a cooperation approach being a 'good idea' was identified. However the interviewees have varied accounts about the way it is performed, sometimes resulting in diametrically opposed remarks. Such perceived multiplicity implies the presence of factors as previous (or not) experience with other involved stakeholders and the resulting impression from then; the perceived direct (positive or negative) impact of the performed cooperation for 'individual' goals; and also personal features (e.g. a 'natural drive' for collaborative approaches; ethnical/ cultural backgrounds).

The Hague Market cooperation approach currently reunites people with very different features under the umbrella of stakeholders. The diversity ranges from ethnical/ cultural background, generation, educational formation to hierarchical position in the network (i.e. - some more or less influent in the decision making development and enforcement. Such 'extreme diversity' was identified as a potential but also as a big challenge if the concern is reaching social cohesion in the shape of consensus (see last paragraph of section 3.4.)

To report the findings it is necessary to refer to the arbitrary division made between Internal and External Realm posed in the Research (sub)questions and which practical development was already explained (5.4.1. and 5.4.2. respectively). Such division was clearly noticed through the interviewing process, pointing to different results related to integration, cohesion, degree of performed collaboration and apparent future potential.

#### ***6.1.1. Breaking the Ice: (Previous) Relation with the Municipality***

Before addressing specific features of each realm of stakeholders, a common perception should be explained, since impacting the whole organisational level of The Hague Market. General remarks were made about previous difficulties in the relation of traders, entrepreneurs and inhabitants of the area with the municipality, taken as not (much) reliable. Part of the complaints came from the noticed continuous change of personnel in charge for tasks on the market. The mentioned postponement of the refurbishment, top-down process of new market's layout decision (Chapter 5)

and the sensation of 'negligence' also did not left a very positive impression, at odds to what is recommended by Svendsen in section 3.5. to foster trust.

*For the Gemeente (municipality) I did have my prejudice because I was dealing with them for about ten year and not getting what I wanted, or solving the problem that I had, ahm, so I was kind of fed up with them. (Camila)*

*... all the time there is new people on the Gemeente. Someone is a couple of months and then still a new one and then a new one. That I find a little bit problematic. I don't know what they do exactly but, all the time a new one. And that is what I don't like. Because then you think you know somebody and then they say 'ow no, I go away' and then another person. (Marcelo)*

*... Because when you build the market you must know a lot of input from the people on the market (...) And you see that they have been in Barcelona, that they have seen there. First they go talk to the people and then make the process. And that went wrong here, because now the 'train is running' and they don't stop. And that is a problem. (Fernando)*

*That is also the frustration of a lot of the kids and also the guys here from around the neighbourhood, I think. They have like a... Perception of them, like we said, they (municipality) talk all about (what) they want but they do nothing. (Bernardo)*

Such negative perception about the municipality was partially deconstructed through the renovation process and the enforcement of a closer approach to local stakeholders. Even so, the care performed by the municipality seems to be perceived as connected to specific persons and not to the whole institution. Moreover, there is some scepticism or fear related to the future of the municipal concern about the market and by consequence surrounding area after the reconstruction is finished:

*Well, the main role is (she) and we don't see a lot of the rest of the municipality in it... (Camila)*

*... I think (she) does but ahm... When she is gone, that is gone also. Every post in the city hall they work for one and a half year. (...) When they have good ideas ahm... Before the ideas are brought to the 'ground' they are already in a new position. So they work at another department or something like that so... There is no... Consistency. (Mario)*

A general remark about the need for a more 'in the field' approach from the municipality for decision making appeared. The following quotes express the matter:

*Yeah, what is very important is that the people from the municipality they must come more to the marketplace itself. Not in the office but here. Here it happens. (Luis)*

*They make decisions and they have never been on the market. So sometimes they make decisions that are not even possible, but they (municipality) don't know the situation here... No, no, there is not really a connection no. They write from the desk, behind the desk: 'That is the decision'. And she is the only one who talks to the people, who comes here, who goes there... Yeah... (Mario)*

## 6.2. DIVERGING ACCOUNTS – THE INTERNAL REALM

To understand comprehensively the situation on the Internal Realm the 'background' condition of a structurally changing (physical and management) setting cannot be disregarded (see 5.3.3. and 5.3.4). The overall result is a very instable social terrain. The physical refurbishment per se already imposes new sizes of stalls, with a smaller unitary front area which apparently affects the current commercial profit of the traders. Added to that, more expensive rent prices are requested for the new permanent installation. Moreover, the demand for a new management system further impacts the traders, since means the need to adapt to a whole new reality. For some of them, especially the newer generation, the changes are very welcome. However, for others they result in suspicion and awareness concerning their future permanence in the market and commercial activity subsistence.

Despite the invitation from the adopted approach to collectively 'reach the others' and work together, there are historically developed elements that hamper the possibility. Such factors include the evidences of the municipal government being not 'reliable' (just mentioned: 6.2.1.), broader society facts as the recent economic recession that fuels competition; and previous constituted group identities that still represent security for part of the traders (CVAH and VETRA). Furthermore the impressive scale and diversity of the market, with more than 350 traders of diverse backgrounds pose a 'structural' challenge to consensus. If the nature of a cooperative management is not questioned, the way it is enforced and some envisioned goals were reported as not agreed to. The mentioned features will be now explained in depth.

### 6.2.1. *Unfertile Ground? The Individually Driven Behaviour*

It was reported by market traders and also by the entrepreneurs from the market's vicinity that a generally individualistic mindset exists in The Hague Market, concerning the working posture adopted by the salesmen. It sounds natural concerning the commercial profit must and the consequent competition it arises within more than 300 stalls. However, some facts may fuel the individually driven behaviour of traders which apparently do not see a purpose to work together. The recent economic crisis with its impact over the commercial activities and what was mentioned 'narrow mind' (partly an effect of the reported 'low educated' profile) were identified as reasons:

*... Not nice anymore together. Because we have the recession I think that is also because everybody don't sell any, not so much (as) before. And also yeah, everybody looks to each other if I have 1 meter more than the other and... It is terrible. That was not 15 years ago, it wasn't. But now, yeah. I don't like it anymore. (Marcelo)*

*Everybody is saying that they want to work together, but when it is not in their advantage, they stop (...) really selfish... You have to see it as a group and if you don't see that, yeah, you cannot work together. That is why the meetings with (she) and her group are useless because she wants to help us but she... Her hands are tied and... the people like here, they don't see the 'big picture' because they only see narrow-minded, their own vision (...) And that is a question of intelligence... (Mario)*

*Well, the initial briefing was a... a very negative one of ahm... Of these people being very oriented on conflict and very much individual-driven and etc. In a sense, on a certain level, it is true. But, for me, there are more levels and I do see other qualities behind that (...) One of the problems is they are not*

*used to cooperate (...) (and) they are not used to having a strategy or a long-term objective... (Antônio)*

### **6.2.2. Loyalty to Group Identities**

A perceived obstacle to overall cohesion and integration is the identification of traders with previously formed associations. These group formations are regarded secure social structures to be attached considering the fast and deep transformation that the market and its management are passing through. If a parallel is drawn and the marketplace is considered a small social universe as a city, the mentioned group formations can be taken as the equivalent to communities. In such reasoning, the loyalty to these identities is 'hampering' socialisation in the same sense Sennett refers to when mentioning community clustering (section 3.2.1. para. 3)

The most pronounced group identities are formed by the CVAH and the VETRA, the two unions that until the creation of the Market Chamber were the 'voices of the market' in the dealing with the municipality. Despite the *Cooperatie* intends to involve persons that can be or not connected to any of the unions, the rooted loyalty and connection of some traders with these groups turn difficult for them to consider the unions' influence diminishment (see 5.4.1.) a good change. The former strength and space of CVAH and VETRA, although not a democratic and comprehensive representation of The Hague Market's traders, was something historically constructed, a space that is painful to 'abandon':

*Before this, so I think 2 years ago (...) only the CVAH and VETRA was talking and then the Gemeente had to listen to us. But sometimes it was not correct (...) And now therefore they have saying on the Gemeente from now we have 4 people and we want to listen to them. (...) And that with Cooperatie that is now only people from the market. But (...) the Gemeente they like to speak only with that people. But if it is really ok? Sometimes I think that, yeah... (Implying 'more or less'). Because we don't know, we don't know everything. The market man is a market man. It is not a manager like somebody from CVAH that is more studied or know more things 'van wet' (of law) and other things... (Marcelo)*

Intersecting the unions' group identities there are others less formally constituted. Through the interviews and observations on the Market Chamber meetings it was noticed a grouping formation of foreign traders. Such clustering is natural by the common shared experiences in a new country, but in this setting it was justified by the traders as a sort of 'defensive strategy' to keep a space in the planning sphere of the market. The Dutch traders (associated or not to the CVAH) tended also to sit closer to each other and to the team from the Markets Department, with whom they seemed to have a 'closer' relation than the foreign traders (see figure 5).

Another grouping tendency is the one that resulted in the choice of the four representatives of the Market Chamber that are not officially connected neither to VETRA or CVAH. It reveals a division in areas of close acquaintance and reliability between the traders:

*...maybe when something wants to work I collect my own people here around me, but that is small. And when I have got for about 20, 30 people then we, with 30 people we can go outside with our own marketing, but it is too small. 'Most nice' is when we do it with 100% of the market. (Luis)*



**Figure 5:** Picture of a Market Chamber meeting showing part of the participants. In yellow the foreign traders (associated or not to VETRA). In blue the group of Dutch traders (associated or not to CVAH). In green part of the representatives of the Markets Department. Source: Author's archive.

### 6.2.3. Dealing with Diversity 1: Ethnic Background

It was mentioned that CVAH and VETRA are mostly divided in lines of different ethnical origin (section 5.3.2.). This former division structure points to a previously existing polarisation of groups fuelled by diverging interests. Indigenous and foreign stakeholders gave different accounts about the experience of trying to cooperate within a diverse group, including almost completely opposite remarks about the current relation with the municipality. While traders of Dutch background mentioned difficulties of dealing with conflicting interests on the market's functioning (e.g. vacations time), generational difficulties and mismatch over future store allocations and permissions issuing, the representatives of foreign background mostly expressed the sensation that their different origins disqualifies them in the negotiations with the other market representatives and Markets Department board - since they are all Dutch and in the huge majority white.

The difficulty to properly express opinions in the meetings conducted in Dutch was part of the mentioned challenges foreign traders face. An overall understanding of unequal forces and influences for decision making was stated, the Dutch representatives defined as stronger. The defined 'partial decision making' in favour of the white/Dutch representatives or groups was stated as clearly connected to skin colour/ ethnicity even more than to cultural differences. The term discrimination was also employed since they expressed not recognising a fair reason for their opinions being not listened in the meetings and their requests met. A clear cut division between indigenous and foreigners was stated, revealing their little mingling sensation.

The quotes below report the perceptions from different stakeholders:

*Yeah, sometimes de VETRA is more an organisation for the meelopers (...) The people that come 1 day, 1 day not... That was the first and the CVAH is a much bigger corporation I think. But, yeah, 1 time they (VETRA) are for the meelopers, and sometimes for vastplaatshouders ('permanent traders'). It is difficult; it is only for the foreign people, VETRA... (Marcelo)*

*That the municipality they are also the white people mostly and the Cooperatie also. And that difference between black and white, it was it is and it will be (...) Because that you see that is everywhere. Did you see what happened yesterday in the US (about a terrorist attack that week)?(...) We are ready to work together but nobody listens (...) Nobody I mean Gemeente doesn't listen and*

*the Dutch people (...) Our colleagues, ahm? They don't listen to us. Then the Gemeente doesn't listen to us. So why should we work together? (Rafael)*

According to the foreign traders the new management board was considered 'stricter', as the new rules. On the other hand, Dutch traders directly involved in the organisation of the *Cooperatie* praised the new approach from the Markets Department, their involvement and openness to listen to remarks and plan together:

*The municipality is... Important, they help us, but it is not their main concern. It is nice they help us. We need that help also. They see also the social... Social plan behind it. Neighbourhood and everything. Employment (...) around the market. Yeah. I think it is a win-win situation. (Luis)*

*In the past it was always (...) the people who work here (Markets department) were always (...) making jokes, very ahm, when writing it down always 'that is what we must do'. And the people now in the project are working, they are much... Working with us. (Fernando)*

Concerning the dealing between CVAH and VETRA, reported as always conflictive, the following quote illustrates that not much advance was noticed:

*Because, look, when I ask something (...) 'please give me water' and the CVAH already has this water, but the CVAH doesn't help me (...) Or (say to the manager) 'give them too' (...) no they are steep... Therefore it means there is no good conversation. (Felipe)*

Considering the reports a remark and further clarification should be done: the acknowledged discrimination can be a 'fast definition' when there is little consensus about the future functioning of the market, the business development and the new requirements. The frustration and anger reported by foreign traders and the constantly repeated claim 'they don't listen to us', related to Dutch salesmen and department board, can be associated to 'they don't agree', since the new proposed rules are seem to be threatening their rooted routines and trading:

*'Your shop must be open' (municipality/ Cooperatie say). How is it possible? You work and your feestdag (holidays) you have to go on vacation 2 weeks, 3 weeks you are closed. This is not your problem, this is my shop I can close it. 'No, it must be open'. It is not possible... They don't listen. (...) I think it is more difficult for us (...) because (...) I have a small shop, I cannot bring any person in job, I cannot pay (...) Dutch people (...) If you have family here you don't go (...) far, maybe you go 1 week and come back here (...) Ok when I go (...) far, I pay a thousand Euros and my family, when I am sick or my family is sick. You know we have a little bit south culture, it is different (...) Live together with family... And if you go, maybe your mother or your daughter, sister, your old brother anything, something grand you have to be there more. Now you have to come back. If you don't come back, they get your permission... And people are very thoughtful about this problem (Felipe).*

*...They want not only 6 weeks for holidays because they want to go 3 months to their own place. And that is sometimes that there is a little bit of 'strike'. (Marcelo)*

*... Because we have in the past (...) maken (...) a covenant and they are telling in the covenant (...) what we must do, our rules, where are we... Yeah. 'We want this, this, this, this'. And they have, both parties (CVAH and VETRA) (...) signed it and now they are, we said 'yeah, you signed for it', they (VETRA) say 'no we want different'. And that is, the process with the cooperation, that is for me*

*difficult because I always walk to a wall with them (VETRA). But I go further and they must see (by) themselves that the problems that they have, they are not always solvable. And that is always a learning process. And that is why they are always mad... (Fernando)*

It is important to consider that if discrimination or partial decision making is a reality or not, it is not the fact to be judged now. The 'simple' sense of being discriminated can have a profound impact on a person and groups (Baldewsingh, 2015b), e.g. the possible withdrawal of the foreign traders from cooperative dealings. The interviews revealed different opinions about the future management, different cultural demands, communication problems and fear of expressing dissatisfaction openly, which can refer to the idea of 'common sense' reported by Van Leuween (2008) (see 3.2.2.) and how much the multicultural contact challenges what we consider normal, inoffensive or threatening. Further recommendation for the perceived intercultural conflict will be done in Chapter 7.

#### **6.2.4. Dealing with Diversity 2: Generations**

There are traders that do not recognize a purpose for the physical refurbishment since do not believe in The Hague Market's revival. This lack of faith in a prosperous future seems to intersect age trends and the perception that the market and its surrounding kept fading, reality that in their eyes cannot be changed. Such view stiffens individualistic or closed groups' behaviours, working against collaboration approaches. This stated scepticism besides constructed from experience, can also be a result of unwillingness to make changes in business branch or trading habits to adapt to contemporary consumers' demands and the envisioned new market. For some traders the change in legislation and the requested adaptation is understood as an indication of their displacement:

*It doesn't matter if the market is looking better, beautiful, doesn't matter. (...) The rich man they are not coming on the market, to buy (...) It is not going to help to bring up your business. (Rafael)*

*... They are asking now (municipality), as trader, that you look for another product. (...) I think that a good entrepreneur if you go with other products and you are doing it good you can always make money... And that is the process (...) most people must learn. And that makes them angry because you are always selling bags and now you must sell fish, it is for... It is too difficult. (Fernando)*

*The Hague government they said 'ok we have a plan here and we are making a very nice place here and this is the future for the people who live here last 10, 15, 20 years' (...) But now (they) changed old system. (...) No more Anciënniteit (Seniority) , no more as long as you stay here, no more (...) When I say 'I need more place, I have a plan, I am here 20 years' they say 'no, 20 years is 20 years. We make new market, we bring new people'. (Felipe)*

*And that is what we want. We want young people on the market so they can learn it and it is better for the market because what you see from young people, they want everything... They are motivated (...) When there comes a customer they smile and they are helping. And what we see in the old men is that they are grumpy and... It is not good. (Fernando)*

*I think it is a generation difference. My generation (...) is used to 24/7 opening hours (...) But a lot of guys who are on the market and they are like 50, 55... Yeah, they are like 'yeah, I am coming at 7:00 and leaving at 16:00'. And that is it. I think there is in the market a couple of guys they will want to go further, but there are also a couple and they are like 'pff, I only have to work more 5 years and then it*



*is good for me'. I think it is more age. (...) the people from the other cultures, they are (...) working like 24/7 (...) the shops are always open and always working. But the Dutch people and the Dutch old people they are like 'no, I am not going to work until 20:00h in the evening or...' They want to eat their food at 18:00h at home when they arrive, watch some sport on the TV and, yeah... (Fabio)*

### **6.2.5. 'A Mouse here, an Elephant there': The Cooperatie Challenges**

Part of the existing challenges for common working was already reported, considering the individually driven mentality, the commitment to previous groups and the ethnic/ cultural and generation differences. Now it is important to address the challenges the Market Chamber/ *Cooperatie* members face towards a market with such scale and complex social proportion as The Hague Market. Although the statement of the market being a place of interaction, positive negotiation of differences and integration (see 2.4.3.) was noticed in the 'ground level' interactions of The Hague Market, the statement is not (at least currently) applicable to its Internal Realm:

*How bigger the market, how difficult it is. How smaller the market, better it is. You have less owners, it makes it easier to make appointments (...) Because you have different branches and everything has its own problems and that makes it difficult. That makes it difficult because you must see (...) which way we want to go. And I see on the market that people live 'in boxes' (...) you must go out the boxes and (...) that is the difficult on the market nowadays. (Fernando)*

The scale matter does not reflect only in the difficulty to join the whole group and achieve decisions that please all the more than 350 intended members. The voluntary traders involved in the recently developed *Cooperatie* reported frustration for having to deal with the gossips that spread very fast reflecting suspicion over its reliability in terms of fair and transparent ruling. Another challenge mentioned is the demand to learn advanced management skills (for which they are still crawling) under the pressure of showing some positive result for the traders' population:

*People in the coffee shop they talk to each other and then it is, is more and more negative than positive (...) For example, the zonnescherm (sunshade), the Gemeente talks to the traders 'you must buy (from) one address'. Now someone hears it is not, we can buy everywhere. And now the other traders they say 'the (Cooperatie members) put the money from the zonnescherm in their own pockets' (...) It is shit. Negative... (Luis)*

*We see in the Marktkamer (Market Chamber) when we discuss some problems or discuss something, the next day it is on the market. It is not good for the process (...) you must tell some things about or you make a newsletter to say things (...) where you are busy with. But when (...) we don't have (...) a solution, it is not good that (the topic) is placing on the market. When everything is going around it, it is a mouse here and is an elephant on the other side... (Fernando)*

*I think the really important thing is that people see something that is really a good thing that the organisation (did). And that is not already now. (Marcelo)*

### **6.2.6. Considerations over the Findings**

The presented remarks revealed that there is no settled general consensus about how the market should function in the future. A common goal that can overlap individual drives is not something

totally established. Although 'achieve a better market' can be reasonably considered such 'glue', with the contested definition of what this 'better' would be, there are traders believing that will be displaced through the enforced process, losing the working activity that they have been developing through the years. Following their reasoning, work for a common goal that fights their individual demands does not appear encouraging, fact that fosters suspicion and disagreements.

Despite the findings were not very positive they are 'not unexpected'. They resemble the challenges of a complex multicultural setting with more than 350 enrolled traders, diverse branches and business opinions. Moreover the recent structural changes added instability to the scenario in the same proportion it opened space to think about new possibilities. A coooperat approach needs time and there is a potential. The Internal Realm stakeholders despite reporting sometimes frustration, still mentioned that want to perform actions in common.

*... The most important is that you make the all the different goals to 1. (...) And what you see (...) in the board, is that we have a lot of people... They most think the same but approaching it different (...) they are all different character and I think it is all a learning process. Because (...) you do always things on your own and now you must go and think to do together. That is a learning process. And that is now that we have a little bit, do you see an, highs and lows. But we hope in the future we (go) to a good organisation. (Fernando)*

*We want together cooperation, we want together the shed, we want together new system, new legislation, but we want (equal) right for all people. (Felipe)*

Moreover, even with frictions in the Internal Realm, the performed approach reveals to be already producing integrative outcomes in the External Realm.

### **6.3. BRIDGING ACCOUNTS – THE EXTERNAL REALM**

Considering the External Realm the results of the investigation revealed that The Hague Market, understood as a unity from the outside, provides a fertile ground for the development of partnerships with actors from the market's vicinity and even perhaps the whole city. A remarkable finding was that the creation of the Market Chamber and consequent *Cooperatie*, despite its internal struggles, implies a core change concerning the possibility of constructing bridges between the market and external stakeholders. From the understanding of an 'individual identity' through the cooperative the ground became opened for dialogue. Before it, the market was reported as impracticable for the development of partnerships since the lack of a contact person, a board.

*... Now there is the Cooperation (...) and now we can conduct business with them. In the past we could not because of all the market people (were) 'alone' and one-on-one. That was the problem and now with (...) the Cooperation we can do business... So is (a) whole plane achieved. (Miguel)*

The evidences of a positive evaluation of the cooperation approach in the External Realm came from the successful result of the collaboration with the schools of practical knowledge and the cleaning and recycling service currently functioning. The closer communication with neighbourhood representatives started due to the refurbishment and the positive assessment of it also reveals the open path for further collaborations between market and surrounding inhabitants:

*... It is not only the Buurtkamer (Neighbourhood Chamber)... It is also the upgrade of the market. That is together and I see it as one thing. Because also with being involved in the Buurtkamer I can ahm... Give my own input, not that is all taken or whatever but at least for me it is a way of feeling involved. Let's put it that way... It is not that everything I say is done, which never happens if you are in a group or anything but, at least I feel heard. (Moreover) now due to the Buurtkamer we (me and some market traders) know each other's face and they greet me sometimes and I... That is nice yeah. (Camila)*

The cooperation approach was recognised for providing 'short cuts' to solve practical matters between market and vicinity (e.g. parking matters, market's garbage). Such situations previously would have to pass through a long bureaucratic process according to what was reported.

### **6.3.1. Dealing with Difference**

It is perceived that the interaction process and negotiation of differences happens more smoothly in the dealing of external stakeholders with the market as a unity. Despite differences were recognised by the interviewees, it was seen generally as a positive quality of the partnerships involving the market. When differences were mentioned as a challenge it was implied as mostly matters involving diverging generational visions and behaviours concerning business development (reported by the entrepreneurs from the buildings in the market's heads). Anyway, even so, a major positive attitude towards it was stated, illustrating the 'fascinating' aspect of diversity described by Van Leeuwen (section 3.2.2. para.2).

*... That is the most interesting part of (it), because when you are not judging immediately, and you go to talk to people they are talking a 'different language'. Not just a foreign language, but from another culture. But when you talk to people (...) with respect then the conversation is going. You don't agree always with them but you can... You can talk in a good way with people. (...) I don't care that they (market traders) are very straight forward and I can laugh about it. So I think that humour is also very important. (Teresa)*

*That is a totally different world for me... So that is kind of interesting, the way they (market traders) see things. Besides, they are also very straight-forward verbally – which I do appreciate, I can be that way too. Ahm, and in the Buurtkamer, yeah, I am quite different from all the others, going back to ethnics. And my background. I am a total stranger, but I don't care. (...)I actually enjoy it. (Camila)*

*... That is the strength of this Project: you must 'convive' with people who don't expect it, don't understand this...And therefore you (should) be smart... You (should) be alert to think, be sharp, that things. That is good I think for the development (...) not only say 'yes' always, but discussions are good for better plan. (Miguel)*

The negotiation of differences can also be framed as the way diversity was faced in the market through the existence of the organisational sphere, i.e. as caused by conscious purpose. The accounts of partnerships performed in the market involving educational goals mostly involving the schools of practical knowledge indicated a very positive consideration of the market's environment, where everybody is accepted and welcome. The reported opinions are in agreement with statements from section 2.4.2. (last paragraph) and 2.4.3. (para. 5 & 6).

*This is the place where they can dramatically change their behaviour. And that happened also... Last months with some of these peoples this happened. They changed their behaviour because they like to be here (...) they feel self-saved, convenient... (Miguel)*

*... People always talk about the real world... But the real world can be very sneaky and you know? Not always really 'real'... And I think here is totally different and the people just tell you this (...) here the standholders really want to get to know you, so they want to know your background, they want to know your problems, if you have any problems they really can help you with it (...) I think one of the most important things is like the personality of the students you know? It really can 'shine' here, so you can really develop yourself (...) and get more secure because you are always around people over here. You always have to talk to people, even if you are in a bad day. So at a certain point you drop something off your shoulders and I think you just can be yourself, I see that with a lot of students over here. (Bernardo)*

The integration outcomes were consciously recognised as a main goal of the partnership and evaluated as working well:

*... One of the most important goals of the project is to make better integration, better... 'meer begrip'? Understanding each other and it goes much... 'sneller'? Much faster than we think in the last months. (Miguel)*



**Figure 6:** Picture of De Einder stand in The Hague Market, with professors and students. Source: author's archive.

### 6.3.2. Gaining on both Sides

The reports about the most developed partnerships between market and external stakeholders were praised by the feature of reciprocal gaining. Besides the schools advantages, partially reported in the quotes above, for the traders such internship project is also a way of filling their demand for assistants with acquainted persons in a flexible system that allows an experience time before a full working agreement is done. Moreover, through the adoption of a cleaning service provided by a local company which per se is a social project (providing opportunities for guys with a big distance to the labour market), not just the service is cheaper but also other gains are noticed:

*I have a vision about how to work in the organisation with some people on the market as (with him who employs) 'difficult' children to make clean on the market. It doesn't make some difference who is making clean, it is only (...) when we make them special (give an opportunity) they see the market as*

*their own and when they are making clean and when they are looking at the market, it is for all benefit. It is benefit for the people who work on the market and for the owners. It also benefits the people, for that guys because they have a goal in their lives (...) So it is a win-win situation. And that sort of projects we want in the future doing more. It is better to grab people around your area to help them (to) make the market. (Fernando)*

The bound with the market is also starting to provide ground for other partnerships to arise, between different external stakeholders:

*... The cooperation with the school is going to connect our students, the students from the ROC and the students from De Einder so it will be a 'win-win'. So the students from De Einder when they are interested they can go for the education in security of ROC... And also the market is a very good project for our students to learn to see security, safety, dangerous objects, suspect behaviour... (Cassio)*

### **6.3.3. Room for Improvement: Bridges to Build**

An important remark to be done is that despite the stated willingness of the external actors to collaborate and develop reciprocal projects with The Hague Market, much projects are in a very early stage or still in a 'brainstorm shape', not yet being performed (see 5.4.2.) The connection between Market Chamber and Entrepreneurs Chamber is also still to be done, contact understood to be more productive after the refurbishment is finished, because the envisioned synchronicity in marketing and opening times/ days.

Some reasons can be indicated for such scenario: The first is the recent deployment of the cooperation approach, performed since two years ago with external stakeholders. This is a short time for contacting potential partners, develop an action plan and start performing it. Especially when depending on law permissions and other bureaucratic matters:

*... I am looking for, ahm, space between the rules (...) And I try to... When I say to them (legacy department) 'ow, you are wrong', then the conversation stops. So I am trying to find space in the rules or between the rules and by asking them 'could you look it the other way around? What if...?' And in Dutch we say 'don't say no but, yes, as...' or 'yes, when...' (...) And that is not common thinking in the municipality. (Teresa)*

As a conclusive remark, the reports were positive about the cooperation approach effect for integration on the External Realm despite its recent start. Moreover the social cohesion is apparently more likely to be reached in it since the lack of previous conflicts between parties or involved persons. Considering that there was no former gain in not having this built proximity, the cooperation approach if supported with time and engaged managers has open ground for deeper and wider positive results. However, a remark should be done: if there is no contact board in the market, function today performed by the *Cooperatie*, the probability of The Hague Market becoming a 'closed social ground' again appears as very high. And then possibly further partnerships would not be feasible. That indicates that the External Realm (alone) is not sustainable.

### 6.3. OTHER MEANINGFUL FINDINGS

The interviews besides gathering information directly connected to the experience of integration through the cooperation approach also contained the question '*what do you think is important for a partnership to work?*' The reports indicated features of a same broad 'field', closely relatable and sort of interdependent. The mentioned characteristics included the need to reach some *consensus* in the adopted behaviour ('point the noses the same direction'), especially commented by the traders, *reciprocity* (to gain on both sides), *equal rights* (also related to equal 'voices'), a *close contact* (get to know the potential partner personally to make arrangements), *respect*, *open-mind* (to understand long reaching and group goals), *flexibility* (to accept that some concessions will be needed from the involved parts) and *trust*:

*All is about people and if you ask me it is always about trust. Do I trust you? So where there is trust people tend to cooperate with each other. When there is no trust, you are not successful in cooperations. (...) Trust, they have a saying in Dutch, (...) If I have to translate, 'trust comes by walking and goes by horse ride'. So, you can take away trust very fast but gain trust takes a long time... (Teresa)*

If the universe of answers given is closely observed, most of the mentioned features have some degree of connection to trust, especially if the remarks made by Svendsen (2014) are observed (section 3.5.). Reciprocity and by consequence equality are indicated by the author as demanded for a system based on trust to work accordingly. However, if we frame the context of The Hague Market, there was little positive ground in some parts of its organisational level which encouraged a previous existence of 'disposition to trust', because some past happenings – e.g. the reported little commitment from municipality with the area, the past built relations between traders, economic competition. Such facts discouraged trust and still affect the Internal Realm of stakeholders.

Moreover it was noticed that personality and culture matters (which pose barriers to smooth communication) can also impact the disposition to trust. And referring both to the last quote from Teresa and to the remarks of Svendsen (2014), trust takes long time to be generated but can be gone very easily. As an example, the unfavourable heritage on The Hague Market's area turns every little 'mistake' a big challenge for the little trust fostered and built, since people were turned suspicious over the years. It is a very different setting than the one taken as reference for Svendsen's work about Social Trust: the 'peaceful and stable' Denmark. Probably if the measuring enquiry about the degree of Social Trust - 'do you think you can trust most other people?' (Svendsen, 2014, p.17) was now posed in The Hague Market and its surroundings the findings would point to a low level of social trust. The mentioned high degree of gossips in the market can be taken as an indication of such trend as well as the general individualistic and competitive behaviour reported.

Another meaningful finding can indicate a sort of 'treatment' for such scenario: it was perceived that a personal drive for collaboration from some involved stakeholders and their developed sensibility for communication with different groups can make a big difference in a context characterised by defensiveness. The enthusiasm, engagement and attentive listening of these people were praised as qualities that turned them reliable, fostering trust and partnership effectiveness. Moreover, this personal drive sustains resilience to face and overcome challenges in the cooperation path. People without such disposition tend to disconnect from partnerships as soon as the first difficulties arise or their personal goals are reached.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The Hague Market is the biggest street market of the Netherlands and located within two of the most multicultural neighbourhoods of the country, Schilderswijk and Transvaal. It constitutes a complex social environment that currently is passing through structural transformations in its physical terrain. However, with further reaching impacts perhaps than the market's reconstruction are the new management system and cooperation approach started with it. Although still embryonic it brings new possibilities not just for the future business development of The Hague Market as well as for its performance as an epicentre of local collaboration and social integration.

This chapter presents the answer of the research question (section 7.1.); the discussion over the results (considering the research's social relevance) and suggestions for further development of The Hague Market's organisational level (7.2.); the evaluation of the research process, addressing the scientific relevance (7.3.) and some final considerations (7.4.)

### 7.1. PROVIDING ANSWERS

To conclude the present work a first demand is to refer back to the Research Question(s):

#### **What is the Integrative potential of The Hague Market through its organisational level?**

This broad concern leads to the following 2 sub-questions for an answer:

***a) To what extent The Hague Market's organisational level motivates de creation of partnerships and promotes more social cohesion in its Internal Realm?***

***b) To what extent The Hague Market's organisational level motivates de creation of partnerships and promotes more social cohesion in its External Realm?***

To provide a comprehensive answer to the main Research Question it is coherent to first address the sub-questions, considering each of the defined realms of stakeholders.

#### **7.1.1. Item 'a'**

Concerning the first sub-question, a complete discussion of the findings on the Internal Realm was done in section 6.3. leading to the conclusion that there is no settled general consensus about how the market should function in the future. A common goal that can effectively overlap individual drives is not something established. Although 'achieve a better market' can reasonably be considered such 'glue', with the contested definition of what this 'better' would be, there are traders believing that will be displaced through the enforced process, losing the working activity that they have been developing through the years. Following their reasoning, work for a common goal that fights their individual needs does not appear encouraging, fact that fosters suspicion and disagreements.

At the same time and sort of paradoxically, the refurbishment and the establishment of a renewed market opened space for refreshment in ideas and trading practices, resulting in more hope for another part of traders. Moreover, although the *Coöperatie* is passing through internal struggles to

settle, the desire of achieving goals together is still stated by all the contacted traders, who furthermore generally consider the cooperative management a better solution than the idea of the market's privatisation for an external investor.

#### **7.1.2. Item 'b'**

The complete discussion about the findings for the External Realm was done in section 6.4. The results led to the conclusion that the scenario in this realm is much more positive than in the internal one, regarding the current effect of the cooperation approach for the generation of integration and social cohesion. Despite the closer communication with external stakeholders was recently deployed and is still in an early stage (with some partnerships projects existing just in the 'brainstorm' shape), the approach initiative per se is considered praiseworthy by the contacted stakeholders. Moreover the projects that are already being fully performed received positive enthusiastic remarks.

The results indicated that the cooperation approach in this realm has a big potential and can bring further positive consequences for the negotiation of differences, experience of diversity and integration if keep being performed. Social cohesion is more likely to be reached in this realm since the lack of previous conflicts between parties or involved persons. However, a remark should be done: if there is no contact board in the market, function today performed by the *Coöperatie*, the probability of the market becoming (again) a closed social ground is very high, fact that would hamper the possibility of further partnerships with external stakeholders. That indicates that the External Realm (alone) is not sustainable.

#### **7.1.3. Main Research Question**

After discussing separately the discoveries of each item it is possible to give an answer to the main Research Question:

#### **What is the integrative potential of The Hague Market through its organisational level?**

The Hague Market organisational level currently reunites a very diverse range of people under the umbrella of stakeholders. Such 'extreme diversity' was identified as a potential but also a big challenge if the concern is reaching social cohesion. As a result a unique account for the integrative potential of the market is not possible.

Drawing over the considerations done in Chapters 5 and 6, although the general agreement that a cooperation approach is appreciated, the diversity in the Internal Realm results in almost paradoxical remarks about the quality of its performance, indicating the presence of distrust and some scepticism rather than more social cohesion. Consequently the integrative potential is currently low in this realm, fact that could be explained by the deep (physical and management) transformations that the setting is passing through and the previous existent conflicts within this group of actors.

In the External Realm The Hague Market seems to lift up to its integrative potential. The existing diversity is mostly taken as a quality and the remarks are overall positive about the sensation of feeling heard and the negotiation of differences.



## 7.2. DISCUSSING THE RESULTS AND OUTLINING SUGGESTIONS

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.) the relevance of The Hague Market case study bounding the themes of Marketplaces and Integration. The contemporary nature of both topics and the debates they recently instigated in societies and governments made this research socially relevant. When considering the importance of this investigation for The Hague, which has currently more than half of its inhabitants from foreign origin - 50,5% (DHIC/DSO/PSO, 2015), including citizens from 140 different ethnic backgrounds (Baldewsingh, 2015a) and is the home of the *biggest-but-unknown* street market of the country, the discoveries can be especially meaningful. They can shed light about how to entangle the local diversity and the market to generate better outcomes simultaneously for integration and business for The Hague Market and its surroundings.

It was perceived a relevance of both *the market's existence to foster Integration* and *the diversity presence for the market's economic profit*. Let's start by clarifying the first:

Even with an identifiable super diverse and international atmosphere The Hague is still one of the most spatially segregated cities of The Netherlands, according to Contact C (see 4.3.1.), especially if compared to cities of the G4 (The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht). That explains partially the high concentration of foreigners and also low income population in Transvaal and Schilderswijk, as reported in section 5.2.

The city's policy for Integration (Baldewsingh, 2015a) recently passed through an approach change. From posing Integration as a movement to be done by the newcomers (around eight years ago), nowadays it mentions that Integration is not a matter of choice anymore since the widespread established diversity. This diversity, despite the natural challenges it brings, is stated as a reason of pride and empowerment for the city. Moreover the idea of 'we' is made clear by statements as 'nowadays in big global cities the polarization *indigenous* and *foreigners* does not make sense anymore' (Crul, 2012 in Baldewsingh, 2015a). And indeed, there are places in The Hague where being an indigenous Dutch makes one feel as the 'outsider'.

The enforcement of the Integration policy should lead to a state where all citizens *feel at home* and *everyone can participate in society*, thanks to and despite the differences. Enhancing integration through Employment is described as the main practical goal because the work environment is a setting that can enable active participation in society (Baldewsingh, 2015a, emphasis added). Here a first clear link with The Hague Market can be understood: it provides a setting with low entry barriers for entrepreneurship, especially relevant for the most vulnerable groups in cities, confirming the information in section 2.4.5 (first paragraph).

The Integration policy of The Hague is complemented by a detailed Antidiscrimination letter, since the understood relevance of the theme. According to Contact C, besides the legal sphere, it addresses all kinds of reserves that restrain willingness to meet 'different' persons and groups and feel (also) safe with them. Moreover, it states that the law leaves much room about what is or not discrimination. However, the sense of being discriminated against can have a profound impact on a person and groups (Baldewsingh, 2015b). It can block feelings of well-being, self-esteem and sense of belonging in the city, resulting in society withdrawal and clustering with own groups. It can as well foster radical violent behaviours. Various studies have shown that racism and discrimination are growing problems in the Netherlands (Baldewsingh, 2015b) and a direct focus to prevention of

polarization and radicalisation is needed. The general prevention lies in the path of integration, through a policy aiming inclusion and self-empowerment (Baldewsingh, 2015a).

The Hague Market setting can and is already being explored as a way to address the mentioned challenges, providing an environment for differences' negotiation. First, the market was recognised as a place where persons of different backgrounds mingle at the 'ground level' interactions, in consonance with the considerations of section 2.4.3. With a deeper impact perhaps, the projects with external stakeholders (partnership with the schools and the cleaning and recycling service) have specifically the goal of providing opportunities for young people with a distance to the labour market, distance constructed by the intersection of matters of race, low education and low income. This combination of features is not uncommon in Schilderswijk and Transvaal and such kind of (social) project is needed.

To conclude the meaningful considerations of the Integration Policy for this research, it defends that for integration in an open society the principles of *equality*, *self-responsibility* and *reciprocity* are prerequisites. So the inhabitants have both rights and duties for common constructing the city. Moreover, the requirement of collectively doing so is evident: 'only in partnership this policy can be successfully implemented' and 'integration should be a part of all policy areas and departments should think about the diversity in the city when making new policies' (Baldewsingh, 2015a, emphasis added).

If the reported statements imply some line of coherence between the adopted cooperation approach in The Hague Market's organisational level and the vision of the city's Integration policy, the link gets more evident when it states (as part of the policy enforcement): 'we will strengthen networks'; 'we will organise meetings for a better understanding, reciprocity and cooperation between groups'. The interconnection of individuals and organisations is one of the concerns of the policy for the coming years. New methods are being developed in the area of integration through initiatives from the city (residents, institutions, companies) to encourage, facilitate, and promote greater autonomy of residents and organisations. *The role of the municipality is to support these groups* (Baldewsingh, 2015a, emphasis added).

Let's take this understanding in mind while addressing some other facts. The reconstruction of the market is almost over, with opening scheduled for the end of November. With all the enthusiasm, anxiety and hurry to have everything scheduled on time, a pressing question appears: what will happen with the market and the cooperation approach after the refurbishment is concluded? The continuity of the close approach and municipality's communication with both market traders and other stakeholders was stated as a concern for a good part of the interviewees. The approach engaging different actors is a socially admirable initiative, but still very recent. The started partnerships still demand longer assistance/ supervision by some sort of management group; they are not yet self-sustainable.

The fact is: through the reconstruction of the market not just the physical terrain and stalls were broken down. The social structure of it was also deconstructed to give space to a new functioning. Although the physical refurbishment is coming to an end, the new management model through the *Cooperatie* is far from being solidly built or ready to stand alone. The findings about low internal cohesion of traders and the need to develop higher management skills indicate the necessity of further support. Despite the current results about integration and social cohesion are not very

positive, they are 'not unexpected', fact already acknowledged. And the richness of some social practices now performed in the market, especially the ones associated with education (e.g. internships), are too valuable to be overlooked and forgotten after the reconstruction is finished.

The management of a place as The Hague Market is a big challenge for municipalities. That is undeniable. And cooperation approaches can be argued to demand more effort from managers than top-down decisions. However, if not just the short reach of the measures but the long term success of them is considered, can be hypothesised that the effort pays off. Between other gains, it fosters trust and inclusivity. Such qualities reduce population resistance to authority and also diminish the need of control (Svendsen, 2014 – section 3.5. ) or 'future adjusts', which require not just more time as more economic investment.

Furthermore, if the past regulations sustained a rigid and perhaps 'medieval' way of the municipality dealing with the traders, it is not getting rid of any major responsibility over it that the reality of the market will suffer a 'positive social twist'. If there are inclusion challenges 'even' in a cooperative management, the risk of the market losing its potential of bonding local stakeholders in a region really in need for that is probably bigger through a management performed by profit driven (external) investors. And referring back to the statements of the Integration policy, *integration should be a part of all policy areas* (Baldewsingh, 2015a), a real concern of the municipality as a whole.

Now it seems important to clarify better the second point indicated in the beginning of this section: *the diversity presence for the market's economic profit*.

It is reasonable to reflect about 'what exactly determines the success of an enterprise? And more especially a (street) market?' Let's start posing the remark that *innovation* is currently a highly valued feature. *Thinking different*, forgive the quibble, *really seems to make a difference* nowadays. Slightly stepping back, it is known that The Hague is one of the most international cities of the Netherlands and that it wants to employ street commerce as an auxiliary tool to attract more visitors (Municipality of The Hague, 2015). Considering the trend of 'grass-roots' initiatives and the demand for 'authenticity' on cities, what can be seen as more attractive than a 'cutting-edge' management to a, until recently, *forgotten* huge market? A positive social marketing through a commercial enterprise with a democratic management, rich cultural and ethnic composition (as The Hague city itself) and with different attached projects (e.g. with educative and cultural goals) can be very unexpected and attractive. A good example that can reveal profitable if assisted with adequate advertisement. The municipality should consider this more carefully, even if being a long-term idea.

There are varied ideas of unexpected projects including The Hague Market that could be explored to turn it an (inclusive) magnet place. The following example of one of the interviewees is illustrative:

*... That was my dream, have a culture stand (...) And if you want to tell me something about Armenia, or about Poland or about Chile, just stand and sing your song or, there would be a podium for stuff like that and maybe you have a coffee stand somewhere near and that it wouldn't be just about product and buying (...) but it would be really what is, like the area is (...) really diverse, but that you can experience something about the diversity other than just by looking at it. So... We really hope that might be possible and of course that is problems about realising that (...) but if you want to do*

*something about the market in the way that could attract people, well I think that would really be a 'plus' to the future plans. (Paulo)*

If the municipality of The Hague decides to support the maturation process of the market's cooperation approach, some suggestions can be outlined considering the research findings. If not a direct 'solution', what would be even arrogant to consider, the recommendations can provide some hints of how to perform the needed improvements. Moreover, not to try would mean not completely committing to the social relevance compromise of the research.

The development of a cooperative in the market is not a fast enforceable idea. Despite a good idea, it needs some 'adjusts'. Most of the suggested points address the Internal Realm of stakeholders since the cooperation in the External Realm apparently just needs the existence of a market board to deal with (i.e. Market Chamber/ *Cooperatie*), committed managers and time, to grow in the way it is already performed.

To start it is ideal that the traders' group can achieve consensus about *the way* the cooperation approach is being performed, since about the idea it is already generally agreed. The challenges are: reduce 'narrow minded' or too individualistic behaviours; negotiate the cultural and generational differences and foster trust/ security in the new management system and decision-making board (*Cooperatie*).

Perhaps this suggestion does not sound original and is a bit naïve, but before trying to define specific actions seems necessary to widen the traders' perspective by teaching/ informing them. Information could range from global tendencies of markets' development until knowledge support for branch changing. Relating to competition in trading for example, Putnam (2000) implies that it is not low income (i.e. economic crisis) what determines the decline in social capital (i.e. little community involvement), and yes a 'financial worry' of not having enough. Adjusting to the market's situation, the *fear* of not selling enough is what fuels individualistic behaviour, diminishing social capital (section 3.5.). Workshops outside the Market Chamber look a worth trying idea that can foster the development of trust not just between stakeholders (e.g. salesmen and municipality) but also about a good future for the trading activity. Ideally such 'courses' would be offered to all interested traders for a comprehensive and democratic enforcement. Furthermore, through international positive facts and figures (e.g. Urbact Markets) the salesmen adaptability to a contemporary management would be possibly easier because based on knowledge. They would have more clarity about the theme outside the walls of The Hague Market and their own experience. At the same time, to be cared about by the managers in that sense could improve a 'sense of belonging' to a broader group identity and reduce suspicion.

Following the reasoning, to pose a low barrier to listen and learn from the traders 'field experience' is important. To value their 'ground knowledge' was noticed to be meaningful for them to feel integrated. Continuous remarks about 'we are on the market, we know what happens there' were done, associated to both the sensation of not being listened enough and the claim that the municipality should be more 'in the field'. A more continued permanence of in charge personnel is also important, what impacts both trust construction and investments saving – time is not lost restarting all over again. As implied in section 6.4., a drive for common working should be an existing feature in the persons chosen for the task.

After the research reflections aroused associated to the lack of clear rules in this 'in between' phase of legislation change and of what would be rules/ approaches that could answer the claim for 'impartial decision-making' and 'equal rights/ voices' that foreign traders (specially) do. The first feature opens space for more insecurity sensation and questionings about fairness when rules need to be enforced. A clear regulation that is widely known, accessible to consultation and with straight enforcement should be settled as soon as possible. Although the 'urge' however, the rules should encompass both the needs of economic success as sensibility about the diverse scenario it addresses. Again the concept of 'common sense' brought by Van Leeuwen (2008 – section 3.2.2.) and how much it can diverge in different (cultural/ ethnic) groups should be regarded.

Apparently the equality demanded by foreign traders is not 'a simple equality of measures' being valid for both indigenous salesmen or not. The interviews indicated the need of a sort of 'equally valuing/ respecting the needs of different groups' by the management team. To simplify the argument the reference of disagreements about vacations' time will be used: foreign traders argue that they need more time to visit family in far countries. Defining a specific (short) amount of weeks allowed to everybody, although being a rule 'equating' all traders, is a rule with different effects for different groups that can result in displacement and segregation. Maybe an alternative flexible option should be thought about to answer this 'different need' and still guarantee that the market as a whole will be open for the public. The employment of temporary trading to cover spots during vacations period could be used in a way to solve this specific conflictive point of the new rules. The remark is inspired over the following commentary:

*... I pay my rent and outside you can rent it again (...) before the legislation was this (...) when I go, place is there, I have paid and the new person stay per day (...) only per day and they pay also. And the government gets 2 rents. (Felipe)*

To conclude this section a last (but not less important) suggestion: considering a cooperation approach, it seems that the development of empathy could be a helpful 'tool' to reduce the degree of conflicts between actors with different interests and features. *Empathy* is the ability to share someone else's feelings or experiences by imagining what it would be like to be in that person's situation (Cambridge Dictionary, 2015). It is a way of reducing prejudices about the reasons driving somebody's actions and encouraging disposition to understanding. Empathy is acknowledged by Matejskova and Leitner (2011) as one of the positive outcomes of sustained encounters and can work better perhaps if such encounters do not happen 'just' to negotiate management procedures, i.e. also in more relaxed environments. To assist the development of empathy, but not just, a closer connection with the Integration Department of the municipality seems to be advisable, in a sort of 'consultancy' scheme.

Referring to Chapter 2 (section 2.6.), even considering the organisational level of a market, what determines the inclusivity or exclusivity it performs lies in the details. This is where the task of designing, organising, and managing a market gains its ultimate significance (Polyák, 2014, pp. 49-59). A long-term (and reach) cooperation approach could be the 'detail' of The Hague Market.

### **7.3. REFLECTING ABOUT A RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT**

The intersection of Marketplaces and Integration is a recent trend in academic writings, referring to the explanation done in Chapter 1 (section 1.4.). Furthermore, the scientific relevance of this work lies especially in the investigation of the integrative potential of a marketplace through and within an organisational level that fosters sustained encounters. This was still an unexplored terrain.

The present research generated new evidences about the complexities of human relations and showed that although markets detain a potential for negotiation of differences and integration at its 'ground level' interactions, the fact cannot be taken for granted in all spheres involving the market. The most deeply connected stakeholders of it, i.e. the traders, not always can experience the benefits of the democratic setting they help to create. Features as commercial competition and divergent business views can pose barriers to a smooth conviviality and positive negotiation of differences.

It is necessary to understand that the found results are highly impacted by the period in which the research was conducted. In a physical and management reconstruction setting is understandable that new possibilities as well as unaddressed conflicts become more visible and deeply felt. Probably if the same research was conducted a year ahead the results would be different and softer.

Regarding the evaluation of the research process, every scientific investigation has its limitations and strong points, opening space for considerations of possible improvements. For the present work there was a clear limitation to face: the lack of Dutch knowledge. It demanded the use of translating tools for the understanding of official documentation and written information about The Hague Market, tool that despite very useful cannot make an ideal and accurate translation to English. The nuances of the materials probably got lost in the process. Moreover a potential interviewee could not be approached by the language limitations and the ethnographic work in the Market Chamber, a meeting conducted in Dutch, had to be analysed through other means than not the verbal communication. However, even posing some limitation, the language barrier also resulted in a potentiality: it allowed a deeper observation of gestures, spatial locations and tones of voices when actors were dealing with each other. Moreover, the foreign background turned to be also very positive, a feature that allowed a higher degree of trust from interviewees of foreign background. It turned the researcher a considered 'reliable outsider', an impartial person even with the official connection to the municipality through the internship in the Markets Department.

In this research almost all stakeholders involved in the organisational level of the market were contacted. Anyway, some further knowledge of Dutch would be a suggestion for improvement. Moreover, considering the expressive scale of the traders' population, a suggestion for a future research would be to employ, besides the semi-structured interviews with representatives, also short surveys with a wider amount of traders - i.e. anonymous forms asking feedback about the cooperation approach and providing spaces for suggestions or commentaries.

### **7.4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

While developing this work the perception of The Hague Market as a 'mini universe', resembling cities problems and potentialities as well as reflecting many global contemporary matters became

evident. In a certain point of the process the biblical reference of the Babel Tower appeared as a sort of insight, resembling some encountered features of the market's context.

The extract from Genesis, shortly putting, reports the story of a united humanity speaking a same language that decided building a city for themselves. For the city, a tower that should reach the heavens was projected. God while observing the building process understands that humanity behaving as one and speaking a same language would be unbeatable and consequently decides to spread men through the world and confound their language (Genesis, p.11).

It is curious to reflect over the story and recognise first the potentiality of what a cohesive common working can build (as a tower that can reach the sky) and in the opposite sense, how much 'different languages' (fact that could here be understood as diversity features) can become a hampering matter for common projects development. Moreover it is interesting to see how this little parable, so old, can still be contemporary. Diversity is also richness, but apparently 'the World' (or humanity as a whole) did not 'understand' this fact yet.

Consensus is important for a cohesive society and the fact could be exemplified through this research. However, referring to section 3.4., it does not imply that the components of this cohesive society have to *homogenise*. Let's think about the bridging kind of social capital defined by Putnam (2000, section 3.5.) and understand The Hague Market multicultural context as a place where the envisioned cohesion is one like of a mosaic, where each piece accommodates in the setting to form a complete image (i.e. achieve/ perform a common purpose) without *blending*. It is to illustrate this matter that the cover image of this work was chosen. It is an edited version of the market's logo. If you look it closely, you can recognise the complexity of each colour shade employed to form the picture. However, if you look it from distance, the drawing can be recognised. Both cohesive and rich as it (and the market) should be.

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## 9. ANNEXES

### 9.1. INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### (EXPLAIN IN THE BEGINNING):

'I am studying the effect the partnerships and collaborations started because of the Hague Market's (existence, refurbishment, future functioning) can have for the people involved and the neighbourhoods around the market. How much they can "help" in integration and social cohesion development. (And also other democratic goals, like neighbourhood development...)

I want to research about **integration through the partnerships**. It has to do to which **extent people can be more "bounded" and willing to collaborate with each other**, despite their origins or particular features (ethnicity, party they represent, age, etc).'

*\* Also explain that the identity of the interviewed person will be kept secret and just I will have access to the transcripts.*

*\*Adapt questions if needed, according to the person to be interviewed.*

#### QUESTIONS:

1. Name

2. Age

3. Where are you from?

4. Do you live near the Hague Market? (In the neighbourhoods of Transvaal and Schilderswijk)? If no, how long do you know this area of the city and the Hague Market?

5. In which way are you connected to the Hague Market and its development/ functioning/ organisation?

**IN THIS MOMENT EXPLAIN:** *I will use the term "organisational level" to encompass all partnerships/ cooperation/ closer communication/ chambers' meetings that started happening after the refurbishment process of the market. (The 'organisational level' means 'at planning, strategic and decision-making level', where groups and institutions are part of a network and can form partnerships and reunite in meetings, communicating with the goal of performing acts for the market and its surroundings).*

6. How did you start participating in this 'organisational level' of the market? *(the closer contact with the Afdeling markten and the Haagse Markt)*

7. What is your purpose to participate in this organisational level of the market? *(your goal/ vision for it to exist)*

8. What is your impression about the **region of the market** (*the neighbourhoods around it*)? What are the main features, qualities and challenges? Did this opinion change after you started participating in this organisational level? If yes, what changed?
9. In the same sense what is your opinion about the Hague market and its importance (*also for the area around it*)? Did your opinion about it change after you started participating in this 'organisational level'? If yes, what changed? And why?
10. Do you think you deal with people (too) different from yourself in this organisational level? If yes, in which sense?
11. Did you have **some idea/ opinion** about **the stakeholders** you are dealing with nowadays **before** this 'organisational level' started existing? If yes, did this opinion change some way? Why? Do you feel the 'organisational level' helped in changing your mind in this sense? (*Did you already know the people with whom you are dealing before? What was your opinion about them? Was it constructed over close relations or commentaries from others, etc*)
12. Do you feel more listened/ considered by the other stakeholders by the existence of this 'organisational level'? Please explain why. (*Do you feel integrated?/ Do you feel you have 'more voice'*)?
13. Do you think that such **organisational approach** (*bringing different stakeholders together*) helps to **generate more collaboration** between the parts? Does it help to **achieve consensus** about the matters involved in the market's functioning? Why?
14. **What is important** in your view **for partnerships and collaboration to work out**? To what extent do you see these features existing in the relations developed within this organisational level of the market?
15. To what extent do you think this 'organisational level' helps to generate more social cohesion in the context of the market? To what extent it collaborates to generate more integration between the different parts involved? (*Do you think the market with this partnership/ collaboration approach helps bringing people together and generate more disposition to deal/ interact with people that are different from one self? To what extent?*)
16. To what extent the market being the 'bounding element' makes a difference for the partnerships and integration to function, or not? Why? (*Could be anything this bounding element?*)
17. Do you feel the municipality has a role in the development of this 'organisational level' of the Hague Market? To what extent you feel it cares about the Hague market and local integration/ social cohesion in the region?

## 9.2. CODE BOOK

The Coding for the evaluation and division of topics addressed on the interviews was made following 2 stages. Despite it is not possible to make a strict division between the themes, the first scan and coding was done over a subdivision related to broad themes addressed in the Interviews, more material matters or themes present in the interview guide. The second scan, intended to 'overlap' the coding and broad matters of the first stage tries to identify more 'subjective features' related to the realm of integration, social cohesion and sensations related to work together, collaborate.

### FIRST STAGE – 'Broad' themes

CODE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE FROM TEXT
<b>Region of the Market</b>	Opinions/ remarks made about the neighbourhoods, área in which the Hague Market is deployed	<i>Because people said to me "ow in Schilderswijk you can't walk alone as a woman at the street... Well, I walk alone and nothing, nothing."</i>
<b>Hague Market</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Opinions/ remarks made about the market, issues, functioning of the market;</li> <li>- Regulations of the market, enrolment, permissions;</li> <li>- Relation of the market to the environment/ impacts;</li> <li>- Refurbishment process;</li> <li>- Future development intentions/ visions;</li> </ul>	<p><i>So you have to feel, if you visit the market you have to feel that you are welcome and that you are a guest. I think that is not always the case. And I think not all the units are attractive;</i></p> <p><i>And we have already last 20, 30 years the old system (Seniority), there was this system... Every person have right to go a "step forward". Same as you have a small place, you can have a big place... Ahm, and that creates every shopkeeper as long as you work there, you are working 5 years, you have the right to take next place, big place. You are working 10 years then... She is working 10 years she has more right. And I working 15 years I have more right...</i></p> <p><i>...and develop together one retail concept for the market which is "market..." (...) that it will attract a lot of visitors and create a lot of new business to the market traders</i></p>
<b>Dealing with Difference</b>	Examples of how it is to deal with people with different features and what are that. (e.g. language, religion, age, culture, educational	<i>Some people didn't want to talk, some people didn't open the door, some people I had language difficulties, and now I know it is better to ring bells in the evening or in the Wednesday</i>



	background...). It englobes another stage that is how to deal with changes	<i>afternoon because on that time children are at home (...) they can translate for their parents</i>
<b>Collaboration/ Cooperation Plan</b>	Remarks made about how the idea of partnerships around the market is been developed and which are the stakeholders involved (e.g. Marktkamer, Buurtkamer, Ondernemerskamer, Cooperatie). Traces history over its development as well as about the parts brought together (VETRA, CVAH...) and their goals	<p><i>It is not only the Buurtkamer... It is also the upgrade of the market. That is together and I see it as one thing. Because also with being involved in the Buurtkamer I can ahm... Give my own input, not that is all taken or whatever but at least for me it is a way of feeling involved.</i></p> <p><i>Secondly is that now there is the Cooperation, the market people are cooperate and now we can conduct business with them.</i></p> <p><i>Yeah, the Gemeente wants only people they work on the market. That is what the Gemeente... But I think that must always be 1 of VETRA and 1 of CVAH.</i></p>
<b>Features about Cooperation and Partnerships</b>	What is needed for it to work (e.g. features, concepts, behaviours, agreements) and what works against it	<p><i>Actually ahm... To gain on both sides. From each other's' ideas, give opinions, discussions... Yeah, synergy... Yeah, not parasitism like one 'is jumping' on the other.</i></p>
<b>Broader context</b>	Features from Outside the Hague Market that impact in the markets' development as well as the relation between the stakeholders involved. Simply put "common contextual information", broad "discourses" that travel (e.g. economy, migration, national political view, market new trends...)	<p><i>Before 1980 people came here from Suriname. There are some ahm... mixed culture people... Indonesian, African people... Especially from Suriname. And second, for work permit the Dutch after Second World War there was no men power, we came people from ahm Indonesia, Moroccan and Turkish, also some nearer Europe cities</i></p> <p><i>go to Syria because they can do something with their lives over there</i></p>
<b>Municipality</b>	How it was and how it is nowadays the relation with the municipality. Moreover opinions over its general stance/ attitude through the eyes of the interviewees. Involves also relations within the municipality different departments.	<i>For the Gemeente I did have my prejudice because I was dealing with them for about ten year and not getting what I wanted, or solving the problem that I had, ahm, so I was kind of fed up with them.</i>

<b>Market as bounding element</b>	If being a Marketplace makes difference for a partnership/ collaboration development for better development or generation of problems.	<i>A market itself is a lively place. And between trader, neighbourhood, Gemeente... It is people. If you talk about a square, it is just bricks that are on the floor. It doesn't talk...</i>
<b>Stakeholders' analysis</b>	Features of the interviewees that can contribute for a description of the universe of the stakeholders. <i>Such information should not be coded in the stage 2.</i>	<p><i>Yes. I was little then I... This is my area, I should say. Because I live in (...) but my whole time I am here. I am working and my parents are living here.</i></p> <p><i>My father worked here as a marktkoopman (market trader)... My grandpa worked here at the market and, son in my childhood I have gone a lot of times to the market to spend time there and helping my father or my grandfather and I have 3 uncles who also worked on the market, in different places (it is a family thing)</i></p>

## SECOND STAGE – ‘Subjective’ Themes

CODE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE FROM TEXT
<b>Integration</b>	Evidences of Integration/ Segregation with the different stakeholders, area, municipality, etc. Includes feeling listened, feel have a space (that ideas and considerations about matters involved are being paid attention to by other stakeholders/ participants). Involves as well discrimination remarks/ sensations. Be connected, participant. Adapt, be flexible.	<p><i>Yeah, now due to the Buurtkamer we know each other's face and they greet me sometimes and I... That is nice yeah.</i></p> <p><i>Secondly is that now there is the Cooperation, the market people are cooperate and now we can conduct business with them. In the past we could not because of all the market people alone and one-on-one and that was the problem and now with (...) the Cooperation we can do business... So is the whole plane achieved.</i></p>
<b>Consensus</b>	Evidences/ remarks about development of consensus or not - relate to social cohesion development or not	<i>So you make, the most important is that you make the all the different goals to 1. That's is the most important. And what you see about my, in the board, is that we have a lot of people... They... Most think the same but approaching it is different...</i>

<b>Trusting</b>	Remarks made about possibility/feeling of trusting, importance of trust, reliability	<i>All is about people and if you ask me it is always about trust, do I trust you? So where there is trust people tend to cooperate with each other. When there is no trust, you are not successful in cooperations.</i>
<b>Will to collaborate</b>	Disposition to collaborate with other parts or not. Include statements about individualistic behaviour (e.g. work together, competition)	<i>I think that everywhere where people are coming together to cooperate ahm... And things are, you are achieving things together, it makes ahm... Yeah, it is like being addicted. For me it is addiction! Haha, because you get optimistic, things are getting better and you want more</i>
<b>Equality and reciprocity</b>	Gaining in both sides, being respected equally, no partiality, equal voices. No hierarchy (top-down behaviours); reciprocity. If this is noticed or the contrary	<i>We ask them if this is all right. And he do job not only for the... ahm, special people. Some people have no double place and (some) double place. (...) They give us the argument 'ow no, he has something special. We give them specially permission because he is special'. What is special!?</i>
<b>Close Contact</b>	Relates to impact/ importance given to physical meetings, get to know each other closer (meaningful contact), and physical proximity. Also encompasses evidences of this happening or not	<p><i>Yeah, what is very important is that the people from the municipality they must come more to the marketplace itself. Not in the office but here. Here it happens.</i></p> <p><i>They write from the desk, behind the desk. 'That is the decision' and she is the only one who talks to the people, who comes here, who goes there.</i></p> <p><i>Well, first of all you have to do very good appointments for you to know what the other part has to offer you and wants from you...</i></p>