

Public Spaces in a Super-diverse City

A STUDY OF STREET MARKETS IN ROTTERDAM
SINCE THE 1990S

Master Thesis by

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1. INTRODUCTION

*Yet, it seems that the natural instincts of the buying public have served it well when it comes to saving vital commercial and social institutions such as old-style markets from complete extinction.*² - Avi Friedmann, Architect

Public Street markets have been a part of Rotterdam's cityscape for over seven hundred years. What began as annual fairs soon became a fixed, weekly, if not daily part of the urban society's food supply.³ Nowadays fourteen different markets take place every week in the second largest city in the Netherlands. Among them are theme markets, such as the organic market on the Eendrachtsplein every Tuesday or the privately initiated farmers' market on the Noordplein every Saturday. However, they also include some of the largest commodity markets in the Netherlands. Twice a week at the central market at Binnenrotte, the second largest market in the Netherlands, one can experience a "cacophony of smells, colours, sounds, tastes and feelings"⁴. In the south of the city, on the Afrikaanderplein, one can also immerse oneself in the hustle and bustle of the market activities twice a week. Both markets offer a wide range of products from household articles, electronic products, vegetables and fruits to Dutch cheese and Surinamese specialities.⁵ As varied as the products are the visitors of these street markets, old and young, as well as people from all ethnic backgrounds come together. Some of the visitors meet deliberately on the markets and chat, some meet purely by coincidence, and others shy away from the crowd completely. On the market days, the otherwise little used public squares fill up with life

² Avi Friedman, "From roadside trading to hipster supermarkets, how we buy food reflects the state of the economy", Quartz, January 26, 2017. Accessed May 06, 2019. <https://qz.com/895122/the-history-of-markets-reveals-a-lot-about-the-state-of-the-economy-and-society/> (accessed May 26, 2019).

³ Marie-Louise Thissen, "Markt van Rotterdam bestaat 700 jaar." Rotterdams Dagblad, October 29, 1999, p. 17.

⁴ Adrienne De Koning, "Megabedrijf op de Binnenrotte." Rotterdams Dagblad (RD), August 02, 2003, p. 23.

⁵ Faayyaaz Van Dijk, *14 markten in Rotterdam: wij vertellen je waar en wanneer je er moet zijn*, accessed February 02, 2019, <https://indebuurt.nl/rotterdam/winkelen/14-markten-in-rotterdam-wij-vertellen-je-waar-en-wanneer-je-er-moet-zijn~52772/>.

and people. In this sense, street markets make a fundamental contribution to urban life and the urban landscape.⁶

In the last decades of the twentieth century, the cityscape of Western European cities, such as Rotterdam, was fundamentally shaped by the processes of deindustrialisation and globalisation. Not only has the economic environment adapted to new global markets and trade networks, but society has also undergone fundamental changes. Migration flows and the levels of urbanisation processes have been reinforced by the development of transnational networks as well as more convenient, cheaper and faster transportation.⁷ Although high levels of mobility and immigration are not new for the port city of Rotterdam, the city has experienced new encounters with diversity. In the second half of the twentieth century, as a result of post-war migration, urbanisation, globalisation and European integration, the population of Western European cities, Rotterdam being one of them, changed drastically. Various waves of migration have transformed these cities into centres of diversity.⁸ The first waves of immigration during the 20th century mainly consisted of migrants from the former Dutch colonies of Suriname, Indonesia and the Antilles, as well as guest workers from the Mediterranean region. In the 1990s immigrants from Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, China and India followed.⁹ Nowadays, more than half of the population living in Rotterdam has a migration background and the city is considered an embodiment of superdiversity.¹⁰ Superdiversity, as a socio-demographic reality, has a profound impact on society as a

⁶ Hans-Paul Bahrddt. *Die moderne Grossstadt: Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 1998), 83.

⁷ David Held, *A Globalizing world? Culture, economics, politics* (London: Routledge, 2004), 14; Nick Bisley, *Rethinking Globalization* (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 33.

⁸ Jan Blommaert, "Chronicles of complexity: Ethnography, superdiversity, and linguistic landscapes", *Tilburg Papers Culture Studies* 29 (April 2012), 26; Susanne Wessendorf, *Commonplace Diversity: Social Relations in a Superdiverse Context* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 53; Steven Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (June 2007), 1025.

⁹ Mathias Kortmann, „Der niederländische Multikulturalismus: Modell oder Mythos? Eine Kontroverse um Begriffe und Definitionshoheiten." In *Multikulturalität in Europa*, bz Elke Ariens, Emanuel Richter, & Manfred Sicking (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012), 210-211; Roel Jennissen, Godfried Engbersen, Meike Bokhorst, and Mark Bovens *De nieuwe verscheidenheid. Toenemende diversiteit naar herkomst in Nederland* (Den Haag: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 2018), 10.

¹⁰ Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider, en Frans Lelie. *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2013), 12.

whole as well as on everyday lives and public spaces within cities.¹¹ Streets, plazas, or even public markets become places of intercultural encounters, where people of different generations, different educational levels or social status, as well as from diverse ethnic backgrounds or religious beliefs come together.¹²

The modern city becomes an aggregation of urban entities, such as neighbourhoods or boroughs, in which people share a limited space with known as well as foreign persons. These entities change consistently due to the socio-cultural and ethnic composition of their population.¹³ The arrival of this diversity in the urban centres and the increased transnational networks have shaped the infrastructures in the city, such as the emergence of new telephone and internet cafes, ethnic stores and restaurants, currency exchange offices, to mention a few.¹⁴ The contemporary society consists of many spatial provenances, the national and the local but also the virtual, the transnational and postcolonial. The lines of the historical community are slowly becoming blurred and the identities of transnationally connected people are being redefined. In these urban spaces there are places for narratives and practices of social singularity and plurality which redefine and shape the population of cities, whether one is a native or newcomer. In this tension between singularity and plurality, new identities and feelings of belonging are formed and urban and national entities become hybrid.¹⁶

RESEARCH QUESTION

The aim of this study is to identify the extent to which the socio-demographic development towards Superdiversity can be identified in the everyday activities and places of urban space. For this purpose, a very specific form was chosen in urban space, namely the street markets. It is assumed that public street markets are a multidimensional phenomenon and therefore a variety of

¹¹ Dirk Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe: How migration changes our society* (Leuven: Acco, 2016), 13.

¹² Sophie Watson, "The Magic of the Marketplace Sociality in a Neglected Public Space", *Urban Studies* 46 (8 2009), 1585; Anouk Teerstee, Gideon Bolt, and Ronald van Kempen. *Fieldwork entrepreneurs, Rotterdam (The Netherlands)* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 2016), 20.

¹³ Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 88.

¹⁴ Saskia Sassen, *The Global City*. New Jersey (Princeton University Press, 1991), 23.

¹⁶ Ash Amin, *Land of Strangers* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 1.

factors need to be considered in order to study their reflection of diversity. The three basic factors to be found on the street markets are the vendors, the consumers and the products. It is assumed that these three factors influence each other and thus reproduce innovative as well as traditional elements and breed changes. This approach is simplified in the following graph:

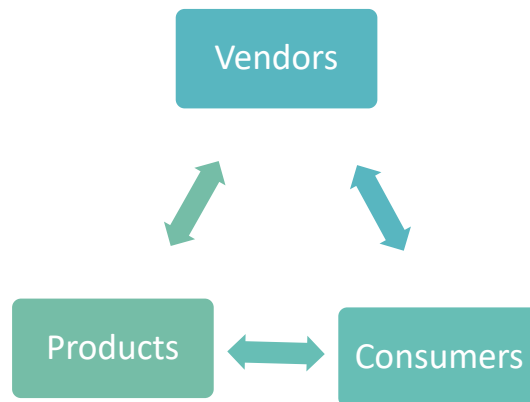


Figure 1 The tripartite of diversity factors on the market

This tripartite of diversity forms the basis for the following study. Based on an analysis of population dynamics as well as urban developments, four street markets in Rotterdam will be analysed according to this tripartite nature and their development over the last three decades. Two of these markets are the largest street markets in Rotterdam, which take place twice a week in the centre of the city on the Binnenrotte and in the South on the Afrikaanderplein.¹⁸ The other two markets, smaller in size and thematically specialised in organic and local products, are more recent in their history. They take place once a week on the Eendrachtsplein, in the case of the organic market, and on the Noordplein, in the case of the farmers' market.¹⁹

¹⁸ "Encyclopedie: Binnenrotte," Stadsarchief Rotterdam, accessed January 24, 2019.

<http://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/binnenrotte>; "Markt Afrikaanderplein Rotterdam-Zuid," Gemeente Rotterdam, accessed January 24, 2019. <https://www.rotterdam.nl/locaties/markt-afrikaanderplein-rotterdam-zuid/>.

¹⁹ "Biologische markt Eendrachtsplein," Gemeente Rotterdam, accessed January 24, 2019. <https://www.rotterdam.nl/locaties/biologische-markt-eendrachtsplein/>; "Over Ons," Rotterdamse Oogst, accessed June 23, 2019, <http://www.rotterdamseoogst.nl/over-ons/>.

These four markets are intended to illustrate the developments in Rotterdam towards superdiversity. The research question at the centre of this study reads as follows.

Why do street markets reflect the development towards a superdiverse society in Rotterdam since the 1990s?

To answer this research question, various analytical steps are necessary, which will be elaborated in the following.

The aim is to create a historical sequence of population development and investigate how migration-driven diversity has developed into superdiversity. Therefore, chapter two will answer the first sub-question on how superdiversity has developed in Rotterdam and what implications it has for the city. The third chapter will focus on the historical development and current state of the street markets. At first I will examine how the four street markets, embedded in their urban environment, have evolved over time. Thereafter, I will describe how products, vendors and consumers have changed and to what extent they can be described as diverse. After the historical developments in the city as well as on the street markets are examined, the findings will be analysed in a fourth chapter. This chapter will examine how street markets have changed in terms of diversity and to what extent these changes correspond to the direct urban environment as well as to the concept of superdiversity. The focus will be put on the interplay between urban diversity and social interactions in public space.

Based on the secondary literature, I hypothesise that the marketplaces, which have been underestimated as public places and spaces for social interaction, have a great potential to display a social space for interaction, coexistence and everyday multiculturalism. The dynamics of differences and diversity are reflected and expressed in the development of public street markets, because these are located in a specific junction of place, population and time.²⁰ The innovative as-

²⁰ Amanda Wise, and Velayutham Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2; Robert J. Sheperd, *When Culture Goes to Market: Space, Place, and Identity in an Urban Marketplace* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 21.

pect of this work is that it combines a historical research approach with social science methodologies. The phenomenon of superdiversity, which has so far been investigated from a purely social science perspective, is complemented by a historical perspective. In addition, the street markets, which have so far received little attention from researchers, are placed at the centre of this study, and their multidimensional significance in social and urban space is expounded.

This thesis is based on the understanding that places in public space, such as the street markets considered here, are marked by diversity. Scientific research on diversity is characterised by a variety of discourses and theories. In order to embed these, some theoretical approaches on public space, migration and immigrant entrepreneurs will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

THEORY

The research in this thesis builds on the theories that emerged from the so-called spatial and cultural turn in the social as well as the historical sciences. It was through these turns that the social production of the public space, as well as the daily activities and encounters in it were given a new meaning. Leading scholars re-conceptualised the understanding of space and place and introduced the investigation of power relations in a landscape.²¹ One of them, the sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre, stressed the importance of the everyday already in the 1930s. With his theory of the social production of space, he manifested that space is only produced through the social relationships and connections that take place within it. In the same line, Michel de Certeau developed a theory of productive, and consumption-oriented activities inherent in everyday life. Placing his focus on the everyday practices encountered in the urban space, he argued that the everyday is fragmented, multiform and in constant notion.²² Everyday practices determine

²¹ Jo Guldi, "What is the Spatial Turn?", *Scholar's Lab University of Virginia Library: Spatial Humanities*, accessed May 31, 2019, <http://spatial.scholarslab.org/spatial-turn/what-is-the-spatial-turn/>; Kate Nash. "The 'Cultural Turn' in Social Theory: Towards a Theory of Cultural Politics." *Sociology* 33 (1 2001), 78.

²² Giovanni Semi, Enzo Colombo, Ilenya Camozzi, and Annalisa Frisina, „Practices of Difference: Analysing Multiculturalism in Everyday Life." in *Everyday Multiculturalism*, by Amanda Wise, & Selvaraj Velauyutham. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 70.

the culture of a society, but often they take place unnoticed and repeatedly in a space that may be more understood as a geographical-social, rather than a neutral entity.²³

With their ethnographic field study in Chicago in 1925, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess laid the foundation for the Chicago School of Urbanism. Its main argument was that the city is conventionally segregated into various zones.²⁴ Through migration and social mobility, however, a competition in urban space was stimulated that would ultimately counteract ethnic and social segregation.²⁵ The Symbolic Interactionism, represented by Herbert Blumer²⁶, emphasises that the creation of meaning of things and space originates in the social interactions between individuals.²⁷ Similarly, Erving Goffmann's theory on the interaction order was concerned with the interactions of individuals in public as well as semi-public spaces. He argued that all interactions in everyday behaviour take place in a certain social order, which is constituted by a set of moral norms. The public order, which applies for instance to events on the street markets, includes norms on interactions between individuals, indirect contact or regulations detached from any contact at all. An individual's behaviours within the public order is guided by social values.²⁸

A more recent theory of urbanism that has taken up the role of social and societal relationships as well as everyday practices in urban space is Everyday Urbanism. The theory, stemming from the ideas of Henri Lefebvre was introduced by Margaret Crawford, John Chase and John Kaliski in the year 1999.²⁹ It focuses on the meaning of everyday life of the inhabitants and valorises the experiences, the vitality of urban spaces and the abundance of ordinary realities within the city. As an empirical approach it reinforced experiences and existing situations in everyday life. This

²³ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley (University of California Press, 1988).

²⁴ Vertovec, "Superdiversity and its implications", 1044.

²⁵ Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).

²⁶ Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (New Jersey: University of California Press, 1969).

²⁷ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 7; Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism*, 6.

²⁸ Erving Goffman, *Behaviour in public places: notes on the social organization of gatherings* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 193.

²⁹ Margaret Crawford and Michael Speaks, *Everyday Urbanism* (Michigan: Michigan Debates on Urbanism, 2004), 9.

conception is decisive for the present study, as it considers and accepts the multidimensional aspects of everyday and public life as they are to be found on street markets.³⁰

Furthermore, to understand the social developments within a city, the theory of Gentrification is relevant for this research. Gentrification, a term coined by the urban sociologist Ruth Glass in the 1960s, describes a process of increasing the attractiveness of certain neighbourhoods. This process can be state or market led and results in the expulsion of existing residents, which are in the case of Rotterdam often residents from lower socio-economic classes or ethnic minorities.³¹

Contrary to the rural flood of the post-war period, gentrification renders the inner city more attractive anew, especially for an urban middle class.³² The gentrification theory was also used as a basis for the explanation of further processes. One of these is the so-called Retail Gentrification, introduced by Sharon Zukin. The theory describes the displacement of local retail businesses and services, upon which long-term and lower-class residents of a neighbourhood depended, with new middle-class and cosmopolitan enterprises.³³ The symptoms of retail trade gentrification, which have been emerging in western cities since the 1970s, have also become stronger in Rotterdam in recent decades. More and more upscale restaurants or trendy cafes are appearing in the city centre as well as in formerly neglected neighbourhoods.³⁴

In order to understand the urban developments and public markets in Rotterdam, not only the processes of globalisation but also the theory of Glocalisation are to be called on. In contrast to the understanding that the wave of globalisation leads to an increased homogenisation in the

³⁰ Henri Lefebvre and Christine Levich, "The Everyday and Everydayness." *Yale French Studies* 73 (1987) 7-11.

³¹ Brian Doucet, Ronald Van Kempen, and Jan Van Weesep, "'We're a rich city with poor people': municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow.", *Environment and Planning A* 43 (2001), 1445.

³² Sharon Zukin, „Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core.", *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987), 132.

³³ Sharon Zukin et al., "New Retail Capital and Neighbourhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification in New York City." *City & Community* 8 (1) (March 2009), 47.

³⁴ Daniel Monroe Sullivan and Samuel C. Shaw, "Retail Gentrification and Race: The Case of Alberta Street in Portland, Oregon.", *Urban Affairs Review* 47 (3) (January 2011), 413; Geert Maarse, "Waarom Rotterdam niet zo moet zeiken over gentrificatie." *vers beton*, accessed on June 20, 2019, <https://versbeton.nl/2017/05/waarom-rotterdam-niet-zo-moet-zeiken-over-gentrificatie/>.

cultural and also business sense, the sociologist Roland Robertson introduced the term Glocalisation. Glocalisation connects the processes on the global level with their effects on the local level and understands both as interdependent. In the economic sense, glocalisation refers to the local embeddedness of multinational businesses and transnational value chains. Glocalisation related to cultural phenomena explains the return to local values and traditions in an increasingly globalized world.³⁵ In this case study, this will be seen in a returning element of tradition on the markets.

Through these socio-urbanist theories it became clear that an important part of the city is the encounter and interaction of different people. Drawing on social psychology, the Contact Theory states that under given circumstances contact between different groups can lead to the reduction of prejudices and friction points between these groups.³⁶ This theory has been taken up by human geographers such as Gil Valentine, who analysed that the convivial interaction of strangers in an everyday situation can lead to an increased culture of tolerance.³⁷ The historian Paul Gilroy, developed a somewhat more idealistic stance on this topic. In his book *After Empire*, Gilroy criticised the post-colonial condition of society and contemporary human debates. As an alternative to the multiculturalism project, which he saw as representative of the cohesion and incompatibility of civilized people, he introduced the concept of convivial culture. By concentrating on the ordinary experiences of cooperation, contact and conflict in daily life across the boundaries of culture, identity, and ethnicity, Gilroy hoped to overcome categorised race thinking and argued for a cosmopolitan solidarity. Convivial culture is recognisable in the everyday encounters in superdiverse cities, where not conflicts but tolerant exchanges take place.³⁸ Conversely, the Conflict Theory, states that contacts between different groups lead to friction and conflict. Especially when groups have different, incompatible goals and have to fight for limited resources, conflict is promoted rather than contact.³⁹ The sociologist, Thorsten Sellin, has argued

³⁵ Roland Robertson, "Globalisation or glocalisation?" *Journal of International Communication* 1 (1) (1994), 40.

³⁶ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 8.

³⁷ Gil Valentine, "Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (3) (2008), 334.

³⁸ Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).

³⁹ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 8.

that when people from different backgrounds and with different interests come together, this can lead to friction.⁴⁰ As will be explained further below, an example of this in Rotterdam were the inter-ethnic unrests in the 1970s in the Afrikaanderwijk.⁴¹

A commonly employed term in connection with diverse societies is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is used as an empirical term to describe a society or a state in which a variety of cultural and ethnic groups exist. In addition, the term is also used in mostly urban policy programs to propagate a diverse society.⁴² In policy terms, multiculturalism translates to a discourse promoting the harmonious co-existence of different groups, tolerance and respect for collective identities. The typical focus is laid on group-based rights, multicultural service provision, cultural maintenance and multicultural education.⁴³ Many of the multicultural policies developed from the 1960s onwards are still prevalent in most policies nowadays, also in the Netherlands. In recent decades, however, the multicultural policy approach has increasingly been criticised. In the Netherlands this has been reinforced by Paul Scheffer's article 'Het multiculturele drama' (The multicultural drama) in 2000. He argued that the political and social elite, focusing on the promotion of tolerance, had undermined and forgotten the challenges and integration tasks facing a multi-ethnic immigration society.⁴⁴

From a further point of criticism against multiculturalism, namely that it has so far only been understood from a top-down perspective of state organisations and multicultural citizenships, the direction of Everyday Multiculturalism emerged in the 1990s. Conversely, as the previous macro-theoretical approach, authors such as Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham focused on the lived experiences of diversity in everyday situations, practices, and the places of encounters. The focus of Everyday Multiculturalism is on how social actors, as for example market sellers and

⁴⁰ Thorsten Sellin, *Culture conflict and crime* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938).

⁴¹ Paul van de Laar. "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie." In *Naar Rotterdam. Immigratie en levensloop in Rotterdam vanaf het einde van de negentiende eeuw*, by Paul van de Laar, L. Lucassen, & K. Mandemakers (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2006), 114.

⁴² Duncan Ivison, "Multiculturalism", *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 16 (2015), 22; Vertovec, "Superdiversity and its implications", 1028.

⁴³ Wise and Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 1.

⁴⁴ Paul Scheffer, "Het multiculturele drama." *NRC Handelsblad Webpagina*, January 29, 2000. <http://retro.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Multicultureel/scheffer.html> (accessed May 26, 2019).

consumers, negotiate and experience cultural differences, how social relations take place in an everyday sphere, such as the street markets, and how identities are shaped by these encounters.⁴⁶ Semi, Colombo, Camozzi and Frisina adapted Everyday Multiculturalism into a category of analysis. This analytical category represents a specific sociological perspective that analyses how differences are constructed, contested or appropriated.⁴⁷ By adopting a constructivist perspective, they argued that the everyday, be it in the private or public sphere, is defined by relations. The everyday dimension helps to highlight the practices, the context and the subjective experiences.⁴⁸ Everyday multiculturalism is a concept that focuses on the micro dimensions of everyday life and simultaneously accepts that they are embedded in larger processes taking place at the macro level, such as migration.⁴⁹

Over the last decade, Superdiversity, in the most diverse ways of understanding the term, has found its way into the practices of social work, institutional and urban policy making and media as much as into the scientific literature. The concept of Superdiversity was introduced by the anthropologist Steven Vertovec in 2007. The concept arose from Vertovec's critique of the social sciences and public policies, which were unable to detect and incorporate the crucial socio-demographic changes that had happened in European societies within the last decades. Based on his study of London, Vertovec explained that a so-called 'diversification of diversity'⁵⁴ has taken place due to the increased and changed immigration movements. The concept of superdiversity was therefore introduced to describe the new socio-demographic reality in cities such as London. This new reality is typified by an increased diversity, which cannot be understood by only focusing on ethnic origin, but need to be expanded to consider further factors including age, gender, locality, migration channel, legal status, to name just a few. This increased diversity leads to a so-called 'majority-minority situation' in which no longer one ethnical group is dominant due to their demographic majority. Further, superdiversity was envisioned as a research concept that

⁴⁶ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁸ Giovanni Semi, Enzo Colombo, Ilenya Camozzi, and Annalisa Frisina. „Practices of Difference: Analysing Multiculturalism in Everyday Life.“ in *Everyday Multiculturalism*, by Amanda Wise, & Selvaraj Velauyutham (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 69.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁴ Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications", 1039-1043.

would support research and public policy makers in identifying the multi-dimensional and dynamic processes and needs of an immigration society and thus find a more holistic and inclusive approach. Overall, Superdiversity is a term and concept to describe the multidimensional shift in migration patterns.⁵⁵ Building on the concept of Superdiversity, a few researchers have developed the concept of Hyperdiversity in recent years. In addition to the factors covered by superdiversity, with Hyperdiversity differentiation factors such as lifestyle, activities, requirements and preferences are also included in the analysis of social groups.⁵⁶

What these discourses have in common is that they are building on the fact that contemporary social diversity has arisen through migration. Migration, broadly defined as the temporary or permanent movement of a person across different spatial units, can be conceptualised from different disciplines and according to different characteristics. These can be reasons for migration, motivation, or legal status of the migrants in the host country. Economic-geographical theories, which have their origin with Ernst Ravenstein in the nineteenth century, understand migration driven by increasing demand for labour in industrialised European urban centres. This theory was also adopted in the post-war period in Europe by scholars such as Michael J. Piore⁵⁷ or Castles and Kosack⁵⁸, who understand migration through the segmentation of the first and second labour markets and ascribe a specific role to immigrant workers in the capitalist system because they meet the demand for human capital in Western centres.⁵⁹ Migration, including the emigration of a home country and the immigration into a host country, affects the individual migrating as well as the society of both countries.⁶⁰ Migration must always be understood in the period of

⁵⁵ Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications", 1026; Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 12.

⁵⁶ Tuna Tasan-Tok, Ronald van Kempen, Mike Raco, and Gideon Bold, *Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities: A Critical Literature Review* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences, 2013), 6.

⁵⁷ Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁵⁸ Stephen Castles, and Godula Kosack, *The function of Labour Immigration in Western European Capitalism*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1972).

⁵⁹ Sylvia Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2012), 31-33; Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2009), 23-24.

⁶⁰ Jochen Oltmer, *Globale Migration: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 2016), 11; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 37.

time as well as the political, social and legal environment, in which it is taking place. For the political integration or exclusion of new immigrants in a host country, various political regulations as well as concepts of legal identity, such as citizenship or nationality, are formulated by the respective country.⁶¹

Economically, immigrants can participate in the host country in several ways. One of these is entrepreneurship. As Roger Waldinger argues, immigrants, historically, have been inclined to self-employment and small, independent businesses. Waldinger's theory of immigrant entrepreneurship regards the interaction between the opportunity structures of a host country and the social structure of the immigrant group as fundamental to the establishment of small businesses. The enterprises by people with a migrant background depend on the availability of business opportunities as well as of an existing niche in which the business can function, and a groups' ability to mobilise information resources and organising a firm. With this argument, he countered against preceding theories that were based on a collective resource perspective. One example is Ivan Light, who claimed that the solidarity of an ethnic community and the resulting consumer basis are the foundation for the creation and maintenance of immigrant businesses.⁶² Waldinger, however, did not contradict the importance of the ethnic community. He opined that immigrant entrepreneurs, through their individualistic attitudes and behaviour patterns, can recognize the needs and values of the community and translate them into business ideas. Ethnic markets, however, could only support a limited number of enterprises. The business environment is highly competitive and hence leads to the popularisation of small businesses and high failure rates.⁶³ Immigrant entrepreneurship, hence, is often, due to restricted market and expansion possibilities coined by low economies of scale, instability and uncertainty.⁶⁴ Furthermore, defining factors for the emergence of new firms are structural barriers such as technology, capital needs and

⁶¹ The rules of the state on who belongs as a citizen and who does not determine which rights and possibilities a person gets and may exercise within these political boundaries. These policies regulate the activities migrants undertake in a country and the opportunities they are given to settle, work, study or consume. Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 10-11; Oltmer, *Globale Migration*, 15-17; Hahn, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, 36.

⁶² Ivan H. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972); Roger Waldinger, "Immigrant enterprise: A critique and reformulation.", *Theory and Society* 15 (1986), 249-250.

⁶³ Waldinger, "Immigrant enterprise: A critique and reformulation", 260.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 262.

the level of competition.⁶⁵ Waldinger argued, based on Piore's theory of the segregated labour market, that immigrants were higher risk takers and had a more eminent view of low-level jobs within the host country.⁶⁶ For these reasons, their companies would be increasingly found in trade and services. In these heterogeneous and instable markets, the entry barriers are lower and have a limited potential for growth and mass distribution, which stimulates the demand for activities of smaller entrepreneurs.⁶⁷ In summary, two factors lead to immigrant entrepreneurship. For one thing, situational restrictions encountered by immigrants in the host country lead to the creation of businesses in sectors with low entry barriers in terms of capital and technical resources. Moreover, immigrant entrepreneurs can fall back on their connections to the ethnic community or the family and make up for any backlogs in the competitiveness or organization of the company.⁶⁸

HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the 1960s, the new social history developed inspired by the French Annales school and a cultural turn. This branched out into other currents such as urban history, the history of blacks, women's history or demographic history.⁶⁹ The focus was put on the exploration of shared and social experiences, on social classes, and the recognition of ethnicity and gender in relation to cultural participation, labour market and social inclusion.⁷⁰ In addition, a spatial turn, introducing a new geography with attention on social relations and practices in spaces contributed to a variety of historiographic and sociological research on the practices and relations especially in the urban sphere. Paul Van de Laar, in his essay on Rotterdam's urban and migration history, stressed that this conceptual basis, which considers urban space to be socially constructed, can form a valuable intersection between the research of city historians and migration historians and

⁶⁵ Ibid., 257.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 268.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 257.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 278.

⁶⁹ Laurence Veysey, "The "New" Social History in the Context of American Historical Writing.", *Reviews in American History* 7 (1) (1979), 4.

⁷⁰ Paul Van de Laar, "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie", 119.

is fundamental to the study of the modern city.⁷¹ Jack Burgers and Godfried Engbersen have already followed up on this idea in their book *De verborgen Stad* (the hidden city).⁷² In their research, they dealt with social developments in Rotterdam, such as the emergence of a multicultural society, changes in class structures or the so-called museumisation of the city. Van de Laar argued that although some research had focused on the history of the city of Rotterdam with focus on the selective migration processes, and the transitions within the city, there is a lack of empirical research, especially with anthropological methods.⁷³ This is where the following thesis tries to start and make a complementary contribution to existing histories.

A number of researchers from different disciplines have dealt with the question of urban space as a home to highly diverse communities. Among them was Iris Marion Young⁷⁴, who, based on the idea of a city as a space in which strangers meet, acknowledged these differences as new possibilities for democratic communities.⁷⁵ As a reaction to the vision that public spaces encourage social interaction, civic engagement and conviviality, Ash Amin, in his 2012 published book 'Land of Strangers' analysed the phenomenology of everyday experiences and social ties.⁷⁷ He argued that in the contemporary area of urban sprawl, the former central public spaces lost their political and societal meanings. He claimed that the collective cultures in society are less influenced by the behavioural characteristics, the attitudes of particular social groups or systemic conditions, such as economic remuneration or social recognition, but by the transactional bequests between institutions and people.⁷⁸ He acknowledged that in the public spaces foreigners or strangers mingle. This process is characterised by localised diversities of different types of social responses. The limits of human recognition in the public space of the city expect a different representation than that which sees the public space as a ground for conviviality.⁷⁹

⁷¹ Paul Van de Laar, "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie", 135.

⁷² Godfried Engbersen, and Jack Burgers. *De verborgen stad: de zeven gezichten van Rotterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001).

⁷³ Paul Van de Laar, "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie", 135.

⁷⁴ Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁷⁵ Sophie Watson, and David Studdert. *Markets as sites for social interaction. Spaces of diversity* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2006), 2.

⁷⁷ Ash Amin, *Land of Strangers*.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 77.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 70-73.

One of the most extended explorations of everyday multiculturalism and encounters in urban spaces comes from the sociologist Sophie Watson. In 'City Publics'⁸⁰ she argued that the public spaces, be they formal or small-scale, are crucial for the so-called rubbing along of inhabitants in the public space of the city and the narrative of multicultural contact. These micro-spaces in the urban whole were often overlooked by sociological and historical research. Watson argued that everyday multiculturalism needs to be understood in the context of local history, culture, place and contemporary political climate.⁸¹ This argumentation was based on a previous study on street markets, which was published in 2009.⁸² In this article Sophie Watson explored the markets as a public space for social interaction and for potential of performance and comingling of differences through casual encounters. Watson argued that markets have a long tradition as sites of commerce and trade, but have barely been objects of analysis in the discourse on public space and social interactions. Consequently, she tried to set out to consider what constitutes the social as a multiplicity of lived encounters and connections in this frequently neglected public space. She found that public markets function as social spaces, because they attract a variety of people, due to the diversity and quality of products or the low prices, and therefore different forms of sociality congregate within them.⁸³

Apart from Sophie Watson, a few further scholars have taken on the street markets as objects of their investigations. Helen Tangires, elaborated on the history of public market places, its functions and participating actors in her book *Public Markets* in 2008.⁸⁴ She argued that public street markets lie at the heart of the activity of urban food supply that relied on the agricultural production from the outside. Eda Ünlü-Yücesoy⁸⁵ wrote about the marketplace as a social construct.

⁸⁰ Sophie Watson, and David Studdert. *Markets as sites for social interaction. Spaces of diversity* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2006).

⁸¹ Sophie Watson, "Brief Encounters of an Unpredictable Kind: Everyday Multiculturalism in Two London Street Markets." in *Everyday Multiculturalism*, by Amanda Wise, & Selvaraj Velayutham (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 126.

⁸² Ibid., 128.

⁸³ Watson, "Brief Encounters of an Unpredictable Kind: Everyday Multiculturalism in Two London Street Markets.", 1589.

⁸⁴ Helen Tangires, *Public Markets* (New York: Norton, 2008).

⁸⁵ Eda Ünlü-Yücesoy, „Constructing the Marketplace: A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Past Marketplaces of Istanbul.“ *Built Environment* 39 (Vol. 2) (2014), 190-202.

Using the example of Istanbul she tried to understand the nature and role of the market within a community. The author highlighted the market's capacity as a spatial expression of intercultural exchange and everyday belonging. Through the market space we can analyse the connection between the individual and the city, the nature of community relations and the socio-spatial differentiations. This will be illustrated when in a later chapter the different meanings which the markets in Rotterdam have for their respective visitors are presented.⁸⁶ Ünlü-Yücesoy emphasised that with the changes over time, as experiences grow and the use of public space becomes ritualized, market places can evoke a sense of belonging to a particular everyday public place.⁸⁷ In addition, the anthropologist Michèle de la Pradelle investigated a weekly market in Provence, observing in detail the interaction of the vendors and visitors of the market. Her findings imply that both the products and the behaviour of the market participants reflect an artificial reproduction of authenticity that is considered fundamental to the success and popularity of the market.⁸⁸

Gonzalez and Waley analysed the ambivalent development of retail trade markets in a UK based study. On the one hand, traditional markets, be it indoor or outdoor, are declining and become only essential retail providers for low-income citizens. On the other hand, markets in Western cities undergo a reinvention for wealthier customers interested in organic, local, ethical and authentic shopping experiences.⁸⁹ Subsequently, some street markets are becoming a display of gentrified authenticity.⁹⁰

A fundamental and inspiring basis for the following research was an essay published in 2015 by Daniel Hiebert, Jan Rath and Steven Vertovec⁹¹, in which they proposed to investigate local street markets to understand the connection between economy and society. According to the

⁸⁶ Ünlü-Yücesoy, „Constructing the Marketplace: A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Past Marketplaces of Istanbul.“, 190.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 192.

⁸⁸ Sharon Zukin, *Naked City: The death and life of authentic urban places* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 120.

⁸⁹ Sara Gonzalez, and Paul Waley, „Traditional Retail Markets: The New Gentrification Frontier?“, *Antipode* 45 (4), (2012), 965.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 966.

⁹¹ Daniel Hiebert, Jan Rath, und Steven Vertovec, „Urban markets and diversity: towards a research agenda.“ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (1) (2015), 5-21.

authors, cultural diversity drives local markets and the daily interactions on the markets influence intercultural relations. The focus on the transitions that have shaped the relationship between markets and diversity in the recent decades, makes their investigation all the more topical.

⁹² Building on this, Yolanda Pottie-Sherman has compiled a broad and comprehensive overview of previous research and literature on urban marketplaces, particularly in connection with social diversity.⁹³

The subject of superdiversity as the societal normality in European cities was taken up by the social anthropologist Susanne Wessendorf. In her book, titled *Commonplace Diversity*, she analysed how diversification has shaped contemporary neighbourhoods in Hackney, London, and changed the interaction and perception of its inhabitants.⁹⁵ She used superdiversity as ‘a lens to describe an exceptional demographic situation characterized by the multiplication of social categories within specific locations’⁹⁶. Through the increased diversification, the urban space becomes saturated with differences and hence diversity and its experience become ordinary and commonplace. Wessendorf emphasised that the commonplace of diversity does not relate to the blurring or diminution of differences, but rather to the acceptance of these differences as people learn to live with the given socio-demographic situation. Wessendorf’s publication does not only offer an interesting understanding of what happens when diversity becomes commonplace, but also provides a valuable basis for the conceptual classification of research and a methodological approach for the study of superdiversity.⁹⁷

⁹² Ibid., p.14.

⁹³ Yolande Pottie-Sherman, *Markets and Diversity: An Overview* (MMG Working Paper 11-03, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, 2011).

⁹⁵ Wessendorf, *Commonplace Diversity*, 2.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁷ Wessendorf, *Commonplace Diversity*, 3.

As these previous studies show, the concept of superdiversity can be a useful tool to examine contemporary societies and approach diversity from a multidimensional perspective. One aspect of the diversity is the integration of migrants into the labour market. This has already been investigated in several studies with specific reference to the Netherlands.⁹⁸ Katja Rusinovic, for example, tackled the research gap in labour market studies on immigrants, highlighting the lack of analysis of how second-generation migrants integrate into the labour market. Confirming several aspects of Waldinger's theory, Rusinovic found that many first-generation migrants have found work as entrepreneurs in the so-called ethnic markets, in providing ethnic or exotic products for their own ethnic and cultural community. Although the entrepreneurs within the ethnic markets were somewhat protected against competition and insider advantage, the purchasing power of these markets is limited and the markets are very vulnerable to saturation effects. For the second generation immigrants, already born and raised in the countries, she foresaw the need and possibility to break into the mainstream markets.⁹⁹ Likewise, Kloosterman, Van der Leuen, and Rath analysed the spatial, financial, political and social aspects that influence immigrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. They examined that due to the lack of financial capital (funds) and human capital (educational capacities), most immigrant entrepreneurs from developing countries enter labour markets with low entry barriers. Hence, three out of five immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands have established a business in retail, wholesale or a restaurant.¹⁰⁰ Focusing specifically on the retail trade, Choenni investigated immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands as a whole as well as in Amsterdam.¹⁰¹ He found that the numbers of immigrant entrepreneurs increased drastically since the 1990s. A proportionally large amount of these entrepreneurs can operate in the retail trade, but not in the street market trade. He sees difficulties in the accessibility of markets due to language and limited growth potential for enterprises.

⁹⁸ Katja Rusinovic, "Moving between markets? Immigrant entrepreneurs in different markets.", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 14 (6) (2008), 440.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 452.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Kloostermann, Joanne Van der Leun, and Jan Rath, "Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands.", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23 (2) (1999), 253-255.

¹⁰¹ August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak. Allochtoon ondernemerschap in de detailhandel en de betekenis van herkomstachtergronden*. (Onderzoeksrapportenreeks; Nr. IMES, Amsterdam: IMES, 2001).

The ethno-markets have a very local function and hence also the retail trade of immigrant entrepreneurs is very area focused, mostly neighbourhood based.¹⁰²

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

As can be seen from the theoretical framework and the literature to date, street markets are not only important economic factors, but also phenomena with a long historical tradition, and part of the everyday life of the city's inhabitants and the cityscape. For this reason, the investigation of these markets should involve a multidisciplinary approach. In the following work, this was attempted with a special focus on the historical development of the markets and their socio-anthropological significance in urban space. A multi-methodological approach was chosen to carry this out, which will be briefly explained below.

In a first step, statistical data was analysed. Statistical data provided by national as well as the municipal agency of statistics shed light on how the population in Rotterdam has changed in terms of population composition based on ethnic origin, age groups, occupational groups, and households, over time. This data formed the basis for understanding the development of Super-diversity in the city over the last three decades and an overview of economic development and entrepreneurship. However, it should be noted that this data has conceptual as well as methodological limitations. It records only officially registered persons and businesses, which means that it ignores any number of informal migrants, employees or entrepreneurs. Furthermore, it allows only a limited understanding of the diversification of migration, as the population is merely divided by ethnic background. This reduced perception of diversity is one of the main difficulties of this investigation. In the national statistics until 2016 and in the regional statistics for Rotterdam until today, the term categories 'Autochtoon' (native) and 'Allochtoon' (foreign origin) are used. The latter term is used for all persons who have at least one parent with a migration background. This is not only a clearly binary classification of society, but also disregards the diversity within

¹⁰² Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak. Allochtoon ondernemerschap in de detailhandel en de betekenis van herkomstachtergronden*, 49.

first and second generation migrants, since regardless of their origin, nationality or feeling of belonging are labelled as foreign. This distinction has meanwhile come under political criticism and is also a reduced understanding of diversification and identity characteristics.

In a further step, I carried out a systematic document analysis. In the catalogue of the Stadsarchief Rotterdam, suitable newspaper articles were filtered out with the specified keywords¹⁰³. From the 168 results, I selected 60 most suitable newspaper articles on the basis of thematically assigned codes.¹⁰⁴ Most of the resulting newspaper articles were from the Rotterdam daily, *Rotterdams Dagblad* (RD). This regional newspaper, against internal protests directed against the national organisation and editorialisation of regional news, joined the largest Dutch daily *Algemeen Dagblad* (AD) in 2005 along with six other regional newspapers. As a result, the Rotterdam editions were supplemented by the name Rotterdam or Rotterdam Dichtbij, if it is a supplement.¹⁰⁵ According to its own statements, the *Algemeene Dagblad* describes itself as a politically and religiously independent daily newspaper.¹⁰⁶ Further newspaper articles were taken from the weekly free newspapers, *De Havenloods* or *Het Zuiden*, as well as from the liberal Dutch daily newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*. The advantage of this document analysis is that it provides a historical insight into the reporting of the street markets in Rotterdam. With the help of the articles the history, development, as well as the successes and difficulties of the street markets could be recorded. It has to be criticized that these newspaper articles only reflect the respective point of view of the authors, which are not always neutral, and that they only report the extraordinary events of the market and little of the everyday.

¹⁰³ The used keywords included the names of the neighbourhoods in which the markets take place, namely *Afrikaanderplein*, *Binnenrotte*, *Eendrachtsplein*, *Markt*, *Markten*, *Noordplein*. More results were found by using Dutch keywords referring to markets, such as *Markt* or *Markten*.

¹⁰⁴ These codes were: 'seller', 'buyer', 'consumer', 'visitor', 'market history', 'products', 'diversity', 'multiculturalism', 'market management', 'disagreements', 'special events', 'success', 'decline', 'legislation', 'market association'. A list with all selected newspaper articles can be found in the Appendix.

¹⁰⁵ "Rotterdams Dagblad tegen titel met 'AD'", *Trouw*, accessed on May 26, 2019, <https://www.trouw.nl/home/rotterdams-dagblad-tegen-titel-met-ad-~a6a8f9af/3/>.

¹⁰⁶ "Dé nieuwsbron voor het hele gezin.", *Persgroep B.V.*, accessed on June 13, 2019, <https://www.persgroep.nl/merk/ad>.

In a third step, sources were developed on the basis of empirical research methods inspired by sociological and ethnographic studies. These included three types of source recording. Firstly, the markets were examined for their physical layout and the arrangement of the market stalls. By creating market maps, a visual overview of the scope and size of the marketplace could be given. Secondly, I carried out participating observations on the markets themselves. On fourteen market days, the four different markets were observed at regular intervals for about two to three hours in the morning, over lunch or in the early afternoon. During the observations I recorded, what type of customers visited the markets, what kind of activities they carried out and with whom. These observations were recorded in a diary and are attached to the appendix of this paper. The observation of environmental behaviour facilitated the systematic analysis of people within their environment.¹⁰⁷ Thirdly, I carried out semi-structured interviews with people involved in market activities. Among these interviews thirteen were conducted with market visitors, ten of them with market traders and one interview with a representative of the Association for Ambulatory Trade, the CVAH (Centrale Vereniging voor de Ambulante Handel), either directly on the market, at an agreed interview location or via Skype. Subsequently, the interviews were transcribed and coded with the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. During the coding process, memos were written with notes for the analysis. The code groups created formed the basis for structuring the analysis in the third chapter. These qualitative methods allowed me to get a direct insight into the individual stories and motives of the market participants, as well as to record everyday interactions, as well as previously undocumented processes, behaviours and movements. Although the data obtained from the qualitative methods can never be generalised, it was possible to create a previously undocumented picture of each of the four marketplaces examined on the basis of the information obtained.

This multiple-methods approach, which examines the phenomenon of street markets using qualitative methods and links them with historical research, is very innovative for this field. This work builds a unique bridge between the social science investigation of the significance of interactions and diversity in public space and the historical consideration of these developments. This work

¹⁰⁷ John Zeisel, *Inquiry by design: Tools for environment-behavior research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 111.

complements the previous research with an elaborated case study on the example of the city of Rotterdam, which links historical research with an empirical study. Through the historical investigation it is possible to look at the changes of the street markets and the population development over time and thus complement previous research.

2. ROTTERDAM: A SUPERDIVERSE CITY

The following chapter examines the extent to which Rotterdam has developed into a super-diverse city over the last three decades and the implications of this development. First a short overview of the migration history of Rotterdam is given and then the current situation with the associated issues is described.

2.1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF MIGRATION IN ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam's history of migration dates back to the fourteenth century, specifically 1340, when the fishing town was granted city rights. After the Dutch revolt, followed by the fall of Antwerp, the port of Rotterdam became an increasingly important node in the global trade network and due to the maritime and trade activities attracted many migrants from the Southern regions of the Netherlands as well as from abroad.¹⁰⁸ During the Dutch Golden Age, Rotterdam attracted not only many migrants due to the many labour opportunities and trade network, but it was also a centre of tolerance and shelter for political and religious refugees. The City became a hub for British and Scottish tradesman, French Huguenots and Flemish merchants.¹⁰⁹ Foreign minorities could gain significant influence on Rotterdam's cultural, political and economic developments, and evidence of tensions based on ethnic or racial diversity was relatively rare.¹¹⁰ Migrants from various backgrounds soon made up part of the demographic fabric of the city.¹¹¹

The nineteenth century, although starting off with a period of economic decline, turned out to be a golden age for ports and port cities in Europe. Amongst them was Rotterdam that experienced economic as well as population growth. Labour opportunities in trading, shipping and

¹⁰⁸ Paul Van de Laar, and Arie Van der Schoor. "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980)." in *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam*, by Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, & Paul Van de Laar (Cham: Springer, 2019), 23; Anouk Tersteeg, Gideon Bolt, and Ronald van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences, 2017), 21.

¹⁰⁹ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 10.

¹¹⁰ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 10; Van de Laar and Van der Schoor. "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980).", 44.

¹¹¹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 22.

other maritime activities attracted an increasing number of immigrants.¹¹² Rotterdam was influenced by a crucial development at the end of the century. In 1872, a direct connection between Rotterdam and the North Sea, the Nieuwe Waterweg (New Waterway), was built and Rotterdam became a major gateway and transport port. Through the geographical location, situated in the delta of the rivers Maas and Rhine, Rotterdam could extend its role as an important transit port and trade connection within the Netherlands as well as the European Hinterland (Germany and Central Europe). This increased economic growth now attracted migrants from Germany.¹¹³ It was symptomatic of the migration to Rotterdam at the end of the 19th century, unlike to other European cities, that the majority of the temporary and permanent immigrant had a higher socio-economic status than the native inhabitants of the city.¹¹⁴

Contemporary historians, focusing on the emergence on population diversity within the city, however, put their main focus on the developments in the twentieth century. In the beginning of the century, a large number of Chinese immigrants working on Dutch ships had settled in the Katendrecht district. This was an artificial port peninsula in the Maas river designed as a residential area for temporary labourers and transient people. The second half of the century recorded three major waves of immigration.¹¹⁵ The first big wave of immigrants was due to the guest workers' schemes in the post-second world war period. After a devastating bombardment in May 1940, the city decided to build a new modernist version of the inner centre instead of rebuilding it. As many European cities, Rotterdam experienced a period of economic prosperity in the post-war period resulting in an increasing demand for labour force for the reconstruction activities, as well as the growing industry and service sector. While most of the indigenous people followed well-paid jobs, the Dutch government, in search for industrial labourers, longshoremen, dockworkers and shipbuilders, introduced a guest worker scheme to attract temporary workers

¹¹² Jürgen Osterhammel, and Niels Petersson, *Globalization: A Short History* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), p.129; Van de Laar and Van der Schoor, "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980) 2019", 30.

¹¹³ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 10.

¹¹⁴ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 25.

¹¹⁵ Van de Laar and Van der Schoor, "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980) 2019", 47; Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 3.

from the Mediterranean area.¹¹⁶ The guest worker scheme started off with an official treaty with Italy in the year 1960, followed by formal agreements with Spain, Morocco and Turkey and later former Yugoslavia. Up to the termination of the programmes, due to the oil crisis in the 1970s, there was a rising immigration of low-skilled labour workers from these countries.¹¹⁷ Whereas the amount of immigrants from Southern Europe declined in the following years, the number of immigrants with a Turkish or Moroccan background kept increasing due to family reunification.¹¹⁸ The decolonisation processes and economic crises in Aruba and Curacao in the mid-1970s led to a second big wave of immigration from the former Dutch colonies, such as Indonesia, Suriname and the Dutch Caribbean, who settled all over the Netherlands.¹¹⁹

Despite these high numbers of immigration into the city, the post-war period was coined by a negative migration balance.¹²⁰ The so-called selective migration process of the post-war welfare state explains the process of many middle-class Dutch households, who moved out of the city centre to the suburban areas.¹²¹ This process was facilitated by the construction of the freeway system and the improved socio-economic status of the Dutch native population.¹²² The proportion of the population with Dutch nationality, living in Rotterdam, fell in the years after 1972 consistently by more than ten percent to 85.5 percent in 1984.¹²³ A number of socio-economic events and political circumstances led to a third wave of immigration starting in the 1990s.¹²⁴ The wave of globalisation that began in the mid-1980s, fostering growing international trade and mobility of ideas, goods and services, and people, was only one of the main factors that led to increasing immigration into the city of Rotterdam. The expansion of the European Union after

¹¹⁶ Van de Laar and Van der Schoor, "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980) 2019", 48; Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, p. 23.

¹¹⁷ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 50; Han Entzinger, and Godfried Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*. (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2014), 3.

¹¹⁸ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 26.

¹¹⁹ Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 3.

¹²⁰ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 12.

¹²¹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 26.

¹²² Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 12; Van de Laar and Van der Schoor, "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980) 2019", 31.

¹²³ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 26.

¹²⁴ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 12.

the fall of the Berlin wall as well as the increasing number of regional wars in other parts of the world, such as the Gulf war and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, led to an increase in people seeking labour opportunities, political asylum or refuge.¹²⁵ In addition, the Dutch government signed an agreement with Poland, facilitating the immigration of workers employed in the agriculture and horticulture sector. After the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, immigrants from central European countries, such as Poland, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary increasingly settled in the urban regions in the Netherlands. The number of registered migrants from central European countries rose in the following ten years more than tenfold.¹²⁶ The more recent, so-called refugee crisis, initiated in 2014, led to a high number of asylum seekers from Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Somalia. Throughout the years, the city of Rotterdam has attracted temporary and permanent migrants from nearby European countries such as Belgium, Germany, France, and the UK.¹²⁷

The long-term historical perspective on immigration patterns shows that Rotterdam has been shaped by migration for centuries. Due to the maritime networks and international trade, temporary and permanent migrants continuously populated the city. During the Dutch Golden Age, immigrants enjoyed religious and political freedom and were seen as a substantial factor for the economic prosperity of the city. For several centuries, the presence of foreign migrants shaped the cityscape of Rotterdam.¹²⁸ Fundamental for the population composition of today's societies were the migration waves in the twentieth century and particularly the migration patterns since the 1990s. The emergence and existence of superdiversity as well as its implications shall be in the focus of the following sections.

¹²⁵ Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 27-28; Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 3.

¹²⁶ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 154; Peter Scholten, Godfried Engbersen, Mark Van Ostaijen, and Erik Snel, "Multilevel governance from below: how Dutch cities respond to intra-EU mobility." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (12) (2018), 2011.

¹²⁷ Entzinger and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 3; Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, p. 28-29.

¹²⁸ Van de Laar and Van der Schoor, "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980) 2019", 51.

2.2. THE SITUATION TODAY: SUPERDIVERSITY

The migration flows highlighted in the previous chapter have led to a superdiverse society in the city of Rotterdam. This diversification of the population is reflected in the fact that a larger number of migrants come from increasingly different places, representing a broad variety of socio-economic statuses and differing in a variety of aspects, such as marital status, level of education, motivation for migration or legal status.¹²⁹ The following sections shall carve out some of the major developments that can be seen in Rotterdam in the past three decades that have led to superdiversity.

The population of the city of Rotterdam has increased from 589'676 inhabitants in the year 1992 to 644'373 inhabitant in 2019, making the city the second largest in the Netherlands. Analysing the composition of the population based on place of origin, as depicted in Figure 2, it can be recognised that a shift towards a broader variety of places Dutch residents originate from.

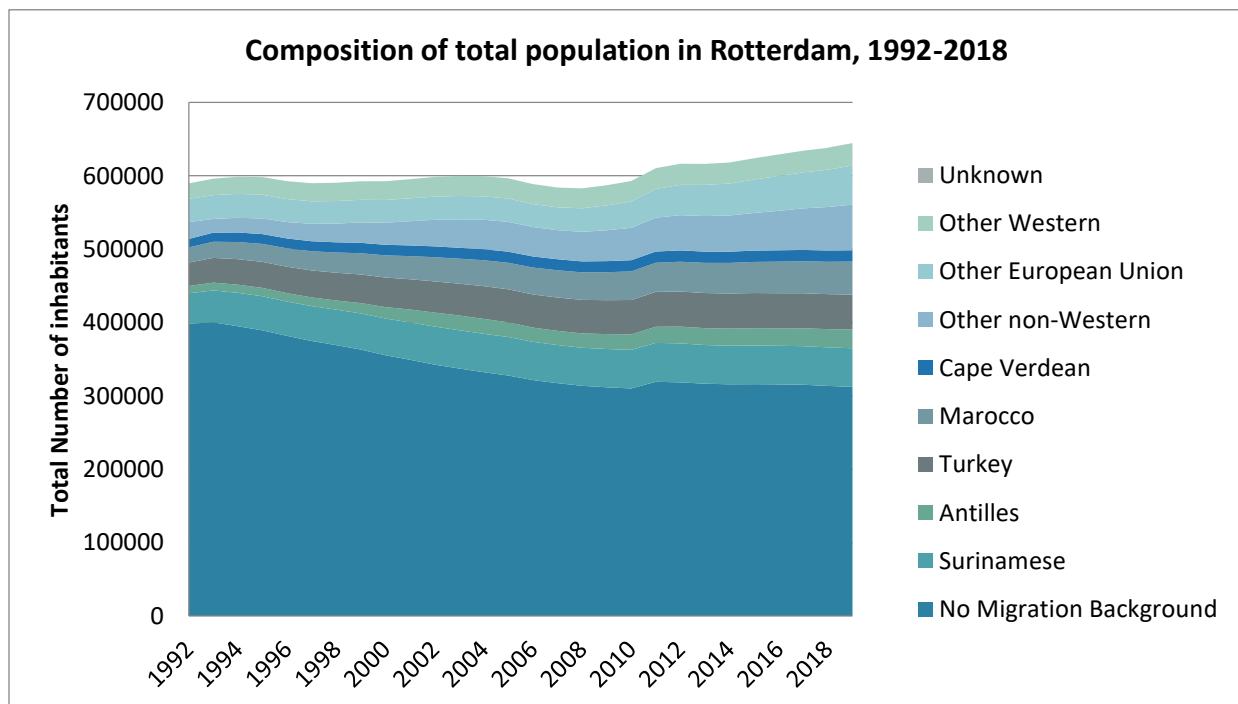


Figure 2 Composition of the population in Rotterdam based on place of origin, 1992 - 2018

Source: Compiled by the author based on "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

¹²⁹ Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications", 1049.

The population growth over the past two decades can be traced back to mostly migratory movements, because the natural population growth, exemplified by the steady decrease in annual birth rates, has more than halved during the examined period.¹³⁰ Some of the migration can be attributed to internal migration, i.e. people moving within the Netherlands. However, while generally in the Netherlands many young people move to urban centres, due to educational or employment opportunities, Rotterdam also specifically registers an emigration of middle class residents to suburban regions.¹³¹ This equalises internal migration for the case of Rotterdam and suggest that much of the population growth is due to the immigration of people from a broad variety of foreign countries. The city of Rotterdam currently has inhabitants from 174 nationalities, including from East Asia, Central and Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa.¹³² Nowadays, the Turks and Surinamese are the largest groups of inhabitants with a migration background, accounting for 8 percent of the population, followed by Antillean and Cape Verdean communities.¹³³ While these, known as traditional migrant groups have experienced steady growth over the decades, since the 1990s the growth of Western migrants has excelled. Whereas in 1992, 8.94 percent of Rotterdam's inhabitants still had a western migrant background, this figure had risen to 13 percent by 2019. Among these, the number of European migrants is growing, most notably labour migrants from Poland.¹³⁴ The growing number of non-Western migrants also shows a strong diversification within the group, which is not captured by the statistical data, but remains of primary importance.¹³⁵ Due to global conflicts, in the recent five year the city recorded many refugees from Iraq and Somalia, as well as from Syria and Eritrea.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Statistics Netherlands, *Trends in the Netherlands 2017* (The Hague: Sumis, 2017).

¹³¹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 26.

¹³² Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 15; Council of Europe, "Rotterdam, Netherlands - Intercultural City." *Intercultural cities programme*, accessed on June 20, 2019, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/rotterdam>.

¹³³ Crul, Lelie and Keskiner, "The Second and Thrid Generation in Rotterdam: Increasing Diversity Within Diversity 2019", 5; Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 3-5.

¹³⁴ Crul, Lelie and Keskiner, "The Second and Thrid Generation in Rotterdam: Increasing Diversity Within Diversity 2019", 58.

¹³⁵ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 27.

¹³⁶ Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, p. 41.

A basic characteristic of the concept of Superdiversity is that the relationship between majority and minority is changing. This occurred in the city of Rotterdam in 2015, when statistical data for the first time showed a majority-minority situation. This means that since then the original Dutch inhabitants, i.e. people whose both parents were born in the Netherlands, have become numerically a minority. Today, more than 50 percent of Rotterdam's residents demonstrate a migrant background.¹³⁷ In the diversification of this ethnic composition of populations, second- and third-generation migrants play an important role. The labour migrants from the 1960s and 1970s have now extended into two or three generations. However, the diversification of the population groups emanating from the original migrant workers is not reflected in the statistical data. Because of the use of the binary categories *Allochtoon* and *Autochtoon*, as explained in the chapter on methodology, many second generation immigrants are counted into the minority group according to their parent's ethnic background, regardless of their nationality status.¹³⁸ The second generation of migrants show diversified characteristics not only according to their identity, but also from a socio-economic point of view. While some have experienced successful integration into Dutch society or upward mobility, others experience low levels of unemployment, education or income. Structural integration and higher educational attainment of people with migration background also often leads to people turning away from host society.¹³⁹

This discernible polarisation underscores the superdiverse character of the population, since it emphasises the extent to which ethnic groups differ and diversify within themselves.¹⁴⁰ This is exemplified in the statement by Crul, Lelie and Keskiner:

¹³⁷ Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 17.

¹³⁸ A weakness of the statistical data, which will be further discussed in a later chapter, is that they contain simplified dichotomous categorisations, which do not do justice to a superdiverse view of reality. Especially amongst second generation migrants in Rotterdam, nationality often does not correspond with ethnic origin, let alone the feeling of belonging is reflected. Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 89.

¹³⁹ Under the concept of the integration paradox, Maykel Verkuyten has recognised that often well-educated and structurally integrated migrants turn away from the host society instead of becoming involved in it. This can be attributed, among other things, to the fact that migrants with a higher level of education are more aware and confronted with the discrimination and deprivation of certain ethnic groups in a society. Maykel Verkuyten "The Integration Paradox: Empiric Evidence From the Netherlands", *American Behavioral Scientist* 60 (5-6) (2016), 593.

¹⁴⁰ Crul, Lelie and Keskiner, "The Second and Thrid Generation in Rotterdam: Increasing Diversity Within Diversity 2019" , 57.

It is exactly the increased diversity within ethnic groups that underscores the concept of superdiversity for cities like Rotterdam. The combination of being not just highly educated, but also being of Moroccan descent, and second generation, female and wearing a head scarf is more than only being a highly educated woman or only being of Moroccan descent or only being a Muslim. All these characteristics together form a radically different reality than the single characteristics do alone.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, social diversification can be recognised by looking at the generations living in Rotterdam. The composition of the population, divided into generations, has hardly changed in the last three decades. Since 1992, two thirds of the population have been aged between 20 and 64, while just under 16 percent are over 65, and 22 percent under 19. Within these generations, however, fundamental changes in the ethnicity of the population become apparent. Whereas in 1992 only around 2'804 of people over 65 had a non-western migration background (3%), this number rose to 10'900 (12%) in 2007, and 17'473 (18%) in 2019. While the number of female senior citizens has generally declined, from 62 percent in 1992 to 55 percent in 2019, the number of senior citizens with a non-western migration background, be it female or male has increased around eightfold. These findings are summarised in the table below.¹⁴²

	Dutch	Western Migration Background	Non-Western Migration Background	Total
1992	84'395	6'349	2'804	93'548
2007	70'099	7'352	7'329	84'780
2019	71'175	9'880	17'473	98'528

Table 1 Number of inhabitants over 65 years old

Source: Compiled by the author based on "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

¹⁴¹ Maurice Crul, Frans Lelie, and Elif Keskiner, "The Second and Third Generation in Rotterdam: Increasing Diversity Within Diversity." In *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam*, by Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, & Paul Van de Laar (Cham: Springer, 2019), 70.

¹⁴² "Buurtmonitor", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

Another significant aspect of superdiversity is the diversification of migration motives. The traditional migrant groups, such as labour migrants or migrants from former Dutch colonies that decolonized, have led to increasing migration based on family reunification. In addition, statistical data show that there has been an increase since the 1990s in people from countries like Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia, who have arrived in the city as refugees.¹⁴³ Besides, migrant workers still make up a large part of the migrant population in Rotterdam. After the enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 a sizable number of European migrants from countries such as Poland and Bulgaria have immigrated to the city looking for employment opportunities. In addition, after the recent financial crisis, the past decade has also recorded an increased influx of young professionals from Italy and Spain.¹⁴⁴ Whereas for several decades the guest workers were attracted to work in low-skilled jobs, the city has slowly developed an offer of highly skilled jobs in transportation, logistics, and architecture. These jobs attract also a variety of high-skilled labourers, which are commonly named expats, and currently make up a number up to 30'000 people in the city. While much of Rotterdam's workforce continues to be low-skilled, the influx of more high-skilled and better paid workers leads to greater polarisation of populations and substantial changes in the housing market. Many neighbourhoods in the city are trying to attract higher income groups, resulting in the displacement of existing, often low-income households into the suburban areas.¹⁴⁵

In summary, these aspects are part of a transition called Superdiversity which has taken place since the 1990s in Rotterdam and by which the diversification of social diversity is referred to. This diversification is a consequence and symptom of broader global processes. Globalisation and improvements in Internet and Communication Technologies (ICT), as well as faster and cheaper transport, have strengthened transnational links, increased migratory flows and enabled

¹⁴³ Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 4-6.

¹⁴⁴ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 27.

¹⁴⁵ Doucet, Van Kempen, and Van Weesep, "'We're a rich city with poor people': municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow.", 1438.

sophisticated diaspora networks.¹⁴⁶ While these processes bring about fundamental transformations at the global level, they also have practical implications that can be seen in the local and urban spheres. The challenges and changes entailed in the transition towards a superdiversification of society, will be analysed in the following chapter.

2.3. IMPLICATIONS OF SUPERDIVERSITY

The implications of superdiversity in urban space are divided into three categories below. Socio-political implications relate to changes in public policies and the social and political understanding of diversity. Socio-economic implications deal with the influence of migrant workers on the labour market and entrepreneurship. The processes of gentrification, spatial segregation and glocalisation are mentioned under socio-spatial implications. These aspects concern only a selection of the implications of superdiversity relevant to this work.

2.3.1. SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Changes in society inevitably entail discussions as to how the people and the government will deal with them. The challenges that the development of super-diversity has brought about at the policy, political and individual levels will be briefly addressed below.

The municipality of Rotterdam is embedded in three different policy spheres, the national one, which has constitutional and financial autonomy, as well as the provincial and municipal government, represented by the mayor and deputy mayor. Public-private partnerships play an important role in the community. The elected city parliament can consult with non-governmental stakeholders to discuss or introduce new policy agendas. Policies concerning social diversity, migration and integration have changed continuously in recent decades.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ David Held, *A Globalizing world? Culture, economics, politics* (London: Routledge, 2004), 14; Nick Bisley, *Rethinking Globalization* (Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 33.

¹⁴⁷Frans M. Dieleman, and Robert C. Kloosterman, "Room to Manoeuvre: Governance, the Post-Industrial Economy, and Housing Provision in Rotterdam." in *The Social Sustainability of Cities: Diversity and the Management of Change*, by Mario Polèse, & Richard Stren (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 175; Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 36-37.

The first public political debates on integration and migration took place at the national level in the late 1970s, when the Dutch government recognised that migrant workers accepted as temporary migrants would remain in the country. Until the 1990s, the discourse and public policies on diversity were characterised by a multiculturalism approach, which presupposed tolerance of societal diversity and support for harmonious coexistence.¹⁴⁸ In 1994, with the introduction of the Big City Policy in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht shifted towards a more integrationist approach, fostering the socio-economic and political participation of migrants in the urban society.¹⁴⁹ Towards the end of the century, the city of Rotterdam focused on a diversity policy based on a pluralistic discourse called Multicoloured City.¹⁵⁰

Criticism of multiculturalism then became strong with the political changes in 2002. With the rise of the Populist Party Leefbaar Rotterdam an assimilationist approach was adopted and diversity increasingly perceived as a problem for social cohesion and danger to security.¹⁵¹ The municipality of Rotterdam introduced the Major Cities (Exceptional Measures) Act, also known as The Rotterdam Act, which highlighted ten focus neighbourhoods that were supposed to be valorised in the following years and enabled local authorities to restrict the inflow of new, vulnerable residents into these areas.¹⁵² Since 2010, a new municipal government coalition between social and Christian democrats, conservatives and social liberals was formed. They implemented a shift towards a general inclusive model, emphasising the socio-economic participation and citizenship of

¹⁴⁸ Rianne Dekker, and Ilona Van Breugel, "Walking the Walk' Rather Than 'Talking the Talk' of Superdiversity: Continuity and Change in the Development of Rotterdams' Immigrant Integration Policies." in *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam*, by Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, & Paul Van de Laar (Cham: Springer, 2019), 112.

¹⁴⁹ Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 7; Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 42.

¹⁵⁰ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 42 ; Han Entzinger, "A Tale of Two Cities: Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Their Immigrants." in *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity: The Case of Rotterdam*, by Peter Scholten, Maurice Crul, & Paul Van de Laar (Cham: Springer, 2019), 173.

¹⁵¹ Dekker, and Van Breugel, "Walking the Walk' Rather Than 'Talking the Talk' of Superdiversity", 126; Tasan-Tok, Van Kempen, Raco, and Bold, *Towards Hyper-Diversified Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, 6; Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 7.

¹⁵² Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 7.

all inhabitants without specifically targeting minority groups.¹⁵³ With the renewed election success of Leefbaar Rotterdam in 2016, the focus has again shifted to discussions on integration policies.¹⁵⁴

The difficulty of the discourse in public policy is not only the political fluctuations, but that Rotterdam still has no specific diversity policy. Diversity issues are addressed separately in different areas, but are not actively mentioned in any regulation. Through institutional path dependency, policy discourses remain stuck in the discourses about multiculturalism and integration, although the diversification of society waits for a post-multicultural policy and recognition of diversity beyond multi-ethnicity.¹⁵⁵ These constantly changing dynamics in society as well as in government are also reflected in political discourse. While diversity was still celebrated in the 1990s, since the twenty-first century it has increasingly been seen as a threat and a challenge to urban space.¹⁵⁶ Political polarisation has led to a very rigid migration regime, especially in Rotterdam, and the public opinion of urban residents has increasingly opposed immigration. Although Superdiversity is omnipresent in Rotterdam's everyday cityscape, policy and political discourses still show a very controversial way of dealing with it.¹⁵⁷

Apart from the political debates and policy discourses, the new demographic reality of the city challenges the individual identities and questions of belonging in the urban sphere. The new majority-minority environment emerging in Rotterdam drastically transitions the idea of who is integrated and who is not. In a superdiverse society, in which there is no majority group that points the way for integration and adaptation, diversity becomes the social norm and challenges psychological change of the inhabitants.¹⁵⁸ This leads to a shift towards new identities, where a majority of inhabitants have dual feelings of belongings and origin, to their home as well as to their host countries, in some cases this is expressed in dual nationalities or citizenship. A new reality of

¹⁵³ Ibid., 7-9.

¹⁵⁴ Dekker, and Van Breugel, "Walking the Walk' Rather Than 'Talking the Talk' of Superdiversity", 112.

¹⁵⁵ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 44; Vertovec, "Super-diversity and its implications.", 1050.

¹⁵⁶ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 34.

¹⁵⁷ Ash Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 61; Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider, und Frans Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2013), 15.

inclusion and exclusion emerges, which is constituted by urban inhabitants with roots all around the world and varying identities. While many migrants feel that they belong to different population groups, the urban over the national or ethnic is taking on greater significance. The local space of a city or the urban area, becomes increasingly important as a basis of identity creation. A study in Rotterdam has shown that second generation migrant young people, who often struggle with dual feelings of belonging because their nationality does not always match their origin or the place where they grew up, feel more a part of the urban neighbourhood than national entities. Identity in this case, also plays a strong role for socio-economic performance, as the study has found that there was a strong correlation between feeling of belonging and social mobility.¹⁵⁹

2.3.2. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

The first part examines economic developments and the diversification of the migration population into the labour market in Rotterdam. In a second step, the role of self-employment and entrepreneurship, with a later focus on the retail markets will be examined.

Transitions in the Labour Market

The growth and economic success of the city of Rotterdam has been linked for centuries to the port economy and related industry. As can be observed in a number of post-industrial cities, Rotterdam has also struggled with the transition to a service and knowledge-based economy. Up until the 1970s, Rotterdam depended strongly on heavy industries and still nowadays transport and communication industries constitute a large part of the economic structure related to the port activities.¹⁶⁰ In addition to its strong industrial, energy, trade and business sectors, Rotterdam

¹⁵⁹ Crul, Jens Schneider, und Frans Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration*, 17-19.

¹⁶⁰ Jeroen Van der Waal, and Jack Burgers. "Post-Industrialization and Ethnocentrism in Contemporary Dutch Cities: The Effects of Job Opportunities and Residential Segregation." in *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*, by Jan Willem Duyvendak, Frank Hendriks, & Mies van Niekerk (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 1714.

has been trying since the 2000s to catch up with the knowledge and creative industries and attract international and creative businesses.¹⁶¹ Despite these attempts, the service economy in Rotterdam is not yet very pronounced and weaker than in other Dutch cities. As a result, the demand for low-skilled workers is very low, which has a lasting impact on the situation on the labour market. For decades, the labour market has been characterised by unemployment rates exceeding the national average, a large number of low-skilled workers and strong polarisation in the labour market.¹⁶²

At the disadvantage of the labour market are people with a migrant background, whose share of the population has increased in the last two decades. As the graph below shows, total unemployment has risen overall as a result of the crisis in 2008, especially amongst the population with a migrant background.

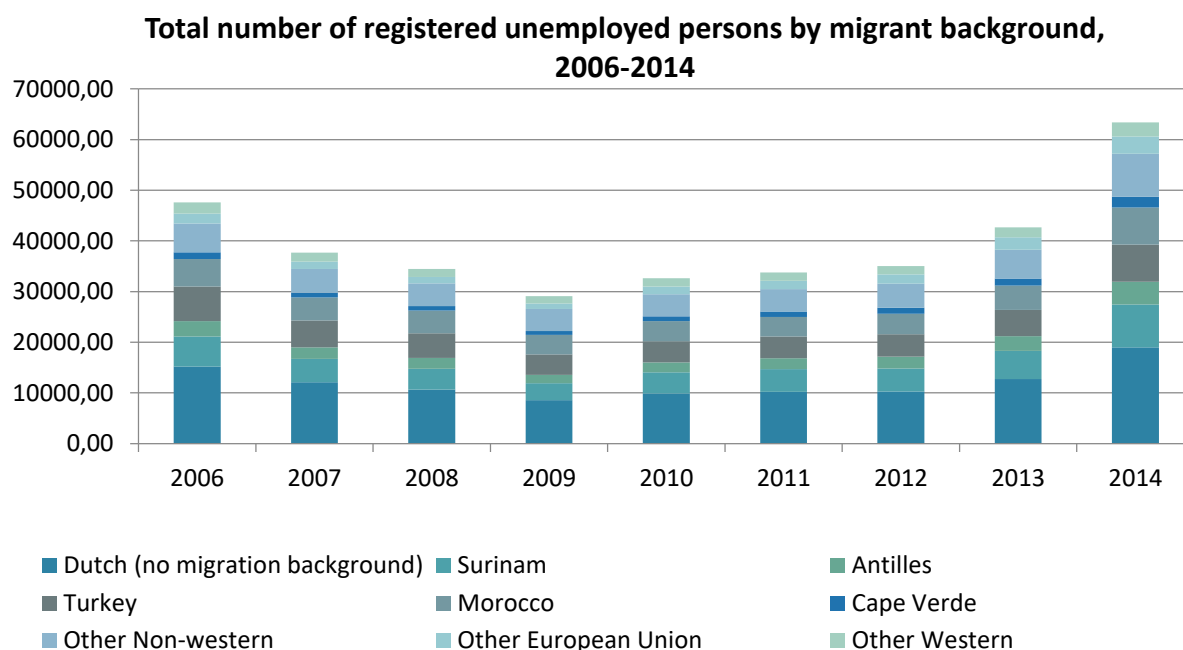


Figure 3 Total Numbers of registered unemployed, categorised by migration background

Source: Compiled by the author based on "Berdijken en Wekrnemers", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

¹⁶¹ Dieleman, and Kloosterman, "Room to Manoeuvre: Governance, the Post-Industrial Economy, and Housing Provision in Rotterdam.", 178 ; Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 21.

¹⁶² Van der Waal, and Burgers. "Post-Industrialization and Ethnocentrism in Contemporary Dutch Cities", 1714 ; Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 10-11.

The greatest differences in unemployment rates between people with or without a migration background are recorded amongst persons between the age of twenty and forty-nine. From the age of fifty, however, the differences decrease again. This can be seen in the graphs below.

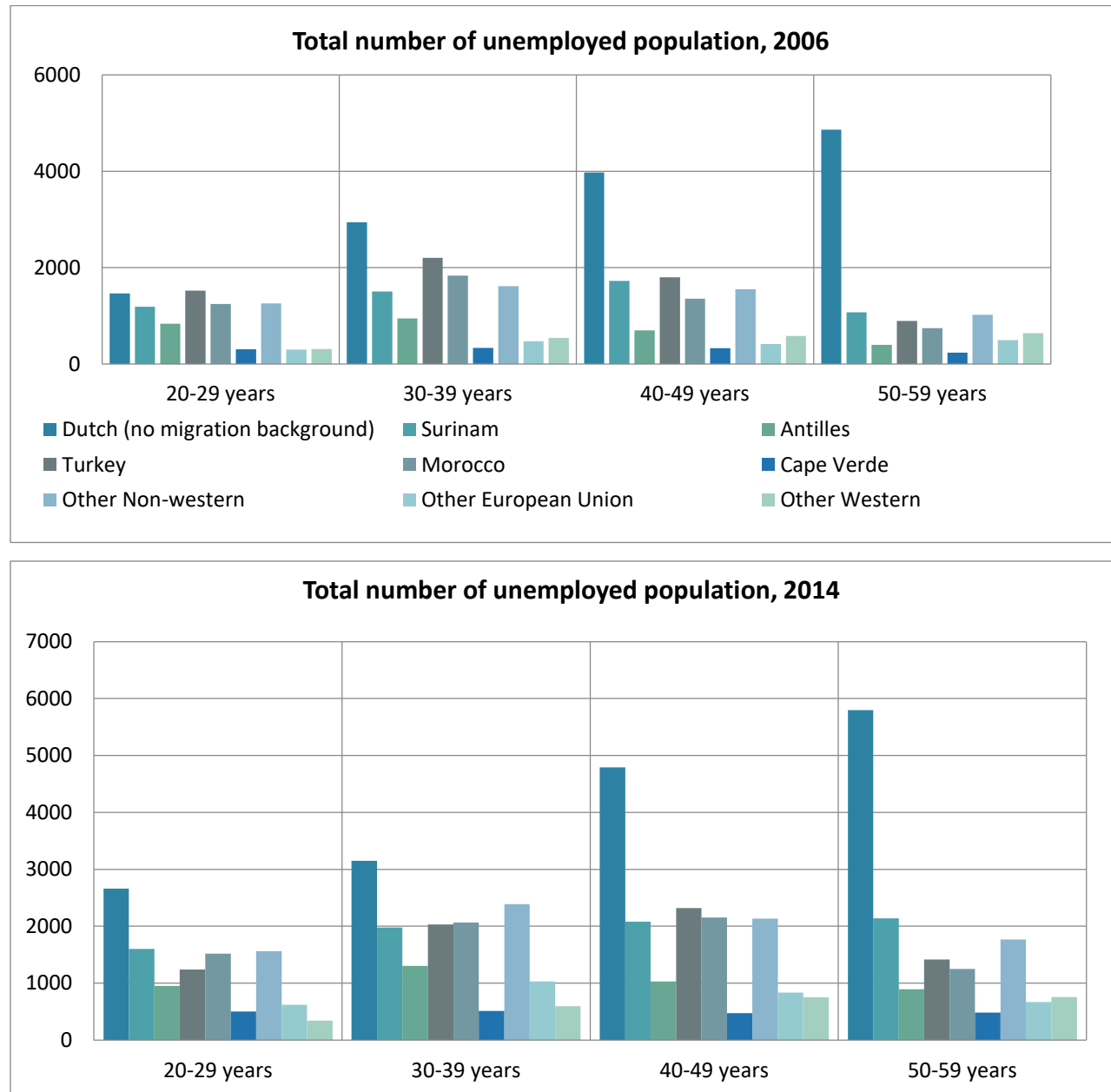


Figure 4 Unemployed Population in Rotterdam according to ethic origin, 2006 and 2014

Source: Compiled by the author based on “Buurtmonitor, Demografie”, *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

In the past two decades, unemployment rates have risen overall and especially among groups with a non-Western migrant background. Among the traditional migrant groups, strong difference can be found. While people with a Turkish, Surinamese or Moroccan background have high unemployment rates spread over generations, people from the Antilles and Cape Verde seem to be better integrated into the labour market.¹⁶³ The high number of unemployed with a Turkish background can be explained by the fact that many young Turks fall behind their age group in educational terms and make up a high percentage of early school leavers.¹⁶⁴

This illustrates that second generation migrants play an important role in transitions in the labour market. While many of the first generation migrants, who were recruited as guest workers from rural areas and often had only a little education, the second generation migrants in the Netherlands are exposed to new educational and employment opportunities.¹⁶⁵ Participation in training has increased significantly in the Netherlands over the last four decades, but the Netherlands still generally has a high percentage of early school leavers, especially among second migrants of Turkish origin. Studies have shown that focusing on increased training opportunities for second generation migrants can lead to social mobility and successful emancipation, which are a prerequisite for broader equality and lesser polarisation in society.¹⁶⁶

The corresponding literature suggests that cities with an increasing economic performance and population diversity attract a wide range of entrepreneurs.¹⁶⁷ In the Netherlands in general, entrepreneurship is a key economic driver and grew steadily in the past three decades.¹⁶⁸ As the figures in Rotterdam show, not only has the number of self-employed entrepreneurs increased steadily since 1990, but more strikingly, a larger number of these entrepreneurs are immigrant entrepreneurs.¹⁶⁹ Whereas in the late 1990s every tenth company in the Netherlands was run by

¹⁶³ Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 6.

¹⁶⁴ Crul, Schneider and Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration*, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Crul, Schneider and Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration*, 38.

¹⁶⁶ Crul, Schneider and Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration*, XY.

¹⁶⁷ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 109.

¹⁶⁸ Jan Rath, and Robert Kloostermann, "Outsiders' Business: A Critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship.", *International Migration Review* 34 (Fall 2000), 664.

¹⁶⁹ Kloostermann, Joanne van der Leun, and Jan Rath, "Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant business in the Netherlands.", 253.

a person with a migrant background, by 2005 this share has already risen to almost one third of all companies. Among certain ethnic communities, more precisely from Ghana, Egypt, Turkey, China and Pakistan, entrepreneurship was already above the national average in the 1990s.¹⁷⁰

The decision to open an own business involves pull factors, such as an individual's opportunity and ease to start a business, as well as push factors, an individual's necessity to start a business. As recent studies have found, one of the major push factors for entrepreneurship is a dissatisfaction with previous employment.¹⁷¹ In the case of immigrant entrepreneurs, the lack of opportunities to integrate into the labour market and the marginalised position they take on, is a major push factor.¹⁷² A beneficial consequence of entrepreneurship is that migrant entrepreneurs create more jobs for ethnic minorities. In addition, entrepreneurship has led to upward social mobility for many successful migrants.¹⁷³ In comparison with domestic Dutch companies, studies have found that immigrant entrepreneurs face greater barriers to opening their business. This is rejected by demographic variables such as lower levels of education or the fact that immigrants often live in poorer neighbourhoods, which offer fewer opportunities to open a business.¹⁷⁴ Even though the sectors in which immigrant entrepreneurs operate have become more diverse, a large proportion is still to be found in the retail trade, where they open their own shops and restaurants.¹⁷⁵ Many are also successful in developing large enterprises in construction services, international trade or foodstuff sector.¹⁷⁶

In the 1990s, the numbers of ethnic minority shops in the Netherlands doubled, and most of these enterprises were located in the big municipalities, amongst which Rotterdam can be

¹⁷⁰ Rath, and Kloostermann, "Outsiders' Business: A Critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship.", 659.

¹⁷¹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 118.

¹⁷² Kloostermann, Joanne van der Leun, and Jan Rath, "Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant business in the Netherlands.", 257.

¹⁷³ Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 67.

¹⁷⁴ Milan Jansen, Jan De Kok, Judith Van Spronsen, and Sten Willemsen, *Immigrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands: Demographic determinants of entrepreneurship of immigrants from non-western countries* (Research Report H200304, Zoetermeer: SCALES Scientific Analysis of Entrepreneurship and SMEs, 2003), 5.

Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 67.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

counted. Nowadays, 70 percent of retail trade is made up by entrepreneurs with an immigration background. While entrepreneurs of Turkish or Moroccan descent are mostly represented in the food sector, Surinamese are more represented in the non-food sector. Around 40 percent of the immigrant entrepreneurs in the retail sector are active in the ambulatory trade, of which the street markets are an important part. On the street markets, the biggest part of immigrant entrepreneurs can be found in the non-food sectors, led by immigrants from India, Pakistan or Suriname.¹⁷⁷

Even though the retail trade is one of the most heavily regulated sectors, in which the Dutch government intervenes with economic policies and strict regulations, it offers the advantage of low entry barriers in the sense of initial capital and financial investment. Furthermore, in the case of immigrant entrepreneurs, the businesses often rely on an initial customer base of members of the same ethnic community.¹⁷⁸ The emergence of increased immigrant entrepreneurs in the last three decades can be directly linked to the superdiversification of society. While an increasing number of immigrants are trying to integrate into the labour market of the superdiverse city, the consumer base and awareness of ethnic products are growing and are therefore promoting the development of a diversified range of products in urban everyday life.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 26.

¹⁷⁸ Rusinovic, "Moving between markets? Immigrant entrepreneurs in different markets.", 453; August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 14.

¹⁷⁹ Wessendorf, *Commonplace Diversity*, 5-6; August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 12; Ronald Benner, *Buurgebonden allochtone detailhandel in Nederland*. Position Paper (Den Haag: Hoofdbedrijfschap Detailhandel, 1998), 5; Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 5.

2.3.2. SOCIO-SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS

In recent decades the Netherlands has experienced strong population growth overall, and since 2009 much of this growth has taken place in the large municipalities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague. Nowadays, the Netherlands is one of the most urbanised countries in the world, with 82 percent of the population living in cities.¹⁸¹ Among these urban centres, Rotterdam has seen a loss of many jobs and wealthy residents since deindustrialisation, as well as an influx of low-skilled migrant workers. In addition, Rotterdam has the highest poverty rate in the Netherlands. In 2012, 17.2 percent of the population lived on a low income.

These developments, whose origins can be traced back to the 1980s, have led to strong spatial and ethnic segregation in the city. This is accompanied by the unequal distribution of ethnic communities within the city, as well as the deprivation of entire neighbourhoods. Rotterdam in particular is therefore threatened by increased rates of so-called Coloured Poverty, which refers to the high unemployment rates and poverty levels specific to ethnic minorities. In Rotterdam, ethnic segregation does not necessarily take place due to socio-economic position, but rather due to congregations. Specific settlement patterns of ethnic minorities can be identified. Migrants increasingly live in the old neighbourhoods that were built at the end of the nineteenth century at the time of urban expansion. People with non-western migration background tend to be overrepresented in the older neighbourhoods in the West and the North of the city as well as in South Rotterdam. One reason for this settlement is that these neighbourhoods offered little-used and inexpensive housing for newly arrived migrant workers in the post-war period. In recent years, this has led to the development of ethnic clusters, which also attract members through their social environment.¹⁸²

In the past fifteen years, however, segregation in the city has somewhat decreased. This is due to the fact that among urban residents with a migration background, upward social mobility often happens with spatial mobility. This means that second generation migrants increasingly

¹⁸¹ Crul, Schneider and Lelie, *Super-diversity: A new perspective on integration*, 12; Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 4.

¹⁸² Scholten, Crul, and Van de Laar, *Coming to Terms with Superdiversity*, 228.

move to suburban areas, which offer more space and opportunities.¹⁸³ This development, however, is also due to the fact that the restructuring measures have reduced the general population in the deprived areas or that the strongest increase in migrants has been recorded in the neighbourhoods that are already strongly marked by ethnic minorities.¹⁸⁴

As a reaction to the increasing spatial segregation and deprivation of certain neighbourhoods, the urban policies in the Netherlands, and particularly in Rotterdam, have been directed to introduce measures against segregation along socio-economic and ethnic lines. The concentration of ethnic minorities in specific neighbourhoods was understood by the municipality to hinder social participation and integration.¹⁸⁵ For these reasons, the local authorities in Rotterdam have started to introduce gentrification measures since the 1990s.¹⁸⁶ The dominant strategy was to convert rented housing into owner-occupied properties and increase the share of middle-class residents in deprived neighbourhoods. This is a process of so-called state-led gentrification, where the local government tries to implement a set of measures to introduce a social-mix in certain neighbourhoods.¹⁸⁷ In the neighbourhoods of Rotterdam, especially in the north and west of the city, gentrification measures have led to the displacement of existing residents and to an increase in housing and consumer prices, so that only a certain population group can afford to live in these neighbourhoods.¹⁸⁸ Nevertheless, a study carried out in 2011 also showed that the existing inhabitants of gentrified neighbourhoods in Rotterdam also perceive the changes

¹⁸³ Entzinger, and Engbersen, *Rotterdam: A Long-Time Port of Call and Home to Immigrants*, 5; Geldof, *Superdiversity in the heart of Europe*, 71.

¹⁸⁴ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 27-28; Gideon Bolt, Maarten Van Ham, and Ronald Van Kempen, „Immigrants on the housing market: spatial segregation and relocation dynamics.“ *ENHR conference "Housing in an expanding Europe: theory, policy, implementation and participation"* (Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2006), 11.

¹⁸⁵ Tazan-Tok, Van Kempen, Raco, and Bold, *Towards Hyper-Diversified Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, 6.

¹⁸⁶ Erik Snel, Salome Aussen, Fense Berkhof, and Quirine Renlo, "The struggle to belong: Dealing with Diversity in 21st century urban settings", *Paper presented at the International RC21 conference* (2011), 8; Doucet, Van Kempen, and Van Weesep, "'We're a rich city with poor people': municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow.", 1438.

¹⁸⁷ Peter Van der Graaf, and Lex Veldboer, "The Effects of State-Led Gentrification in the Netherlands." in *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*, by Jan Willem Duyvendak, Frank Hendriks, & Mies Van Niekerk, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 62.; Snel, Aussen, Berkhof, and Renlo, "The struggle to belong: Dealing with Diversity in 21st century urban settings", 8.

¹⁸⁸ (Van der Graaf and Veldboer 2009, 62); Tazan-Tok, Van Kempen, Raco, and Bold, *Towards Hyper-Diversified Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, 10.

positively and appreciate the improved living conditions in the neighbourhoods, such as greater cleanliness and safety.¹⁸⁹

These dynamics reveal that city dwellers are intermingled by various variables such as ethnicity, income, education, but also softer characteristics such as lifestyle, preferences and activities. Neighbourhoods are the places where these differences meet and people of different characteristics live together.¹⁹⁰ It can be argued that with a more mobile lifestyle, neighbourhoods are losing their importance, but especially for the inhabitants from a lower-economic status or an ethnic minority, as well as for elderly people and families, the local environment stays important. Neighbourhoods remain places where everyday activities, such as shopping or walking the dog, are localised.¹⁹¹ In this public space of the neighbourhood exists an inherent and common culture, which is defined by the multiple affiliations of its inhabitants, as well as the frictions, clashes and segregations among them. Within a city, its inhabitants are integrated into different networks of belonging and intimacy, and simultaneously exposed to confrontation with differences and multiple urban modernities. Therefrom, the urban space becomes composed of a plurality of forms, in which the geographies of all inhabitants come together. All these changes entail fundamental changes in how the public space in the city is perceived, used and constructed.¹⁹² In order to make these developments tangible, a certain form of urban public space, the street markets, will be examined in more detail below.

¹⁸⁹ Snel, Aussen, Berkhof, and Renlo, "The struggle to belong: Dealing with Diversity in 21st century urban settings", 16.

¹⁹⁰ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 9.

¹⁹¹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 86.

¹⁹² Ash Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 64-65.

3. PUBLIC STREET MARKETS IN ROTTERDAM

In this chapter I will introduce the case study chosen to analyse the concept of superdiversity, namely the public street markets. To begin with, the history and classification of street markets in general is examined. Then the developments of four specific street markets in Rotterdam are portrayed.

3.1. MARKETS IN ROTTERDAM

This section discusses the three aspects of conceptualisation, history, and the development in the last decades of street markets in Rotterdam.

Broadly speaking, markets can be defined as the organised and centralised places of trading goods.¹⁹³ However, markets can be further classified according to different criteria. On the one hand, there are different forms of markets: annual markets, weekly or daily markets, trade fairs, trade and industry exhibitions. Traditionally, annual markets have been attributed more of a festive character, with a religious aspect or the charm of the exotic, while daily and weekly markets have been part of the daily activities. On the other hand, a distinction is made between the products offered on a market, such as antique markets, fish markets or farmer markets.¹⁹⁴

A further classification can be made according to the location and facilities of the market. According to this categorization, four main types can be highlighted. The open-air marketplace is the most ubiquitous market type, which has remained universal and consistent over the centuries. It can be found in all regions of the world, such as the bazaars or souks in Islamic countries. In China, the markets were built around temples, mansions and production sites, while in Latin

¹⁹³ Johan Van de Wiele, René De Herdt, Erik Demoen, Guido Deseyn, Roeland Van de Walle, and Patrik Viaene, *De Markt: Economisch forum en kloppend hart van agrarische, stedelijke en industriële maatschappijen* (Gent: Muesum voor Industriële Archeologie en Textiel, 1988), 7.

¹⁹⁴ Van de Wiele et al., *De Markt: Economisch forum en kloppend hart van agrarische, stedelijke en industriële maatschappijen*, 7; Bahrdt, *Die moderne Grossstadt: Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau*, 81.

America, the central plazas were used for orientation.¹⁹⁵ Closed market halls were created because the urban governments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century sought to improve traffic flows in the cities and modernise urban spaces. To eliminate chaos and disorder in the public space, many of the outdoor market were reallocated to closed market halls.¹⁹⁶ Public markets have their origin in medieval Europe, when a place for the trade of goods was built into the town halls. While the lower, often open arcade places were used for trading, the upper floors were used by the local government.¹⁹⁷ Street markets are a type of open-air markets that are characterized to expand along a sidewalk or a square. These environments are well suited, as they are often already naturally embedded and open to the public. These type of markets, the street markets, are at the centre of this study.¹⁹⁸

History

Since the city Rotterdam received its city rights in the fourteenth century, different markets and fairs have taken place in the city. By the end of the century, consumer markets came into being. The daily or weekly markets supplemented the activities of individual moving traders and were differentiated according to the offered products, thus there was a special place for a fish market or the meat market. Many of today's street and place names in the city are reminiscent of these markets.¹⁹⁹ The urban population was always dependent on the products of the surrounding agriculture and food production.²⁰⁰ In the twentieth century, local and national governments began to interfere in the construction of food storage facilities. This led to the creation of the first wholesale markets, where food was stored and passed on to other sellers, mostly owners of shops or market vendors. In the middle of the twentieth century there was a social change from

¹⁹⁵ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 41-42; Pottie-Sherman, *Markets and Diversity: An Overview*, 8.

¹⁹⁶ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 20.

¹⁹⁷ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 16.

¹⁹⁸ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 89-90; Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, 3.

¹⁹⁹ Ben Maandag, "Centrummarkt terug naar nieuwe Binnenrotte." *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, July 4, 1995, 3; Peter Troost, *De Rotterdammer en zijn markt*, (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1993), 9.

²⁰⁰ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 9.

an agricultural to an industrial economy.²⁰¹ New means of production, distribution and consumption emerged. The concept of the supermarket became established worldwide and with the advent of the online trade, the buying and consumption behaviour of the urban population has fundamentally changed in the last twenty years.²⁰² These developments, combined with a lack of financial and conceptual support from local authorities, can be seen as the reason for the decline in traditional market activities.²⁰³

3.2. STREET MARKETS IN ROTTERDAM: FOUR CASE STUDIES

For this study, four street markets in Rotterdam were examined. The selection of the four street markets was made on the basis of different characteristics. On the one hand, care was taken to ensure that the markets took place in different neighbourhoods in the city. On the other hand, different street markets were selected as examples of different sizes and product ranges.



Figure 5 A map of Rotterdam with the four investigated street markets

Source: created by the author

²⁰¹ Roeland Van de Walle, „Een volkskundige kijk op het marktgebeuren.” in *De Markt: Economisch forum en kloppend hart van agrarische, stedelijke en industriële maatschappijen*, by Johan Van de Wiele, René De Herdt, Erik Demoen, Guido Deseyn, Roeland Van de Walle, & Patrik Viaene (Gent: Museum voor Industriële Archeologie en Textiel, 1988) 180.

²⁰² Tangires, *Public Markets*, 25-28.

²⁰³ Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, vii.

While the two markets, in the centre of the city on the Binnenrotte (no. 1) and in the south of the city on the Afrikaanderplein (no. 2), are among the largest markets of the Netherlands and sell a large variety of products at over 300 stands, the other two markets, the organic market on the Eendrachtsplein (no. 3) and the farmer's market on the Noordplein (no. 4), are quite small and offer a very confined and specialised range of products.

The following chapters will give an insight into these markets. First of all it is explained in which environment the markets are located (neighbourhood profile), how the markets have developed over the last decades and what kind of situation they present today (market profile).

3.2.1. THE CENTRAL MARKET ON THE BINNENROTTE: BUSTLE IN THE CITY CENTRE

The central market of Rotterdam is located on the Binnenrotte, a central street that was formerly the course of the river Rotte through the town. In 1871, due to the construction of the railway viaduct, the river was dried up. The surrounding neighbourhood, is the Stadsdriehoek (city triangle), named after the original triangle shape of Rotterdam, when it was built up in the eighteenth century as a thriving merchant city. Stadsdriehoek is one of the most central districts in Rotterdam and home to various tourist attractions, such as the Cube Houses or the Markthall (market hall). With its neighbouring district Cool it shares the central shopping area.²⁰⁴ One of the only buildings that remained in the city centre after the bombing in 1940 was the Grote of Sint-Laurenskerk (St. Lawrence Church), which gave the neighbourhood its alternative name Laurenskwartier (Lawrence district). Although a quarter of today's existing residential buildings were built in the post-war reconstruction period, the city centre was not a popular place to live at that time.²⁰⁵ Particularly in the 1960s, many more affluent and middle-class residents moved from

²⁰⁴ Gemeente Rotterdam Stadsarchief, "Binnenrotte." *Encyclopedie Stadsarchief Rotterdam*, accessed on My 22, 2019, <https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/binnenrotte>.

²⁰⁵ Gemeente Rotterdam, "Wijkprofiel Stadsdriehoek.", *Wijkprofiel 2014-2016-2018*, accessed on My 22, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam-centrum/stadsdriehoek>.

the city to the suburban areas. It was not until the 1990s that the city government began to focus on the city centre and to promote the construction of new residential buildings. As a result, a quarter of the existing residential buildings in the neighbourhood were built after 2000.²⁰⁶

Since the 1990s, this neighbourhood has undergone significant spatial changes. With the laying of the train tracks underground in 1995, the Binnenrotte became an open public space. The city centre was consciously redesigned to be more attractive for business as well as tourism. One of the main projects was the construction of the Markthall. In planning since 2009 the first covered, fresh market hall was opened five years later. This construction of the iconic building was a statement of the city administration, which should put Rotterdam in a position of growth and innovation.²⁰⁸

As the graph below shows (See Figure 5), the population in the neighbourhood of Stadsdriehoek has grown by more than half in the last three decades. While the neighbourhood counted 10'249 inhabitants in 1992, the number grew up to over 16'000 inhabitants in 2018. This growth can be attributed both to the general population growth in the city of Rotterdam and to the intensification of regeneration programmes in the city centre.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Karin Meulebelt, "Upgrading and Downgrading within the Metropolitan Region of Rotterdam, 1970-90." *Urban Studies* 31 (7) (1994), 1167; Gemeente Rotterdam, "Wijkporfiel Stadsdriehoek".

²⁰⁸ Paul Oligschläger, *Uitstralingseffecten van iconen: De invloed van iconische gebouwen op de vastgoedwaarde van de directe stedelijke omgeving* (Delft: TU Delft, 2015), 12; Monique Van den Dries, Arnout Van Rhijn, Annemarie Willems, Malou Hoogduin, and Chi-Ching Lam, *Bezoekersonderzoek De Tijdtrap (Markthal, Rotterdam)* (Leiden: Faculteit Archeologie, Universiteit Leiden, 2017), 1.

²⁰⁹ Gemeente Rotterdam, "Wijkporfiel Stadsdriehoek".

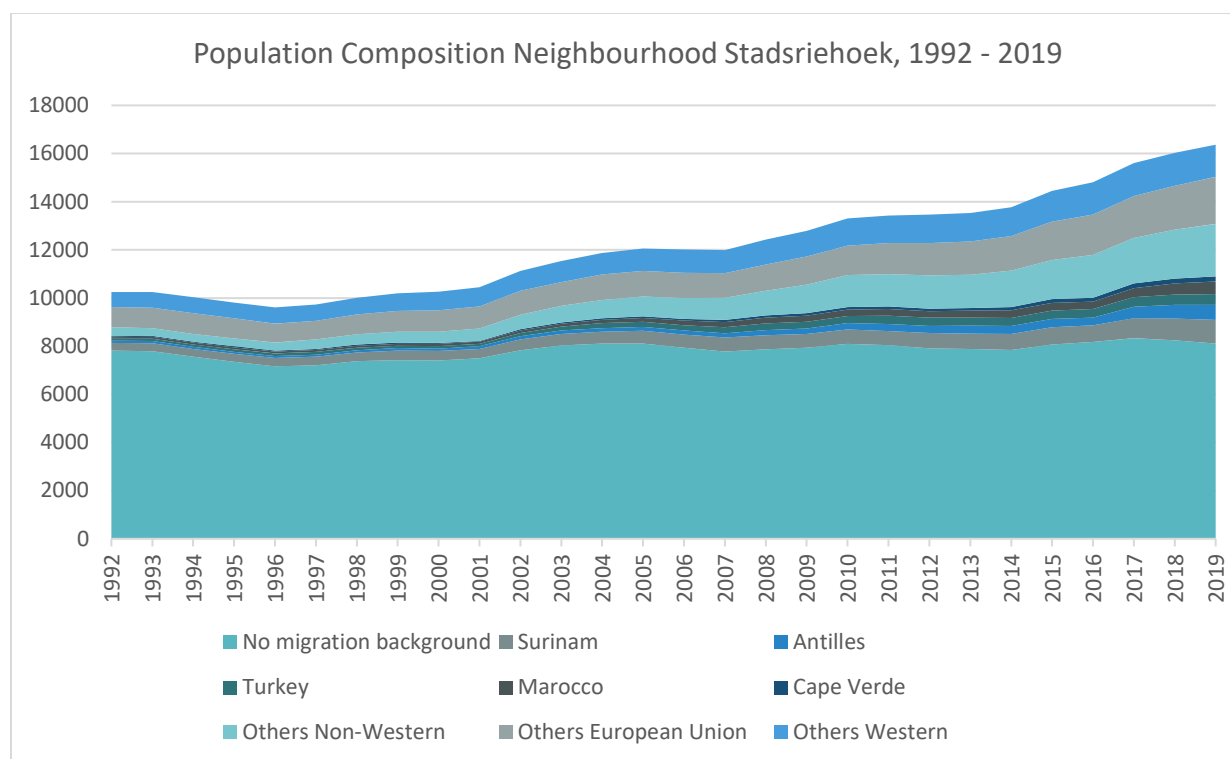


Figure 6 Population Composition according to ethnicity in the neighbourhood Stadsriehoek, 1992-2019

Source: Compiled by the author based on "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

While the proportion of inhabitants with a migration background has been over 40 percent since 2011, the majority minority situation only shifted in 2019, as since this year 50 percent of inhabitants have a migration background. While the proportion of people with a Western migration background, whether inside or outside the EU, has grown strongly, the population group with so-called other non-Western migration backgrounds has increased the most.²¹⁰ This population group grew from 383 inhabitants in 1992 to 2'176 in 2019. Among the currently 16'368 inhabitants of the neighbourhood there are mainly single people or couples without children as well as

²¹⁰ In the official statistics, which are based on the basic registration in the municipality of Rotterdam, the group of persons 'Other non-Western' is listed. This designation is valid for all persons, who have a migration background from a non-Western country, exclusive the so-called classical migration countries Suriname, Antilles, Turkey, Morocco and Cape Verde. In the case of Rotterdam, this population group is strongly represented by people with a migration background from China, Brazil or India. "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

a large number of students.²¹¹ In addition to heterogeneous residents, around 28,000 workers visit the neighbourhood every day and an increasing number of tourists.²¹²

Market History

While in the fourteenth century fish and cattle markets were already held in the city centre, the first retail market took place in 1901. After the bombing of the city centre, the market was temporarily moved to the Noordplein in the north of the city. From 1958 it took place twice a week under the train viaducts on the Binnenrotte (See Figure 6).²¹³



Figure 7 Photograph of the new market on the Binnenrotte along the railway viaduct in 1958
Source: Ary Groeneveld "Nieuwe Markt", Stadsarchief Rotterdam, August 26, 1958.

²¹¹ "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

²¹² Gemeente Rotterdam, "Wijkporfiel Stadsdriehoek".

²¹³ Maandag, "Centrummarkt terug naar nieuwe Binnenrotte".

Thirty years later it was decided that the viaduct would be demolished and the market was temporarily moved 500 meters further east to Mariniersweg. The new plans for the Binnenrotte and the market place were undertaken by the landscape architect Adriaan Geuze in cooperation with the interests of the neighbours and the associations of the market vendors.²¹⁴ According to newspaper articles in the Rotterdam Daily, in April 1995 the first markets took place again on the Binnenrotte. For the wide variety of products that were offered on the market at that time, a clear market regulation had been established.²¹⁵ The allocated market organisation was published in the newspaper article 'Centrummarkt weer terug' (The centre market is back) from April 08 in 1995. On Figure 7, it can be seen that there were designated areas for flea market stalls (1), for stalls selling fruit and vegetables (2), for commercial stalls (3), fish stalls (4), stalls with plants and flowers (5), stalls for craftsmen (7), book market stalls (8) and toilets (9).



Figure 8 Stall arrangement on the new market op at the Binnenrotte

Source: "Centrummarkt weer terug", *Rotterdams Dagblad*, April 08, 1995, 3.

²¹⁴ Gemeente Rotterdam Stadsarchief, "Binnenrotte." *Encyclopedie Stadsarchief Rotterdam*, accessed on May 22, 2019, <https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/binnenrotte>.

²¹⁵ Maandag, "Centrummarkt terug naar nieuwe Binnenrotte".

In 1995 newspaper articles report about the idea of a group of entrepreneurs to initiate a multicultural market on the Binnenrotte, which should offer the possibility particularly to immigrant entrepreneurs to sell their ethnic products. The meaning of multicultural at that time is explained by the statement of an initiator, who explains which products he imagines on the market: 'A Turkish baker, an Islamic butcher, a tropical greengrocer, a shawarma-tent, ready-made Italian, Surinamese and Indian snacks and meals.'²¹⁶

Although this project was never carried out, the newspaper articles of the following years show an increased interest in the market activities in the city centre. In 1997 a test period for a Sunday market was introduced. From May to September, an additional market day was organised on Sundays, focusing on fun shopping. The market department of the city government tried to follow the trend of the time and created a market day which focused on the entertainment aspect of the market visit, with beverage and food stands as well as unusual products such as hobby articles.²¹⁷ In the following years, the economic potential of the markets increasingly attracted the attention of the city administration. Newspaper articles from 1999 inform about the plans to introduce a third market day on Fridays, with the aim of luring working middle class people to the city centre after work.²¹⁸ In addition, discussions were held to make Rotterdam the European market city, to attract local and regional crowd pullers and to promote cooperation with other European countries for the international market.²¹⁹ At this time, the central market on the Binnenrotte was one of the best visited in the Netherlands, counting around fifty thousand visitors on Tuesdays and seventy thousand on Saturdays.²²⁰ A newspaper article from 2003 emphasises that the largest market in the Netherlands at present had 3.5 kilometres of market stalls and that both local and foreigners have found their place behind and in front of the market. In the years that followed, the market attracted less attention in the media. Safety and cleanliness issues

²¹⁶ Rotterdams Dagblad (RD), "Nieuwe Binnenweg vestigt hoop op een multiculturele markt." June 20, 1995, 15.

²¹⁷ "Onallerdaagse producten op toeristische zondagsmarkt", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, April 29, 1997, 11.; "Amusement op zondagsmarkt Binnenrotte", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 27, 1997, 12.

²¹⁸ Rein Wolters. "Leen Osseweijer neemt met pijn afscheid van zijn Centrummarkt." *Rotterdams Dagblad*, September 23, 1997, 14.

²¹⁹ Rotterdams Dagblad (RD), "Rotterdam moet Europese marktstad worden", October 21, 1999, 3.

²²⁰ Thissen, "Markt van Rotterdam bestaat 700 jaar." 17.

were mentioned as well as special occasions which were causes of agitations.²²¹ For example in 2008, when the market department tried to enforce the market regulations more strictly and introduced a new regulation stating that each stand may only sell one product, led to protests among the market sellers.²²²

Market Profile

With 450 market stalls, the central market on the Binnenrotte is now the largest in Rotterdam and the second largest in the Netherlands. The market, which takes place on Tuesdays and Saturdays and in the summer months also on Sundays, is coordinated and organised by the Market Department of the city government. On the market days there are market managers provided by the Municipality as well as various security personnel on site. In the last ten years, market managers and supervisors have been in the headlines for discrimination and corruption.²²³ Due to the construction of the market hall in 2014 and further restructuring in the city centre, the number of market stalls has declined in recent decades.²²⁴ For the market sellers the market at the Binnenrotte is an attractive market, which leads to the fact that at present the waiting lists for the opening of a stand are very long. Depending on the product, the waiting time for a stand can be up to fifteen years. Many of the market sellers are traditional companies which have been on the market for several years, if not decades. While a large part of the market sellers are family businesses, who visit different markets throughout the Netherlands during the week, there are a few stalls, which are specifically unique to this market. Examples are a Turkish baker or a soap seller. Besides some small entrepreneurs, with less than five employees, there are a large number of entrepreneurs who have several market stalls and employ over twenty people for the market days.²²⁵

²²¹ A. De Koning, "Megabedrijf op de Binnenrotte." *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, August 02, 2003, 23.

²²² "Gerommel op markt houdt an.", *AD Rotterdams Dagblad*, October 8, 2005, 38.

²²³ "Moe van markt aan Binnenrotte", *AD Rotterdams Dagblad*, 26.10.2005, 28-29; "Markt vreest meer geweld", *AD Rotterdamse Dagblad Dichtbij*, 22.11.2007, 1.

²²⁴ Customer at the Central Market on the Binnenrotte, Dutch Surinamese, Employed. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 13, 2019.

²²⁵ Turkish Bread Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 23, 2019.

The range of products offered on the market is very diverse. The distribution can be seen in the following graph.

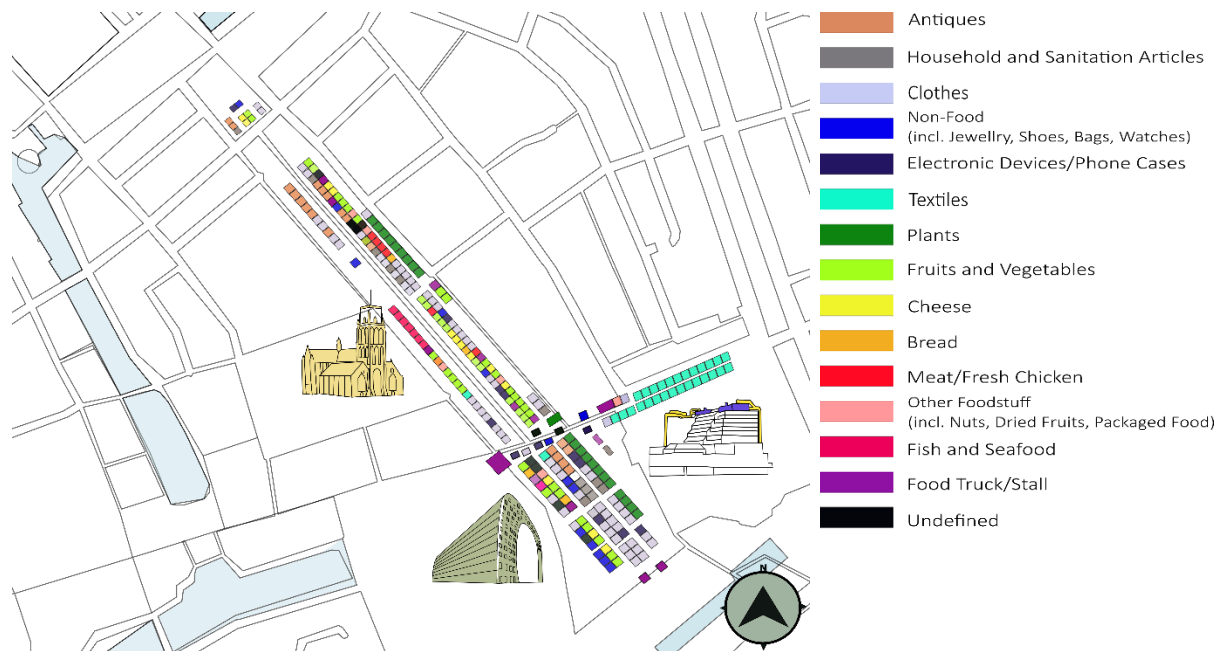


Figure 9 Market Stalls allocation at the Central Market Binnenrotte, Example from the Saturday Market 20.04.2019

Source: Created by the author

There are many traditional stalls with food such as vegetables and fruits or fish. The majority of the food comes from wholesalers and varies little between the different market stalls, which means that many market stalls offer the same quality and origin of the products.²²⁶ In addition, the market is characterized by a large number of antique shops and stalls with flowers. While a large part of the textile stalls located on the north side of the library are in the hands of Indian and Pakistani entrepreneurs, many of the stalls are stocked with electronic items, mobile phone cases, bags and leather goods by Chinese people.²²⁷

Visitors to the market are varied. Over the last ten years, the total number of visitors has increased slightly, according to CVAH research. In 2016, about 7 percent of the people who visit a market in Rotterdam visit the Binnenrotte market once or several times a week and around 40

²²⁶ Based on observations Nr. 4, 22, 34, amongst others.

²²⁷ August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 12-14.

percent visit it a few times a year.²²⁸ A study from 2016 shows that most market visitors are in the age group between 45 and 65 years, followed by persons between 25 and 44 years old and persons over 65 years old. Half of the visitors are salaried employees and almost a quarter are retired persons. There are people from all income groups distributed approximately evenly on the market. The research indicates that about two thirds of visitors are native Dutch visitors and about a quarter are non-Western migrants. The visitors come from all neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, not necessarily from the Stadsdriehoek alone.²²⁹ Especially since the completion of the market hall in 2014, more and more tourists have become the audience of the market.²³⁰ Due to its central location and wide range of offers, a wide variety of population groups come together on the central market on the Binnenrotte. On market days, a large number of older people can be observed making purchases and sitting and chatting on the benches around the market. Many families visit the market with small children or tourist groups strolling through the corridors and watching the bustle of the market. Many people chat at the few snack bars spread all over the market. In the corridors between the market stalls it is always crowded and busy and there is a natural flow of movement that draws visitors along the stalls. The market immerses the city centre in a maze of voices and equipment, which form a constant background music.²³¹

²²⁸ ArchDaily, “Markthal Rotterdam/MRDV”, accessed on May 22, 2019, <https://www.archdaily.com/553933/markthal-rotterdam-mvrdv/>.

²²⁹ Sarah Boer, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker: Resultaten uit de Omnibusenquête 2016*, (Rotterdam: Onderzoek en Business Intelligence (OBI), 2016), 12.

²³⁰ Ibid., 13.

²³¹ Based on observations Nr. 102, 184, amongst others.

3.2.2. THE MARKET ON THE AFRIKAANDERPLEIN: A SENSE OF ROTTERDAM'S SOUTH

The second biggest market in Rotterdam is located in the South of the city on the Afrikaanderplein in the neighbourhood Afrikaanderwijk, which is part of the borough Feijenoord.²³² The residential areas in the South were built around 1900, when the harbours were dug.²³³ It was the typical neighbourhood, where the new working classes working in the port city would settle.²³⁴ The borough of Feijenoord has traditionally attracted many of the newcomers into the city, such as Chinese, Surinamese, Antilleans, Cape Verdeans as well as Guest workers from Turkey and Morocco, and more recently labourers from Central and Eastern Europe.²³⁵ Therefore, the Afrikaanderwijk was one of the first ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, where a majority of the population has a non-Dutch background.²³⁶

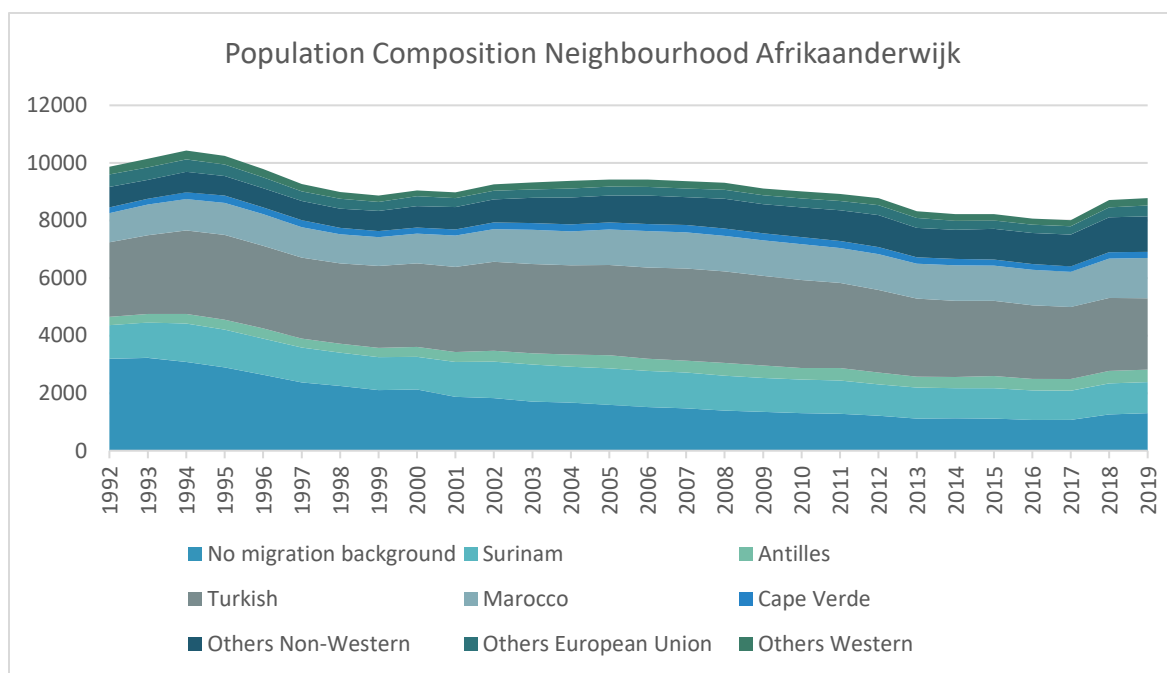


Figure 10 Population Composition Afrikaanderwijk, 1992-2019

Source: Compiled by the author based on “Buurtmonitor, Demografie”, Gemeente Rotterdam, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

²³² Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 23.

²³³ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI). *Afrikaanderwijk*, accessed on February 14, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam/feijenoord/afrikaanderwijk>.

²³⁴ Van der Schoor. “Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980).”, 32.

²³⁵ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 27.

²³⁶ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI). *Afrikaanderwijk*.

As this graph shows, the population grew slightly at the beginning of the 1990s. After that, from 1996 onwards, however, the population declined steadily. Today the neighbourhood has 8'778 inhabitants. Since the beginning of the statistics in 1992 the population with a migration background was in the majority with 68 percent, and since 2008 more than 85 percent of the inhabitants have a migration background. While the number of people with a Western migrant background has remained approximately the same, the proportion of the population with an 'other non-Western' background has increased sharply from 709 in 1992 to 1'227 in 2019.²³⁷ The largest ethnic group are first and second generation Turkish accounting for 19 percent.²³⁸ Studies on non-municipal actors and local residents have shown that they perceive their neighbourhood as highly diverse, not only in terms of ethnic background or socio-economic status, which are recorded by the municipality, but in terms of a broad variety of cultures, knowledge, needs, interests and social networks. Residents in the area display a multidimensional understanding of diversity.²³⁹ In the past, ethnic differences have led to some tensions in the neighbourhood. In 1972, after some guest workers from Turkey settled in the cheap residential area, the inter-ethnic tensions between Dutch and Turkish inhabitants degenerated into street battles.²⁴⁰

Due to its diverse population and low economic status, the neighbourhood is repeatedly at the centre of urban regeneration programmes, as well as private or institutional regeneration initiatives. The neighbourhood was at the centre of the municipal gentrification policy. As a result, the South of Rotterdam consists of renewed neighbourhoods, where successful residential areas are surrounded by so-called deprived neighbourhoods.²⁴¹ Despite the attempts at revaluation, the neighbourhood is the poorest in Rotterdam. The annual average household income is 16,000 euros, which is 5,000 euros below the Rotterdam average.²⁴² In the last two decades the socio-economic status of the inhabitants has hardly changed. Still more than 70 percent of the inhabitants

²³⁷ "Buurtmonitor, Demografie", *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

²³⁸ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 22.

²³⁹ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 151.

²⁴⁰ Paul Van de Laar, "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie", 136; Van der Schoor. "Rotterdam's Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective (1600 - 1980).", 49.

²⁴¹ Paul Van de Laar, "Hier Rotterdam. Stadsruimte, stadsgeschiedenis en migratie", 137.

²⁴² Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 23.

of Afrikaanderwijk belong to the lowest income group and the highest income group is only represented with around 4 to 5 percent of inhabitants (see Figure 11).

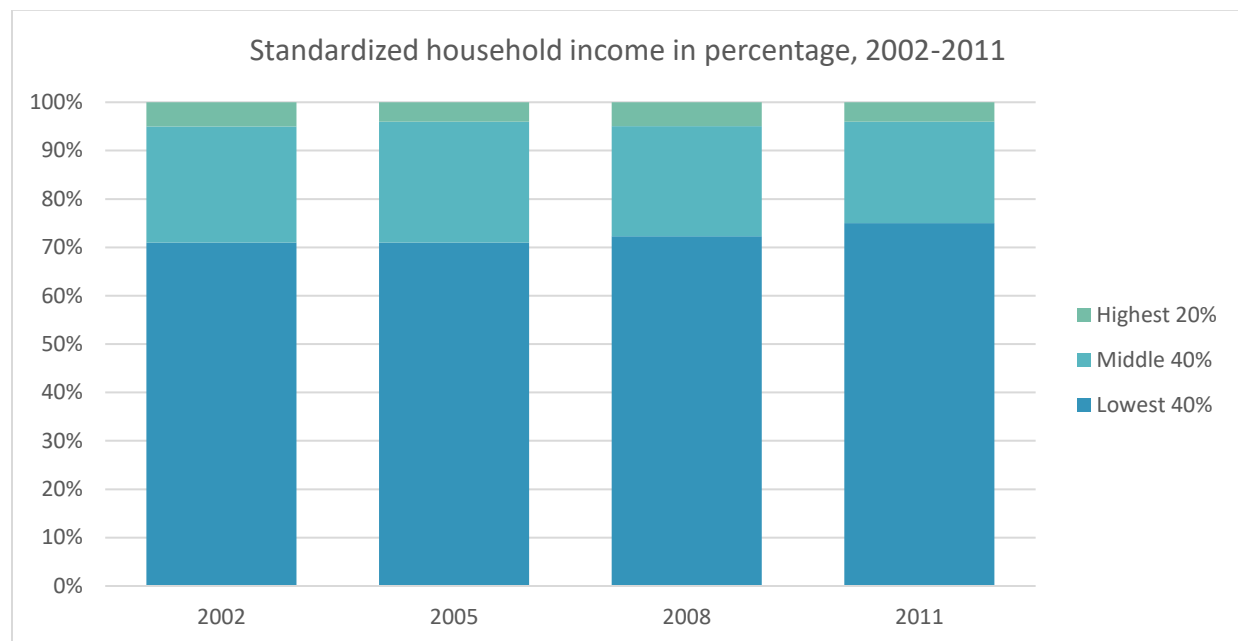


Figure 11 Standardized household income Afrikaanderwijk, 2002-2011,

Source: Compiled by the author based on “Buurtmonitor, Inkomen en sociale Zekerheid”, *Gemeente Rotterdam*, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (Accessed May 15, 2019).

Market History

The weekly street market is located on Afrikaanderplein since 1964. Previously it was located in Maashaven, a port in the south of the city of Rotterdam in the Katendrecht area.²⁴³

²⁴³ Hollandse Markten. *Afrikaandermarkt op het Afrikaanderplein*. Accessed on May 27, 2019, https://www.hollandsemarkten.nl/markten/?g_id=6&m_id=111.



Figure 12: Photograph of the first market held on the Afrikaanderplein after its relocation from the Maashaven in 1964

Source: Ary Groeneveld, *Markt Afrikaanderplein*, Stadsarchief Rotterdam, February 19, 1964.

After little media attention in the previous years, the market reappeared in the mid-1990s in various newspaper articles. With the publication of the report 'Met de Markt naar 2000' (With the market towards 2000), the vendors' association as well as the municipal administration turned their attention to the future of the markets.²⁴⁴ In connection with the publication of this report, some newspaper articles mentioned that the turnover of the market on the Afrikaanderplein, which at that time had 300 stalls, was constantly declining. Regardless of this fact, the municipality and local authorities put hope in strengthening the activities with an increase of residents in the area. The numbers of residents were expected to rise around 30 percent in the following ten

²⁴⁴ "Rapport pleit voor studie over plaats van weekmarkt Zuid.", *Het Zuiden*, May 23, 1996, 1.

years due to renewal programmes. The renewal of the neighbourhoods were also expected to bring more wealthy residents to the neighbourhood and hence to the market as well.²⁴⁵

From 1999 onwards, restructuring plans for the market were announced. While a project to cover the market was rejected, plans to renovate the entire square and adapt it to modern needs and circumstances came up in 2000.²⁴⁶ The main problems of the market around the turn of the millennium were a lack of facilities, such as toilets and electricity, but also an uncertain and poor image of the market and a majority of visitors with low incomes.²⁴⁷ The reasons for these plans are provided in the Rotterdam Daily of 15 March 2000: "This is reason enough to adapt the fourth market in the Netherlands to the requirements of modern times and consumers, because it is mainly the purchasing power of consumers who are currently failing. The philosophy: the Afrikaandermarkt should not only be a place for the quick errand, but also an area where you go for fun and a fairy."²⁴⁸ These relocation plans show that the focus of the market organisations was not only on upgrading the space, but also on changing consumer relationships, with the increasing importance of an experience when buying on the market. Many of the local entrepreneurs were in favour of a renovation of the square and against a resettlement of the market, arguing that many of their customers would be attracted by the market.²⁴⁹ In 2005 the reconstruction work was started. The market was temporarily relocated to Katendrecht and reopened in December 2005 on the new Afrikaanderplein. Many newspaper articles inform about the reconstruction work, the construction of new parking facilities and toilets, but also about the difficulties, such as the lack of electricity supply.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ "Geen extra omzet op de markt.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, January 10, 1996, 17;

"Rapport pleit voor studie over plaats van weekmarkt Zuid.", *Het Zuiden*, May 23, 1996, 1.

²⁴⁶ "Plan Voor Overdekte Afrikaandermarkt", *De Havenloods*, November 11, 1999.

²⁴⁷ "Positie Afrikaandermarkt versterkt." *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, April 17, 2001, 11; Markt blijft op Afrikaanderplein." *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, October 11, 2001, 15.

²⁴⁸ "Verhuisplan Voor Afrikaandermarkt", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 15, 2000, 17.

²⁴⁹ Winkeliers willen niet dat Afrikaandermarkt verkast.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 22, 2000, 14.

²⁵⁰ "Afrikaanderwijk ondergaat metamorfose.", *De Havenloods*, July 14, 2005; Yvonne Keunen, "Wekelijks boerenmarkt Noordplein", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, January 7, 1998, 14.

Over the years, when the neighbourhood became the focus of the city government's revaluation policy, a number of initiatives took place in and around the quarter. The market was also the focus of some of these initiatives. For example, the Freedom House Foundation organised an art and fashion project to improve the image of the market and support and connect local entrepreneurs. Under this project, five theme markets were organised between 2009 and 2013.²⁵¹

Market Profile

In a documentary about the markets in Rotterdam from the year 1993, the author Peter Troost wrote:

In recent years, this market has no longer been so attractive to merchants. This neighbourhood is certainly not home to the wealthiest part of Rotterdams' population. Many live on the edge of the poverty line. [...] The market visitors include all nationalities. Many vegetable traders have taken advantage of this by employing Turkish and Moroccan young people.²⁵²

This quote appeals to two characteristics of the market visitors, which have changed little over the last three decades. Firstly, as confirmed by a newspaper article in 2001, many of the market visitors are people with a very low income and that the more affluent inhabitants are barely informed about the market.²⁵³ Secondly, the diversity of the ethnic origin of the visitors is also emphasised. The discourse of multiculturalism has not only repeatedly emerged since the 1990s in connection with the neighbourhood itself, but also specifically with the market.

In September 2008, an article in the Rotterdam Daily described the market as follows:

The Afrikaandermarkt is actually the perfect reflection of Rotterdam South. Many foreign visitors such as Surinamese, Antilleans, Hindus, Moroccans, Turks and Cape Verdeans. Headscarf-wearing women with their trolleys walk just as easily between the native Rotterdam people to do their shopping.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ Hanina Ajarai, "Nieuw op de Afrikaandermarkt: 'Glimmende stoffen, satijn of gewoon effen.'" *De Havenloods*, September 24, 2008, 15.

²⁵² Troost, *De Rotterdammer en zijn markt*, 30: Authors Translation.

²⁵³ "Positie Afrikaandermarkt Versterkt", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 14, 2001, 11.

²⁵⁴ "Naar De Markt. Zelfs Een Ped Egg Is Er Te Koop", *AD Rotterdams Dagblad*, September 2, 2008, 16; author's translation.

In newspaper articles over the years as well as in many contemporary online blogs, the market is often connoted with indicative words for multiculturalism, such as diversity, different nationalities and cultures, cultural market, and ethnic products, to describe this market.²⁵⁵

A study from the year 2016 shows that most of the visitors come from the neighbourhood itself or from the neighbouring areas. Most of the visitors (39 percent) are between 45 and 64 years old. And the majority of visitors are people with a non-Western migration background, making up 47 percent of all visitors. While only a third of the market visitors has a higher educational level, around 45 percent have a low education level.²⁵⁶ Although this appears as if the market is fundamentally defined by its multiculturalism over the years, market participants have also seen changes among visitors over the last twenty years. One cheese seller, for example, mentions that there are now many more young people and students on the market.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵One example is the website Hollandse Markten that states: ‘Here, at this market, you will see a typical example of the Dutch integration of popular cultures, Antilleans, Spaniards, Cape Verdeans, Berbers, Arabic, Turkish, Hindustani, Pakistani or Surinamese visitors. Many cultures that merge and come together here. The market vendors also have their roots in all kinds of nationalities, which in turn results in a diversity of market products for you as a visitor.’ Hollandse Markten, *Afrikaandermarkt op het Afrikaanderplein*, 2019. Additionally, De Buik Blog on the five best stalls on the market that reports: o “Exotic vegetables, fruit, herbs, fish and lots of products of which you have no idea what it is. The highlight of the Afrikaanderwijk is of course the Afrikaandermarkt, Rotterdam’s second largest market and popular throughout the region. Every Wednesday and Saturday you will make a culinary journey of discovery, from the Antilles to Morocco and from Suriname to Cape Verde. According to some of Rotterdam’s top chefs, this is the place to stock up on fruit and vegetables, because they are fresh and inexpensive.” De Buik, “5x de lekkerste kramen op de Afrikaandermarkt” accessed May 27, 2019. <https://www.debuik.nl/rotterdam/kopen/5x-de-lekkerste-kramen-op-de-afrikaandermarkt>

²⁵⁶ Boer, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker*, 13.

²⁵⁷ Cheese Vendor at Afrikaanderplein, interviewed by Louise Sträuli, Afrikaanderplein, Rotterdam, 24.04.2019.

The visitors of the marketplace, hence, represent a superdiversity within the neighbourhood. When turning the attention towards the products and vendors, however, the diversity is less distinctive. Many of the stalls are similar to those found in many other large markets. A majority of stalls are vegetable and fruit stalls.

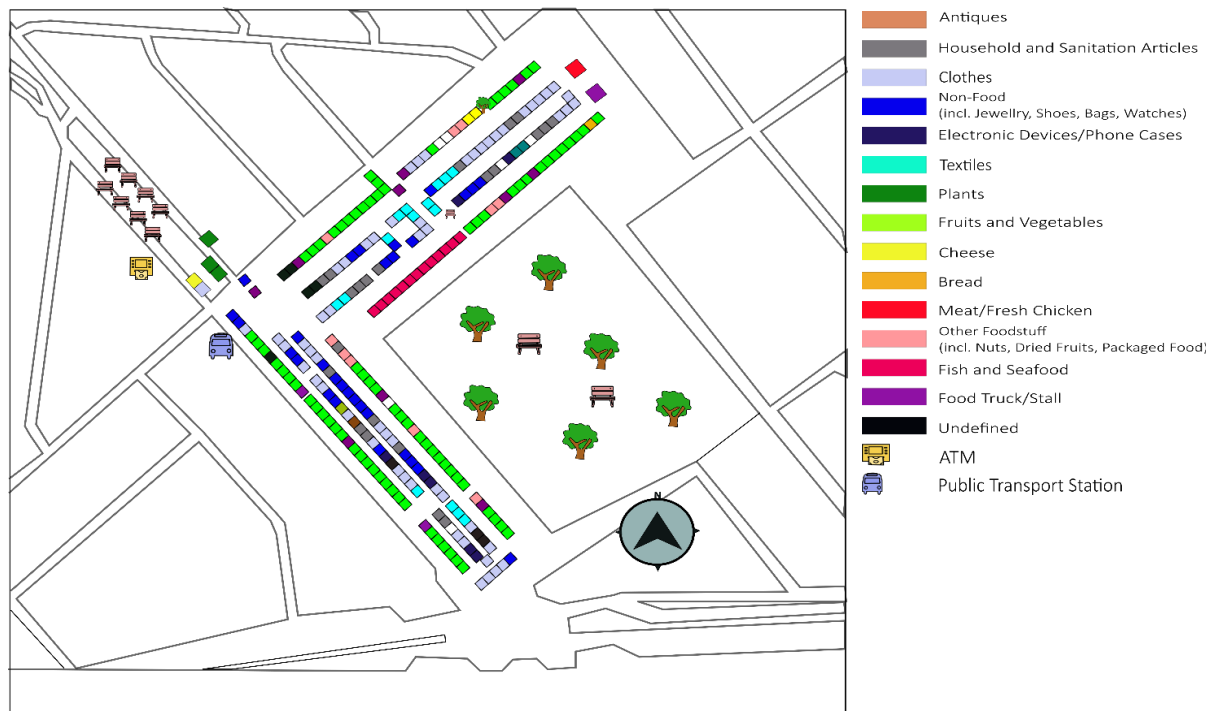


Figure 13 Market Stalls allocation at the Central Market Binnenrotte, Example from the Saturday Market April 20, 2019

Source: Created by the author

The market has a noticeable amount of textile stalls many of which specifically sell headscarves, scarves and long dresses for Muslim women. Whereas there are only one to two butchers, the offer of fish is very big. Around ten to fifteen fish stalls each day sell Dutch classics like brine and herring, but also Surinamese fish and a variety of seafood.²⁵⁸ There are around half a dozen food trucks, such as Halal Fried Chicken, a Vietnamese noodle truck, a Surinamese specialty shop and fried potatoes, where people sit or stand around and consume snacks. The arrangement of the market stalls and the physical layout of the market can be seen in the following figure

²⁵⁸ De Buik, "5x de lekkerste kramen op de Afrikaandermarkt" accessed May 27, 2019. <https://www.debuik.nl/rotterdam/kopen/5x-de-lekkerste-kramen-op-de-afrikaandermarkt>; Jonathan Van Noord, "Jonathan op de Afrikaandermarkt" accessed May 27, 2019, <https://profielen.hr.nl/2016/jonathan-op-de-afrikaandermarkt/>.

The vendors, apart from a few local, individual specialty shops that are only present at this market, such as the Surinamese specialty stall, are generally entrepreneurs, coming from all around the Netherlands and sell on several markets in the country throughout the week.

Furthermore, two special features of the market should be mentioned here. There are very few seating possibilities, which means that many people are relaxing on improvised seating options, such as empty palettes or seating planters, or stop in the corridors between the stalls to greet and talk to each other. In addition, there is a striking number of wheels present. On Tuesdays, many young mothers with small children and trolleys make their purchase on the market. A striking number of visitors to this market use a shopping trolley to make their purchases. Furthermore, there is prevalence of shoppers in motorised wheelchairs. This has also been observed by Sophie Watson, in markets in the UK, where there were high levels of unemployment and low incomes in a neighbourhoods, the number of people in electronic wheelchairs was increasingly higher than on other markets. These shoppers are seen to enjoy the vibrant activity and accessibility to daily street lives the market offers them.²⁵⁹

3.2.3. THE ORGANIC MARKET ON THE EENDRACHTSPLEIN: FEW STALLS WITH LITTLE VISITORS

Once a week a small biological market takes place on the Eendrachtsplein. This square is located in the neighbourhood Cool at an intersection where the neighbourhood borders on the districts Oude West (Old West), Museum Park and the city centre. The whole residential area of the neighbourhood was destroyed in the bombardment in 1940. With the reconstruction plan, the inner city was shifted westwards towards what had been the Cool Polder earlier on.²⁶⁰ The residential area was then largely renovated in the 1980s.

²⁵⁹ Watson, "Brief Encounters of an Unpredictable Kind", 1584.

²⁶⁰ Sjoerd Cusveller, and Anne-Mie Devolder (Eds.), *Drie Pleinen, zes ontwerpen: Three Squares, six designs: Rotterdam '88, de stad als podium; de City: a stage* (Rotterdam: Rotterdamse Kunststichting, 1988), 28.

The area hosts the major shopping district and cultural facilities, such as the concert hall De Doelen and the theatre Schouwburgplein, of the city. It is characterised by a strong inner-city atmosphere, where business, shopping, culture and living come together. In addition to the 5,600 inhabitants, around 20,000 working people populate the neighbourhood.²⁶¹ The neighbourhood offers many Bars and Restaurants that attract residents as well as tourists. Especially in the Witte de Withstraat, a numerous amount of Bars, Discotheques and Snack bars can be found.²⁶²

Furthermore, the Eendrachtsplein links three major inner city routes: the Westersingel, Blaak, and Binnenweg, making it a traffic centre and access point for the entire urban environment.²⁶³ Therefore, a large part of the square serves traffic in the form of tram lanes, cycle paths and road traffic. For this reason, the square is more a place of transition than a place that would invite you to stay. As early as 1988, the participants of the Rotterdam City Podium noticed that the square itself was not really an inviting place to linger: "It may be that the rapid development of these [surrounding] zones has resulted in both insufficient appreciation of the square as a place for activity and repose, and neglect of its contents, relegating it to a sort of urban no-man's-land."²⁶⁴ Since 2008, a controversial work of art has been situated on the square: a statue of Santa Claus by the artist Paul McCarthy. This attraction, which was originally planned for the concert hall De Doelen, now attracts curious tourists.²⁶⁵

Of the inhabitants living in the neighbourhood Cool a large proportion (79 percent) are between the ages of 15 and 65. While 47 percent are native Dutch, 35 percent have a non-Western migration background and 18 percent a Western migration background. Especially the latter group is proportionally above the average of the whole city of Rotterdam. The more exact distribution can be obtained from the graphic below.

²⁶¹ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI) 2018, "Wijkprofiel Cool." *Wijkprofiel Rotterdam 2016*. Accessed on June 05, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/rotterdam-centrum/cool>.

²⁶² Cusveller and Devolder, *Drie Pleinen, zes ontwerpen*, 28-29.

²⁶³ Cusveller and Devolder, *Drie Pleinen, zes ontwerpen*, 28-29.

²⁶⁴ Cusveller and Devolder, *Drie Pleinen, zes ontwerpen*, 30.

²⁶⁵ Martin Zebracki, "Engaging geographies of public art: indwellers, the 'Butt Plug Gnome' and their locale.", *Social & Cultural Geography* 13(7) (2012) 739.

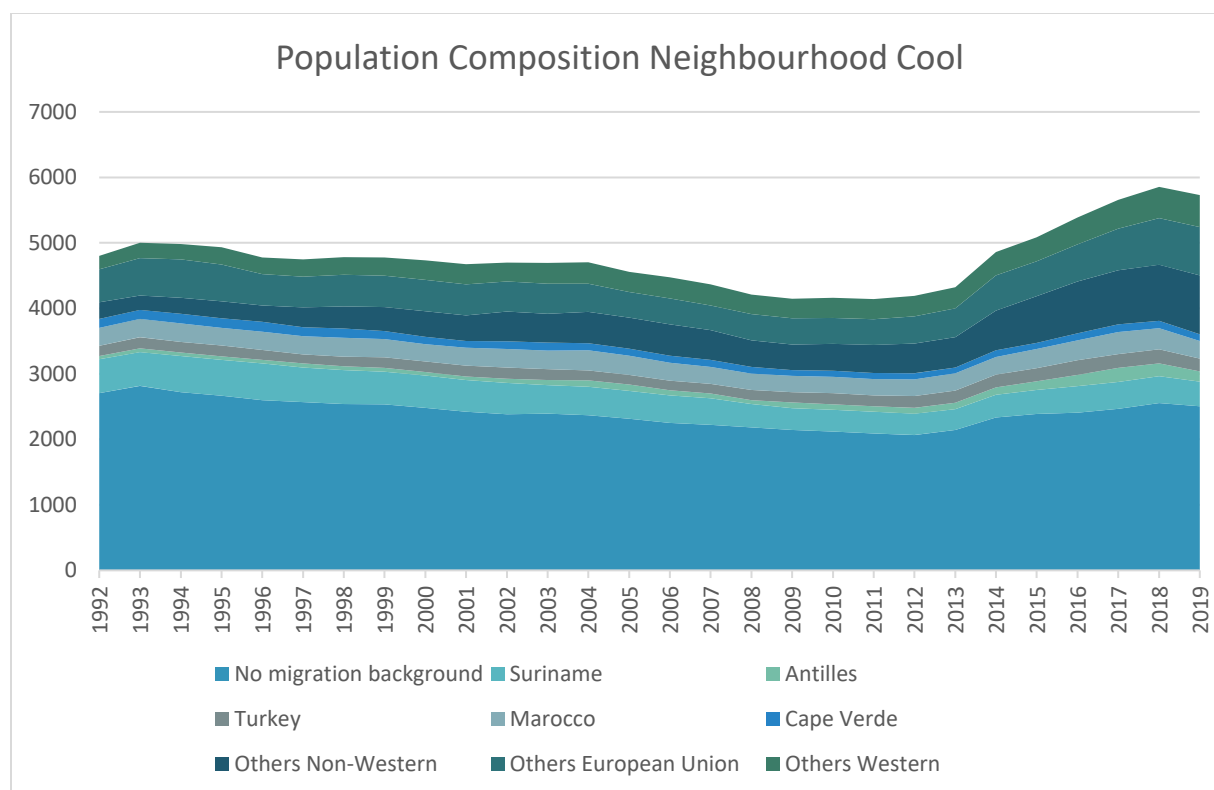


Figure 14 Population Composition Neighbourhood Cool, 1992 -2019

Source: "Wijkprofiel Cool." *Wijkprofiel Rotterdam*, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/rotterdam-centrum/cool> (accessed on May 5, 2019).

Most households consist of single people and couples without children.²⁶⁶ While more people than the urban average belong to the highest income class, almost half (43 percent) of the inhabitants belong to the lowest 40 percent of the national average.²⁶⁷ This can be seen in the following figure.

²⁶⁶ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI). "Wijkprofiel Cool." *Wijkprofiel Rotterdam 2016*, accessed on June 6, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/rotterdam-centrum/cool>.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

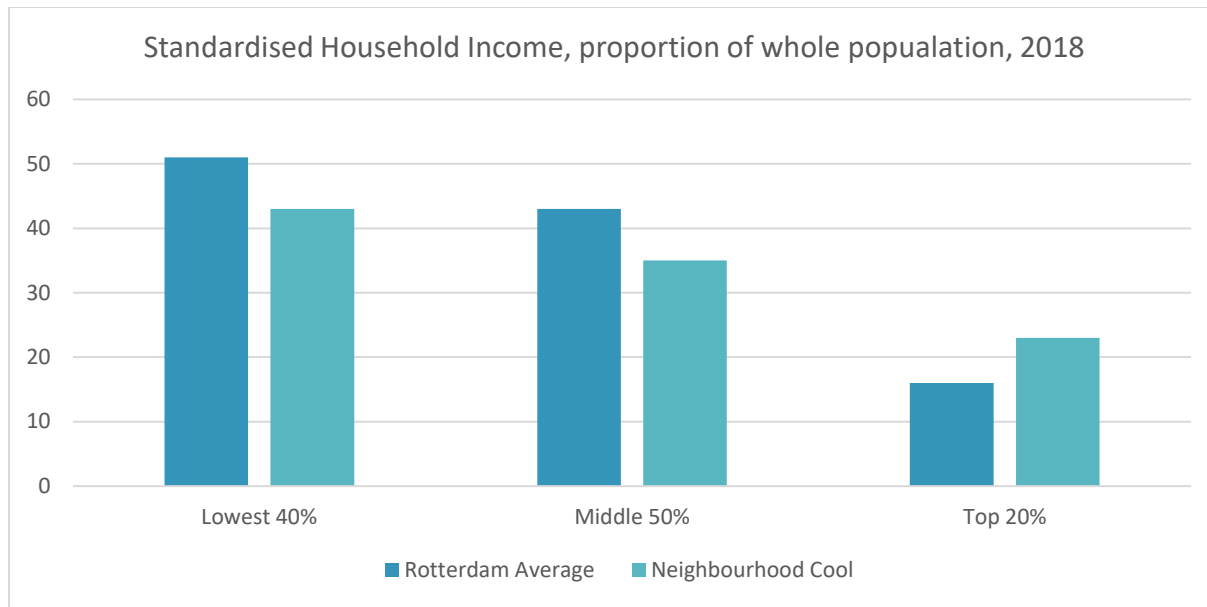


Figure 15 Standardised Household Income, Cool Neighbourhood, 2018

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam “Buurtmonitor, Inkomen en sociale Zekerheid”, https://rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/jive?cat_open=Beleidsthema%27s/Demografie (accessed on May 5, 2019).

The district profile of the municipality furthermore highlights, that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are to a big majority characterised by a strong sense of career and geographical independence and their connection to the neighbourhood is mainly based on the practicality and integration into the urban environment.²⁶⁸

Market History

First reports about a market on the Eendrachtsplein date back to 2004, when a group of nine entrepreneurs from all over the Netherlands came together with the idea of starting an organic market every Tuesday.²⁶⁹ After the original plan to set up the market next to the central market on the Blaak station had failed due to protests from ordinary market vendors on the existing

²⁶⁸ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI). "Wijkprofiel Cool." *Wijkprofiel Rotterdam 2016*, accessed on June 6, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/rotterdam-centrum/cool>.

²⁶⁹ In the mid-nineties an attempt was made to bring a market with a French atmosphere to the Eendrachtsplein, which was supposed to be reminiscent of the Place du Teatre in Paris, but this plan was never implemented. (Rotterdams Dagblad (RD) 2004)

market, the market was initiated on the Eendrachtsplein in 2006.²⁷⁰ As can be read in a newspaper article from Rotterdam Daily, the founders wanted to introduce organic products to the market in order to offer an alternative to existing delicatessen shops in the neighbourhood and benefit from the walk-in customers of the city centre. The Eendrachtsplein was chosen as location, because it lies in the middle of the centre of Rotterdam, it was easily accessible and already organic stores in its vicinity.²⁷¹

Due to the reconstruction of the Eendrachtsplein in 2007, the market was reallocated to the central market for half a year.²⁷² When the market moved back to the Eendrachtsplein, many newspaper articles devote the attention to the small market, as it was continuously losing vendors and customers. By September 2008 only three stalls were left on the market. Existing customers criticised that not enough people from Rotterdam know about this market. The newspaper *Havenloods* wrote in September 2008:

The Rotterdam organic market is not doing well. On Tuesday, only four out of ten stalls are still occupied at the Blaak, where the merchants have settled during the refurbishment of the Eendrachtsplein. Nature butcher Rob Rijks from Twello recently turned his back on Rotterdam because its turnover was too low. [...] At the beginning of May, the organic market returns to the Eendrachtsplein. The GroenLinks Council Group wants financial support for the market.²⁷³

In the meantime, next to a greengrocer, a baker and a dairy stall, a butcher joined the market in late September. For the last ten years, the market has not seen much increase in market vendors. After the butcher, also the vendor of cheese and dairy products had left the market by the end of 2018, leaving the market with currently two stalls.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Scholtens, Ellen. "Rock'n roll in biologisch quartier van Rotterdam." *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, April 22, 2005, 16.

²⁷¹ "Biologische Markt op Eendrachtsplein.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, June 23, 2004, 23.

²⁷² "Biologische markt verhuist tijdelijk." *AD Rotterdams Dagblad Dichtbij*, August 07, 2007, p. 4.

²⁷³ Ester Klein, "Hoop voor biologische markt.", *De Havenloods*, September 03, 2008.

²⁷⁴ Vegetable Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Eendrachtsplein, April 16, 2019.

Market Profile

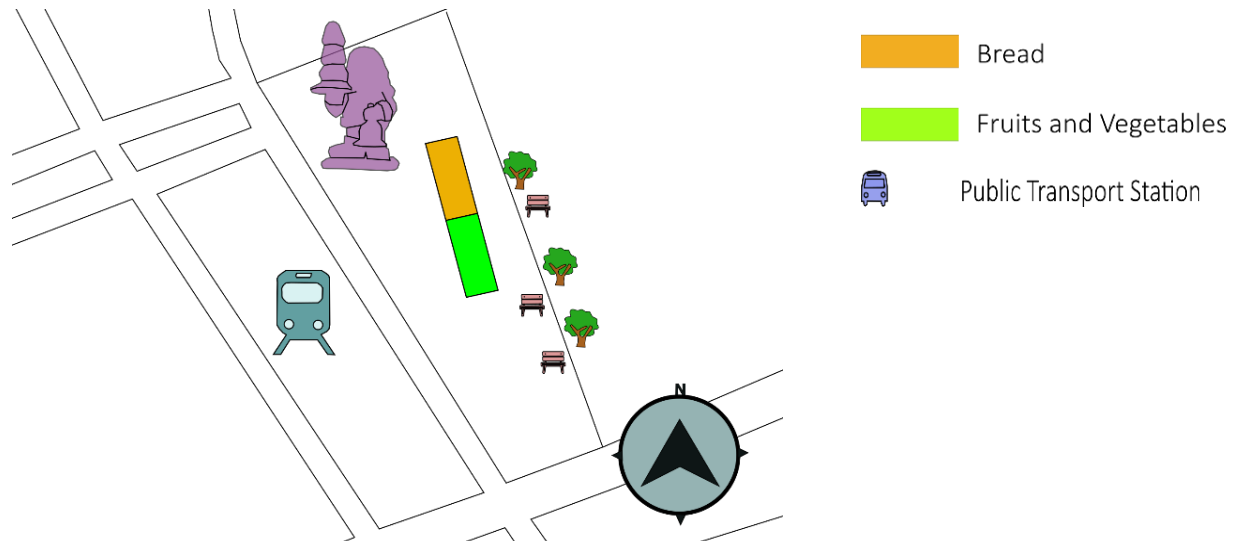


Figure 16 Market Stalls allocation at the Market on the Eendrachtsplein, Example from the Tuesday Market 16.04.2019

Source: Created by the Author

The currently active stall at the market are a bread stall and a vegetable stall. Both of these businesses have been on the market for several years already. The market is organised and coordinated by the municipal department for markets. As the vendors on the market mention, the municipality has a long bureaucratic procedures for opening a market stall, during which the interested vendors have to provide thorough proof of the organic nature of their products and farming processes. According to the vendors, this is hindering the entry of new vendors to the market. The lack of variety of products, especially since the cheese vendor left the market in late 2018 due to financial difficulties, has also led to a decrease in customers.²⁷⁵ The existing customers come from the nearby neighbourhood with the intention of buying organic food products on the market. Many of the customers are regular customers, mostly native Dutch people or people with western migration background, a middle class urban society with either young families or retired people. Although the market is located in a very central place, right beside the shopping area of the central district and next to a metro and tram station, the market records little walk-in

²⁷⁵ Vegetable Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Eendrachtsplein, April 16, 2019.

customers. The noisy background and bustle of the traffic around the square, as well as the missing seating opportunities and lack of any food trucks, does not offer an atmosphere that attracts visitors to linger.²⁷⁶

3.2.4 THE FARMERS MARKET ON THE NOORDPLEIN: FROM A PRIVATELY-INITIATED EVENT TO A WEEKLY MARKET

The farmer's market is located on the Noordplein (North Square) in the neighbourhood Oude Noorden (Old North) that is part of the borough Noord (North) in Rotterdam.²⁷⁷ The neighbourhood Oude Noorden was built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during the time when the city was growing due to the increased economic activities. It is one of the neighbourhoods left unharmed by the bombardment in 1940 and has therefore still many pre-war streets, canals, sturdy quays and spacious squares.²⁷⁸ In the early eighties, Moroccan labour migrants and their families were given permission to rent houses in Rotterdam, after which they moved in large numbers to the old and cheap city districts of which the Old North was one. Today, still many people with a migration background from Morocco live in the neighbourhood, which also hosts one of the six Moroccan mosques in the city of Rotterdam, the Abu Bakr at de Snellemanstraat.²⁷⁹

Already in the 1990s, the low socio-economic status of the residents, as well as high unemployment rates and neighbourhood characteristics like anonymity and lack of safety had caught the attention of the local governments. With Big Cities Policy in 1994 the municipality tried to improve the economic situation as well as the infrastructure of selected areas.²⁸⁰ Additionally, in 2015 the municipality of Rotterdam issued a strategy that highlighted nine so-called promising

²⁷⁶ Based on observations Nr. 8 and 63, amongst others.

²⁷⁷ Gemeente Rotterdam (OBI), "Wijkprofiel Oude Noorden" *Wijkprofiel 2018*. Accessed on February 14, 2019, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam/noord/oude-noorden>.

²⁷⁸ Tijssen Media, "Het Oude Noorden" accessed on May 02, 2019, <https://www.hetoudenoorden.nl/over-het-oude-noorden/wonen/>.

²⁷⁹ Gemeente Rotterdam Stadsarchief "Marokkanen in Rotterdam", *Encyclopedie Stadsarchief Rotterdam*, accessed on May 20, 2019, <https://www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/marokkanen-rotterdam>.

²⁸⁰ Keunen, "Wekelijks beoerenmarkt Noordplein"; Ronald Van Kempen, "Big Cities Policy in the Netherlands." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Social Geografie* 91 (2) (2000), 197-203.

neighbourhoods, amongst which was the Oude Noorden. These neighbourhoods were specifically targeted from the municipality to introduce gentrification measures, attract wealthier inhabitants and hence decrease the numbers of unemployment rates and inhabitants with low socio-economic statuses.²⁸¹

As can be seen on the Graph below, the number of inhabitants has strongly decreased in the last three decades. The neighbourhood counted around 17'000 inhabitants in 2018. While about one third of the inhabitants are native Dutch, 53 percent have a non-Western migration background. There are many single households and single-parent families. More than half of the people live in one-person households and almost two thirds have a low household income. The last decades has seen an increase in families moving to the neighbourhood Kop van Zuid, which borders to the Oude Noorden. The district has several community groups in which people manage communal gardens, playgrounds and courtyards.²⁸² According to the neighbourhood profile of the municipality, social contacts in the neighbourhood as well as the family play an important role for one third of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood. In addition, about 26 percent belong to a lifestyle group, which is also group-oriented, but is mainly oriented towards small family groups and close neighbours with whom they maintain strong contact.²⁸³

²⁸¹ Gemeente Rotterdam. *Kansrijke wijken voor gezinnen. 10% meer gezinnen in negen Rotterdamse wijken rondom het Centrum* (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2015); Ryan Versluis, *Urban Renewal in Rotterdam: An analysis of the discourse of gentrification in Rotterdam's urban policy and practices* (Wageningen: Wageningen University, 2017); Doucet, Van Kempen, and Van Weesep, "'We're a rich city with poor people': municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow.", 1445.

²⁸² "Wijkprofiel Oude Noorden" *Wijkprofiel 2018*. <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam/noord/oude-noorden> accessed on February 14, 2019.

²⁸³ Ibid.

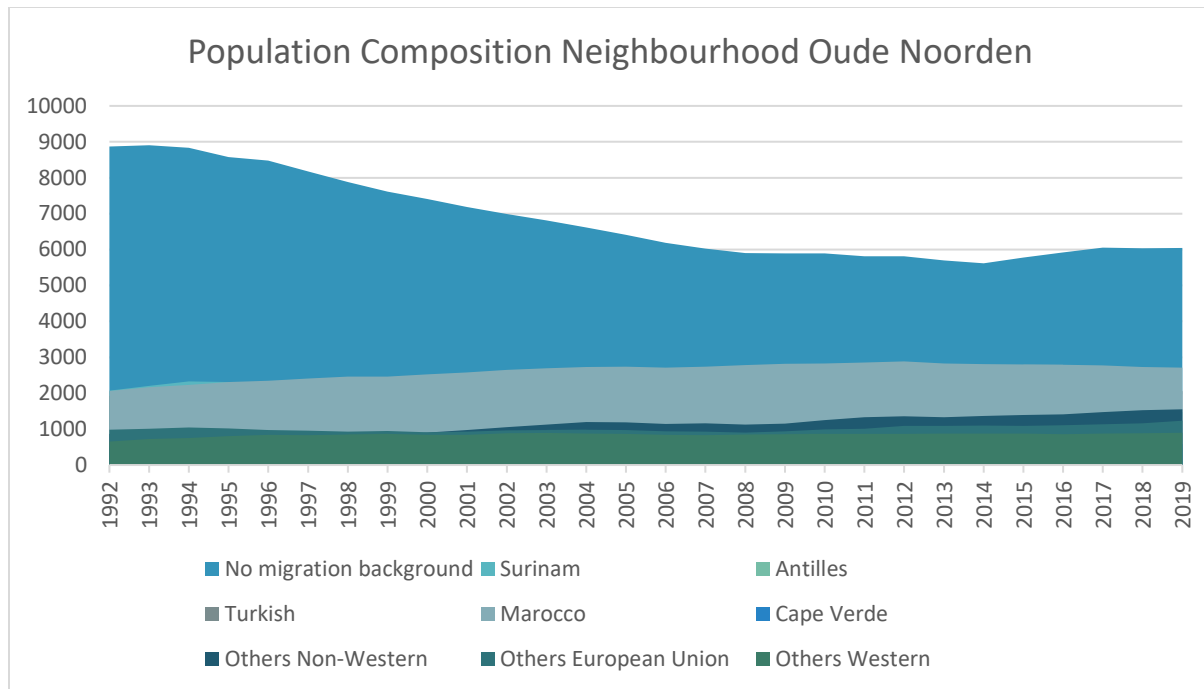


Figure 17 Population Composition Oude Noorden, 1992-2019

Source : Compiled by the author based on "Wijkprofiel Oude Noorden" *Wijkprofiel 2018*, <https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2018/rotterdam/noord/oude-noorden> (accessed on February 14, 2019).

Market History

After the temporary market had moved back to the Binnenrotte in 1995, the Noordplein square was renovated.²⁸⁴ In 1995, first newspaper articles were published that report about new plans to start a weekly market on the Noordplein again. After the report 'Met de Markt naar 2000' was published, the municipality saw the potential of initiating an organic market with around 25 vendors on the square.²⁸⁵

In the year 1998, plans were brought down on paper. Newspaper articles report, that the initiative of new market is part of the Big Cities policies to revaluated deprived areas in the urban region of Rotterdam. The neighbourhood was seen to have a frayed urban structure, substandard

²⁸⁴ (De Havenloods 1995)

²⁸⁵ "Plan boerenmarkt op Noordplein.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, November 22, 1996, 13.

public housing and a large number of residents in socially weak position and living in anonymity.²⁸⁶ In cooperation with the Association of market vendors, the municipality planned to start an organic farmers market on the Noordplein to contribute to the revitalisation of the neighbourhood and attracting people from outside to the neighbourhood of Oude Noorden. In line with other projects, the market was planned to increase the economic activity within the neighbourhood, as well as the quality of life and outdoor public spaces. The trial period for the organic market started in April 1998 and was originally set for six month. Strict rules regarding the organic production of the products were introduced. Although in 1999, the conclusion was not yet positive about the organic market, the market was given an extension of one year, but failed to proceed afterwards.²⁸⁷ Two years later, a group of local entrepreneurs came up with a plan to initiate a so-called exotic market on the Noordplein. A newspaper article from March 2001 reported:

The intention is for local entrepreneurs to occupy the stalls on Thursdays. Research shows that an exotic market has a good chance of succeeding. 25 merchants have already registered. The trade union of market vendors is opposed to the arrival of such a market. There are arguments in favour of a possible exodus from the farmer's market and competition with other weekly markets. The market department is in favour of setting up the additional market.²⁸⁸

In April 2005, the pilot for an exotic market had started. Although 30 applicants had subscribed for the available market stalls, only eleven actually showed up on the first market day on April 5. Shortly thereafter the project was discontinued.²⁸⁹

In 2008, the Rotterdamse Oogstmarkt (Rotterdam Farmers' market) initiative was launched. Several neighbours from the Heemradsplein in Rotterdam started organising a market with fresh

²⁸⁶ Keunen, "Wekelijks boerenmarkt Noordplein".

²⁸⁷ "Wekelijks boerenmarkt Noordplein.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, January 07, 1998, 14.; "Aanpassing Noordplein voor Boerenmarkt - proef met verkoop van biologische producten duurt een halfjaar.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, January 20, 1998, 17; "Ecomarkt Noordplein jaar langer - Boerenmarkt heeft zich in proefseizoen niet voldoende kunnen bewijzen.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, April 12, 1999, 9.

²⁸⁸ "Exotische markt op Noordplein.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 14, 2001, 15; "Markt op Noordplein weer mislukt.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, June 26, 2001, 13.

²⁸⁹ "Markt op Noordplein weer mislukt.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, June 26, 2001, 13.

products from the neighbourhood. Soon they moved the market to the Noordplein, but as a privately organised initiative, they were granted an event permission, which allowed them to organise the market once a month. Only markets that were organised and supervised by the municipal market department had an official permission to be named markets and organised on a weekly basis.²⁹⁰ Since July 2018, the market received a temporary permission for a trial period of one year, which allows them to organize weekly markets on the Noordplein by being incorporated by the market department of the municipality.²⁹¹

Market Profile

The market on the Noordplein takes place in weekly differentiating forms and sizes, ranging from S sized market to XXL markets. Once a month, an XXL market comprises around fifty market stalls, including market stalls that are allowed to sell alcoholic beverages for immediate consumption and a live music stalls. On the other market days, S, M and L sized, the markets include between ten to thirty stalls. There are a majority of stalls that are present every week, while other stalls appear every second week or once a month for the big markets. Many of the stalls are small businesses, selling local, handmade and organic products. Apart from several stalls that sell homemade products, such as homemade caramels, etheric oils and cosmetic products or home-grown mushrooms, there is a big variety of food and drinking stalls as well. For example, weekly present is a young Thai family that sells take away food or a local coffee brewer.

²⁹⁰ „Na 10 jaar wordt de Rotterdamse Oogstmarkt een weekmarkt.“ *RTV Rijnmond*. Accessed on June 02, 2019, <https://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/170348/Na-10-jaar-wordt-de-Rotterdamse-Oogstmarkt-een-weekmarkt>.

²⁹¹ Rotterdamse Oogst. “*R'Damse Oogstmarkt*. 2011”, Rotterdamse Oogst., accessed on January 24, 2019, <http://www.rotterdamseoogst.nl/>.

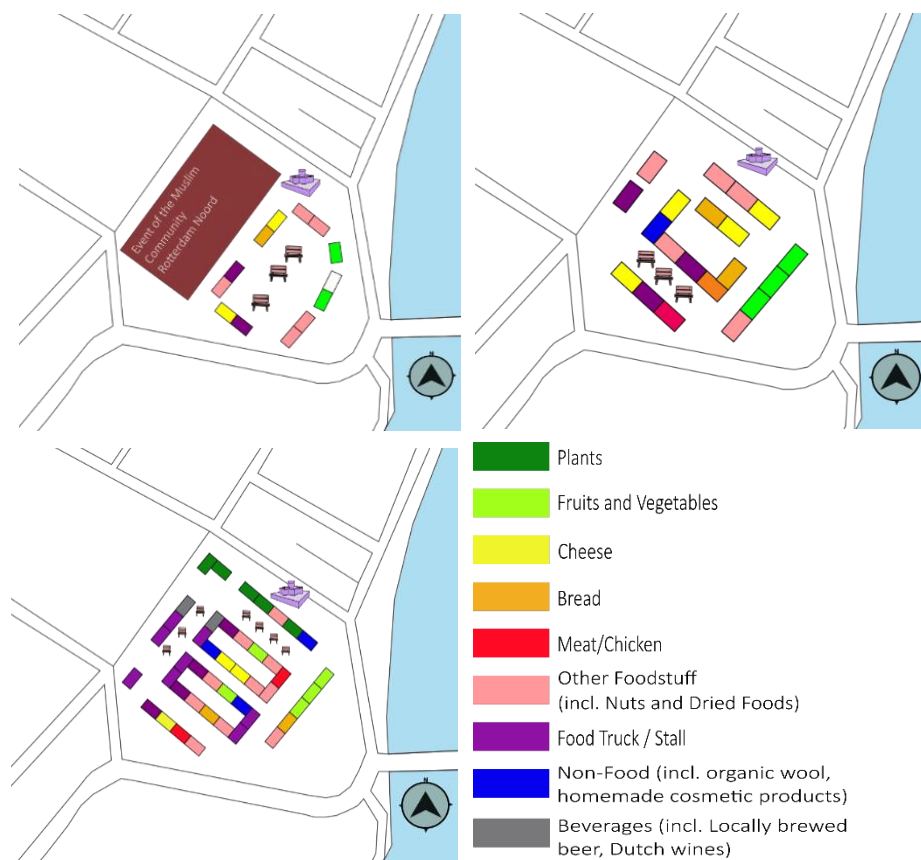


Figure 18 Physical layout of the Harvest market on the Noordplein

Top left: size S on April 13, 2019, Top right: size L on March 23, 2019: Bottom Left: XXL on May 04, 2019.

Source: Compiled by the author based on observations

This variety of stalls with a big part of stalls and food trucks selling products for direct consumption, contribute to the social attributes of the markets. The market offers several tables and benches for lingering and eating or drinking in a central place. Additionally, the square offers many benches around the market, which invites people to sit down and observe the market activities as well as listening to the live music once a month.. For many visitors, the atmosphere is the main reason for visiting the market, while the price and product range are only secondary. In this sense, the market represents more the event character, catering to the need of leisure and experience activities for a part of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Although the neighbourhood of Oude Noorden is very diverse, the market reflects a population that is more typical to the post-gentrified area, such as young families, students and higher income Dutch natives that seek for organic products and leisure activities on the market.

4. ANALYSIS

In the following chapters, the research from the previous chapter will be brought together with the aim to analyse, to what extent the markets in Rotterdam have changed over time and how this development relates to their functions in the city of Rotterdam. In a first part, the changes will be analysed by means of the initially mentioned tripartite nature of diversity – the products, consumers and vendors. Secondly, the importance of everyday encounters and appearances on the marketplace for the superdiverse city of Rotterdam will be analysed.

THE PRODUCTS

The basic function of the marketplace was and still is trade and consumption. For this reason, markets must offer products that meet consumer demand. This is reflected in the supply of products per stand as well as in the variety of products across the market, price and quality of the products.²⁹² The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which the products on the markets studied have changed over the last three decades. Some findings have been made.

From the visitors' point of view, diversity in terms of products is mainly measured by how diverse the types of products on the market are. A Dutch student commented on this as follows:

So, the one [market] on the Eendrachtsplein is very small, but it has pretty much everything I need. [...] And then the one in the centre is a lot more diverse. Because you also have [...] usual stuff, like you use for the house- not only fruits and stuff. And then, I think the Noordplein, it's in another way it's diverse. Because you have more luxury products that you don't have at the other ones.²⁹³

From this statement it becomes clear that diversity among products is related to how many different types of products, be they food, household items, clothes or electronics, and are available on a market. Diversity in this aspect was mentioned more often than diversity in the sense of how many different or exotic variations of a product are on offer.

²⁹² Watson, *The Magic of the Marketplace*, 1581.

²⁹³ Customer at various markets, Dutch, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Erasmus University Campus, March 12, 2019.

The study has found that the change of products over the last three decades is due to the entry of new merchants to the market. The retired market vendor K. observes on the central market: “There are more vegetables from the East than 20 years ago. And more Chinese products which [...] 20 years ago [...] we didn't have [...] on the market. And now we have lots of articles from China”²⁹⁴

This statement supports the inferences that can be drawn from the observations of the product range of the two major markets. On the one hand, there are some occasional market stalls offering ethnic specialties such as Surinamese vegetables or Turkish bakery products, the majority of which started their market activities in the 1980s or 1990s. On the other hand, there are a large number of more recent stalls offering cheap Chinese products such as watches, telephone cases or electronic devices.²⁹⁵



Figure 20 Carpet Vendor, Central Market, 1984

Source: Alex de Herder, “De Markt op de Binnenrotte”, June 16, 1984, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam.

²⁹⁴ Customers at the Central Market on the Binnenrotte, Indonesian, retired. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam, May 09, 2019.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.



Figure 21 Stall with handbags, Central Market, 2016

Source: Fred Lit, *Markt op de Grotemarkt*, 12/3/2016 (Exact), Gemeente Rotterdam (Stadsarchief).

Apart from these changes, no other changes to the products were found in this investigation. The majority of sellers mentioned that they had always sold the same products since the beginning of their market activities.²⁹⁶ This is due to strict market regulations. Since 2008, against the protest of the market sellers, the regulations have been tightened, stating that each stand can only sell one type of product. Maarten de Graaf, a consultant for the Central Association for Ambulatory Trade (CVAH) explains:

[...] in a way it means that, with the [...] most current rules or regulations it's very difficult for new developments to enter the market. [In the market license] it says you can only sell the product. [...] Let me give an example. If you were selling in the past a fruit and veg[etable] at a certain moment it started to become popular that you cut already the vegetables or make fruit salad. And there was a discussion about it if you are allowed to

²⁹⁶ Nuts and Dried Fruit Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 23, 2019; Fried Potatoes Vendors (Owner and Employee). Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 23, 2019.

do this or not. So the municipality said, well you can't do this. So, [...] that was a hindrance for the developments.²⁹⁷

The difficulty of these strict market regulations is that market entrepreneurs can only adapt their product ranges to changing customer needs to a limited extent. In this study, two cases of changing consumer behaviour and tastes were identified.

On the one hand, over the last ten years, a stronger awareness for the quality of products as well as quality products has developed. While many interviewed consumers have pointed out that the quality of the products plays a decisive role in their buying behaviour, this change was also recognised by a cheese seller on the market on Afrikaanderplein.

The people buy different now. Earlier the people would buy one big piece for a small price. Now, since maybe the last ten years, people like more small and special pieces. [...] It is now more important for people to buy fresh and good products. People are more paying attention to quality.²⁹⁸

This increased quality-awareness is accompanied by an enhanced interest in regional and organic products.²⁹⁹ It can thus be suggested that the emergence of the two small markets, on the Eendrachtsplein and on the Noordplein, is attributable to this change in consumer behaviour. As the visitors to these markets have underlined, not only the quality of the products but also the origin and organic production play an important role for their purchases.

On the other hand, the activity of shopping itself has evolved. With the advent of supermarkets and online retail, the street markets are steadily losing their unique selling point of price advantage. For this reason, the experiences people make on the market, which are connected to the atmosphere, the people they meet or the availability of food, drinks and entertainment, such as live music, become increasingly important to make a market attractive. This emergence of the so-called experience shopping can be recognised in the trend of food trucks, the initiation of

²⁹⁷ De Graaf, Martin. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview via Skype, Rotterdam, April 04, 2019.

²⁹⁸ Cheese Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Afrikaanderplein, April 24, 2019.

²⁹⁹ Previous studies have shown that consumer groups have turned to organic food production in the last twenty years, since the late 1990s, especially in developed countries. Particularly among well educated and affluent customers, the demand for healthy nutrition, which is linked to the quality as well as the origin and production processes of the products, has increased. (Regmi 2015, iv)

Sunday markets with the focus on fun shopping and amusement on the Binnenrotte, as well as on the Noordplein market, where once a month live music is played and people visit the market to meet friends and drink coffee together.³⁰⁰

THE CUSTOMERS

According to urban statistics, the total number of inhabitants in Rotterdam who regularly visit a market has increased steadily in the two decades after 1997. In 2014, 80 percent of the inhabitants said that they visit a market regularly. Among the large weekly markets in Rotterdam, the central market on the Binnenrotte is both the best known and the most frequently visited.³⁰¹ The following sections will examine, which audiences visit the markets and how these groups have varied over time.

Based on the existing research, interviews and observations, it was found that the markets mainly attract visitors from the immediate urban environment and that this aspect has not changed much over the last three decades. Many of the visitors who regularly visit a market live in the vicinity of the market. As Z., an international student, explains representatively, proximity plays an important role for the market visit: " [...] I have grocery stores that are closer, but this is the closest market to me. So, I think I would not go if it wasn't close."³⁰²

Since the majority of the markets attract people from the neighbourhood, it can be assumed that the population is also reflected in the markets. On the one hand, this assumption can be confirmed if we look at the ethnic origin of the visitors. In newspaper articles from the 1990s it was frequently mentioned that people from Morocco, Turkey, the Antilles or Suriname can be encountered on the two big markets in Rotterdam. An antique dealer on the central market stated the following:

³⁰⁰ Berdi Christiaanse, Martijn Epskamp, and Chris De Vries, *Doelgroepanalyse binnenstadbezoekers*. Target group analysis inner-city visitors (Rotterdam: Onderzoek en Business Intelligence (OBI), 2015), 21;

³⁰¹ G.H. Van der Wilt, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker: Resultaten uit de Omnibusenquête 2014* (Rotterdam: Onderzoek en Business Intelligence (OBI), 2014), 4; Boer, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker*, 5.

³⁰² Customer at the Markets on the Binnenrotte and Eendrachtsplein, Canadian, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Erasmus University Campus, May 01, 2019.

First there were the people, who had come from India and needed furniture. [...] Now it is Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans, Pakistanis and Surinamese, who give these pieces of furniture a second life. No, not the students, they take superfluous things from their parents' house with them.³⁰³

A 2001 study found that a majority of market visitors have a migration background and 85 per-cent of those who never visit a market are native Dutch.³⁰⁴ In this sense, it can be said that there is a wide variety of urban populations in the market, but they are not directly representative of the inhabitants of the respective neighbourhoods. This is explained in the graph below, showing a comparison between the market visitors and the resident statistics of the respective neighbourhoods in the year 2016.

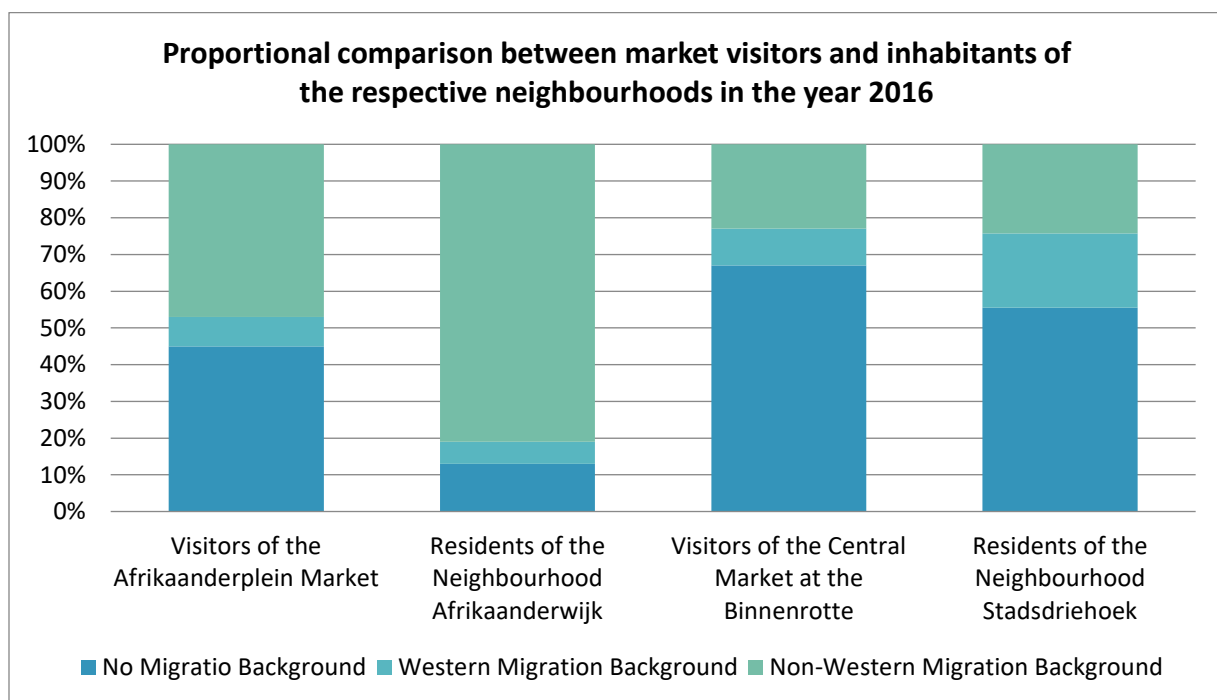


Figure 22 Proportional comparison between market visitors and inhabitants of the respective neighbourhoods in the year 2016.

Sources: Compiled by the author based on Boer, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker*, 13.

As can be seen in this graph, a multiplicity of people of different ethnic origin is represented on the market. However, the fact that the distribution between market visitors and residents is not

³⁰³ Thissen, "Markt van Rotterdam bestaat 700 jaar." 17.

³⁰⁴ "Rotterdamers graag naar markt.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, April 14, 2003, 9.

even can be deduced from a few other demographic findings. Markets are the most popular among visitors between the ages of 45 and 65.³⁰⁵ This applies to the two major markets analysed. In addition, markets are also attractive among older people because they are places of socialization and participation in the everyday life of society.³⁰⁶ In general, the large markets in the city are becoming more attractive for residents with low incomes. As early as 2001, a study found that mainly visitors from low-income households such as single-parent families, welfare benefit recipients or people with low education as well as housewives and seniors regularly visit the market.³⁰⁷ This is conspicuous by the example of the Afrikaanderplein market, where in the year 2016, 39 percent of market visitors lived with an income at the social minimum. Aligning with the findings of Watson and Studdert³⁰⁸ on markets in the UK, there is a large number of young mothers with preschool children accompanied by their mothers or acquaintances with their children, especially during the week, i.e. Tuesdays. For these mothers, the market is a functional activity to find cheap groceries.³⁰⁹

In this context, the findings of this study indicate that the reasons for the market visits vary for all visitors. Among the main reasons for market visitors are proximity, price, choice of products and atmosphere. Among these, the low prices on the markets stand out above all. This was confirmed in the interviews as well as in a study from 2014. This has not changed over the years, but differs between markets.³¹⁰ While the two large markets on the Binnenrotte and the Afrikaanderplein attract their customers mainly through the aspects of proximity and advantageous pricing, the small, thematic markets rely more on aspects of offering specific, in this case organic products and an inviting atmosphere. Many of the visitors acknowledge that the products on the two organic markets are more expensive than on the larger markets due to different production

³⁰⁵ Boer, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker*, 13.

³⁰⁶ Droogh Trommelen en Partners (DTNP), *Proeven & Ontmoeten. Cijfers en achtergronden ambulante handel*. (Zeewolde: Centrale Vereniging voor de Ambulante Handel (CVAH), 2018), 9; Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, 19-20.

³⁰⁷ Luijkx, K.G., and S.G. Rijkma. *Rotterdamers over de duurzame stad Resultaten uit de Omnibusenquête 2001*. Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam, Centrum Onderzoek en Statistiek (COS), 2001.

³⁰⁸ Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, 22.

³⁰⁹ Based on observations Nr. 66, 131, 140, amongst others.

³¹⁰ Van der Wilt, *De Rotterdamse marktbezoeker*, 6.

factors. They therefore visit these markets on account of the specific demand for organic products and, in the case of the Noordplein market, because of the atmosphere. A resident of the Old North neighbourhood explains:

“The atmosphere is an important aspect of this market. I come here often to meet with friends. It is a nice place, you can have coffee and chat with your friends.”³¹¹

Although the Noordplein market in particular attracts customers with its aspects of entertaining activities and atmosphere, the other markets can also be associated with it. In 1995, a newspaper article highlighted the fact that on sunny Sundays, due to leisurely visitors, the central market at the Binnenrotte recorded three times more visitors.³¹² In a 2007 report analysing the future of street markets in the Netherlands, it was emphasised that the major street markets in the city centre would increasingly be devoted to leisure and entertainment activities.³¹³ This predicted development, however, had not materialised by the time of this investigation. While the introduction of the small market on the Noordplein satisfies the visitors' aforementioned need for entertainment and leisure activities, the large markets still focus on the procurement of cheap goods and geographical proximity.

In summary, it can be said that the visitors of the different street markets are very diverse. On the one hand, there is a great diversity of visitors to the large markets themselves. This is illustrated by a statement of the Dutch student C.:

And then the one [market on the Binnenrotte]. I like it 'cause it's such a big mix of people. You have people come out of their office to eat something. There's families there. There's elderly people there. [...] I kind of feel like it reflects Rotterdam[...] I think every time when I go there I see a new kind of people.³¹⁴

³¹¹ Customers at the Market on the Noordplein, Dutch and Portuguese, Professionals. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Noordplein, May 01, 2019.

³¹² Maandag, "Centrummarkt terug naar nieuwe Binnenrotte."

³¹³ Achterhuis, H., M. De Graaf, H. Van Houwelingen, J. De Jong, J. Martens, and A. Schrijver, *De markt heeft toekomst: trends en toekomstbeelden van de warenmarkt in 2015*. (The Hague: Hoofdbedrijfschap Detailhandel (HBD), 2007).

³¹⁴ Customer at various markets, Dutch, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Erasmus University Campus, March 12, 2019.

On the other hand, this confirms the findings of Watson³¹⁵ that the economic and physical characteristics of the markets can be divided along the socio-economic class and consumers are distributed between the markets instead of within the markets. While some characteristics of a market, shaped by product offerings, materiality, appearance, and branding attract some individuals, they discourage others from being present. In an extreme case, for example, this can lead to increased segregation within the population of a neighbourhood. As the statement of A., a resident of the Old North neighbourhoods points out:

This is something I actually just realized because right now there's this event from the Turkish mosque happening right next to [the market] and I see like these tents have white people and those tents don't and I [...] didn't really like [...] to see that there is actually [...] such division.³¹⁶

So although the Old North neighbourhood, as explained in the previous chapter, has a super-diverse population and many Muslim residents, the market is mainly frequented by western middle-class residents, resulting in a segregation of residents within the neighbourhood.

THE VENDORS

The third aspect of diversity in the market, the vendors, will be considered in the following section. Four main findings have been made to this end.

Firstly, market activities are dominated by self-employed entrepreneurs, most of whom head small enterprises. This can be seen from the following data structure, which shows that the largest proportion of market entrepreneurs throughout the Netherlands are run by businessmen with a majority of one active staff.

³¹⁵ Watson, "Brief Encounters of an Unpredictable Kind", 1587.

³¹⁶ Customers at the Market on the Noordplein, Dutch, Polish and German, young professionals. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Noordplein, May 01, 2019.

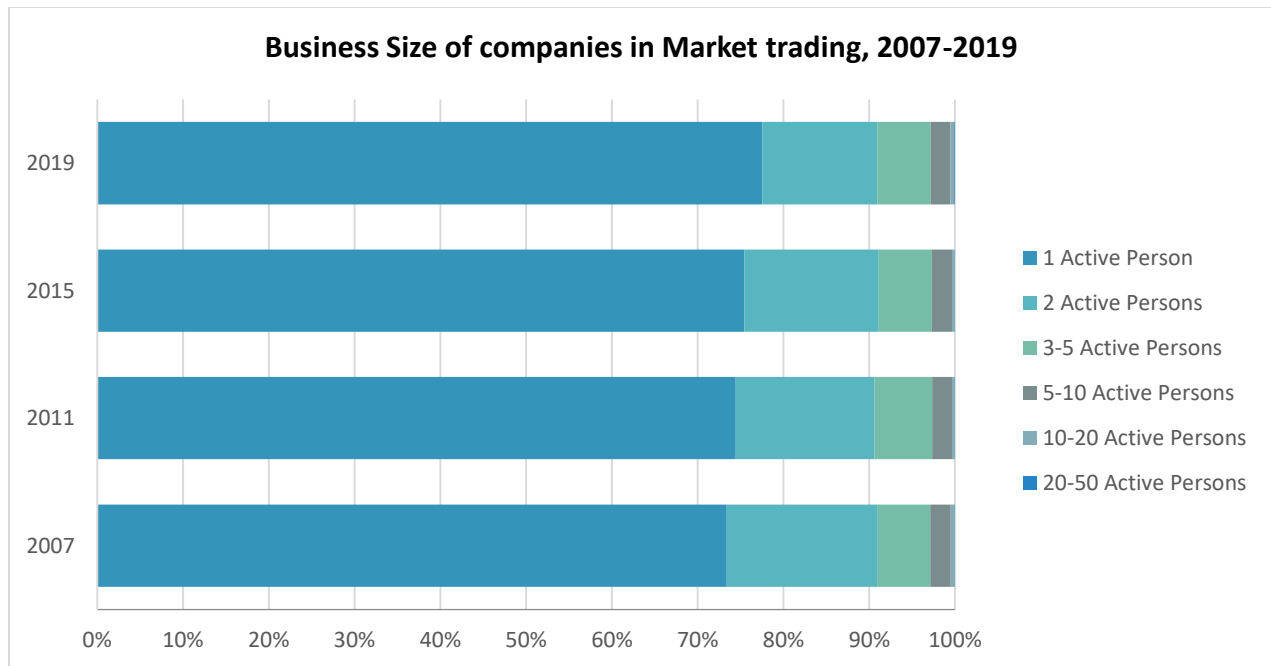


Figure 23 Business size of entrepreneurs in market trading in the Netherlands 2007 -2019

Source: Compiled by the author based on “Bedrijven; bedrijfstak” *Statistics Netherlands (CBS)*, accessed on May 17, 2019, <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/81589ned/table?fromstatweb>.

However, as Maarten de Graaf of the CVAH also points out, these entrepreneurs often employ part-time staff who assist during the market days.

I would say 99.99 % of the market traders are small businesses. [...] at the same time, I have to say, ‘small businesses’ doesn’t mean it’s nothing. [...] especially towards the weekend [...] there could be [...] up to 20 people working [on one particular stall] [...]. So from that point of view, it’s a relevant business, but it’s a small business.³¹⁷

The dominance of these small entrepreneurs derives from the fact that the market licences are distributed to individuals rather than to large entrepreneurs. On the street markets, seniority pays off. The waiting lists on the large markets are so long that there are no new marketplaces for newcomers, and in addition the prospects for a fixed marketplace improve with the years of participation of the market vendor.³¹⁸ Furthermore, many of the businesses on the street mar-

³¹⁷ De Graaf, Martin. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview via Skype, Rotterdam, April 04, 2019.

³¹⁸ Vietnamese Loempia Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 23, 2019.

kets are family owned. This means that the enterprise involves several family members and is often carried on over generations. This form of business is promoted by the market regulations, which facilitate the transfer of market licenses and activities within the families.³¹⁹

Secondly, although the street markets were anticipated to be a suitable entry platform for immigrant entrepreneurs, this study found that the majority of market entrepreneurs are Dutch family entrepreneurs. Although there are entrepreneurs with a migrant background in market trade, their number does not meet expectations that stem from the threefold increase in immigrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands since the 1980s and their dominance in other retail sectors.³²¹ In the 1980s and early 1990s there were discussions about introducing specific street markets for entrepreneurs with a migration background in the late 1980s and again with the initiative of a multicultural market on the Noordplein in 1995. However, these plans were rejected or not successfully implemented in the long term.³²²

Peter Troost, who observed the entry of new immigrant entrepreneurs into the market in 1993, has his own explanation for the absence of certain population groups:

The colourful and the exotic makes the market attractive to more and more people. [...] At the flea market, you won't find a foreign merchant. There are people with exotic fruit and vegetables at the vegetable market. There are many people from Pakistani backgrounds in the textile industry. They work very competitively: Home-made clothes don't need business papers. The result is an increasing number of Pakistanis with clothing of their 'own' make. [...] Turks and Moroccans don't have a lot of commercial spirit [...] it is the Hindus and Pakistanis who possess the real hand spirit.³²³

Although some studies, such as Peter Troost, have attributed the argumentation of the propensity to entrepreneurial activity to the ethnic origin of individuals, some convincing factors for the dominance of Dutch entrepreneurs on the market can be found in structural barriers. First of all,

³¹⁹ Gemeente Rotterdam, *Marktreglement Rotterdam 2008* (Gemeentebld 2008, Rotterdam: Gemeente Rotterdam, Kenniscentrum Bestuurdienst Rotterdam (KBR), 2008), 9.

³²¹ Ewald Engelen, "How innovative are Dutch immigrant entrepreneurs? Constructing a framework of assessment.", *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research* 8 (1/2) (2002), 69-70.

³²² Troost, *De Rotterdammer en zijn markt*, 81; "Markt op Noordplein weer mislukt.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, June 26, 2001, 13.

³²³ Troost, *De Rotterdammer en zijn markt*, 78.

the strict market regulations and entry requirements are an obstacle for new entrepreneurs. The Dutch socio-economic regulations are considered complex and opaque, requiring knowledge about business financing, social security contributions for future employees, market conditions and social legislations.³²⁴ As a result, the necessary certificate for itinerant trade is connected with a large bureaucratic expenditure, as well as requirements of cultural and language knowledge that raises the entry barrier for entrepreneurs with a migrant background significantly.³²⁵

Another aspect is the long waiting lists in the major markets. At the central market on the Binnenrotte, it can take as long as ten to fifteen years for a new entrepreneur to acquire a new stand.³²⁶ These long waiting lists not only prevent new entrepreneurs from entering the market trade, but also reinforce the momentum that existing entrepreneurs want to maintain market stalls for as long as possible.³²⁷ This promotes the shaping of social closure strategies, through which existing market vendors develop strategies, such as registering family members on the waiting list or passing on market licenses within the family, to make use of the existing institutional regulations and exclude possible new entrants. The market becomes, as a result, a closed system in which established entrepreneurs dominate and newcomers have little possibilities to enter.³²⁸ Furthermore, these long waiting lists also follow the establishment of a seniority system, which puts any newcomer in a disadvantageous position. On the street markets, entrepreneurs with a long presence have more rights. This means that they are eligible for advantageous and fixed locations.³²⁹

³²⁴ Erik Snel, and Jude Kehla, "Pier 80. Immigrantenondernemers op de markt." in *De verborgen Stad: De zeven gezichten van Rotterdam*, by Godfried Engbersen, & Jack Burgers (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 164.

³²⁵ Ibid., 165.

³²⁶ Ibid., 175.

³²⁷ Snel and Kehla, "Pier 80. Immigrantenondernemers op de markt.", 168.

³²⁸ Ibid., 169.

³²⁹ Nuts and Dried Fruit Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 23, 2019.

Thirdly, the organisation and management of street markets provide room for informal behaviour. Three different types of informality can be distinguished: Irregularities in the allocation of places on the market, sale of informal goods, and informal work.³³⁰

According to the interviews, informality in the allocation of stands has been reduced since the municipality took over the organisation of market trade two decades ago and introduced stricter regulations. A vendor on the centre market explained to me: "In the past, when the market service was still in existence, you could illegally rent a stand as long as you gave the market manager a 'tip'. These times are over."³³¹

While repeatedly studies reveal that products are sold on the market that do not meet the legal standards, illegal labour remains the most prominent factor of informality on the street markets.³³² In 1997, a study had found that less than half of the people working on the market were officially registered. While it is usually argued that informality stems from the fact that employers save expenses and avoid social security and tax contributions by hiring informally, it is reasoned here, that the predominant function and structural embedding of family businesses in the market system are equally important.

Family members are often used as supportive hands in day-to-day operations, without being officially registered nor paid.³³³ This is also confirmed by the observations on the two large markets, where often under-age children help to sell goods at the stalls.³³⁴ Furthermore, structural requirements and regulations mean that street market entrepreneurs make unofficial use of family relationships. Many entrepreneurs have family members registered on the waiting list in order to acquire new places on the market. If the family members receive a market stall, the stall is added to the family business, so that one entrepreneur has more outlets on the market. In some cases this leads to some families running up to five different market stalls.³³⁵ Another finding concerns

³³⁰ Snel and Kehla, "Pier 80. Immigrantenondernemers op de markt.", 169-170.

³³¹ Vegetable Vendor. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Online Interview, Rotterdam, March 17, 2019.

³³² Snel and Kehla, "Pier 80. Immigrantenondernemers op de markt.", 169-170.

³³³ Hans Kroese Stenfert, "Op de markt moet de overheid zwart werk witwassen.", *Rotterdams Dagblad*, March 12, 1997, 8.

³³⁴ Based on observation Nr. 107, amongst others.

³³⁵ Snel and Kehla, "Pier 80. Immigrantenondernemers op de markt.", 157.

the reasons for initiating a market stall. These are distributed very differently across the four street markets examined and cannot be generalized.

Entrepreneurship generally relies on push and pull factors. One of the major push factors for people to start their own business is the dissatisfaction with previous employment.³³⁶ To previous theories, this study has found supporting evidence that entrepreneurship on the street markets was based on the opportunity rather than on the necessity to open a business. The Turkish bread seller, as well as the Vietnamese Loempia seller on the Binnenrotte market emphasised that the initiation of the market stall is due to the desire to be independent and not to a particular necessity, for instance due to unemployment.³³⁷ Some of the sellers surveyed went even further and said that selling is a hobby for them. The soap vendor on the Binnenrotte as well as the Thai Family that sells snacks on the Noordplein market are examples of this. While some of these hobby-vendors have aspirations to build up a business, for example a restaurant in the case of the Thai family, most of them see the markets plainly as an appropriate place to pursue their hobby. They do not talk about how important the financial income is to them, this means that it might not be as important or that it is simply a taboo topic they do not like talking about too much.

What most of the interviewed vendors have in common is that they appreciate working in the street markets. A majority of them mentioned that although the working days are long and strenuous, they enjoy their work very much because of the contact with the people and the outdoor work. K. who has been selling antiques on the central market for over forty years says:

Selling on the market is like playing in a movie... I help them selling things, because they're very busy. And I always liked to do that, because for me it's like playing in a film. Because of all the people you meet and all the stories they tell you. Everything you see and hear is like a movie.³³⁸

³³⁶ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 118.

³³⁷ Tersteeg, Bolt, and van Kempen, *DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity - The Case of Rotterdam*, 125.

³³⁸ Antiques Vendor (Former). Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam, May 09, 2019.

LOCATIONAL AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE MARKET

Markets are crucial amenities within the neighbourhoods in which they are located. The local markets are often embedded in a system of other physical and locational factors that surround them. On the one hand, local markets offer an alternative to supermarkets and hence, the proximity of markets to people living in certain neighbourhoods was found to be crucial for quality of life, making affordable food accessible. When the Afrikaanderpleinmarkt recorded decreasing turnover, the borough Feijenoord decided to invest 3 million guildens to improve the facilities and attract more and more wealthy customers, instead of reallocating the market to the Maashaven (which has been an idea of the municipality for years).³³⁹ On the other hand, markets are also of fundamental value to the surrounding retail outlets.

This is exemplified by the Afrikaanderplein market. When in the 1960s, the market was shifted from Maashaven to Afrikaanderplein, the first resistance came from the established retailers, who saw the market as competition.³⁴⁰ Soon, however, they realized that the market was also leading to increased customer traffic on their end and when in 2000 the municipality planned to move the market away again, local business leaders campaigned to maintain the market on the Afrikaanderplein and protested. They argued that a large part of their clientele consists of people who visit the market and complement their purchases in their stores.³⁴¹ From previous literature and the conducted interviews it was confirmed that the success and popularity of the several street markets depends partly on the shopping environment in which they are located in.

Furthermore there are some physical attributes that are crucial for the markets. One factor of success is their accessibility. Historically, markets were located in the very centre of the town, the central market square. This central location enabled access to the market for the entire urban population and made the market the starting point for activities in the city for people who have travelled further afield. With the growth of the cities and the development of different

³³⁹ "Markt blijft op Afrikaanderplein.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, October 11, 2001, 15.

³⁴⁰ Troost, *De Rotterdammer en zijn markt*, 30.

³⁴¹ "Winkeliers willen niet dat Afrikaandermarkt verkast.", *Rotterdams Dagblad (RD)*, March 22, 2000, 14.

neighbourhoods, this role of centrality changed. The history of the markets investigated in Rotterdam shows that the markets have been shifted several times geographically for various reasons, but mostly due to construction works. Although the markets no longer take place in the city centre, they must be adapted to the environment in which they are held.³⁴³ While the Binnenrotte market benefits from its highly central location in the city by many walk-in customers and the Afrikaanderplein market plays a central role in the neighbourhood, the market on the Eendrachtsp plein has little advantages from its location. Although it would be right next to a metro and tram stop, it is little known among the residents and is located on a corner surrounded by traffic and city noise. This could be one of the reasons for the low visitor numbers.³⁴⁴

While previous studies have highlighted that market accessibility, whether by public transport or parking, is essential for success, this has not been directly confirmed in this study.³⁴⁵ Although individual interviews, such as R., who visits the centre market with his family weekly due to the good parking facilities, have mentioned accessibility, most interviews and observations concluded that people move to the markets with bicycles and are therefore freer in their choice of location.

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Another aspect of the physical layout, which is fundamental to the sociability of the market, was also observed in this study. As found by Sophie Watson, the number of ways to sit down or drink or eat contributes to the inviting atmosphere and the so-called 'rubbing along' of market visitors. The essentials are seating areas on which market visitors can sit down to relax, observe market activities, smoke a cigarette or talk to other market visitors. On the big markets on the Binnenrotte and the Afrikaanderplein these seating areas are either given by the layout of the square,

³⁴³ Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, 40.

³⁴⁴ Based on observations Nr. 8 and 163, amongst others.

³⁴⁵ Watson and Studdert, *Markets as sites for social interaction*, 35.

³⁴⁷ Customer at the Central Market on the Binnenrotte, Dutch Surinamese, Employed. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 13, 2019.

like benches, or can be found in front of snack stands. A regular visitor to the market on the Afrikaanderplein market observes: "I do see people who meet up at the market and then have a chat or sit on a bench and discuss [their] lives or whatever."³⁴⁸

As this observation shows, seating areas are places where visitors get to exchange ideas and talk. When seating is not available, people resort to improvised places such as unused market stalls, pallets standing around or flowerpots. Because seating is often limited on the large markets and atmosphere in the midst of the stalls is often described as busy and chaotic, few customers spend more time in the market than necessary for their purchases. These observations have led to the conclusion that the Noordplein market contributes most to the sociability of visitors. In this market, tables and benches are set up weekly for the visitors in the centre of the market, as can be seen in the photograph below, and these are deliberately designed to give the market visitors the opportunity to linger, meet other market visitors and watch the events.³⁴⁹



Figure 24 Seating spaces on Noordplein market, 2018

Source: Eten van Arie, Rotterdamse oogst Noordplein, <https://www.etenvanarie.nl/welke-markten/> (accessed on June 02, 2019).

³⁴⁸ Customer at Afrikaandermarkt, Dutch, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Afrikaanderplein, May 01, 2019.

³⁴⁹ Based on observations 16,17,19, and 175, amongst others.

After the previous chapter looked at the physical and local aspects of the different street markets, the following chapter looks at the social aspects of the markets. First, I will explain to what extent markets can be understood as a social system. Thereafter, I will look specifically at what social interactions take place in the market and to what extent the social rules of conduct are predominant.

Markets, like many other public places in urban space, are a place where strangers meet and move in a limited space. Markets can be characterized as a social system in which the participating individuals and groups take on different roles. However, as the participating individuals are not fully incorporated into the market activities, the markets would be characterised as a partly closed social system. While the official market regulations regulate the activities between traders and market operators, most activities in the market take place between individuals, be they sellers or consumers. As the sociologist Hans-Paul Bahrtdt elaborates:

The market is a social phenomenon of idiosyncratic nature. It is a permanent, institutionalized form of order in which certain social contacts take place again and again according to certain rules. However, it lacks the structural character of a social group and its quasi-subjectivity, which allows the ego to be identified with a we.³⁵⁰

The markets offer space for arbitrary contacts and social intentionality between different participants.³⁵¹ Residents of the surrounding area, far-flung market traders and casual visitors can consciously or unconsciously play out their differences on the markets and participate in social networks.³⁵² The markets thus also have rules of orientation and social guidelines that define the meeting of individuals and the cooperation between different subjects who inhabit this public

³⁵⁰ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Grossstadt*, 82: Author's Translation.

³⁵¹ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Grossstadt*, 86.

³⁵² Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 65.

space.³⁵³ These regulations can be broadly called social rule of conduct and will be examined in the following using a few examples.³⁵⁴

The commercial contacts on the market are dominating. They are often direct and immediate. These forms of contact, between sellers and consumers, are mostly limited to a minimal exchange and take place in a form of guided social contact.³⁵⁵ The conversations are usually reduced to the fact that the visitors of a market stand asks the sellers for the price of the products and possibly for additional information, such as a recommendation. While the interviewed market visitors pointed out that in the large markets they try not to disturb other consumers and to leave the market stall as quickly as possible, the customers tend to stay longer at the stands of the small markets.³⁵⁶ In the markets on the Eendrachtsplein and Noordplein, the observations showed that the market sellers took their time to serve the visitors individually and thus longer interactions took place. This can be the reason why vendors in smaller markets have closer contact with their customers and therefore somewhat more knowledge about them.³⁵⁷

In addition to commercial exchanges, contacts between visitors also occur at the markets. The interviewees all agreed that the markets are a conducive setting for social interaction between visitors. On the one hand, a visit to the market is often associated with an activity with friends or family. Many of the visitors mention that they meet acquaintances again at the big markets or consciously visit the small Noordplein market to spend time with acquaintances. The interaction with unknowns, on the other hand, was kept to a minimum by most visitors, with the exception of the Noordplein market. Hereby A., a resident of the neighbourhood Old North, explains her experiences on the market:

³⁵³ Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 65.

³⁵⁴ Bahrdt, *Die moderne Grossstadt*, 88.

³⁵⁵ Ünlü-Yücesoy, *Constructing the marketplace*, p.193.

³⁵⁶ Customer at various markets, Dutch, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Erasmus University Campus, March 12, 2019.

³⁵⁷ Based on the observations Nr. 10, 16, 25, 47, amongst others

I did once, when I came here, [...] and I was kind of like just hanging around [...] and I think that the fact that there are like tables here [...] they're kind of inviting to converse with other people that. Also there was a lot of like hot wine but [...] so everyone was kind of talkative. But it was nice. I think that this Market invites conversation more than the Central Market.³⁵⁸

As this quotation explains, the direct interactions with strangers increasingly take place on the small market, which provides the physical setting with the tables. Nevertheless, even the larger markets form a space, in which different people meet and come into contact. On the one hand, this happens through the often physical contact in the narrow and often visited alleys between the stands. And on the other hand, it happens through the perception of strangers, or more precisely, seeing other people. L. describes the difference from what he sees on the market as follows.

I mean it [...] depends on the amount of interaction you have. But you see people. [...] You see different people first of all. If I am going to the supermarket I see the same kind of people. Like I, people go there after work, get something to eat. Like I do – go there and leave as fast as possible.³⁵⁹

As L. describes here, by visiting the market he perceives other people than he would perceive on his daily trip to the supermarket in the supermarket. The same statement was made by an elderly lady at the market in the city centre. She recounts:

Now you see a lot more 'étrangers' [foreigners]. It is not so many Dutch people anymore, you see people from all the places. This is not a problem for me [...] since this Markthall it is a lot more tourists here.³⁶⁰

This statement reveals that the visitors to the Binnenrotte market have become more diversified in the recent decade and that this transition was perceived in a particular way by an individual visitor. The act of seeing other people is a basic part of the everyday multiculturalism in which the market visitor had immersed herself.

³⁵⁸ Customers at the Market on the Noordplein, Dutch, Polish and German, young professionals. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Noordplein, May 01, 2019.

³⁵⁹ Customer at Afrikaandermarkt, Dutch, student. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Afrikaanderplein, May 01, 2019.

³⁶⁰ Customer at the Central Market on the Binnenrotte, French, retired. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam Binnenrotte, April 13, 2019.

The markets are thus also places where unforeseen interactions can happen, where strangers meet, rub-along and mingle.³⁶¹ As Ash Amin points out, markets, as well as streets and squares in the city, are places where orderly interactions, guided by social rules of conduct, forgo with the unforeseen, friction and juxtaposition.³⁶² As found in this study, the small everyday interactions with strangers, such as buying vegetables, walking through stalls or watching from a nearby bench, play a fundamental role in market activity. These are small meetings among the residents and visitors of the urban area, which can be characterized as everyday multiculturalism. The market thus plays an important role in the public space of a city, as a local location for social meetings and social integration.³⁶³ The markets are places where the coexistence or juxtaposition of differences in urban space is renegotiated.³⁶⁴

However, two remaining obstacles need to be tackled to address these social aspects. On the one hand, the problems with cleanliness and safety on the markets have increased. While newspaper articles over the last two decades have repeatedly addressed the issue of the large mountains of waste caused by the market and various problem-solving attempts³⁶⁵, the former seller, K., emphasises that security and crime on the market has also worsened:

It's not as pleasant as in the old times. In the 60s, 70s, 80s, it was very peaceful in the market and in the 90s and 2000s it became a little bit the big focus and you got lots of people using drugs [on] the markets [and] more criminality on the market [...] in general it's less pleasant [...] also for the sellers.³⁶⁶

This is consistent with newspaper articles highlighting above all an increase in pickpockets in the markets in the last two decades.³⁶⁷

³⁶¹ Watson, *The Magic of the Marketplace*; Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 70-71.

³⁶² Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 70.

³⁶³ Watson, *The Magic of the Marketplace*, xy.

³⁶⁴ Amin, *Land of Strangers*, 82.

³⁶⁵ "Reinigingspolitie gaat extra controleren op weekmarkten.", *De Havenloods*, September 2, 1999, 1.

³⁶⁶ Customers at the Central Market on the Binnenrotte, Indonesian, retired. Interview by Louise Sträuli. Personal Interview, Rotterdam, May 09, 2019.

³⁶⁷ "Zakkenrollers op de markt" *AD Rotterdams Dagblad Dichtbij*, November 01, 2007, 5.

On the other hand, the commercialisation and subsequent gentrification of the retail trade poses a threat to the street market as a venue of social interaction between different population groups. Retail Gentrification, which makes the neoliberal restructuring of urban space complicit in the decline of traditional markets, can be identified in different forms in Rotterdam. The introduction of the Markthall in the city centre, the upgrading of the markets with more adapted facilities and promotion of entertainment features in the markets, which includes food trucks, indicate an increased commodification of shopping locations as well as the city centre.³⁶⁸

In addition, the processes of gentrification are reflected in the markets, especially in the neighbourhoods of the Afrikaanderwijk and the Old North. Already in the early 2000s, there were attempts to make the market on the Afrikaanderplein more appealing to affluent residents, which were expected to increase with the gentrification of the area, by upgrading the facilities. On the Noordplein, a small consumer enclave is formed every week, which is geared to the needs of the new middle-class inhabitants of the area. The market, transformed into a commodified area, displaces the traditional clientele, mostly older people and people with low household incomes, and meanwhile reflects more social segregation rather than the superdiversity in the neighbourhood.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ Gonzalez and Waley, "Traditional Retail Markets: The New Gentrification Frontier?", 966.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the current study was to examine to what extent street markets in Rotterdam reflect the trend of increasing diversification within the population living in the surrounding neighbourhoods. To this end, a first chapter examined the migration waves and population dynamics in Rotterdam since the 1990s. On the basis of existing literature and detailed analysis of statistical data, I found that Rotterdam has seen increased population diversification and evolved into a superdiverse city. These developments entail challenging implications such as socio-spatial segregation, gentrification and political polarisation, which are present in the current day city-scape.

In a second chapter, four street markets were examined in greater detail using documentary sources, interviews and observations. While all the four neighbourhoods, in which the respective markets take place, have developed towards super-diversity, the markets themselves exhibit very different characteristics. In the city centre, a neighbourhood marked by urban revaluation strategies and capital investment, the central market has been taking place since the post-war period on the Binnenrotte. Although this largest market of Rotterdam offers a wide range of products and a growing diversity of visitors with an increased number of tourists and business people in the city centre, it has recorded little change in recent decades in its form. Another traditional market has been taking place for decades now on the Afrikaanderplein in the South of the city. This neighbourhood, though severely transformed by the gentrification processes and public renewal policies, has retained its superdiverse character, in the sense of a multi-ethnic population. This and the factors that the neighbourhood still records the highest poverty and unemployment rates are reflected on the market. While the multicultural character of the market has been highlighted in reports over the last twenty years, the majority of visitors are still people with low household incomes.

On the two small markets examined, the developments look somewhat different. While the organic market on the Eendrachtsplein in the city centre has been struggling with declining visitor numbers and a lack of stand sellers since its introduction in 2006, the farmers' market on the

Noordplein has (since 2008) developed into a popular meeting place for the urban middle class living in the neighbourhood. The market, which takes place in the midst of a strongly gentrified and superdiverse area, is a strong reflection of the socio-spatial segregation in a superdiverse neighbourhood as well as the trends of glocalisation.³⁷¹

The findings of the market developments and profiles were brought together in a third chapter, where the aim was to analyse the developments of diversity and the locational as well as social aspects of the market. In this analysis it was recognized that the originally assumed tripartite of diversity in the market - the sellers, the buyers and the products - does not sufficiently capture the complexity of the markets and is therefore reductionist in nature. While the visitors have perceptibly diversified on most of the markets due to the evolving population throughout the city and each neighbourhood, the other two factors have remained more uniform.

On the side of the market vendors, I found that the majority of them represent traditional entrepreneurs. The assumption based on previous studies, that immigrant entrepreneurship is prevalent on the markets could not be confirmed. Although immigrant entrepreneurs are generally strongly represented in the retail trade, few can be found among the market traders.³⁷² Moreover, a large proportion of incumbent immigrant entrepreneurs belong to the generation of migrants who came to the Netherlands as early as the 1960s and 1970s. This means that persons with a Surinamese, Turkish or Moroccan background are represented in the food industry and persons of Pakistani or Indian origin in the textile industry.³⁷³ The fact that there are fewer, more recent immigrant entrepreneurs speaks against the development of super-diversity amongst the vendors. The reasons for this are the strong market regulations, based on bureaucracy and the long waiting lists, which have made it much more difficult for entrepreneurs in general to enter the big markets in recent decades. While access for new entrants is hampered by these aspects, the market on the Noordplein offers an exception. Because the market is privately organised and hence not yet fully integrated in the bureaucratic system of the municipality, the admission requirements are more flexible. Hence, the market offers small businesses the possibility to open a

³⁷¹ Roland Robertson, "Globalisation or glocalisation?", 41.

³⁷² August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 13.

³⁷³ August Choenni, *Tussen toko en topzaak*, 15-17.

stand based on leisure or experimentation activity. In principle, the most represented form of enterprise on the street markets are small enterprises and family businesses. Buoyed by the market regulations, family businesses remain on the markets for decades, representing a strong element of tradition.

Likewise, when looking at the products on the markets, few changes could be detected over the years. On the large markets, such as on the Binnenrotte and the Afrikaanderplein, strict market regulations prevent the introduction of new products at an existing stall and therefore vendors can at most adapt their products minimally to changing consumer needs. These changing demands can be identified as the origins of the two smaller biological markets on the Eendrachtsplein and the Noordplein. The development towards an urban population with the financial means as well as the need for ecological and locally produced products can be traced back to social developments, such as gentrification and glocalisation. Consequently, it can be said that while the product range adapts to the changing needs of visitors, it does not record increased diversity, which reflects an inherent understanding of the market as a supplier of traditional products.

The threefold nature of diversity turned out to be insufficient for this study, as it ignored the complexity of developments and changes. These are, among other things, the market organisation which, through strict regulations, prevents changes in the market. As was shown in this study, the rigid market system gives room for informal behaviour due to its lack of adaptability. Over the period under review, irregularities associated with corruption or illegal work were detected on a regular basis. Other significant elements of the market are the aspects of locality and social space. This study makes a significant contribution to existing research by taking into account these two latter aspects from a historical and anthropological perspective. In the following, I would like to highlight some of the main findings of this research in relation to the historical perspective of the social and locality aspects of the market.

Marketplaces are places that reflect tradition and continuance in a rapidly changing and super-diverse urban environment, such as Rotterdam. Tradition is on the one hand connected with the external image that visitors associate with the market and on the other hand with the lack of

change over time. Likewise, the prevalence of long-established and multi-generation family businesses also reflects the epitome of traditional entrepreneurship.

This research has found that the street markets can be regarded as social products of public space. Based on Michel de Certeau's theory, this study showed that markets are not neutral spatial units, but geographical spaces in which social activities take place. The recorded activities on the market represent a multiplicity of everyday practices taking place in a temporally and spatially limited event. Markets are therefore public places, where the most diverse people, from market sellers coming from all over the country, to the inhabitants of a neighbourhood and business people or tourists, meet and share the public space. The interviews and observations have shown that although the markets do not necessarily create direct contact between strangers, they do have an important function in that they are places where people consciously or unconsciously meet strangers. The act of seeing and walking past each other in a confined space is a specific way of recognising the other, even if it does not involve direct contact. The small, everyday interactions offer the visitors and the sellers on the market a form of intercultural exchange and confrontation with social reality. Therefore, the market is a place of everyday multiculturalism, where acquaintances and strangers encounter and negotiate their differences.³⁷⁴

Whether these everyday encounters lead to more tension or possibly even to a more convivial coexistence in a superdiverse city would be the object of further investigation. In the manner in which these interactions take place, however, rules of social as well as public behaviour can be recognized based on Erving Goffmann's theory of social interaction. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that customers try to exit the crowd as quickly as possible after buying a product, or in the fact that any interruption in the constant flow of movement between stands immediately attracts attention. Street markets are also a reflection of social segregation in urban space, already recognized by the Chicago School of Urbanism. Through the interactions, as well as the absence of interactions on the markets, representing other public spaces, socio-spatial segregations are reproduced and reflected within a city. From these findings it can be concluded that

³⁷⁴ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 2-3.

street markets are places where everyday urbanism and everyday multiculturalism can be recognised and analysed.³⁷⁵ The social conditions and interactions that take place on the market are inherent constituents of the market as it exists in public space. The significance of the market as a public space thus goes beyond the purely economic significance of the exchange of goods. Markets have a profound social significance in the everyday life of a superdiverse city.

Although the markets have proved to be a suitable subject for study, the concept of super-diversity as a support for this study must be critically questioned. To analyse the demographic diversification, its conditions and implication in a city like Rotterdam, the concept of superdiversity offers a helpful and valuable framework. However, a critical point for the study of super-diversity is that although the concept presupposes a diversification of diversity beyond ethnic origin, much of the available statistical data and research is still based on the characteristics of ethnic origin. Worse still in the Dutch case, many reports and official data still rely on the binary classification between *allochtoon* and *autochtoon*, which greatly reduces diversity among migrants. This study attempted to supplement these limited statistical data with existing literature and interviews.

Furthermore, the study of street markets shows to what extent complementing the concept of superdiversity with that of hyperdiversity could be helpful. Hyperdiversity also includes the different preferences and activities of a diverse society. In terms of the market, this means that the socio-demographic changes have not only shifted the tastes and needs of market visitors, but also the activity of going to the market. In this study I have found that the reasons for the market visit as well as the length of the visit and the meaning attached to it vary from person to person.

³⁷⁷ For example, while L. concentrates on getting fresh fish at the market every now and then without spending too much time there, K. spends an entire afternoon at the market twice a week without doing his shopping, but meeting friends.

The main weakness of this study was the paucity of official market statistics of the municipality, which would have strengthened the research on entrepreneurs and product developments. With

³⁷⁵ Wise und Selvaraj, *Everyday Multiculturalism*, 4.

³⁷⁷ Tasan-Tok, Van Kempen, Raco, and Bold, *Towards Hyper-Diversified Towards Hyper-Diversified European Cities*, 10.

the examined documents and the sporadic interviews I could gain a valuable insight into the market dynamics. However, these findings reflect the dynamics and events in the individual markets under consideration and from a particular perspective and can therefore only be generalised to a limited extent. It should also be mentioned here that the study mainly focuses on documents and information that speak from a Dutch perspective. The focus on newspaper articles and documents of the market organisation and municipal government, which were all compiled by Dutch, mostly male persons, as well as also some interviews, reflect a perspective on the events and dynamics, which is limited and biased. For this reason, it is recommended to extend the scope of the study for further research and in addition to more diverse and in-depth interviews, to examine the role of neighbourhood organisations and business associations that are occupied with the development of market trades. In order to gain a deeper understanding of how the experiences and exchanges of families and immigrant businesses have developed on the market, a further study is suggested on entrepreneurial activities with a focus on the reproduction of elements of tradition and modernity. A fertile ground for further research would also be the investigation of the productions and distribution of the goods sold on the market and the extent to which these have changed over the last decades, through transnational networks and globalization.

One important observation that emerges from this study is that the discussion about diversity and its possibilities is lagging behind, not only in the marketplace. As a classic case of institutional path dependency, the public regulations in Rotterdam, which can be identified in this study on the basis of market regulations, are not yet up to the challenges of super-diversity. As in many other European cities, superdiversity has become a socio-demographic reality in Rotterdam. Instead of the discourse on how this diversity can be used for the benefit and added value of society, political debates about multiculturalism and populism, as well as exclusive discourses dominate everyday life. This study has tried to show that diversity is recognizable and present in the everyday life of the city and that there are many possibilities in the public space where intercultural exchange can take place and be fostered.

In summary, this paper has made a valuable contribution to previous research on the emerging concepts of super- and hyperdiversity by critically questioning the application of these concepts to the study of population trends in the city of Rotterdam. While the socio-demographic situation in Rotterdam has evolved towards super-diversity over the last three decades, transition is taking place at a slower pace on the street markets. The markets reflect a multiplicity of urban developments and diversity in customers and products, but the evolution towards super-diversity is hindered by the dominant elements of tradition, market regulation and management. Although markets are therefore not a direct reflection of superdiversity, they are valuable research elements for a variety of developments. Influenced by the increased mobility of goods, services and people through globalisation, not only the populations and European cities have changed, but also the behaviours, consumer needs and activities that people undertake. In the super-diverse cities, like Rotterdam, and their everyday places, like the street markets, the opposite influences of global developments and local identities and traditions can be seen. The market is one of the public places of the modern city in which people meet and share limited space, but it is also a place in which people live past each other and keep a distance. Markets, representative of modern cities, show the dynamics that a superdiverse society brings with it. They are mirrors of existing discourses in urban space, reflecting everyday multiculturalism and conviviality, gentrification and segregation, innovation and tradition.

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APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEWS WITH VENDORS

1. Vendor, Cheese, Afrikaanderplein Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Market Vendor, Dutch, Male, mid-50s</i>
<i>Date</i>	24.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Afrikaanderplein Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 15 minutes
Interv.	Hi, I am studying at Erasmus University and doing a study on the Market. Could I ask you some questions? And would you agree to this information to be used in my research?
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	Ok, thank you. Ok. Are you here on the market every week?
Vendor	Yes, Wednesdays and Fridays
Interv.	Ok. Do you also go to other markets in Rotterdam or the Netherlands?
Vendor	Yes. So on Wednesday and Saturday I am here. Then I go to three more markets during the week, on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. They are all in South Holland
Interv.	Oh ok. So you have five market days a week?
Vendor	No, we have seven. My son also goes to two markets on Tuesday and on Sunday
Interv.	Oh ok. So you have two stalls?
Vendor	Yes, we have two. And we work seven days a week
Interv.	So it is you, your son...Do you have also other people working for you?
Vendor	It is me and my son and one more person that helps us
Interv.	Oh, so it's quite a small business
Vendor	Yes, yes. It's family
Interv.	For how long have you been trading on markets?
Vendor	Oh already around forty years
Interv.	Wow, for forty years on this market as well?
Vendor	Yes, always here
Interv.	This is really a long time. Did you see any change here, since you are here?
Vendor	Yes, a lot.
Interv.	What did change?
Vendor	The people buy different... Earlier the people would buy one big piece for a small price. Now, since maybe the last ten years, people like more small and special pieces
Interv.	So people are more focused on different cheeses than on the size of the portion?
Vendor	Yes, they like to try different special cheese and buy small pieces, not just the same big one
Interv.	And when did you say this changed?

Vendor	I would say for about the last ten years
Interv.	This is interesting. So did the taste of people change?
Vendor	Yes, well. It is now more important for people to buy fresh and good products. People are more paying attention to quality
Interv.	What types of cheese do you sell? Do you have more different ones?
Vendor	I have only Dutch cheese. Well. I also have some few French cheese, but only these two (points to two cheeses). Other than this I only sell Dutch cheese
Interv.	And do you see a change in the people that come to the market as well?
Vendor	Yes... The people have changed as well
Interv.	How would you describe this change?
Vendor	More young people...more students that come to this market. Before there were less students here

2. Vendor, Bakery, Eendrachtsplein Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Market Vendor, Dutch, Male, mid-40s</i>
<i>Date</i>	16.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Eendrachtsplein Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 20 minutes

Interv.	I am doing a master Thesis for the University here and was wondering if I could ask you some questions? And would you agree to this information to be used in my research?
Vendor	Yes sure
Interv.	Ok, thank you! How long have you been selling on this market?
Vendor	Well, so I have this stall here for three years now. But the guy who was here before, I think ehm he had it for 15 years
Interv.	Oh, so from the very beginning?
Vendor	Yes, he was here from the beginning
Interv.	Oh nice. So are you selling only on this market or do you sell on other markets as well?
Vendor	Oh, I go to different markets. We are on four different markets. On tuesday I am here on Eendrachtsplein, then I also go to Dordrecht and The Hague.
Interv.	Ok. But this one is it the smallest market?
Vendor	Yes, definitely. The other markets are bigger and you have different stalls. Here you see it is just this [points at the empty square]
Interv.	Oh but you still decide to come here
Vendor	Yes, yes. It is small but good. You know the people that come here, so I come here again
Interv.	Do you have a lot of returning customers?
Vendor	Yes, they always come. Many come every week
Interv.	Do most of them come from the neighbourhood?
Vendor	Yes, I think so. Here come a few customers. Not many tourist like on other markets
Interv.	Do you have an explanation..can you say why there are so few stalls here? Is it difficult for the permission to make a stall here?
Vendor	Yes ehm. It is very difficult
Interv.	Ok, what about it is difficult?
Vendor	Well. It takes very long. You know on the other market in Dordrecht, I just make a call and I can open a stall. Here, when I bought this stall from the previous owner, for the first two to three months I was always doing like calls and paper work.
Interv.	Oh so it is a lot of paper work?

<i>Vendor</i>	Yes, a lot
<i>Interv.</i>	So it is not easy for new stalls, new businesses if they want to start a business here?
<i>Vendor</i>	No, it is difficult
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh this is a pity. It is a very nice market. Do you always work alone or with other people?
<i>Vendor</i>	No no. This market here I do on my one. Usually it is also eehm well my wife helps me and one day also my two children. On Fridays we are in Dordrecht. There we have 7 people that help us.
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh wow, this must be a big market.
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes 17 meters long.
<i>Interv.</i>	And then you are 7 people working there
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes, in total.
<i>Interv.</i>	What have you been doing before you bought this stall three years ago?
<i>Vendor</i>	I have been working on markets always
<i>Interv.</i>	Have you always worked with bakery goods? Or did you sell other products?
<i>Vendor</i>	No always bakery goods. Usually the market stalls are here until five or six in the evening, but I usually leave at two
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh ok, so this is why I did not see your stall when I passed by here last week at around three
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes.
<i>Interv.</i>	Well, I guess you already have a long working day. What time do you start in the morning?
<i>Vendor</i>	I open here at 7.
<i>Interv.</i>	And before you have to go to the bakeries to pick up the bread?
<i>Vendor</i>	No, no they bring it here.
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh this is very practical
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes. Here I get ready from home at 6 and come here. On Tuesday at five and also on Friday. The market on Friday in Dordrecht is very big. It is during two days. But we only go on Fridays.
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh so you have very long working days in general
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes
<i>Interv.</i>	Ok, well thank you very much. I see you won't be here next week, but I will and maybe the week after, so we'll see again

3. Vendor, Vegetables, Eendrachtsplein Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Market Vendor, Dutch, middle-age (around 40 years old)</i>
<i>Date</i>	16. 04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Eendrachtsplein Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 20 minutes
<i>Interv.</i>	Excuse me, do you speak English?
<i>Vendor</i>	Yes, I do
<i>Interv.</i>	I am studying at University and I am doing a Master thesis on the different market in Rotterdam. I am interested in looking at the different markets, also at this one. Would you have time to answer me some questions? And would you agree to this information to be used in my research?
<i>Vendor</i>	Well the market exists since 14 years. And we have been here with this stall for more than seven years.
<i>Interv.</i>	Oh ok, so quite a while. So do you get the products from farmers, right? Or do you also farm yourself?
<i>Vendor</i>	No. well, we get the products from farmers. We have been farming before and now we started again as well by ourselves. But mainly we get the products from farmers and sell them

Interv.	So why did you start farming yourself again?
Vendor	Well you know we had to move and then we needed to wait until the soil was biological again
Interv.	Ok, so when did you start farming again?
Vendor	Yes, just recently.
Interv.	And are you from close from here? Around Rotterdam?
Vendor	No. Well, what is close? We are in the area around Schiphol Airport region
Interv.	How many people work for this stall?
Vendor	One moment... so we are ten people in total
Interv.	Ooh ok, so ten people work for this stall. Yes. Do you also sell at other markets?
Vendor	Yes, we also do sell on three other markets. this one is definitely the smallest markets
Interv.	Why is this one the smallest one?
Vendor	I don't know..it is just very small. In other cities you have more organic markets, for example in Amsterdam and in The Hague and they are very popular. Here it is very hard for organic markets. You have also the Oogstmarkt and this one. But at the moment it is only us and the bread stall.
Interv.	Do you know of a reason why this market is so small?
Vendor	This is difficult to say. I guess, it is also the 'Gemeente' that is not helping...
Interv.	Would you say there is a lack of support from the municipality?
Vendor	Yes, there is not much support
Interv.	Would you say the demand is lacking here if you compare it to other cities?
Vendor	Well, there is a demand. It depends. The fewer stalls we are the less people also come. If there would be more stalls there would come more people as well..
Interv.	Yes, I understand. Do most of the people here come from the neighbourhood?
Vendor	Yes, from around here. Well I don't know if the neighbourhood, but well here around in Rotterdam.
Interv.	Ok. How many people would you say come regularly to this market?
Vendor	Quite some, most of them come always.
Interv.	Is there also a 'Marketmeester' that is responsible for this market?
Vendor	Yes, you mean also from the 'gemeente'?
Interv.	Yes, from the 'Gemeente' a 'Marketmeester'
Vendor	yes there is one, but he is for all the markets. Not only this one
Interv.	Oh..Is it hard to get a new stall here?
Vendor	Yes, it is difficult.
Interv.	What is difficult about it?
Vendor	There is a lot of paper work to be done. You need to prove that all your vegetables are organic at the Gemeente it is a lot of work before you can start selling
Interv.	Ok. And at the moment it is these two stalls, right? Your stall and the stall of the bread man?
Vendor	Yes. There used to be a cheese stall here. He was here from the beginning. But he had to finish some months ago.
Interv.	Oh. This is sad. Do you know why he had to finish?
Vendor	Well yes, he had financial problems. Before there used to be more stalls here. We had the cheese stall and then a ... butcher. So you could have everything you needed here.
Interv.	ok, so then you could come and buy everything
Vendor	yes, but no if it is just these two stalls not so many people come anymore.
Interv.	Oh ok. So do you get supported by the Gemeente to make this market go on or do you have to fight for survival of this market?
Vendor	it is a fight for a survival
Interv.	Do you know anything about new market stalls joining this market?

Vendor	Well we try to bring new stalls here, but it is difficult..
Interv.	So you said you have been here for 14 years...oh no sorry, you are here for three years..
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	Have the products you are selling changed at all during the time you were selling here?
Vendor	no. Not really
Interv.	has it always been vegetables?
Vendor	Yes, we have different vegetables. Of course, they are different in the seasons, but alsway vegetables.

4. Market Vendor, Fruits and Vegetables, Central Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Former Market Vendor, Dutch, Male, 20 years old</i>
<i>Date</i>	04.03.2019
<i>Place</i>	Online
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 10 minutes
Vendor	Hey je wou wat weten over de markt
Interv.	Hi Mikey, Ja dat klopt - bedankt voor het contact met mij! Ik wil graag onderzoeken hoe de markten in Rotterdam de afgelopen decennia zijn veranderd en hoe dit de ervaringen van verkopers en bezoekers heeft veranderd
Vendor	Ik heb zelf niet echt heel lang op de markt gestaan hoor, hihi. Maar 2 jaar. Weet niet of je daar wat mee kann
Interv.	Dat is natuurlijk geen probleem. Ik vind het ook interessant om te horen wat de ervaringen zijn op de markt vandaag de dag. Daarom weet ik zeker dat dit ook nuttig is.
Vendor	Ik heb 2 jaar met heel veel plezier bij koedam groenten en fruit gewerkt op de centrum markt op zaterdag het is vroeg opstaan en hard werken maar zo gaaf om mee gemaakt te hebben hoe alles in zijn werking gaat s. Ochtends vroeg om half 5 begin je bij de loods om alle groenten en fruit te laden dan rij je weg om de verkoopwagen te halen en ga je onderweg naar Rotterdam daar aangekomen ga je alles opbouwen en klaar zetten rond 8 uur komen de eerste klanten. Meestal de vaste klanten. En het mooie daarvan is je krijgt een band met die mensen je bent voor sommige een luisterend oor de 1 zegt meer dan de ander maar het contact met de mensen is zo mooi en als ze dan ook nog met een lach weg gaan en de volgende keer terug komen is het fantastisch
Interv.	Dat klinkt geweldig. Ik kan me goed voorstellen dat het een vermoeiende klus is. Ik heb zelf lange tijd in de horeca gewerkt en ken deze werktijden zeer goed. Ik vind het contact met de mensen een heel leuk aspect van het werk. Kwamen er mensen uit de buurt naar je toe of was het een gemengd publiek?
Vendor	Het was wel gemengd
Interv.	Kwamen soms ook mensen van ver die dan van andere mensen hadden gehoord dat ze bij ons echt een keer moesten komen kijken en dat is ook gaaf
Vendor	Ja, dat klinkt geweldig. Begrijp ik goed dat je niet meer in de markt werkt, maar je hebt er twee jaar gewerkt?
Interv.	Ja ik ben bezig voor mijn vrachtwagen rijbewijs. Om mijn droom waar te maken

5. Market Vendor, Fruits and Vegetables, Central Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Market Vendor, Dutch, female, Mid-30s</i>
<i>Date</i>	17.03.2019
<i>Place</i>	Online
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 10 minutes
Interv.	Hi [...]. Hartlijk dank voor het benaderen van mij! Je komt inderdaad uit een echte marktfamilie – dit is zeer indrukwekkend!
Vendor	Wordt mijn naam vermeld? Ik kan je veel vertellen over het oude marktwezen en de corruptie maar dan liever niet met naam.
Interv.	Nee, het is allemaal anoniem. Ik zal de geschiedenis en ervaringsinformatie opnemen in mijn scriptie, maar er zullen geen namen worden opgenomen en er zal geen melding worden gemaakt van wie dat gezegd heeft.

Vendor	Top! Ik zal voor die tijd ook met mijn vader en grootouders en oms en tantes overleggen. De hele familie staan namelijk op de mart. Mijn vader heeft geen opleiding gehad en mijn moeder ook niet. Maar hond zakelijk vernuft is subliem.
Interv.	Ja, dat is geweldig, maar het moet ook voor jou niet te veel problemen opleveren!
Vendor	Zelf heb ik mijn bachelor behaald en ben bezig mijn studie Nederlands recht weer op te pakken. De mart is sinds invoering van Stadsstoezicht heel erg veranderd. Vroeger toen dienst Marktwezen nog bestond kon je illegaal een kraam huren zolang je de marktmeester maar een 'foo' gaf. De tijden zijn voorbij. Ook de tijden dat je op een dag 10.000 gulden verdiende is helaas voorbij. Je mag me appen hoor voor en tijdstip etc. Het is echt een 'cultuur'.

6. Vendors, Snack Stall Fresh Potatoes, Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Market Vendor, Dutch, female, mid-40, and Vendor, Dutch, Male, mid-70s</i>
<i>Date</i>	23.04.2019, 10.15 Uhr
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 10 minutes
Interv.	I am doing a masterscriptie on the markets in Rotterdam and I have seen that you are also on the market in Afrikaanderplein? Could I ask you some questions and would you agree that this information is used in my research.
Vendor	Yes, sure! Yes, we are. We are here and on Afrikaanderplein.
Interv.	Do you also go to other markets?
Vendor	Yes. Also to Schiedam, if you know where this is?
Interv.	Yes. Is this your only truck or are there several?
Vendor	This is the only one.
	Me: How long have you been on the market for?
Interv.	(woman turns around to ask the elder man that is working in the stall as well. He answers in Dutch, she translates) He has been on this market for 60 years
Vendor	Wow, this is a very long time.
Interv.	Yes. (The man says more in Dutch, she translates again). He says that his wife is 15 years younger. But they only get one..ehm. one payment for not working. You know the unw. So they only get one, that is why he must work more. He works still, but soon he will stop working
Vendor	Oh. So he will retire soon. Do you know if the stall will continue?
Interv.	You mean this one
Vendor	Yes.
Interv.	Well, his son is also in the business. He has another stall. So he will continue with that then
Vendor	Oh, so it is like a family business.
Interv.	We are not family, but yes his son does this as well
Vendor	What was originally the intention to start this business?
	(turns towards the man and asks him in Dutch. He responds and she answers). He says he his grand grand mother has already sold potatoes. It was his whole family selling potatoes. They started in 18 ehm...1850. Yes, his whole family was selling the potatoes. It is a tradition
Interv.	Oh ok
Vendor	(translates what the man says further) He says that before they would sell fish. Fried fish, you know the small ones. But then there was a year, when it was cold and the water froze. So they started frying potatoes. This is how they started with potatoes. Yes this was in 1850
Interv.	Ok, so out of necessity they started selling the fried potatoes. And now it is very popular
Vendor	Yes. People come here a lot. It is very nice. (The man interrupt her to explain something, she turns to me and translates, laughing): he says that in his family they always said, you are too stupid ... so you have to sell potatoes
	translates what the man says further) He says that before they would sell fish. Fried fish, you know the small ones. But then there was a year, when it was cold and the water froze. So they started frying potatoes. This is how they started with potatoes. Yes this was in 1850

Interv.	Ok, so out of necessity they started selling the fried potatoes. And now it is very popular
Vendor	Yes. People come here a lot. It is very nice. (The man interrupt her to explain something, she turns to me and translates, laughing): he says that in his family they always said, you are too stupid ... so you have to sell potatoes
Interv.	well I would say it is also very difficult to maintain a business here and hard work.
Vendor	Yes of course
Interv.	How many people are working here?
Vendor	Here? Or in total ..with his son?
Interv.	No only here for this stall
Vendor	It is the four of us (shows the four people, two young women, the elderly man and her)
Interv.	oh so you're always the same four people
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	And do a lot of your customers come here repeatedly?
Vendor	yes, yes. We see a lot of people. We know some
Interv.	And do you interact with the other vendors?
Vendor	we know them yes. We talk
Interv.	Is it like a community here?
Vendor	No I would not say a community. It is like the same kind of people. But not a community
Interv.	Ok, so you talk but not more. Is it different to be here on the market than from being on the Afrikaanderplein?
Vendor	No. not much. It is pretty much the same for us.
Interv.	Ok. Thank you very much for taking the time and talking to me!

7. Market Vendors, Snack Stall Fresh Potatoes, Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Two Vendors, female, mid-20s</i>
<i>Date</i>	23.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 10 minutes
Interv.	Hi, I am doing a masterscriptie on the markets in Rotterdam. Could I ask you some questions? And is it ok for you if I use this for my research?
Vendor	I: Yes..I can try
Interv.	Me: Do you have different of these stalls from (...)?
Vendor	I: Yes. We have one here and one on the other side of the market. And one more. And then there are shops
Interv.	Me: Ah ok. Do you come here regularly?
Vendor	I: Yes, every week. Always no Tuesday and Saturday
	Me: And do you also go to other markets?
Interv.	I: Yes, also to Schie... (Note of the author: unknown Dutch city name)
Vendor	Me: How long does this stall already exist?
Interv.	I: Ehm since. Well 19... (shows her T-shirt) since 1967
Vendor	Me: Oh this is a quite long time. Is it like a family business?
Interv.	I: Yes. Well it used to be. Now it is not anymore
Vendor	Me: do you know how many people work for this company then
Interv.	I: ooh. For all of it you mean?
Vendor	Me: Yes
Interv.	I: Oh this is a lot. So there are 23 stores and then there is also the new snack bar. This is the new one

Vendor	Me: Ah, I know. One is when you cross the Erasmusbridge
Interv.	I: Yes exactly, it is the new (...). So.. then you have the market trucks. I don't know..
Vendor	Me: Ok, but quite a lot of people
Interv.	I: Yes a lot, it is a big business
Vendor	Me: oh ok. And `when do you work here?
Interv.	I: Always. Well from 9 to 4. And I have been working here now for..ehm. three years.
Vendor	Me: And do you know the people that come here?
Interv.	I: Some. A lot of tourist come here as well.
Vendor	Me: Do you get to interact with the other vendors?
Interv.	with the other people that sell products on the market? Do you talk to them?
Vendor	I: Not really, no. We are always here inside and then it is very busy and you don't get to talk to the others. It is just selling

8. Vendor, Turkish Bread, Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Vendor, female, 20 years old: male, mid-60s, both Turkish</i>
<i>Date</i>	23.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 10 minutes
Interv.	Hi, I am doing a research for the university on the markets in Rotterdam. Can I ask you some questions? And is it ok if I use this for my research?
Vendor	Yes ok
Interv.	I see you are here every week. When do you come here?
Vendor	Always every Tuesday and Saturday
Interv.	Do you also go to other markets?
Vendor	No only here
Interv.	How long have you been on the market?
Vendor	(the girl turns around to the man that is preparing food in the back and asks in Dutch). Twenty-seven years. My dad has this stall for twenty-seven years
Interv.	So is it more family also working here?
Vendor	No just him and me. We have more people that help us
Interv.	Do you Talk with the other vendors a lot?
Vendor	A bit. But we are the only ones on this market that sell this bread (she points to a bread next to Gözleme).
Interv.	Oh so this is your speciality?
Vendor	Yes, it is our special bread
Interv.	Do a lot of people come regularly to your stall? Do you know the people who come?
Vendor	Yes, yes. Always a lot of people. Especially for lunch. A lot of people come from ehm..the markthall, but also from Eneco. You know eneco?
Interv.	Yes, I know.
Vendor	Yes they come from there to buy our bread
Interv.	So you are always on this market?
Vendor	Yes, two days a week
Interv.	What do you do on the other days?

Vendor	We prepare this bread
Interv.	Me: Ok, how long does it take to prepare this bread?
Vendor	I: (turns towards man to ask, she translates): One of these breads takes about 3 minutes to prepare
Interv.	And how many of these do you usually prepare for a market day?
Vendor	(she turns around to ask the father), around two hundred
Interv.	Oh, that is a lot
Vendor	Yes. And usually we sell them all in one day
Interv.	That's nice. Thank you very much for talking to me!

9. Vendor, Nuts and Dried Fruits, Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Vendor, male, mid-30s, Dutch</i>
<i>Date</i>	23.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 5 minutes
Interv.	Hi, I am doing a research for the university on the markets in Rotterdam. Can I ask you some questions? And is it ok if I use this for my research?
Vendor	Yes ok
Interv.	Are you here every week?
Vendor	Yes we are here (points at stall) on Tuesday and there (points towards north) on Saturdays
Interv.	How long have you been coming to this market?
Vendor	For seven and a half years
Interv.	Have you always been selling the same products?
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	Oh and you are always at the same spots?
Vendor	Yes, always here and there
Interv.	How do you get the spots assigned? How does it work that you always have the same spot?
Vendor	You chose every year your spot. If you want to move you can move. But we don't want to move so we always chose the same spots
Interv.	Do you also go to different markets?
Vendor	Yes, we also go to two other markets in Rotterdam to ... and ... (names town names). (the elder man next to him laughs and says something in Dutch. The vendor translates): yes, he is from H.. so we also go and sell there
Interv.	OH so you are also always here on the market? (to the older man)
Vendor	He comes with me from time to time
Interv.	Ok Thank you!

10. Vendor, Vietnamese Loempia, Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Vendor, male, mid-30s, Vietnamese</i>
<i>Date</i>	23.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 5 minutes

Interv.	Hi, I am doing a research for the university on the markets in Rotterdam. Can I ask you some questions? And is it ok if I use this for my research?
Vendor	Yes, sure
Interv.	Are you here on the market regularly?
Vendor	yes, always Tuesday and Saturday
Interv.	For how long have you been on this market?
Vendor	Since..ehm 2012..so seven years now
Interv.	And is this your stall?
Vendor	yes, it is my stall
Interv.	How did you start selling Loempia's here?
Vendor	It was my parents stall before. They were selling before and now I do it
Interv.	Ok. So when did they start with this stall?
Vendor	Ooh.hmmm. in the 90s? somewhen..
Interv.	Ok. Do you know why your parents decided to make a stall?
Vendor	My father was working in the 'fabric' (factory). And ehm. He wanted to have his own business, so he decided to come to the market
Interv.	Oh ok. And now your parents are retired?
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	Does anyone else work with you on this stall?
Vendor	No, only me
Interv.	And do you go to other markets?
Vendor	Yes, ok this one here and then another one in Schiebroek. Do you know? It is also in Rotterdam
Interv.	Ah yes. And do you live, are you from Rotterdam?
Vendor	Yes, I used to live. Now not anymore
Interv.	So you are on different markets during the week?
Vendor	Yes, on these days. And the rest of the week I am at home. I have two kids and my wife works as well, so I take care of the kids
Interv.	Does your wife also work here?
Vendor	no, she has a beauty salon
Interv.	And do you talk a lot with the other vendors?
Vendor	Yes a little bit
Interv.	Are they also always here or do they change a lot?
Vendor	It is mostly the same people
Interv.	Are a lot of new stalls opening?
Vendor	Not really.
Interv.	Can you tell me how it works to open a stall?
Vendor	There is a waiting list. And it depends.you have to wait until someone.ehm. when someone goes than you can come
Interv.	Do you know how long the waiting list is?
Vendor	No, It depends on the category. It is different. For a stall like this it is very long. You have to wait until someone leaves
Interv.	Oh ok, so for a snack stall it is long
Vendor	Yes, and then it is different depending what you are selling
Interv.	Ok. Thank you very much for talking to me!

11. Vendor, Thai Snack Stall, Noordplein Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Vendor, female, mid-30s</i>
<i>Date</i>	13.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Binnenrotte Market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 5 minutes
Interv.	Are you here every Saturday?
Vendor	Yes, we come here every Saturday
Interv.	Do you have another place where you sell your food or eehm only here?
Vendor	Only here. We have the dream to open a store. But at the moment only here. He (points at Brother) cooks somewhere else and I also work somewhere else. It is like a hobby for us.
Interv.	Ooh ok. So does it pay off for now?
Vendor	Yes it is ok.
Interv.	How did you start making the stall here?
Vendor	I1: He saw that you can rent this here..ehm yes. We decided to cook then (Brother says: Yes I saw this here)
Interv.	Are you a family?
Vendor	Yes, he is my brother. This is his daughter.
Interv.	So you are all family?
Vendor	Yes. He cooks. My mother makes the preparation at home. His wife makes the sauces
Interv.	Oh wow this is very tasty
Vendor	Oh yes. He likes to cook very much and can cook good. Me less. I like to eat well, but not cooking
Interv.	Hehe, yes same with me. Where are you from?
Vendor	From Thailand. We came here when I was 12 and he was 15..
Interv.	And do you live in Rotterdam?
Vendor	Yes
Interv.	How long did you have this stall for?
Vendor	Since half year. We have already been here, I1: yes, since last year ...how do you say acht maand? Since september
Interv.	I1: yes, since last year ...how do you say acht maand?
Vendor	ok. So already more than half a year. Do you know the people that come to the market?
Interv.	Yes..much people come every Saturday. They always come and you know them. They come from the neighbourhood

12. Former Vendor, Antiques, Noordplein and Centrum market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Vendor, male, 67 years old</i>
<i>Date</i>	09.05.2019
<i>Place</i>	At Interviewee's Home
<i>Duration</i>	Approx. 5 minutes
Introduction	<p>The Interviewee tells me in a chat before recording the interview about his background: First job was selling stamps at the Noordmarkt when he was 11. He would get 1 Gulden pocket money from the mother and make 10 gulden on the market. This market was only for selling stamps. Was very good money. 1960 he started selling stamps there.</p> <p>Earlier in Rotterdam it was a lot quitter. In 1940s there were around 400'000 inhabitnats, so it did not grow too much since then. But the population changed. In 1960s came a lot of workers from spain and Italy. In 1975 the dutch colony of</p>

	<p>suriname became independent. Then a lot of people came. And then with several wars in the 1980s and 1990s came the problem. A lot of fugitives came. We have problem like everywhere in the world now.</p> <p>In 1970s spend half of the time in Indonesia and half of the time in Rotterdam. In Rotterdam worked on the market to sell antiques and in Indonesia worked as a translator for Shell at this time in Indonesia.</p> <p>First selling stamps on the market. Then books. And then antiques with the markets. First on other markets and then from 1989 (?) to 2014 on the market in the centre. Stopped selling on the market because his partner quit selling.</p> <p>Selling was always more of a hobby, but it paid enough to make a living of.</p> <p>Now he still goes to the market, looks at the antiques he knows the people.</p> <p>Now working in the diamond industry. He knows the prices from training. He would also go to auctions to know the prices and sell it. He has an eye for the stones and the diamonds. Also for antiques.</p>
Vendor	Do you still go to the markets nowadays?
Interv.	Yes, twice a week. I still know a lot of people there. Sometimes some of the vendors still ask me to help sell. I know a lot and can help knowing the prices. If I look at something and I know what era it is from and how much it is worth. For example this vase can cost 10 euros and this cup 2 euros.
Vendor	Me: And also, as you mentioned before, they would also ask you to work there?
Interv.	K: Yes, help them selling things, because they're very busy. And I always like to do that, because for me it's like playing in a film. Because all the people you meet and all the stories they tell you. Everything you see and you hear is like a movie.
Vendor	Me: Was it different for you to sell antiques on the market than if you would have a store somewhere?
Interv.	K: I think on the market it's easier. Because people go to the market because they want to buy those things. But if you have a shop, they only come if they need something. The market is more easier to sell some things, especially cheaper things. Because in antiques shops you can buy very expensive things. On the market it's almost the mid-class and the low-class prices. So you sell more and easier. Because people buy easier things for ten euros then for one hundred euros. So the market place is the best place to sell the most common things. And an antique shop is something different.
Vendor	Me: Does it help that it is in the centre a mixed market?
	K: It does help. We have had a separate market in Rotterdam. On the central market it was always mixed, but had an antique market especially on Sunday in Rotterdam. That was a very big market. That was only Sunday in summertime and I was always there. Also, it was in some days and then we could make very big profits because a lot of tourists also come from the east and from America looking for antiques and curiosities and . Yeah. So we earned a lot of money some days. That was a special market. And that was a special market only for antiques.

INTERVIEWS WITH CUSTOMERS

13. Customer at Market Afrikaanderplein

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Student, Dutch, 24 years old</i>
<i>Date</i>	01.05.2019
<i>Place</i>	Afrikaanderplein Market
<i>Duration</i>	28 minutes
Interv.	First, I should ask you if you're okay with me recording this conversation?
Customer	Yes
Interv.	I will use this conversation for my thesis report. Anything will be anonymised, but it will go into my academic research if you're okay with this as well?
Customer	Yes
Interv.	I have prepared some questions and whenever you have questions about it or you don't want to answer it, we can skip them as well. As an introduction you could shortly introduce yourself: Where are you from? What age and which a profession?
Customer	I am from the Netherlands and was raised in a little town called Envelo it is in the middle of the country and I have been living in Rotterdam for about six years since I started studying over here. My age is twentyfour. Yeah, I am a student and besides this I work three days a week as a consultant. This is in a nutshell who I am.

Interv.	Yeah that's perfect. So, you mentioned you live in Rotterdam for six years. Have you always lived in the same place in Rotterdam?
Customer	No. When I moved here, I lived at Onmord, it's like at the border towards Gouda. And now, the place I live is called Hillesluis it's in the South. I've been living there for like three years together with my girlfriend.
Interv.	Okay. Do you visit regularly a market and which market do you visit?
Customer	Ehm the AFrikaandermarkt
Interv.	And how often do you visit this market?
Customer	I'm not going like every week, but I guess around like once every one or two months.
Interv.	And if you go to the market do you usually go on the same day? because they are always on Wednesday and then Saturday.
Customer	I am not sure. I think most times I am going on Saturday. But I had been on Wednesdays as well. But if you asked me which day do you go most frequently, then it would probably be Saturday.
Interv.	And how long have you been going to this market? When was the first time you went there?
Customer	I guess since I am living where I am living right now, so about three years.
Interv.	Have you been going to markets on the places you lived before?
Customer	No, actually no. There was a market over there where I lived before. I think it was pretty small and it was only once a week, on Tuesday. But it was only there in the morning and then I often had to go to college or other things. So, Actually; I have never actually went.
Interv.	Have you visited other markets in Rotterdam before.
Customer	No, I have been at the center market just like one or two times and I have been on the – what is it called? – in Delftshaven on the Visserijplein, I think it's called. I've been flyereng over there for my political party to get the votes and I went there to get something for me, but not to get groceries or whatever.
Interv.	Okay. Which actually brings me to the first section of question which is about the products you buy. Ehm. when you go to market what products do you buy?
Customer	the main reason I go is most often buy fish, because it's cheaper. So, mostly salmon. And if I'm there I would also buy vegetables, avocados, cucumber mango, those kind of things that are also available in the ordinary shops or supermarkets but are just cheaper on the market.
Interv.	So, if you go to market you would always buy more or less the same products.
Customer	Yes, and always food, no other products.
Interv.	What is the selection criteria for the products you buy?
Customer	Price, first of all. The availability and yeah how it looks, so whether it's nice, not rotten, those kind of things.
Interv.	And what product do you not buy on the market but in another store?
Customer	Just like the normal supermarket you mean?
Interv.	Yes
Customer	Yeah, most things from our daily groceries. Yeah, I suppose I just mentioned most of the times I buy things that are cheaper to buy multiple things once, like avocados, and just for my daily groceries I think there isn't really much of a difference between tomatoes on the market or in the supermarket. So, those kind of things I just buy in the supermarket. Also, because if I'm going I'm especially going for salmon.
Interv.	OK. What other stores do you buy your product? Or what supermarket?
Customer	Yeah, so Albert Hijn. And Dirk.
Interv.	Ok, so we come to a section that is called Interaction and vendor. If you visit the market do you just go to the same stall?
Customer	For the fish yes, because I don't want to get sick. For the other things not.
Interv.	Okay so for the fish you have one specific stall where you know the quality of the price is good and you're going there?
Customer	Yes
Interv.	Do you interact with the vendors?
Customer	What do you mean with interact? I mean I pay and I order...

Interv.	Ok. Do you ever have small Interactions?
Customer	Apart from buying, no. Not like really sociable. More like buying and paying.
Interv.	Have you asked them before about recommendation maybe what to buy or how to prepare something?
Customer	Not to prepare. Hm. To buy - I don't think so. Well, most of the time when I go, I already know what I like to buy. Then it's not really necessary to ask. Because that's already the reason why I am there.
Interv.	Would you say on the market that you find more traditional businesses? Or How would you describe the businesses that you find on the market?
Customer	In what sense?
Interv.	in the sense that you associate them with traditional or more new, innovative businesses or maybe more family businesses?
Customer	yes, I am not really sure what you mean by innovative. But I think more traditional, so I think for the Afrikaandermarkt, food, clothes and mobile phone covers, those kind of things you would often find on markets, also abroad and in other cities.
Interv.	Then I have a short section on visitors. How would you describe the demography of the market visitors?
Customer	Well. Based on the neighbourhood it's in. The population has mostly an etnical background, not a Western background. Most are Turkish or Moroccan and then some elderly Dutch people. But I don't really see many Dutch young people.
Interv.	And do you think it reflects the population that lives in the neighbourhood?
Customer	Not necessarily on the age criteria, but in the sense of background – well, I am not really sure if it fits – but in general, from what I see, I would say yes.
Interv.	Would you expect more younger Dutch people to be there?
Customer	Well, if you would like to get cheap stuff yes, which I think most students do. On the other hand, I'm living almost next to a supermarket, so there's a very low threshold to just go to the supermarket even though it's a little bit more expensive, because it's open every day and I don't have to cycle for a kilometre to get my stuff. So that's why I understand why young people don't go, and also why I am not going every week for instance.
Interv.	Do you interact with other customers or visitors on the market?
Customer	No, I always get there and go as fast as I can.
Interv.	How do you get to the market?
Customer	By bike
Interv.	Would you in general consider the market as a setting that is hindering or contributing to social interaction?
Customer	I think it's confusing because it's busy and all kinds of people and most people aren't just...they have time and walk around a bit. But that's also one of the reasons I don't interact, because basically it's just too crowded. I just want to get my stuff and then go back. That's one of the reasons why I'm not going more often, because it takes quite some time to get – how do you say- between, to find the stuff you would like to buy.
Interv.	Since you go to the market, have you perceived any changes? This can be on the people that are selling or the product you find on the market or the people visiting the market or the organization in general.
Customer	No, not those things. The only thing is that they move the shops around and I can't find the one I visited before. In general nothing that strike me.
Interv.	Have they also moved the fish stall?
Customer	Yeah, it is always in the same block, I think because of the electricity. But sometimes it is here and sometimes on the other side.
Interv.	Ah ok, so in the same line but in a different place?
Customer	yes, exactly, but I think the Afrikaandermarkt is pretty large. It's hard sometimes – you need to look out where the shop is.
Interv.	Would you say that visiting the market, which you sometimes do, gives you another access to or experience of the neighbourhood you live in?
Customer	yeah, In general I think so. I mean it also depends on the amount of interaction you have. But you see people. Ehm. You see different people first of all. If I am going to the supermarket I see the same kind of people. Like people go there after work, get something to eat. Like I do – go there and leave as fast as possible. Ehm. And I think at the market there are other people, of course, so in that sense it reflects the neighbourhood I guess. I do think that the people that go to the market are not the, like as wealthy ones. Ehm. So that might give you kind of a blurred image.. but well, so, they are living there as well, so they are part of it.

Interv.	If you would have to describe the market to someone that doesn't know it in three words how would you describe it?
Customer	Big, Large and dynamical – how do you say?
Interv.	Dynamic?
Customer	Yes, dynamic. Ehm. And cheap
Interv.	Ok. Those are three words. I have two more interactive parts now. I put down four characteristics which can describe reasons to go the market and I would like you to rate them which ones are more important for you
Customer	Ok, let me see.

Order of categories

	<i>More important</i>	<i>Price</i>
		Proximity
		Variety of Products
	<i>Less important</i>	Atmosphere

Interv.	OK. So your main reason to go to market would be price?
Customer	Yes:
Interv.	Would you like to elaborate on any of these choices more?
Customer	I think I did. I just did that in the previous 15 minutes. Yeah, I also mentioned the most important reason to go for me is the price, not the social interaction or whatever. But if it was on the other side of the city, the profit you make wouldn't make up for it – so I wouldn't go. So, of course that matters as well. Yeah. About variety of products does matter to some degree, but since I most times are looking for the same products, not that much. And then the last one. It's nice if it's cosy over there, but it's not the main reason why I am going.
Interv.	Ok, yeah that is clear. Then I have gathered some keywords which have repeatedly showed up in previous interviews and then also theories and research. There are many different ones and I would like you to look at them and categorize them, which ones you would attribute more, not so much or less to the market.
Customer	and the series and so forth. And there are many different ones. And I would like just you to look at them and intuitively like execute them.

Categories

	<i>More Attributed</i>	<i>Less attributed</i>
	<i>Multiculturalism</i>	Inclusive Innovation
	<i>Entrepreneurship</i>	Feeling of community Isolation
	<i>Tradition</i>	Market competition
		Diversity

Interv.	Market competition. Hm. Yes, because there are many market stalls, so there must be some kind of competition. But also on the other hand they are very often the same or the same kind of products and same people so you apparently it's not that fierce. Ehm. Diversity – or in the sense of product- also in between, I guess. I mean there are many, there is a large variety, but on the same time these are the same products that you see on every market around the world. So, isolation doesn't ring a bell, so I guess not. Feeling of community – ehm – not for me, but I think for some people yes. Because I do see people who meet up at the market and then have a chat or sit on a bench and discuss about lives or whatever. Inclusive – I don't know. So that's all I guess.
Customer	Would you like to elaborate any more on any of these?
Interv.	no.
Customer	Ok, good. This was it from my side. Do you have anything from your market experience to add to this?
Interv.	No, I don't have any more comments I would like to make.
Customer	Ok. Good, then thank you very much.

14. Customer at Central Market, Noordplein Market and Market on Eendrachtsplein

Interviewee Student, Dutch, 22 years old

Date	12.03.2019
Place	Erasmus University Campus
Duration	23 minutes
Interv.	Would you mind first telling me a bit about you? Who you are, maybe how old you are, what's your profession and where you are living in Rotterdam?
Customer	R (Respondent): Yeah. So I'm Caroline. I am twenty two and I am studying here at Erasmus University. Health economics and management and I moved to Rotterdam in ehm September last year. Before this I lived in Utrecht. And now, I live where Pierce lives. In the centre of Rotterdam.
Interv.	I: Ok. And ehm you are visiting regularly, or like yeah, regularly. We will take about the regularity later- But you are visiting regularly a market in Rotterdam.
Customer	R: Multiple Markets.
Interv.	I: Ok, multiple markets. Ok. How often do you visit a market? Is that ehm every week or several times a month or maybe every few months?
Customer	R: Well also now [shows crutches]. But before I'd say. I - If you have two weeks then I would go one and a half times. So, I try to go every week but sometimes there is. You can't go to the market
Interv.	I: Yes.
Customer	R: And then also on different days.
Interv.	I: But that would be my second question. So, you vary it according to when you are available. You don't have a fixed day, Saturdays. Ok. And what are the market, which markets in Rotterdam do you visit?
Customer	R: The big one at Blaak. There is a small organic market on Eendrachtsplein. And then the farmers' market on Saturday on the Noordplein. Although the one that I go to most often is the one on Eendrachtsplein.
Interv.	I: Ok. That's actually perfect because those are the three markets I'm looking at in my thesis. Additionally, I'm also looking at the one in Afrikaanderplein. But I chose those three plus the Afrikaandermarket to have ehm kind of a comparison between them. Eehm. So, you said you change days when you go. I think also according to availability. Eehm. What is your main reason if you go for personal reasons to the market?
Customer	R: I like the atmosphere of it. I like that it's small scale. That there is no large supermarket in between. Ehm. Especially with the one on Tuesday. 'Cause you really get to know the people and eeh also I'm not completely sure whether they are actually farmers themselves. 'Cause they also have stuff that's definitely not local grown.
Interv.	I: With the one on Tuesday you mean the one in the centre – at Blaak?
Customer	R: No at Eendrachtsplein
Interv.	I: Aaah the biological one,
Customer	R: Yeah.
Interv.	I: Do you have specific products you go and buy on the market? Do you generally go and buy similar products you need every week?
Customer	R: Fruits and vegetables mostly eeh sometimes it depends on how much money I have. Also nice bread there and dairy products. But mostly fruits and vegetables.
Interv.	I: Do you buy different products on the different markets? When you name the three...
Customer	R: NO
Interv.	I: You go for the same products?
Customer	R: Yeah. Although I wouldn't - only on the one at Eendrachtsplein I would also buy bread and milk.
Interv.	I: Ok. Do you have like a selection criteria? How you buy the products?
Customer	R: Really depends. 'Cause I also had that you go at the end of the day and then you get stuff for free if it's not the best Stuff anymore. Ehm but sometimes - it really depends.
Interv.	I: Eehm. Maybe one more question to the selection of markets. Do you visit these markets for a specific reason? Maybe because...as an option maybe they are close to you. Maybe because they offer organic products instead of other products or ehm?
Customer	R: Well I don't - it's not like I eat completely organic, but I try to. And I feel like the prices there are lower than if you buy at the supermarket. And ehm especial because it's close to me. The one on Tuesday very easy to go to uni.

Interv.	I: So, it's also really practical for you to go to the market.
Customer	R: Yeah
Interv.	I: Do you buy products on the markets or find products on the market that you wouldn't find otherwise in stores? Where you would go grocery shopping usually?
Customer	R: Yeah.
Interv.	I: Could you make an example?
Customer	R: Yellow Beetroots. No idea that this existed.
Interv.	I: Yeah I don't think that I have seen yellow beetroots before.
Customer	R: Very nice, actually. Also, on the one on the Blaak market I think there are more exotic fruits. I couldn't give an example now. Cause I have seen - 'cause with the Blaak one this is where I normally go to pick up the vegetables. So it's not what I buy.
Interv.	I: Yeah ok. Well but it's also fine if you notice there is a different between the products. Yeah. From my experience I have also noticed that the central market has a lot more exo- like exotic fruits which you wouldn't find on the Noordplein market. Yeah.
Customer	R: Like the one on the Noordplein has all these extra things. But I have never bought things there.
Interv.	I: Do you consider the Noordplein market also as a market where you would go Grocery shopping?
Customer	R: Yeah I wouldn't go there. 'Cause they have all the extra fancier stuff. But if I go there I buy there just my normal groceries. I might just stroll around but not buy like jams, whatever spilled wheat or whatever it is.
Interv.	I: Do you stop by there sometimes and drink a coffee and sit down?
Customer	R: No.
Interv.	I: Mainly walk through it and look at stuff?
Customer	R: Yes.
Interv.	I: Ok. Are there products – we are in the product section right now – [laughs]. Are there products which you would not buy on the market? Where you feel like – oh I feel like – I trust more another store with it or you may can't find on the market?
Customer	R: Oh, there are definitely things you can't find. The usual. Like flour, pasta, that kind of stuff.
Interv.	I: Yeah.
Customer	R: But I think if they would have it, I would actually buy it, 'cause also out of practicality. Because everything is together. Also because of how expensive it is. Because for example the organic one. You see..you would have some stuff that you could buy in the super market but like the price level is a lot more as for like the fruits and vegetables. Like those are not more expensive, but then some other stuff are a lot more expensive and then I wouldn't buy them.
Interv.	I: Yeah. Then you would opt for the supermarket version.
Customer	R: Yeah
Interv.	Yeah. I think that is especially also the case with ehm the products they have on the Noordplein market. Which are really nice, but they are just a lot more expensive.
Customer	R: Yeah.
Interv.	I: Ehm. Would you in general consider the products you find on the market to be diverse or exotic?
Customer	R: Ehm depends on which one you go to.
Interv.	I: So if we, yeah, ehm. Maybe if we can make the differentiation between the central market and the Noordplein market.
Customer	R: I think the one in the centre. Ehm. Wait ok. So, the one on the Eendrachtsplein is very small, but it has pretty much everything I need. Ehm that's why I like it. Also, I think they have more local grown vegetables and fruits. Also. they have import stuff. And then the one in the centre is a lot more diverse. Because you also have like usual stuff like you use for the house. Not only fruits and stuff and then. I think the Noordplein it's in another way it's diverse. Because you have more luxury products that you don't have at the other ones.
Interv.	I: Yeah ok, ehm. I had a follow up question that I just forgot. But I will remember later. Aaah when you go to the market, do you visit, when you go like now on a personal level, activity, do you generally visit kind of the same stalls? I guess in a smaller market this happens automatically, but if you go to the centre market do you tend to go to see the same stalls again?
Customer	R: I go to the ones where I pick up vegetables from, because I like those people.

Interv.	I: Ok so you also when you go in a personal.
Customer	R: 'Cause a lot of them don't give any vegetables and then I so I go to the ones that give vegetables because they are nicer.
Interv.	I: Ok. So that's I think where we come to the interaction with the vendors at the market. Ehm. Do you when you go – let's say – well let's talk about the personal experience when you go. Do you interact with the vendors at the market? Ehm, what does this main interaction look like?
Customer	R: Yeah. I think it is a very basic interaction which. You just say what you want. Sometimes I ask like 'what you have?' 'Do you - Is there anything you would recommend?' 'why would you recommend this?' Blablabla. These normal things. Ehm. I would not say on a social like personal level.
Interv.	Yeah. Ehm. Do you – yeah- so you generally interact on the basis of buying and selling and recommendation but not going further than this. Do you interact sometimes with other customers on the market or other visitors or people that pass by which are not vendors?
Customer	R: When they talk to me.
Interv.	I: Did this happen to you before that someone talked to you?
Customer	R: Yeah it has happened. When you are in the line waiting.
Interv.	I: Then is it a ehm small interaction? Would you call it – did you ever go further and have a longer chat with someone or?
Customer	R: No. It's very basic. Like 'oh it's nice weather!' 'what are you doing today?'
Interv.	I: Do you think the market in general ehm kind of a setting where this interaction is maybe happens more often than in other public spaces?
Customer	R: This has also happened to me in the supermarket.
Interv.	I: Ok, so it's not.
Customer	R: No, I wouldn't say that's only on the market.
Interv.	I: Do you say maybe it's also at some point when it's really busy at the market, even hindering?
Customer	R: Yeah the interaction. No, well I really like it. It's more when it's like really really busy then it gets very chaotic and if you start talking to a person then you might not be able to try to get to your own topic.
Interv.	So, do you think if it would be a little bit less busy maybe you would get more interaction?
Customer	R: Mhm
Interv.	I: Ehm. Would you ehm consider the markets - now that you know three different markets - do they reflect the people that you would expect being in those neighbourhoods anyway?
Customer	R: Yeah.
Interv.	I: Can you make an example maybe?
Customer	R: I think the Noorderplein one is a much more hipster market. You see a lot of young families eehh a lot wither than the rest of ... then compared to the Blaak market and the one on the Eendrachtsplein you see a lot of elderly people. Mostly elderly people. And I feel like it's also more people that know the people there. It feels a bit less commercial. I would also say there is more interaction there.
Interv.	I: Mhm. So, a more communal feeling.
Customer	R: Yeah. And then the one on Blaak. I like it 'cause it's such a big mix of people. You have people come out of their office to eat something. There's families there. There's elderly people there. There. I kind of feel like it reflects Rotterdam
Interv.	I: Yeah. That's also what I think. I think every time when I go there I see a new kind of people. I just came from the market today and it's a totally different audience than on a Saturday afternoon. Every time really different. Ehm. Do you – have you perceived- well you have been living in Rotterdam for a little bit longer than half a year now? Ehm. Maybe you do have perceived some changes during the time you have been going to the market?
Customer	No.
Interv.	I: Yeah, it's also hard to say if it is not that long. Ok. So, if you could describe the market ehm to someone who doesn't know it – maybe to a tourist visiting the city – in three words. Maybe we can start with the centrum market. How would you describe it?
Customer	R: Big, it's very big. And diverse. And a bit chaotic. And then, I think the Eendrachtsplein cute, and small, and a bit more authentic. And I think the Noorderplein one it's more of like an outing. The people go there on a Saturday and then they sit there a bit and they look around a lot. Ehm. That's not three words
Interv.	I: But that makes a good description. Could you elaborate on the authentic description for the Eendrachtsplein market?

Customer	R: it doesn't have like all the extra things of the Noordplein market. And, also, if you compare it with Blaak. Cause I know there's a lot. A lot of them are really big, buy a lot of stuff and throw away a lot of stuff. And like, for a lot of them it is really a business, because they just go from one day to the other day they go to another city. It think it's a lot bigger. Probably mostly it's family companies, but behind it it's bigger organisation. And I think on the Eendrachtplein they go to one or two markets and then it has other place. Maybe having their own farm. I don't know.
Interv.	: But that's the impression you get. Do you get the feeling that the markets give a different access to the city and its population? That you get to see them differently or experience.
Customer	R: Yes, but I think that's mostly when I do the pickups.
Interv.	I: Ok.
Customer	R: 'Cause then you really talk to the market people a lot more and you kind of really get to know them. Pretty much all the same people. You have people that always give you the avocados and then you start talking to them. I think that experience might reflect a bit on when I go to buy there. Like sometimes they recognize you and sometimes they don't.
Interv.	I: Ok. So maybe we can switch to your more professional activity. Could you tell me more about the project you are working for?
Customer	it's called 'Vegetables without borders'. What we do: we pick up the food on the market on Tuesday at the end of the day.
Interv.	I: On Tuesday on the centre market?
Customer	R: Yeah. In the blaak. And ehm at the end of the day. It's pretty much we ask people if they have something they are going to throw away and whether they want to give it to us. And then now. Actually, they save the stuff until we come. And then we take all the food and see if we can cook with it. And people can join for free.
Interv.	I: And where do you cook with it?
Customer	R: It's in a neighbourhood house. It's like a neighbourhood centre.
Interv.	I: Like a community centre?
Customer	R: Yeah.
Interv.	I: in the centre of Rotterdam?
Customer	R: yes. It's pretty much next to Blaak
Interv.	And then everyone can come over?
Customer	R: In principal it's open to everyone. But there's a reservation 'cause there is only limited space. And now it's like the reservations. I think people have like an alarm in their computer, because it's like sold out in two minutes.
Interv.	I: So, it's really popular
Customer	R: Yes, it's really popular
Interv.	I: When did you start with this project?
Customer	R: October-ish
Interv.	I: Ok. And was it – was the interaction with the vendors going well from the beginning? Were people willing to give you food? Were they approachable?
Customer	R: I think if we do it longer they get to know you. And they. Also really depends on the vendor and because of the day. If it's a rainy day they are grumpy and you know. Although sometimes it's a rainy day but you are still here, so it's nice that you are still here, it really depends
Interv.	I: How regularly do you go for this reason to the market?
Customer	R: Every week on Tuesday
Interv.	I: And there - to go back to the interaction with the vendors. You get more interaction with the vendors. Does this interaction go beyond the exchange of products? So you say, they tell you they tell you?
Customer	R: Yeah, like how their day has been. Not, really persona. A bit into personal life. But not super serious.
Interv.	I: Yes, I think that's so far it. It is more about getting an insight into the experience on the market. Do you have anything specific that comes up when you think of the interaction on the market. Maybe how accessible it is maybe how approachable, how much it influences how citizens or population interact with each other on the public space? I mean this is really broad. But maybe you have something you wanted to mention.
Customer	R: I think it's cause. It's like specially if it's a nice day and if it's not too busy. If it's too busy. It just has a very open atmosphere and people do their own things. They come there for their own shopping but they also come there to kind of look around and see other people like you see a lot of people that know each other on the market. Than they see each other and say hi.

Interv.	I: Do you. I've read quite a lot about the last twenty years about the markets now in the news and there were like several scandals, like one with corruption, one with trash, like the market producing a lot of garbage. As a visitor – I mean you are not a vendor or a market manager – do you have anything that you would say - like - oh if this would be improved I would even more like to go to the market?
Customer	R: I think sometimes you get very bad products. Well you also have to like kind of be pick on the stuff that you get. That can be very annoying. Although that's also a reason why it is a lot cheaper.
Interv.	I: I think those were mainly questions for me. Thank you!

15. Customer at Central Market and Market on Eendrachtsplein

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Student, US American, mid-20s</i>
<i>Date</i>	11.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Erasmus University Campus
<i>Duration</i>	25 minutes
Interv.	Maybe you could introduce yourself quickly, maybe where are you from. How long you have been living in Rotterdam? Where you live in Rotterdam? What is your age and your background? It's going to be anonymised, but just so I have a little bit an idea...
Customer	I: Eehm. Ok, ell my name is (...) ehm I've been living in Rotterdam since September. I don't even know..yeah how many month that is. Ehm. I am doing a masters here. Like it's a joint university European degree. So I am spending two semesters in Rotterdam and then my third semester in bologna, so I'll be leaving Rotterdam in ehm July. So it's not super long, but enough time to get acquainted with the city and get a home here.
Interv.	Me: Will you come back afterwards or will you stay in bologna?
Customer	I: Eeehm I don't think I'll come back to Rotterdam, but I don't think I will stay in bologna
Interv.	Me: Ok.
Customer	I: I'll see. I'll just figure it out. And I am American, but my mother is French and my father is German. Ehm I grew up in the US but also spent quite some time in France and Germany. Ehm I did my Bachelor's in the Netherlands - in Utrecht. I did university college there. I studied anthropology and psychology. And now I am studying health economics and management.
Interv.	Me: That's interesting
Customer	I: Eehm. Were there any other things?
Interv.	Me: No. Eh well. Where do you live in Rotterdam?
Customer	I: I live at Oostplein. So really close to the market in Blaak. So that's the one I mainly go to
Interv.	Me: yes. This would actually also be my first question. You visit mainly the market at Blaak?
Customer	I: Yes. And then I also a couple times I have also visited the little tiny biological market at ehm...
Interv.	Me: Eendrachtsplein?
Customer	I: Yes, I went there a few times. But now I mostly go... At the beginning I mostly went hter but now I started now mostly going to the Blaak market.
Interv.	Me: Ok. How often do you go to the market at blaak?
Customer	I: I go at least once a week, sometimes twice if I want more food
Interv.	Me: Do you go on the same day? Like do you also.. It's always on Tuesday and Saturdays
Customer	I: I would say I normally go on Tuesdays, but sometimes because I have class ehm I don't make it or then I go in the evening, when things are starting to close up, which is actually better because then you get things for a lot cheaper or things for free. And then sometimes I go on Saturdays if I just want to go or yeah if I want something specific or if I just want to get out of the house then I just go to the market
Interv.	Me: OK. And how long have you been going to the market for? Like since you moved here to Rotterdam?
Customer	I: I would say since October probably.
Interv.	Me: And you go regularly ehm throughout the year or do you maybe notice that in the winter you go less? Or maybe..?

Customer	I: Yeah. I think in the winter...there was maybe a month when I went less. But I think at the first time in October I went first to the little market at... What is it called?
Interv.	Me: eendrachtplein
Customer	I: Eendrachtsplein, yeah. And then eeehm. So I would mostly go there and sometimes go to blaak, The market at Blaak, but mostly to the smaller market and then probably yeah after..in the new year I started going to blaak really regularly, at least once a week
Interv.	Me: Eehm. I have asked you if you always visit the same market and you have. Is the Eendrachtsplein the only other market you have visited or have you been to other?
Customer	I: yeah these one
Interv.	Me: Do you know that there are more markets in the city?
Customer	I: Yeah I have heard that there are other ones. These are just the ones that I have been to and I know where they are and what days they are. And it's very close
Interv.	Me: Then I have some questions regarding the products you find on the market or you buy. What products do you usually buy on the market?
Customer	I: I only really buy fruits and vegetables
Interv.	Me: ok. So you always buy the same products?
Customer	I: and normally the same stands even as well
Interv.	Me: Ok yeah. What is the selection criteria for the products you buy?
Customer	I: Ehm. I usually just try to go to one or two different stands and I usually go to the ones where you can go and pick your own. Because I like to bring my own bags and my own. Like I like to reuse plastic bags and I don't like that sometimes if you ask and then they put everything in plastic. I like to just go and put everything in myself and then go to the cashier and pay for everything. So that sort of. I feel like it's sort of easier for me to do that. So I guess the main selection criteria is just the ones that have the open format where you can walk through and just kind of see ehm everything that is there before choosing
Interv.	Me: Is there a reason why you buy these vegetables and fruits on the market and not in another store?
Customer	I: Eeehm .mainly because it's less expensive and I like also I like buying my groceries at different places. That sort of spread my money around, I guess. And I like that it's. Well
Interv.	I don't really know much about the vendors themselves but I always thought that the money is going to a smaller. It's not like your money is going to a huge corporation, like Albert Heijn or something.
Customer	Me: So the fact that there are small entrepreneurs or businesses is an aspect why you chose to go to the market
Interv.	I: And I Also..ehm yea..it's mostly price and also just ehm the fact that most vegetables at Albert Heijn are already pre-packaged. So I really don't like that. I try to avoid it as much as possible. And it's just more expensive. So that's mainly the main reason.
Customer	Me: So for all the products that you don't buy on the market, what other stores do you go to?
Interv.	I: Ehm I go to Albert Heijn; Jumbo, Lidl, or the Groene Passage, the bio market
Customer	Me: Yeah super. Eehm. And are there certain products which you would not buy on the market for specific reasons?
Interv.	I:Ehm. I mean there are certain products that just aren't there ehm so anything you know like milk like plant milk. Or like sometimes lettuce. You can find lettuce, but sometimes I forget. I always find myself. Somehow I always forget to buy lettuce and end up buying lettuce in the plastic in the grocery store. And ehm I've bought eggs a couple of times at the market, but sometimes I forget and then I just end up buying eggs at the other stores...ehm...yeah I think that's...like peanut butter. Like like things that I don't find on the market I buy..
Customer	Me: So do you think the market has a more limited eehm product range or a different one or how would you compare it to the other stores?
Interv.	I: Eehm I think it has most things. It's more a matter of like sometimes I just don't have the capacity to hold everything and then I can't go twice so I just buy these things tomorrow at whatever store. But I would say like 80% of the products I buy I can get at the market. Cause I'm..like 80% of my diet is vegetables basically. So I buy the vegetables there and the other things at the other stores. So I would say the selection is almost complete. There are just certain things that ... yeah.But I am sure if I were to like spend more time really looking and like seeing, you know, maybe there are some stands that I just never go to and I just haven't really taken the time to like really see if I could get everything there. Maybe there is one stand that sells peanut butter or something like that and I just haven't really found it really.
Customer	Me: which actually brings me to another question: Ehm Do you mainly go to the market for the purpose of buying products or do you also sometimes spend time walking around and looking at other things that you find there or do you, are you really kind of an efficient activity?

Interv.	I: eeeh I would say if I go before class it's really efficient. But I also like just going. Like to get..like to be around people going about their normal lives. Sometimes as a student it's very easy to disconnect from the reality that is around us and it is nice to just like spend sometime out just walking around. So I definitely..I would say normally it's just - if I am under more a time constraint if it's more for the purpose of buying food and then leaving but then if I go on a Saturday morning or a Saturday afternoon then it's just more about enjoying the weather and it's more about enjoying. Maybe walking further than I normally do or going down the one road I wouldn't normally go or going with friends as well. Or just buying like some lunch and then eating it somewhere. Then it's more about being around other people and being in the like the hustle and bustle of the markets.
Customer	Me: Then let's straight jump to the visitors part. Ehm. How would you describe the democra...demography of the market visitors? Ehm What people do you see or meet on the market when you go there?
Interv.	I: Eehm. Yeah all. I mean if you go in the morning, like at 9. It is already usually pretty packed. I guess that's when you see more older people ehm, but you definitely also see studenta and you hear all, you hear Dutch and you hear English and you also see tourists. I think 'cause it's kind of known. I've always heard that it's like the biggest market in the Netherlands. I don't know if that's true?
Customer	Me: It's the second biggest
Interv.	I: Aaah ok
Customer	Me: The biggest one is in The Hague, but this is the second biggest
Interv.	I: I have been telling everyone that it's the biggest
Customer	Me: It's the biggest one in Rotterdam, so yeah
Interv.	I: So I think that it's, I guess it's all sort of the people. I mean people go to the Markthall and if they happen to be there on Tuesday or Saturdays then they also go to the market. Seems like it's actually very very diverse. Ehm you never. It's never like at a certain time there is one kind of person there. It is always very mixed. Yeah
Customer	Me: Do you ever interact with other people you meet on the market, be it customers or visitors?
Interv.	I: Ehm Not so much. I mean more so with the vendors for sure. But with the other visitors not a lot
Customer	Me: Do you think that the market as a public space is a setting that contributes or hinders social interaction between the people that are visiting there?
Interv.	I: I think it definitely contributes cause even if you're not really interacting with other people that much or if it's really like you're interacting with the vendors. It still feels like more. Like sometimes I go to the market and to Jumbo right after. Like the jumbo is right there to get other things. And then in there it just feels super quite. Especially on the market days and ...I always wonder why people are in there you know like buying vegetables on the market day. But sometimes you see those people. So it feels a bit more like. I don't know just it always feels really quite. So even if you are not interacting with other people, you definitely feel. Like you just feel like you are in a very social environment and ehm. You're hearing other people socialising around you whether it be the vendors or other customers so... wait..what was the question again?
Customer	Me: yeah. If it is like contributing or hindering social interaction?
Interv.	I: Yes, I think it is definitely contributing.
Customer	Me: And another question which I am also interested in... If visiting the market – I think that also goes a little bit hand in hand with what you just said – if it offers you kind of an experience that you wouldn't find otherwise in the city Ehm yeah if it gives you like a novel access to the city and its inhabitants or the people you meet there? Or see?
Interv.	I: Yeah. Well I guess it's novel in the fact that it's very concentrated. No matter what, when you're walking around the more commercial areas you feel like there is a certain...there is like a certain pace of life. So it does feel like it is in a social area. But the fact that it is so concentrated even more sort of...yeah. Social
Customer	Me: Would you say that the people on the market, either the vendors or the visitor or combined, kind of reflect the diversity of the population in Rotterdam?
Interv.	I: Yeah, I would say so. Yeah. I think you see. Ehm. I mean I am guessing that it's mostly people who live, that don't live super far away that go to the markets but I would say eeh. I mean generally around Blaak you have several neighbourhoods that sort of have all different very different population of people so I would say it attracts a pretty cross-sectional sort of population of people.
Customer	Me: And ehm you have mentioned that you visit the same stalls of the vendors always when you go and you kind of go to the same ones. Do you interact with the vendors that are selling there?
Interv.	I: Generally, I mean it's usually very busy so I just try to go in and then go out. So I am in the way and then there's people trying to go through and trying to pay. Ehm. But I do notice that the same people. The same vendors. Sometimes they move and I get confused. 'wait have I been to this one before?', but generally there are a few people that I definitely do recognize week after week.

Customer	Me: Ehm would you say that the vendors on the market are more traditional businesses or is it also a spot for new entrepreneurs? Would you relate it more to traditional businesses or to something innovative?
Interv.	I: Mmh I don't. ...I would say more traditional. I don't know exactly what the process is to get a stall. Ehm. And it seems like the vendors are..yeah it seems like most of the vendors have been there for a long time and they know what they are doing. And I feel like the kinds of stands that at least which I have come across are just like very normal kind of food stands like with vegetables or selling meats, cheese or fish. It's always very traditional sort of food groups and I haven't really seen many like more innovative products being sold I think it's probably mostly traditional
Customer	Me: Ehm, Ok. If you would have to describe the market to someone who does not know it at all, maybe a tourist coming to the city, with three words, how would you describe it?
Interv.	I: Eeehm. I would say ehm that it's ehm diverse in just like the kinds of things you can get. Because, I mean like mostly it's food, but then venturing you can also find clothing and sort of more like antique or like junk..ehm. and I would say it's very big. And ehm. Dynamic. It's like.. you have to be ready to venture in and need to be justled around and to get annoyed by people that are not moving in the right direction and things like that
Customer	Me: Do you have the feeling that it's safe?
Interv.	I: yeah
Customer	Me: It is more or less safe. I got warned twice by a police officer that there are lot of pickpockets around. I mean..just so you know. Ehm I think this is mainly what I have from my direct questions. I have one more, two more questions which are more playful and sum up what we have talked about so far. Ehm. If you have these four characteristics: what would be, what would you rate the most important things for your visit to the market and the less important. Maybe you can put the most important on the top and the least important to the bottom.
Interv.	I: eehm ok. (organises Papers: Most important to less important: Price – Atmosphere – Variety of products – proximity). I think they're all very important. So it's not like this is not important, but they are all very important
Customer	Me: So ehm the main reason would ... or like the main incentive to go to the market would be that it's cheaper.
Interv.	I: Yeah. And then yeah the atmosphere because it is nice if you like to just have time to like enter a very busy place and sort of focus on just like seeing what food is there and ..ehm I mean normally I get just the same things but for example on Tuesday I bought like a watermelon and I don't know...it's a nice sort of atmosphere to enter and ehm... yeah and then variety it's also. I would say these (Variety of products and proximity) are sort of equal but I guess if this (variety of products) if there is even if it were really close if there weren't as many products then maybe I wouldn't go as much. And then proximity
Customer	Me: when you mentioned that you originally first went to the Eendachtsplein market. Have you been there lately?
Interv.	I: No, I haven't gone in quite a while. At first I went cause it was nice...it ..it is nice that it is just like three stalls, you have everything you kind of need and you can buy your eggs and cheese and bread and have all the vegetables in the middle eehm. And I just first went actually with Caroline because I wanted to see what kind of bio-market there was ehm and I did reco..ld realise..recognize and feel that it is much more expensive. It makes sense because it is like, it seems like it is one family or one farm or at least it's mostly local ... except for they have like bananas and stuff ehm but then it ..I was just recognising that it was a lot more expensive than like Blaak market ... but I definitely do want to go back because the bread there is very good. Like the bread guy he always has at least one thing on sale that's always really good. It's more that..I already go to so many different..i already buy things at so many different food markets that another one is too much. Like It's my highlight of the week it's going food shopping. But I already have so many different places that I go that I don't know. I think the Blaak market has enough and everything I need.
Customer	Me: Ok. Then I prepared ehm some like keywords that I found during previous interviews or my research. Ehm I am going to lay them out and it's the first time I am trying it this way, so if it doesn't work out this is fine as well. So I am laying them out and maybe you could maybe first make a selections which ones you would attribute more to the street markets you visit and which ones less. So maybe the ones you would say this definitely goes with the street markets you put them here and the one less, or think of less you put here and then we can maybe talk a little bit about the ones you would attribute to the street markets
Interv.	I: (Organises Papers) Can I have like a middle one?

	<i>Highly attributed</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Less Attributed</i>
	<i>Multiculturalism</i>	Feeling of community	Isolation
	<i>Diversity</i>	Entrepreneurship	Innovation
	<i>Tradition</i>	Inclusive	
		Market competition	
Interv.	Would you mind elaborating why you chose which one?		
Customer	I: Maybe I start with the ones..oh wait market..maybe this also goes in the middle.		

Customer	- Isolation: I don't think it's a very isolated place. I think it's very ehm inclusive and ehm. Yeah it's like. It's I guess it's aa place where you're really the opposite of isolated because you are really among people.
Customer	- Innovation: And then I wouldn't say it's innovative because it's like yeah...i think the things that are being sold there it's what is mostly sold at markets around the world. ehm. Like you don't even see like an ... sometimes at the markets you see people with these weird inventions and they show how it works. Like the sock like you cut them and it still works...But there is not much of that, but I think it is more like traditional market items
Customer	- Market competition: And then in terms of market competition it is like. I guess the stalls that are selling the same product are competing in a way. But it's not like really in your face. I feel like it's very normal to see people buying like two things at one stand and then going further even if the one stand like had the things they need and then they to another stall to buy it. I don't know. I don't really feel like they are really compet..I mean there are some stalls that are like yelling about the prices and trying to get people to come in . but I would say generally it's pretty chill and it's not like people following you, you know, trying to get you to come to their stand
Customer	- Inclusive: And I feel like it is inclusive but it's not like a defining characteristics of the markets
Customer	- Entrepreneurships: I feel like it's also just like in the background. Like it's just like people there are entrepreneurs but it's not like innovative. It's not like innovative entrepreneurship
Customer	- Feeling of community: I feel like there is generally a feeling of community. It's not like you would..well I don't really go to feel... like it is nice to be around other people and to be part of the city but I don't feel like I go there to have a real sense of like more intimate community. I think there is a sense a more generalized community.
Customer	- Multiculturalism and Diversity: But then I feel like these are sort of the ones I would most ascribe because I do think it is a very multicultural and diverse place among the vendors and also among the customers.
Customer	- Tradition: And then I think that it is...I think that at this point the market is sort of a pride for Rotterdam ehm and it seems like a lot of the vendors have been there for years and it seems like a lot of products that are sold are more traditionally dutch eehm so I would say that that's also sort of important. But I also, I think it's traditional but it is also sort of room for some ...for some...for it to progress forward. I don't really know how it works for like new vendors to come in but I can imagine that there is space for it to sort of change and grow, but there is still some kind of roots and some sense of tradition
Interv.	Me: what would you for an example for a traditional Dutch product?
Customer	I: You have like cheeses, fried Hering ehm you have like stands that are like you know, like apples form one, from the Netherlands, or you have like seasonal things that is very good at selling this one product. And I assume that in a couple months like probably Aspargus. Like things like that that are very Dutch. And I think that those ... and I think you can really see when these products are in season. But generally you always have like chees and ehm like Hering and ehm. And you also have...you can also buy. I mean these are more, I mean these are not Dutch, but they are more like Dutch modern culture. You can buy like Turkish pizza
Interv.	Me: Ok. So this is it so far from my side. Do you have anything you would like to add from your side which you think you didn't get to explain about your market experience so far and you really wanted to mention when you think of markets?
Customer	I: I think I have said it all and nothing really comes to my mind.
Interv.	Me: Ok, well then thank you very much for taking your time and your ans

16. Customer at Central Market at Binnenrotte

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Employed security expert, Surinamese Dutch, mid-30s</i>
<i>Date</i>	13.04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Central Market
<i>Duration</i>	20 minutes
Interv.	Excuse me, do you speak English?
Customer	I: Yes, I do
Interv.	Me: Do you come to this market regularly?
Customer	I: Yes, every Saturday.
Interv.	Me: I am doing a Master Thesis for my Studies at the university over this market and I was wondering if I could ask you some questions?
Customer	I: Yes, sure.
Interv.	Me: Eehm. Ok let me quickly check my questions. OH ok the first on I have already asked. You come to this market regularly right? And ehhh..since when do you come to this market

Customer	I: Yes, every Saturday. I come since I was little. I used to come with my parents as well every Saturday.
Interv.	Me: Where are you from?
Customer	I: I am from Suriname. Do you know where this is?
Interv.	Me: Yes, sure Ehm...
Customer	I: where are you from by the way?
Interv.	Me: I am from Switzerland
Customer	I: ooh Ok
Interv.	Me: do you live in Rotterdam?
Customer	I: Yes I grew up here as well. I was born in Kralingen. Now I live more east.
Interv.	Me: Why do you come to this market? Do you come because it is close, cheap, because of the atmosphere or the products?
Customer	I: Ehm..I guess it is easy for me to come with the car. It is very central
Interv.	Me: Why do you come exactly to this market?
Customer	I: I come here with car. I don't know if you know, but we have three markets in Rotterdam. I would say this one is not the cheapest, but it is best accessible for me with the car.
Interv.	Me: Oh ok, so which one would you say is cheaper?
Customer	I: Well the one in the West...I don't know how well you know Rotterdam...
Interv.	Me: ooh Ehm quite well I guess
Customer	I: Yes, so there is the one market in the West. It is at Oude Visserijstraat. This one is the cheapest I think. And then you have the one in the South as well. This here is not the cheapest one, but it is for me the most convenient one.
Interv.	Me: Do you also come because you like the atmosphere?
Customer	I: Not that much, necessarily. I like the atmosphere. I have been coming here since I am little. Well. Not this market. But the markthall. I really like the Markthall. I can also park there. So there I would come for the Atmosphere and spend time there. But here I come mostly for practical reasons, to make my groceries. ... I usually come here on Saturday and bring my daughter. Usually I bring my daughter to Karate Class and then I have one hour to come here and to my groceries and pick her up again. I bring my smaller daughter with me as well and sometimes my boy who is 1.5 years old.
Interv.	Me: Ooh so it is really a family activity?
Customer	I: Yes, kind of. My older daughter does not like to come with me too much, but she is in Karate class. My smaller daughter likes to come with me. She is three. I give her stuff to do and let her help me. You know I would let her pay or chose some fruits, so she really likes doing this. And well..my youngest son, he does not really understand what is going on..soo..But my Older daughter does not like to come with me too much..
Interv.	Me: Do you interact with people you meet on the market?
Customer	I: Yes yes, sometimes I do
Interv.	Me: So you would talk to other visitors like this?
Customer	I: No- not like this. More with people I know. I meet people I haven't seen for a long time and we chat. It is a place where I meet people and talk to them
Interv.	Me: Do you sometimes talk to people you didn't know before?
Customer	I: No not really. I meet people I haven't seen in a while, but I wouldn't talk to new people
Interv.	Ehm ook. If you would have to describe this market in three words, how would you describe it?
Customer	I: eehmm. It is like a meeting spot. Well not necessarily where people meet up or come together. But it is like a friendly spot. People meet and chat and you meet people you haven't seen in a long time. For example, my parents..I do talk to my parents of course..but sometimes I don't see them so much and then we call and we say 'aah will you come to the market on Saturday?' and then it's nice to meet them here and see and talk. It is a place where people meet and interact yes.
Interv.	Me: Oh this is very nice.
Customer	I: Yes, I used to come with my parents always to the market. Like my kids now, I did not like it too much when I was young. You know, when you are young you don't like to do this stuff with your parents too much...But now I like it a lot. It is funny. Now I like the atmosphere.

Interv.	Hmm..three words, this is actually a difficult question
Customer	Me: Well you can also say some sentences, it doesn't have to be three words...
Interv.	I: Ooh ok. Let me think
Customer	Me: Well some people so far have mentioned that it is very big.
Interv.	I: eheh oh big. Well. It is big yes, but I wouldn't say it is very big. It used to be a lot bigger. There used to be more stalls around there (shows to the corner with the coffee place) and before the Markthall was build there used to be stalls there as well. There used to be many more lines of stall actually
Customer	Me: Oh yes, I have read about this, that some years ago they had to move a lot of stalls, people were kind of angry about it.
Interv.	I: well yes, it used to be bigger. Hehe well this is funny. I would not have thought of naming this market big, but well, it is big.
Customer	Me: Would you say it is a diverse market?
Interv.	I: Ehhm. Yeah, sure. You see and meet all kinds of people.. Ooh. Sorry. My nose is running. With this wind and the sun this happens. One moment...
Customer	Me: Ooh no worries, this is the weather, I know it as well
Interv.	I: Yes - It's the weather – you either love it or hate it hehe. Let me check my watch.
Customer	Me: Yes sure, you have to make sure that you don't miss you hour to pick up your daughter from class
Interv.	I: Ooh yes, I have a little more time. How long have you been living in Rotterdam?
Customer	Me: Since September now
Interv.	I: And do you like it?
Customer	Me: Yes, actually I like it a lot, it is a very interesting city.
Interv.	I: Yes it is very diverse. You have people from all around the world.

17. Customer at Central Market at Binnenrotte

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Student, Canadian, 29 years old</i>
<i>Date</i>	01.05.2019
<i>Place</i>	Erasmus University Campus
<i>Duration</i>	26 minutes
Interv.	Would you mind at the beginning introducing yourself shortly? Maybe your age, what your profession is, where you come from and how long you've been living in Rotterdam.
Customer	I: Ok. My name is (...), I'm twenty nine years old now. From Canada, originally, and as a profession I'm a student, doing my masters in economics and healthcare management.
Interv.	Me: And you're living in Rotterdam?
Customer	I: I am. I've been living in Rotterdam for almost a year, maybe eight or nine months. I came in the middle of August 2018.
Interv.	Me: And where in Rotterdam do you live?
Customer	I: I live on Witte de Withstraat, like the artistic street in the centre. Lots of bars as well.
Interv.	Me: Ok, so in the central neighbourhood of Rotterdam?
Customer	I: Yes.
Interv.	Me: What markets do you visit in Rotterdam?
Customer	I: Mostly the one in front of the Markthal. Although I've been to the one Africanderplein two or three times before I might have an account or no
Interv.	Me:How often do you visit the market in the center?
Customer	I: Every week. Assuming I'm not gone on the two days or busy on the Saturday of Tuesday I would go every week for all of our vegetables and fruit, generally.

Interv.	Me: OK so you go on Tuesday and on Saturday?
Customer	I: Usually Saturdays. We are only going on Tuesday or I'll only go on Tuesday if I was gone through the weekend and on Saturday.
Interv.	Me: So you go once a week and then depending on your availability you chose the day?
Customer	I: Yes
Interv.	Me: Do you always visit the same market or do you also sometimes go to another one?
Customer	I: Generally, the same one. I've gone to the one South, like I said two or three times
Interv.	Me; yes. And do you know of more markets in the city?
Customer	I know there's another one somewhere in the north only because you told me about it and I think there are more but I don't know where they would be...
Interv.	Me: OK. Just because you live very close there. Have you heard of the Eendrachtspaleismarkt?
Customer	I: I know the location quite well. But I didn't know there was a market.
Interv.	Me: So if you go to the market - we're going to talk about the products you buy now - what products do you buy in the market? And do you always buy the same products?
Customer	I: Generally, fruit and vegetables to be very broad, I guess, always the same ones? No. it's usually whatever looks the nicest or cheapest. And sometimes I would get more than one.
Interv.	Me: Do you have a selection criteria for the product?
Customer	I: Price and quality. As far as good as anyone can be in testing the quality of fruits or vegetables.
Interv.	Me: And do you ... is the origin where the vegetable come from a criteria?
Customer	I: No, I wouldn't even know where to look for that information and I've never looked for it.
Interv.	Me: Why do you buy these products which are in your case vegetables and on the market and not somewhere else?
Customer	I: Mostly because it's cheaper. I live with a partner - We need more so it's easier to get higher quantities for cheaper there and I think now it's become kind of a ritual. It's nice to go outside. It's a nice way to shop outside on the market instead of inside a grocery store.
Interv.	Me: Which products do you not buy on the market but in another store?
Customer	Generally things that stay on the shelf like non-perishable goods. So anything that's canned or cheeses. Although, I guess, anything that's not fruits and vegetables.
Interv.	Me: Also Cheese?
Customer	I: Ehm Cheese - I do not buy at the market..
Interv.	Me: In what other stores do you buy?
Customer	I: Usually Albert Heijn and sometimes Jumbo.
Interv.	Me: So, we move on to the a section called Interaction and vendors. If you go to the market do you visit usually the same stalls on the market?
Customer	I: Yes. Generally, we look for this this one specific one first because they're friendly and has everything usually and then depending on what we find that we can go to a few other ones that we know are good quality, usually.
Interv.	Me: OK. And you try to narrow it down to as little different stalls as possible?
Customer	I: Generally, yes. Yes, sometimes it's so busy that it's not worth...there's people on scooters and everything... It's not worth going through.
Interv.	Me: Do you interact with the vendors at the market?
Customer	I: Not ... any more than just asking them prices or paying them or having them wear...
Interv.	Me: What language do you interact?
Customer	I: Generally, in English sometimes we will often attempt Dutch. But it depends if they answer in a way I can understand or not
Interv.	Me: Yes. Would you say the stalls you visit is more a traditional business or a new entrepreneur?
Customer	I: yeah, there's no way to know, I guess. But I think it's quite traditional. I'm not sure they even accept a card there, which most of the stalls are a lot of them do. It's always the same three men there that are always at the same one. And ... you there's nothing technological that suggests it's a modern operation.

Interv.	Me: Do you have... Could you give an example of a more recent stall or more new or innovative stall you've seen on the market?
Customer	I: I mean, in terms of newer products I suppose there are lots of ... like that have cell phone cases and things that you maybe you would find in Chinatown are like really low quality goods markets. There's also one that sells musical instruments but I think, it seems a little more modernised. There's a soap one as well that comes to my mind.. but then. Well people sold soap for like a hundred years
Interv.	Me: What languages do you hear when you go to the market?
Customer	I: Dutch, by far the most common people just yell a lot in Dutch. Usually Dutch, but it's something simple thinks. English as well just I think there's many people and tourists that talk with the vendors. And then other languages that I don't want I just assume what they are. But some sort of middle eastern origin that I don't, I can't specify.
Interv.	And how do you get to the market?
Customer	I: Cycle. On occasion I walk, but very rarely.
Interv.	Me: And do you use facilities to sit down on the market?
Customer	I: I don't think I ever had
Interv.	Me: You do sometimes take a snack?
Customer	I: sometimes.
Interv.	Me: What snack would that be?
Customer	I: Like Kibbling. The fried fish. And then when I have friends come we would try the Haring.
Interv.	Me: How would you in general describe the demography of the market visitors? What kind of people do you see on the market?
Customer	I: Generally a lot older I'd say 50s is probably average. I'd say majority women. maybe an equal, maybe slightly more like white Dutch and slightly other some Chinese tourists, generally and then some women who may be of Middle Eastern descent
Interv.	Do you know of people in your close environment, people that also go to the market?
Customer	I: Not regularly, because I actually try and tell them to go all the time. They're always complaining about prices of things. But most, for most of them I think it's too far. Most of the students I know that came this year, so I don't know if the marketplace is close.
Interv.	Me: Do you interact with other customers or visitors that you might meet on the market?
Customer	
Interv.	I: Not in a conversational way just in that politeness if people are in the way or somebody dropped something like picking up but not I've never met anyone or I wouldn't know their names.
Customer	Me: Would you then consider the market as that setting itself that is more contributing or hindering for social interaction?
Interv.	I: Between strangers or...?
Customer	Me: Yes.
Interv.	I: Hmm, let me think about that for a moment..No I would say it's more contributing. Because without it I would never even be near these people. So without it, the opportunity wouldn't even be there. And I think it's my failure to talk to people, to have conversation it's just sort of a product of my personality and less so than it is about the market being a nice place to meet people..
Customer	Me: Ok. And do you think that people on the market reflect the demography of the population in Rotterdam?
Interv.	I: Yes, I think so. Ehm I know some of the stats of Rotterdam and the majority are ethnic minorities. And I think that's probably accurate for this market. And if I consider that the neighborhood where it's located is probably less, I think, than the majority. Then it's probably quite representative of that area.
Customer	Me: Well, you haven't been going to the market for too much time, but still a year now. Have you seen any changes? Be it in products that are offered, vendors, visitors or the organisation of the market?
Interv.	I: Actually, I have not. Maybe there's an extra French fries stand, but besides that... I actually think that all of the things that seem to be in the same places in general, nothing noticeable.
Customer	Me: Ok. And does visiting the market offer you an experience you would not find otherwise in the city?
Interv.	I: Yes, I think so.
Customer	Me: Could you elaborate in what sense?

Interv.	Ehm. There's no other outdoor gathering place or a place I am close to, I suppose that draws people to it, where it requires interaction between everyone. So, a public park for example, people go, but they don't go with any means of interacting. So, even though I don't interact a lot, I still will talk to vendors and just general jumble of people. Whereas, when you go other places the intention is to not interact with people I think in general. If you go with friends or something, it's not that you have to interact with strangers. Whereas I think the market is unique setting. It has a main component of that you interact with other people.
Customer	Me: If you would have to describe the market to someone who doesn't know it in three words, how would you describe it?
Interv.	I: Chaotic, Fun, and Groceries.
Customer	Me: Ok, then I have two last more interactive questions. I have here four characteristics and I would like you to rate them which ones are more important to you for your own market visit.
Interv.	I: Like from one to four?
Customer	Me: Yes, like the most important on top and the least at the bottom
Interv.	Ehm. There's no other outdoor gathering place or a place I am close to, I suppose that draws people to it, where it requires interaction between everyone. So, a public park for example, people go, but they don't go with any means of interacting. So, even though I don't interact a lot, I still will talk to vendors and just general jumble of people. Whereas, when you go other places the intention is to not interact with people I think in general. If you go with friends or something, it's not that you have to interact with strangers. Whereas I think the market is unique setting. It has a main component of that you interact with other people.
Customer	(Takes some time to put the plates in order)

<i>Most im- portant</i>	<i>Proximity</i>
	Variety of Products
	Atmosphere
<i>Least im- portant</i>	Price
Interv.	So proximity would be your most important factor to go to the market?
Customer	I: Yes.
Interv.	Me: And then we have variety of products?
Customer	I: Yes.
Interv.	Me: How is the variety of products different on the market then somewhere else?
Customer	I: There are... so for a supermarket for example they will each have one type of each fruit or vegetable at one quality, generally, whereas the market will have nine different kinds of avocados all of varying quality. So there's a lot more choice and I can say that probably for every type of fruit or vegetable, as well.
Interv.	Me: Yes. And then afterwards we have the atmosphere. And the last one price... Would you like to elaborate any more on any of these?
Customer	I: So I have...hm... it's actually hard to order them, because the more I order them I rethink. Because I have grocery stores that are closer, but this is the closest market to me. So, I think I would not go if it wasn't close. So, I think that is why that's number one. Ehm. And Price and atmosphere are very close. I had atmosphere above price, but only slightly. Or they could be relatively even just because the first two are really the main reasons to go for me and the other two is kind of bonus things, I think.
Interv.	Me: Ok. Then we have one last one. I have several keywords here and I would also like you to categorize them. Which ones you would attribute more to the market and which ones less. And for my last few interviews they made three columns, because some of them they couldn't categorize. So feel free to take your time and put them accordingly here..
Customer	I: Is there a specific criteria I should be ordering them? Or whatever comes to my mind?
Interv.	Me: Whatever comes to your mind. And then we can talk about them more in detail.
Mostly attributed	Less attributed
Market Competition	Multiculturalism
	Isolation

Entrepreneurship	Diversity
Innovation	Inclusive
	Feeling of community
	Tradition
Interv.	So, this is the column you attribute most to the market. So, you picked market competition, entrepreneurship and innovation. Could you elaborate maybe why those come most to your mind when you think of markets?
Customer	I: So those three to me represent kind of efficiency or business side of what the market is. Yeah. Maybe it's because I'm studying economics that I'm thinking of things in these terms. But to me these are the really driving forces of what keeps the market going. Yeah. With that I guess the underlying business. Like if people were not making money there would be no market. So, these three go together and are kind of the core model of the market.
Interv.	Me: Then we have multiculturalism, diversity, inclusive, feeling of community and tradition in the middle. Do you have something you would like to elaborate on all of these or some specific ones?
Customer	I: I actually found they're all very similar keywords. So, to me it really makes sense that they all just go together and the way to describe maybe the softer side of the market. Like, to build on top of the core things - what markets different from the grocery store whatever else or where wherever else you go buy things. These kind of concepts - more emotionally based ones I would say – are what give the market its unique character compared to other places
Interv.	Me: And you put isolation aside. Is that something you would not attribute at all to the market?
Customer	I: Oh yes. I didn't do it just to be funny. but I just don't relate to it at all in this context.
Interv.	Me: Yes. Ok, so this was so far it for this market. I remember that you mention you went to the Afrikaanderpleinmarkt a few times. What would be the most, ehm, obvious difference that you would see on the Afrikaanderplein or that you would have experienced?
Customer	I: There's a lot more focus on textiles or clothes, I think. I would definitely say, there is obviously a different type of population that goes there. Probably reflective of that neighbourhood a little bit more. There's a lot more Middle Eastern influence on goods available there, I would say.
Customer	But other than that...that's the main difference. The stands are all the same, at the same context. Yes...
Interv.	Me: Ehm, Ok. Do you have anything to add to all these questions? Something you would like to add from your personal market experience?
Customer	I: I think that I don't. I talked more about the market that I thought possible.
Interv.	Me: Well good. Thank you very much for taking the time!

18. Customer at the Central Market at Binnenrotte

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Retired, Female, mid-70s</i>
<i>Date</i>	Saturday, 13. April 2019
<i>Place</i>	Central Market
<i>Duration</i>	20 minutes
Interv.	Excuse me, do you speak English?
Customer	I: Yes a little bit
Interv.	Me: I am doing a Masterscriptie for the university over the market here and was wondering if I could ask you some questions?
Customer	I: Yes ok
Interv.	Me: Do you come to this market regularly?
Customer	I: I come always on Tuesday and Saturday

Interv.	Me: where are you from and where do you live?
Customer	I: I live in Rotterdam for 28 hours .. eh years. My father is from French and I live in Rotterdam. I live over there (points to the East).
Interv.	Me: Oh so do you live in the centre of Rotterdam? Do you live close to this market?
Customer	I: Yes, over there.
Interv.	Me: Why do you come to this market? Do you come because it is cheap or close or because of the atmosphere?
Customer	I: Ohh no it is not cheap. It is not cheap it is like other places. It is nice. You have everything here. You can buy clothes and vegetables and handbags. There is everything
Interv.	Me: Do you come because it is close to you?
Customer	I: Yes also
Interv.	Me: Do you come because you like the atmosphere
Customer	I: Yes (hesitant) a bit. It is nice here. You can buy everything and you talk to people
Interv.	Me: So do you interact with other people when you come to visit this market?
Customer	I: Ehm yes...
Interv.	Me: Do you meet people here you know?
Customer	I: No, not here.
Interv.	Me: I mean do you know the vendors from the different stalls here you go to?
Customer	I: Yes, I go to the same vendors, I talk to them.
Interv.	Me: Do the vendors change often or are they the same people?
Customer	I: Yes, they change very often. Now the stands are more changed. Now it more a mix
Interv.	Me: So you are saying the stalls have changed? In what way have the stalls changed?
Customer	I: Before it was more organised. You had clothes on one side and vegetables here. Now you have everything mixed up everywhere
Interv.	Me: Did the products change on the market?
Customer	I: No, the products have not changed. Ehm. Only the organisation it is more a 'mélange' now.
Interv.	Me: Do you think this market is important for this neighbourhood or the city?
Customer	I: Yes it is. It is very nice. You see very different people here. You can buy everything
Interv.	Me: Yes, it is like in Rotterdam. You see the whole city very different people
Customer	I: ...Now the weather is nice you can walk around and look. It is very nice. The people are very different. Now you see a lot more 'étranger'. This is not a problem for me. I think it is ok. You talk to different people it is ok. We are nice.
Interv.	Me: Do you think that now you see more foreign people than before?
Customer	I: Yes, now you see a lot more 'étrangers'. It is not so many Dutch people anymore, you see people from all the places. Also tourist. ...People come to this Markthall as well. Since this markthall it is a lot more tourists here... People come to look at the Markthall and the Market.
Interv.	Do you come to this market alone or with someone?
Customer	I: I live alone. I like it. I come to the market alone it is nice
Interv.	Me: How would you describe this market in three words?
Customer	I: Ehm... It is nice. You can come here and buy everything.

19. Customer at the Binnenrotte Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Retired, Male, 78 years old</i>
<i>Date</i>	Saturday, 13. April 2019
<i>Place</i>	Central Market
<i>Duration</i>	20 minutes

Interv.	Hello, I am doing a Thesis at the Erasmus University and talk to people on the market. Could I ask you some questions and use this for my study?
Customer	Yes
Interv.	Hi, what plants did you buy here?
Customer	I: These are cucumbers
Interv.	Me: Oh, so you are going to plant them at home?
Customer	I: Yes, at home. I have 8 cucumber plants here
Interv.	Me: Do you have a garden at home?
Customer	I: Yes, a garden...I have 200 tulips planted there. I will also put tomatoes. But this week I can only buy cucumbers. Because it is Easter, they have everything tulips. But then next week they have tomatoes as well, so I made a reservation.
Interv.	Me: Ooh, so you come specifically for the plants here?
Customer	I: Yes. I have a reservation for tomatoes and next week I will come and pick it up
Interv.	Me: Oh, where do you live then?
Customer	I: I live in South Rotterdam
Interv.	Me: Mhm ok. And do you come to this market often?
Customer	I: Yes I come sometimes. If you are interested in good flowers...the last stand has good flowers. I always buy with him. Not it is only tulips and then he will have more. The other ones are different flowers. But he has very good quality.
Interv.	Me: So you come here for the flowers usually.
Customer	I: Yes. My dutch is not very good. I live here for a long time, since 44 years, but I always travelled for work, so I never learn good Dutch.
Interv.	Me: Here in Rotterdam for 44 years? Wow that's a long time..
Customer	I: Yes, this long. I live in Rotterdam, I came here whit 33 and then me and my wife got married.
Interv.	Me: So where are you from?
Customer	I: I am from the Philipines
Interv.	Me: Aah ok.
Customer	I: Yes, I came a long time ago. And then I met my wife. We married. And we have one daughter. She is married to a Dutch guy. He is a professor. They live in Drenthe. It is three hours away.
Interv.	Me: Oh, so that's quite far. Do you get to see her often?
Customer	I: Not so often. We talk on telephone and sometimes... she can not come this weekend because with the university they have a meal with all the people
Interv.	Me: Oh so you will not see her on the weekend?
Customer	I: No. And my son, he lives in The Hague
Interv.	Me: oh ok, but a little closer
Customer	I: Yes. He works for footlocker. He is now store manager. And at his work everyone is married and he is not married so he works today. I told him he should come and visit, but he says 'no, everyone else is married, so I can work on the weekend'.
Interv.	Me: Oh that's sad for you
Customer	I: Yes, I tell him he puts to much stress on his work. He is already 30 and not married
Interv.	Me: mmh, well that I still young I guess. So you live in Rotterdam South with your wife now?
Customer	I: Yes. My wife is a nurse. she knows everything about my health and always checks. Now I don't get to travel so much anymore, because I have doctor's check up often. I have to be in the hospital every 3 month.
Interv.	Me: Aah so you don't get to travel..
Customer	I: I was not back home in the Philipines for very long time. Now I am pensioner. I do not work anymore. I am 78 years old
Interv.	Me: Ah, so you don't work anymore. What were you working at?

Customer	I: I had my business. When I came here to the Netherlands I start my business. I worked in the port.
Interv.	Me: Ah, that sounds interesting.
Customer	I: I bought a lot of shoes. Also Swiss shoes – you know Bally?
Interv.	Me: Yes, I do
Customer	I: Yes, also Bally and shoes and sold them to stores. It was good when I came. I opened my business and then always paid into the taxes and now I have some money from the government. But it is not so much. My son is very good, he still pays month every month.
Interv.	Me: So he supports you?
Customer	I: Yes, every month he sends 500 euros. Yes. Because I was not here before, I learned not Dutch and I did not pay early in taxes. So I don't get much money. My son now is different. He went to school here and learns Dutch and pays taxes. He will have no problem later. But me and my wife don't have much money to live. So my son pays me 500 Euros a month and my daughter 300. The take care of us so we have a good life
Interv.	Me: Ooh so They take care of you. This is very nice. So you live in the south. There is also a market there right?
Customer	I: Yes, we always lived there. It is very different now.
Interv.	Me: How did it change?
Customer	I: Now, the streets are very different. There is a lot of problems with drugs. It is very dirty everywhere. The people don't care to clean up anymore.
Interv.	Me: So they don't really respect the neighbourhood and the streets?
Customer	I: No, no. it is very dirty. Here you also see (points at plastic bags at the floor). Everywhere is dirt and nobody care. But this is the drugs. It's the problem everywher in the world
Interv.	Me: Hmm. yes I guess so.
Customer	The people are very different. Before you ..maybe you would clean the window and then see the neighbour and say hi. Now ..you know now you have different neighbours. I am catholic. I don't go to this church often, because I can not walk to much. But I pray for myself. I sit here and look to the sky up or down and pray. Yes. But maybe people now have other religion. They come from other places. And then maybe they are not allowed to talk to your wife. It is very different
Interv.	Me: Hm. So when do you think has it changed?
Customer	I: It is different now. People don't talk so much anymore. You also see here, a lot of different people...they call it multi-culture. Many new people
Interv.	Me: Mmh ok. So when you come to this market, how do you come?
Customer	I: Oh I come by tram. Yes always with tram. It is number 21, when you want to come over.
Interv.	Me: Oh that's nice
Customer	I: Yes, yes number 21 and then you walk a bit. It stops right over there
Interv.	Me: Ok. So did you come mainly for the pants today to this market?
Customer	I: Yes. I only bought plants. I make a reservation, because he has very good plants and come to pick it up. I always sit down, my wife is always worried. My wife is very in control. That is why she always checks on me. She always tells the doctor what medicine I should take. I am not very healthy so she is always worried that I walk.. I like to go out to the market

20. Customers at Central Market at Binnenrotte

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Retired, Male, 70 years old, former Market Vendor: Retired, Male, 67 years old, Market visitor, both from indonesia</i>
<i>Date</i>	09.05.2019
<i>Place</i>	At the customer's home
<i>Duration</i>	50 minutes
Interv.	So, we have already talked about that you have been living in Rotterdam for quite a long time. Could you maybe repeat again how long you have been living here?
Customer	K: Since I am living here about I'm 70 years old now and I live here about 65 years.
Customer	E: About 63 years as well. I came a little bit later than him.
Interv.	Me: And have you always lived in the same neighbourhood?

Customer	E: I have lived in different parts in Rotterdam.
Customer	K: And I also, I lived...When we were children we lived in the same part of Rotterdam, named Overschie. And when I was about 20 years old, I went to the centre of the city. And him also, when we were around 21 or 22 he moved to Crooswijk.
Interv.	Me: So, you visit a market in Rotterdam generally? Which market do you visit?
Customer	E: in the centre.
Interv.	Me: how often do you go there?
Customer	E: Once a week.
Interv.	Me: Do you usually go on Tuesday or on Saturday?
Customer	E: Both. Sometimes Tuesdays, sometimes on Saturday.
Interv.	K: So I go always on Tuesdays and on Saturdays to the markets, so two times a week.
Customer	Me: Do you also sometimes go to another market - not the one in the center?
Customer	K: I only go to the one in the centre.
Interv.	Me: For how long have you been going to this market?
Customer	K: I, for all the time I have been living here in the city I went to this market to do the shopping and him also
Customer	E: yes me too
Customer	K: Yes, I have seen this market grow, I have seen it slow. I have seen it in the good times and in the bad times. I know everything about that market.
Interv.	Me: Ok. So if you go to the market. What products do you buy on the market?
Customer	E: Fruits, vegetables and cheese
Customer	K: Yes, I also for vegetables and fruits. Everything you eat and need to cook I go ot the market. All the time
Inter	Me: Is the market the main place you buy your food?
Customer	K: No, no. I also go to supermarket. For coffee, tea, chocolate I go to the supermarket. For fruits and vegetables I go to the market. But lately I mostly buy everything at the supermarket.
Interv.	Me: Is there a reason why you go to the supermarket more?
Customer	K: The quality is a little bit better.
Interv.	Me: What supermarkets do you usually go to?
Customer	K: I always go to Albert Heijn.
Customer	E: yeah. Lidl, Albert Heijn. Those that are close
Interv.	Me: Do you sometimes also buy products that are not food on the market?
Customer	E: Yes, Toothpaste.
Customer	K: In the old times, that's a long time ago. I bought clothe on the market and ehm -how do you say.
Interv.	Me: Textiles or fabrics?
Customer	K: Yes, textiles. Because I make my own clothes and I bought fabrics on the market, too. Because that was cheaper and the quality was good.
Interv.	Me: Now, you wouldn't buy clothe or textiles anymore?
Customer	K: No, no. I don't make clothes anymore. At my age... you can't do that anymore
Interv.	Me: When you go to the market, do you every time go to the same stalls? Do you know where you like to buy your products or do you go to different stalls?
Customer	E: I always go to different ones.
Customer	K: I don't. I have my fast places to buy things. I don't go to different. The one is good, I know them and they know me, so I always go to them.
Interv.	Me: And they are always in the same spot?
Customer	K: Yes, they are always in the same spot. The ones I know are there already for about 40 years or more.

Interv.	Me: (towards E) So you go to different ones? You go to market and then you walk around and choose where to buy the products?
Customer	E: Yes
Interv.	Me: Ok. Do you, when you go and buy the products, do you talk to the vendor as well?
Customer	K: I do. I usually do. Because we know one another. We always say 'How are you?'. And we talk about little things.
Interv.	Me: Okay so you have a small interaction with them...
Customer	K: Yes, small. Small, Because they have to work and can not talk too long with them, because they have other customers. But always we have an interaction.
Interv.	Me: would you say that after 40 years, you know them a bit in a personal way?
Customer	K: Most I only know from the market. But some I learned a little more personal.
Interv.	Me: Are many of the stalls you visit still the same people over a long time period?
Customer	K: Many are the same for a long time. Some died because of the age or because they got sick. But of most I know, I know them from a very long time.
Interv.	Me: yes, ok. Because what I have understood so far it is mostly family business...
Customer	K: Yes, many family business
Interv.	Me: And then they have some employees, and the employees change more often.
Customer	K: Yes, the employees change a lot more often than the old ones that actually own the place.
Interv.	Me: How do you go to the market – by foot or tram?
Customer	K: I go always by foot.
Customer	E: I go with the bicycle.
Interv.	Me: when you go to the market – you mentioned you walk around a bit. Is it also a kind of activity that you don't only go for the food?
Customer	E: Yes. For walking and physical activity, sports a bit. Also for looking around. Not only for buying food and vegetables, but also to be around in the centre a bit.
Interv.	Me: Do you also know some of the stalls or the vendors that you have seen for several years already?
Customer	E: No, I don't. I don't have contact with them.
Interv.	Me: Do you meet other people on the market or go on your own?
Customer	E: Mostly alone. I know some people that are also working on the market, but I don't meet people on the market.
Customer	K: But for me it's different. When I'm on the market, I come and hear 'Hello how are you?' Because we know one another. Because I also stand in the market for that long time and there's always a lot to talk and also a lot of clients know me. I see them on the market and then we have a conversation too. I always have lots of conversation on the market in Rotterdam.
Interv.	Me: So you meet people you wouldn't meet otherwise?
Customer	K: Yes, Always. When I am in Rotterdam walking in the city, lots of people know me and I see them everywhere, in the streets on festivals. Everyone knows me – if you are standing on the market, everyone knows you.
Interv.	Me: And I guess you also see so many people every day and over the years. Ehm. How would you describe the people or like the demography of the people that go to the market in the center? Do you think it's mainly the people that come from the neighbourhood or is it people from all Rotterdam? Is it mixed..
Customer	K: It is very mixed. Event tourists – lots of tourists are coming to the market from everywhere. So, it's very mixed. Not only locals from in the neighbourhood of the market.
Interv.	Me: would you also say from age groups or different generations?
Customer	K: Lots of young people, but not too much very old people. But the main age on the market is about people in their thirties or forties which are shopping there. And then very young people, lots of them are studying in the neighbourhood and go to the market also.
Interv.	Me: Do you think this has changed over the years?
Customer	K: Yes, it did change a little. It is now five years that I am not standing on the market. But five years ago, there were more younger people from... I saw lots of students, they were also doing interviews, asking for making pictures and also buying things they need, and also at the social, the cultural academia they had to make things and they had to buy things on the market to make art or a lot of things. I had a lot of clients also that bought clothes from the Mode-Akademie.

Interv.	Me: Have you seen, when you were also working on the market, a change in people that came to the market?
Customer	K: It's not so pleasant as in the old times. It's growing more hostile. In the 60s, 70s, 80s it was very peaceful on the market and in the 90s and 2000s it became a little bit...there were pickpockets and lots of people using drugs on the market.. more criminality on the market. And that's not growing better, its growing worse. The last years I was on the market, from 2000 to 2014 it went down.
	Me: The market in general?
Customer	K: the people. They are not so nice and not so kindly as in the early years.
Interv.	Me: Do you know why it changed?
Customer	K: I think because lot of things happened on the market – much robbery, pickpocketing and stealing. So the people grow more aggressive. And this is still growing in Rotterdam.
Interv.	Me: So in general you would say it is less pleasant.
Customer	It is less pleasant. Also for the sellers. Lots of people I know which are selling goods are also complaining. And also earning money is more difficult than in the old days.
Interv.	Me: Is it because there is more competition or why would you say so?
Customer	K: There is more competition and there's more taxes on things and the prices on the market with the supermarket it's very difficult to compete.
Interv.	Me: Did you see a change in the products that are on the market?
Customer	K: Yes, there are more vegetables from the East than 20 years ago. And more Chinese products, which were 20 years ago we didn't have that on the market. And now we have lots of articles from China: Phone articles, Clothes articles. That is very much now on the market.
Interv.	Me: That's a new development?
Customer	K: In the last 20 years.
Interv.	Me: What do you think of the market regulation?
Customer	K: It is more strict than in the old days.
Interv.	Me: Ok. I also heard it is difficult to get a stall on the market...
Customer	K: yes, at the moment, in Rotterdam, you can't get a place. They are not giving places again. In five years more than fifty dealers on the markets have stopped and there is nothing coming back for that. So the market is shrinking. Let's say around five years ago there were around five hundred places and now four hundred.
Interv.	Me: Is this because they are limiting the spaces?
Customer	K: Yes, they are limiting. From the government they are limiting from the spaces. There are lots of people that would like to work on the market or do a business on their market from their own, but they don't get a license to stay there.
Interv.	Me: And the people who have a license now, they have been there..
Customer	K: For more than twenty or thirty years. If they stop, they can't come back. Some want to stop, but because they don't have an income then, they can't stop. And because, they can't come back they don't stop for a short time. So they have to stay there every week and if they don't they loose their place and their license.
Interv.	Me: Do you think it would be helpful if the market system was more flexible?
Customer	K: It would be helpful yes. Because a lot of people don't want to start because of all the regulations. They are too strict. A change would be helpful.
Interv.	Me: Do you think you find this experience you have on the market is a unique experience or you also find it somewhere else?
Customer	K: I think you can find this also somewhere else. But I was on holiday in Deventer, also a city in the Netherlands, and it was hundred percent more pleasant. That market was very clean, the people were very nice and it was..you had not so much criminality of the market there. So it's different. If you go to The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht...it is more tens than in other places. It is not so relaxed to go to the markets in the big cities and in the small cities it is very relaxed. You can sit and you can have a coffee, a tea. You can – it's very different. If you go to Deventer or.. I was in Deventer and it was very very nice – everything was very clean. In Rotterdam it's very dirty. It's a big difference. That's my experience.
Interv.	Me: I also sometimes go to the Noordplein market and there you have a lot more places to sit and people sit down and have coffee together.
Customer	K: At the Groote Visserijplein ther eis also a market and there you have very little real Dutch and it's a very old market. It is the first market in Rotterdam. And before the Second World War everyone went to that place and we had one big market at the Goudse Singel and after the bombing it disappeared and never came back to that place. And then it came up in the centre, but that was late in the fifties.

Interv.	Me: And then for a while they had to change it...
Customer	K: Yes, when they were working and building and then it several times replaced in the centre of Rotterdam. But this one (the centre market) is there now for already more than thirty years on the Binnenrotte – the name is Binnenrotte. But the Noordplein Market you were talking about, that's the oldest one in the city with the Goudse single. IT started in the eighteenth hundreds.
Interv.	Me: And you mentioned you were selling there?
Customer	K: Yes, this was in 1959. I started there. It was only for stamps. There were no vegetables or... This was already in the centre of the city, then. In the late forties, I think the latest time for vegetables on the Noordplein was in 1949 and then it stopped. From then it was only for the Sunday market or the antiques or things from the farm, eggs...
Interv.	Me: So, if you would have to describe the market in the centre to someone who has never been there before. How would you describe it?
Customer	K: Be careful, it's an experience, you can get everything you need on that place.
Customer	E: ...pas op for sake rollers en...
Interv.	Me: I have two more questions. What is most important for you to visit the market? I have written down four words, in English and in Dutch, and I would be interested in what is the most important and what is the least important thing to visit the market?

	E	K
Most important	Price	Variety of Products
	Proximity	Proximity
	Variety of products	Price
Least Important	Atmosphere	Atmosphere

Interv.	Me: Would there be any different reason that is not listed as one of these four?
Customer	K: Ooh, well I go to the market to meet people. That's my first reason. Because everyone I know on the market they know me. Also the old clients are always shopping on the market and I meet them too. That's why I go to the market. Not because I want to buy food or want to have it cheaper. That's the main reason.
Interv.	Me: Okay. Would you in general consider the market to be more a traditional place or a place where also ehm innovative or new business or new people can be part of?
Customer	K: It is more a traditional place.
Interv.	Me: This is so far all I have written down from my questions? Do you have anything you would like to add maybe from your experience or do something you really want to tell me about your experiment?
Customer	E: I usually go and buy cheese on the market, it is cheaper on the kilo than in the shop and you can taste it.
Customer	K: Yeah. Yeah. What would I add to it. For me it's always enjoyable from the market. Looking at the people and seeing lots of kinds of people from very bad to very good. You learn a lot of that.
Interv.	Me: do you sometimes sit down as well then?
Customer	K: Yeah I sit – when I go to the market now with the men, the people I know I sit with them in their place. Not on the market, but with them. I help selling and drink coffee and eat bread. Yes sometimes I do that. And then I'm sitting and looking at the people and from the one hundred people which pass fifty say hello because they know me.
Interv.	Me: Ok, so these were all my questions so far. Thank you very much for taking the time.
Customer	K: You're welcome.
Customer	Welcome.

21. Customers at the Noordplein Market

Interviewee Three visitors of the Noordplein Market, two female, one male, between 19 and 21 years old, young professionals

Date	01.05.2019
Place	Noordplein Market
Duration	22 minutes

Yeah, now do you mind if I record this conversation and use it for my masterthesis?

I1,2 and 3: No!

Me: Okay. I prepared some questions whatever you would like to add for your market experience, please add ehm I don't really know who I should address from all of you.

I 1: I think you can address all of us and we're just gonna shout

Me: Would you mind introducing yourself shortly who you are? Like how old you are where you come from? And how long you've been living in Rotterdam?

I 1: Okay, [00:00:31] so, my name is (...). I'm 20 years old and polish and I've been living in Rotterdam since September 2017, which is now one year and like eight months or something.. I can't count

I 2: I'm (...). I'm 22 from Belgium and I've been living here since September 2017 for University

I3: I'm (...). I'm from Germany and I've also been living in Rotterdam since September 2017.

Me: Do you all live in Rotterdam North?

All: Yes.

Me: Yes, do you so we are on the North Market right. Now. Do you regularly come to this Market?

I 1: Yes. Well, I wouldn't say regularly. I've been here like four times by now, but I but I really enjoy it every time I go so, I think I'm going to make it a habit.

I 2: I'm here whenever I'm actually in the country

I 2: every [00:01:31] few weeks, maybe every three weeks or so.

Me: Okay. Do you visit any other markets in Rotterdam, Street Markets?

I 3: Well the big Market yes, but mostly if I'm already in the center and it happens to be a market day.

I 1 : Yeah, I think I only visited my name is like actually it's cool. It's new near our school. So as a break, I sometimes go buy stuff there. Yeah.

I 2: I used to go a lot to the other big Market. Because it was very [00:02:01] much on the way but now it's rather far nd I don't go there as much anymore or at all. Actually, I haven't been there since September because like we can find very similar stuff at the same price in like local supermarkets.

Me: So then when you come here to this Market, what products do you usually buy here?

I 2: Cheese. (laughs)

I 3: so I have I also cheese, bread [00:02:31] from time to time

I1: plants

I 3: honey a lot too. Yeah, like vegetables not that often because they're most of them quite expensive here and not even bio in most cases. So yeah

I 1: Actually, when I when I come here I A lot of times I just want to drink coffee with friends and stuff. But like I also I started like I buy stuff here that I wouldn't buy normally probably like, I don't know like Once I bought [00:03:01] this huge pot of bean paste there was this guy that was just like was talking to me for 10 minutes about it. And also he thought I was French for some reason. So he was talking to me in French and I was talking to him in French. So so I get like we just became friends and I just decided to buy his product and it was really good, but I wouldn't buy it normally. it's just kind of for the sake of our friendship

I 2: also this market like you coming to buy stuff but it has a very different atmosphere. So [00:03:31] you, you don't come here just because you have to buy something but because you want to have a nice afternoon or something and really spend your time tasting something, talking to some people, enjoying the atmosphere and stuff like that. So it's not only for the buying.

I 1: Yes same.

I 3: And then bread normally I buy at Jumbo because they have the best bread of all the supermarkets and it's also not packed in plastic,

Me: okay. [00:05:02] Do you interact with the vendors at the market? You said you had a story with the

I 1: yeah, that was I think that was my longest talk that I had here because we actually talked for at least 5 or 10 minutes. But then I also talk their there's one guy here that the like sharpens knives and generally has a like this like cute little stand of all the metal stuff. And so, I talked to him for for a bit but he's very eccentric. [00:05:32] So it was also kind of like a weird conversation not necessarily about his product. And yeah, I think that people here are very open to conversation. I think they know that like it's an important part of the process.

I 2: I also talk a lot with them. Also just you know to taste things like if you haven't seen something before they really explain to you where it comes from and stuff,

Me: Do you talk to other visitors, customers on the market.

I 3: No, not really.

I 1: I did once when I came here, [00:06:02] I think I came here with Philip, but then he left after and I was kind of like just hanging around for like 1 hour more or something like that. And and I think that the fact that there are like tables here and usually they're like longer than this one but like like more of them for bigger markets. So then they're kind of inviting to the conversate with other people that also there was a lot of like hot wine but [00:06:32] so everyone was kind of talkative. But it was nice. I think that this Market invites conversation more than the Central Market.

Me: Okay. Yeah, this would actually be also a further question for me. If you consider the market setting as like a public space more like contributing or more hindering to social contact?

I 2: Contributing

I 3: this one yeah this one.

I 2: Yeah, the other one I think also because for example he compared to the big Market it's much more busy. You have so many stands [00:07:02] and like, you know, the vendors are very busy with selling. Yeah. Cuause So many people queuing all the time. It's not enough space to really have a conversation and you also you feel much more rushed. Yeah. Yeah. It's for me. It was just a place to go buy stuff

I 1: Yea for me it was also like to and go away and here I actually like to hang out just right you can also I bet you can also buy coffee and cakes there, but I would just prefer to come here to do that and sit

I 3: there's also no place for like to sit on the big market

I 1: Nore there are some tables but there's always [00:07:32] kind of like dirty around and I don't know so many peoples around you walking with their stuff. So it's not the same kind of atmosphere.

Speaker 3: How would you describe the demography of the market visitors?

I 2: This is something I actually just realized because right now there's this event from the Turkish mosque happening right next to it and I see like these tents (points to the market) have white people and those tents don't and I don't know I didn't really like [00:08:02] it to see that there is actually even on one square there such division, but on the other hand usually I see mostly actually no here. I want I want to see more say mostly women, but actually no, I think it's really nice if you have a lot of men coming here too

I 1: I think this is a pretty white market

I 3: I also think this is rather white. The Muslim people here they mostly by their stuff in the shops that are in north

I 1: or in the Central Market if you can see a lot of them and [00:08:33] Market, but here not really. I mean, this is a special event (the Islamic mosque event). But yeah, as you said I agreed like can clearly see that that there's a deviation already in such a small space, but when it comes to Like age like I would say mostly middle-aged people like I don't see many very old or very young people here. Just kind of you know, families, couples.

I 2: I would say also more like upper-middle-class. Yeah kind [00:09:03] of people. Yeah.

Me: Ok. Can you describe this Market in three words?

I 2: Ehm organic. It's very..

I 1: Chilled

I 2: Local and inviting

Me: I have two more interactive questions. If you would be up for that?

I 2: Oh, we gonna play a game?

Me: First, I would like you to rate which [00:09:33] ones are more ehm which is the most important factor for you to come here. And which one is the less. May be the most important factor on top and the least on the bottom.

I 1: Sorry, what is proximity?

I 2: Being close

Me: How close the market is

I 2: I think atmosphere is the most important.

I 3: I think price is least important.

I 2: Yeah for this one for this particular market at least and then I think proximity and then variety like this

I 3: Yeah

I 1: Yeah

Me: [00:10:14] Okay, and then I have some keywords. I found during previous interviews and my research a bit and I'm going to lay them out and maybe you can from like left to right also attribute and how much you would attribute these keywords to the market and which of them you would less attribute and then we can maybe talk a little bit about why you chose to attribute which one to the market are not to the market.

I 1: [00:10:50] So, why are we laughing? This is Louise Bingo, lekker game.

I 3: Mm. Okay, this one I would attribute to the market.

Me: Yes. Yeah, so maybe the ones you would attribute we can put here (right) and then the other ones here (left), you can also put some in the middle which is to have like

I 2: I don't wouldn't do this.

I 3: The rest. I don't think at all. Actually

I 2: I do think tradition kind of yeah,

I 3: I don't know

I 2: because you have a lot [00:11:20] of really local products or like for example, The Gem Shop, like this woman has made all of them by herself and she's from Latino or Latina Latino, whatever origin and she really uses a lot of those kind of fruits in it.

I 3: And yeah, okay, but the rest I wouldn't stay

I 2: : isolation definitely not entrepreneurship. It depends. I mean, obviously they're all little businesses, but I wouldn't necessarily call it like, oh these entrepreneurs in the Elon Musk kind of sense

I 1: and inclusive. [00:11:50] as we said before it's kind of like it depends on the kind of event, but it can be very white and I personally think it's not the most inclusive place

I 2: But it does depend on how big it is. I think also the bigger Markets you have all these sounds like very diverse kind of cultural foods and stuff and then it's obviously very inclusive because and they also have music and everything and they're like right now he's just very small, but I think innovation [00:12:20] no no

I 3: No. Market competition, no.

I 2: inclusive to be somewhere in the middle, I guess. Yeah. Okay multiculturalism.

I 3: I would think I would rather take multiculturalism instead of inclusive and this like for the large markets like the XXL because there you do have a lot of variety.

I 2: And diversity me have a huge diversity of products this you have meat, you have cheese and vegetables. You have bread

I 1: Plants

I 2: I think diversity the [00:12:50] ... I mean it diversity of customers perhaps not but in these Products

Me: But diversity in products you would say?

I 2: Yeah

I 1: Yeah, something like okay

Me: so maybe if we put them in the middle and then take a picture of this. [00:13:22] So it's easy for me to memorize.

Me: All right. I think those were some of the main questions I have. Do you have anything to add to your market experience you wanted to share with me?

I 3: think it's also a good place to just meet with people. Yeah, you know, let's all [00:13:52] meet at the market.

Yeah

I 2: I think it's nice to discover new products new local vegetables. For example, I bought Aarbeeren which is like I don't know even know the English translation strawberries. No, no, it's like like a potato but it tastes different like potatoes is aardapple, like aple from the earth. And this is like pear of the earth like I want me to prove it but it's very hard to find because it's very local [00:14:22] root root vegetable. They just people kind of forgot about but it's incredibly nutritious and it's very delicious as well. So now I just bought some because I was like, wow, I haven't seen these even in a year or so. So that's why I think it's like a nice place to discover new things where I saw this woman buying rappstel still which is kind of green. And did you also never see anymore.. But it's very I think it's the greens from something like a beat but like a like the bigger beets like the very hard white [00:14:52]. Like Raap, I don't know the word

Me: Like Rettich?

I 2: No no. it's rounds. But anyway, it is a greens of their vegetable usually people throw them away, which he uses them to make Stampot instead of like I don't know Endives or instead of spinach or whatever. It's like yeah, why not because actually the flavor profile is very different and these are so local and so yeah historically from here and nobody uses them anymore. So I think this is a really good place for that kind of stuff.

Me: Okay, that's true.

I 1: I [00:15:22] think that for me the key feature of this of this Market is the fact that it's like only on Saturday. So like I know that every time I come here, I'm just really chilled and and I know that I can stay for longer if I want and I can sit . Whereas other places I buy my food products are always kind of just so, you know just go get what he needed and and leave because you're always busy and stuff and here it's just like for me it's like the ultimate chill. I guess. I [00:15:52] wish there was more grass here than could like actually picnic here, but yeah, I think that like no other markets arounds has a similar kind of vibe.

Me: Yeah, okay.

I 3: Yeah,

Speaker 3: Okay. Well, thank you very much for you are taking your time to answer my question for so always.

I 2: Oooh you smell garlic? Now I want the pasta.

22. Two Customers at the Noordplein market

Interviewee	Two Women, Mid 40-s, Dutch and Portuguese,
Date	01.05.2019
Place	Noordplein Market
Duration	Approx. 15 minutes

Hello, do you speak English?

I: Yes, we do

Me: I am writing a Master Thesis on the markets in Rotterdam and was wondering if I could ask you some questions about your experience here at the market?

I: Yes, sure. We are interested in answering.

Me: Ok, thank you! It also won't take too long. It's just a few questions

I: Sure ok

Me: So do you live around here?

I: Yes we do Live in Rotterdam here

Me: Are you Dutch?

I 1: Yes, I am

I 2: No I am not. I am from Portugal. But I have been here for very long

Me: Aaah ok. Ehm so you both live here then

I: Yes

Me: Do you come to this market regularly?

I1: Yes! I come here since always...well since the beginning

Me: Oh ok cool

Me: What is the main reason why you come here?

I: Well..ehehm

Me: well I have four mian characteristics that have been mentioned by previous interview partners. Maybe this helps you to define it..ehm. let me see...would you say it is more atmosphere, proximity, price or the products you can find here?

I1: Oh well...what is proximity?

I2: It's (says the word in Dutch)

Me: It means if it is close to where you live

I1: Oooh ok, well kind of.. it is the atmosphere. I like to meet up here with friends

I2: And also the products. It is sustainable products from local farmers the products are good. And they are mostly biological

Me: Oh ok yes. So sustainability is important for you?

I1: yes and this market offers local products

I2: yes, I like it. We should get rid of the milk and the meat and then we would be fine...but we would slowly get there.

Me: Well, yes I agree

I2: well the price is not very good. It is more expensive. But of course, you know it is another way of production. You understand it is different with local products and small entrepreneurs

Me: Where do you buy your products when you don't buy them here? Do you go to other markets?

I2: Albert Heijn...There it is proximity definitely

I1: Yes. I don't go to other markets. Albert Heijn

I2: yes, Albert Heijn is the closest and easiest. But they also have more products for vegans it is getting better.

Me: yes of course. So the atmosphere is important to you?

I1: yes very much. I come here often to meet with friends. It is a nice place, you can have coffee and chat with your friends

I1: you know also that this market has a very innovative aspect. They used to be only an event. Like...they had the possibility to make an event so that they would also have the allowance to sell alcohol. It is very much a place to meet people. But they could only make the event once a month. This is why you have once a month here the market XXL where there is also live music and a bar

I2: it is like a 40+ bar. We meet outside and chat. We drink coffee and don't stay up...

I1: I do also know the founder Gerda. That is why I know of this market. The problem is that they could as an event only make it once a month. So they would have to get a 'Bewilligung' from the municipality to make it a market.

Me: Ooh yes I understand. So it is really a meeting place for you.

I1: yes...ehm. it is really a place where I meet up with friends and my neighbours. It is very fun to be around

Me: Would you say that the demography of the people on the market reflects the neighbourhood?

I1: Ooh no...ehm not at all. Look at this event happening over there...well it is also an Islamic event...well but no. This place is very left

I2: Yes it is a market where white, leftist, alternative people come together. Middle age people. Like us. It is very closed.

Me: Would you say it is a diverse market

I1: No definitely not from the visitors. You don't see many muslim people on the market here

Me: about the products maybe?

I1: yes the products are a bit diverse. You have the Thai food, the hot dogs, Sometimes you have Hungarian sausages. You have the cheese and stuff

23. Customer Noordplein Market

<i>Interviewee</i>	<i>Women, 55, Employed</i>
<i>Date</i>	13. 04.2019
<i>Place</i>	Noordplein market
<i>Duration</i>	Approx.. 5 minutes

Hi, do you speak English

I: Yes

Me: I am doing a research on the markets in Rotterdam. Would you mind if I ask you some questions and use this for my research?

I: sure, no problem

Me: Do you come to this market regularly?

I: Yes, once in a while

Me: Do you live close here

I: Yes, I live 9min bike ride away ... so quite close

Me: Ooh ok, yes this is quite close. Although in the Rotterdam many places are quite close when coming with bike. What do you like about this market?

I: I like about that there is a personal connection from the vendors to the food. You know...you see this guy over there that sells the meat. He really does this as a passion. He really knows his meat.

Me: So do you know the vendors you buy your food from?

I: Yes. I really like that the vendors have a personal connection with the food they sell. It is also very local...well yes you get the Thai Loempia, but in a way local for here as well

Me: Do you like the atmosphere here as well?

I: Yes a lot. It has a very special atmosphere

Me: Do you also visit other markets?

I: I do go to the centre market to do grocery shopping. But you know ehm...there once was there a man that was very discriminative to people from other cultural backgrounds. So I did not go there anymore. I did not buy from him anymore. I chose to go somewhere else. I really like when the vendors have a personal connection with the products they sell

Me: So do you do your groceries mainly at the market?

I: Yes...Ehm. Well you know, I don't understand. There are many people who order their groceries now. I don't understand this. It is not personal. Well if you are disabled of course this is ok. But I really like to go and see the vendors and do the groceries by myself.

Me: Yes, I understand. It is nice to have the environment as well

I: yes, the markets have a very special atmosphere. It is very nice.

I: ...I am trying to find the Boterkoeken, but I could not find them

Me: Ohh. Well they are over there at Jordy's Bakery. They have various kinds of cookies as well...

I: Ooh ok. Well this is not what I was looking for. Last time there was a guy that made the boterkoeken himself at home. With Jordy's you know. It is this big bakery, you don't really know if they make it themselves. I rather wait until next time...I can't eat too much sugar. So when he is around I can eat one boterkoeken and he really makes it himself at home he bakes.

Me: Ooh ok, well I hope you can treat yourself then next time with it!

INTERVIEWS WITH PERSONS AFFILIATED TO THE MARKETS

Interviewee		Martin de Graaf, Consultant at CVAH
	Date	04.04.2019
	Place	Skype
	Duration	45 minutes
Interv.	Would you maybe mind maybe shortly introducing yourself so I know how you are affiliated with the association?	
MdG	That's right. My name is Maarten de Graaf. I am at the moment. I am a consultant, an independent consultant. Ehm. And in the past I worked for the Dutch retail board. part of my job at the Dutch Retail board was already the market training. I am doing this now for let's say about...I am involved in the markets for about over 20 years and mainly in connection with policy making, advising, supporting. In that way I got in contact what we call in Dutch the CVAH, the CVAH. And, let's say, the retail board stopped about six years ago and but after that the market, the CVAH and other parties in the market they asked me to just continue then as an independent consultant. That's what I am doing now. And I'm, Let's say, in connection with, well, what I mainly do is. I put it plainly: ehm things on paper for them. I coordinate them. Eehm let's see. If they have any questions as well let's say legal or if you talk about policy making and ehm let's say, like, let's say, what I did last year I support them with a research project and I helped them with that project from well A to Z actually. First I asked them what do you really actually want? What do you want to achieve with it? Because it is nice to do research and at the same time you have to have a purpose for it so to say. So for that point of view, I am usually always at the background. So I am not the person if you want to talk about any political statements or whatever then I would say talk to the president of the CVAH. And he will give you some, well so much reserves. But of course he is the representative of the market traders. So you have to understand he is looking after their interest. Which is fair enough and at the same time, I am helping and advising municipalities as well if they want to be involved or if they want to do something with markets	
Interv.	Yes, Ok that sounds very interesting. Yes. So I have put together some questions which I have ehm yeah. Categorized according to topics. I have some general questions over the markets nowadays and maybe in the past decades. I have noticed that the markets in the Netherlands, when we compare it with markets in other countries in Europe. Are very popular n- the street markets. Do you have a specific reason why, what makes the street markets so popular?	
MdG	Well, I think that develops historically, because like ehm in the Netherlands we say the market is only a market if it is outdoor. Well I've been involved on behalf of the CVAH with the ... international movement ehm let's say it was an European	

	<p>organisation and now it's kind of a different organisation which is more worldwide. If I compare this specially within Europe. Specially within the southern countries and the UK. We have lot's of indoor markets. And in the south they always have this because of the heat, but at the same time, well, I wouldn't be able to explain it why there are indoor markets in the UK. But in the UK they consider indoor markets as markets as they always as they developed. They have outdoor markets as well. In the Netherlands it's ehm. If you look at indoor markets. I think perhaps three, four. One of the latest one is the one in Rotterdam – The Markthall. Which is to be honest. As it is developed, not really a market. It is more like an eating place so to say but at the same time, there have always been outdoor markets. And I know in some parts of the country they say 'we should have it covered'. Because they think that it's then the problem of the decline of the markets. which I wouldn't agree with that. But at the same time. Let's say 98% of wholemarkets in the Netherlands are outdoor and most people are happy with it. And of course there is a decline in markets but there are many reasons for that.</p>
<i>Interv.</i>	And in this sense - How would you say can the street markets as like well special unity compete with emerging supermarkets and online markets and all the other emerging products?
<i>MdG</i>	<p>Well I think. From my point of view. It's all retail. Retail could be in a shop, could be on the market, could be online. Specially on the market now we are trying to invent again how do we do retail? Well, as you know yourself, let's say, The last decades the online becomes very popular, it is very popular. At the same time you see that online retail sees that they say well 'we have to have a shop as well' so it's more the channels they are using. I believe let's say there will always be a channel for shops. There will always be a channel for online market and there will always be a channel let's say markets are a channel as well. I think competition is good, but should be fair. And, in fact, epecially with markets. I would say 99.99% of the market traders are small businesses. At the same time I have to say small businesses doesn't mean it's nothing. Market traders they invest in their storage places, their facilities. Specially if they are food, they prepare food or whatever. They have to invest in that. They have to invest in ehm equipment. The equipment they use for sending the products on the market. If you talk about eeh specially with foo, specially towards the weekend on Thursday, Friday Saturday, there could be on one particular stall up to 20 people working there. So from that point of view. It's a relevant business but it's a small business. With super-markets. Supermarkets it's 9 out of 10, well, I think it's perhaps 99 out of 100 it's always big businesses. So, it's a different approach. Which means as well specially with there is usually one director which decides 'this is what we are going to do' and that is the power of the supermarkets in every outlet of the supermarket, they will do what the director wants with mar-kets. It's a group of market traders being there . therefore being a kind of supermarket there is no general direction. There is nothing wrong with it as such or search saying well there should be a company. But from my point of view a market should be driven as a company. Only that we have to find a way how to do it. It depends how organisations or the market traders, municipalities, private companies want to be involved. From my point of view, the market traders, market training will always be there. Because we talka bout market training. We talk about as well solitary stands, like ehm the flower shop you see here and there or the green grocer or it could be a group, because you can discuss it as well, when does it become a markt? if there are two stalls, is it already a market? Which I think, from a theoretical point of view is interesting but for the consumer it's not relevant. The consumer experiences is 'I want to buy something'. I think it is the most of retail, food, especially fresh food is very important. And that's what you seen on markets as well, let's say, The biggest vendors on the market, With let's say, The actual foundation of the markets are the food stall. I think it has something to do with the connection of products. It's fresh products and in the beginning the markets their ...was lowest the price. That doesn't count anymore. Eh because, especially if we talk about supermarkets like Aldi, Lidl, etcetera. They're discounters. They're there, there is nothing wrong with that. If you look at non-food we have Action, do you know action, retail?</p>
<i>Interv.</i>	Yes, I know action
<i>MdG</i>	<p>So and they're discounters in say non-food. And for the markets it's more like looking for 'what is my added value?'. Let's say, in my area and because there has to be a demand, of course. You can create a demand, but you have to work together, to find out what the demand is. And if you don't know what the demand is to tell the people 'I'm here and it's a market'. That's what's problematic with markets. I think with markets like promotion is not standard in that package. The municipality says, well, it's up to the individual Trader to advertise. The individual trader says, well, the municipality they're facilitating our service - they should make a promotion. At the end of the day It's a cost element. So neither, the municipality nor the market wants to spend money on that, this is what they don't realize or not enough. And, fortunately, for the last let's say I think 10/15 years there's a movement at the moment to say, well, we have to look at it. And what is the most important thing because you have to realize especially the Netherlands. If you talk about the market, we usually talking about the general market, just usually a market once a week or that's twice or three times a week, sometimes even four times a week. Yeah. It's only for the larger cities, but in smaller places you have only one day a week. These are the regular markets, but for the last 20/25 years. events became very popular. Yeah. It's a matter ... in the event, mainly, because in the Netherlands, 99% of all markets are on public ground and in most places if you want to make use of public ground, you have to have a property license for it. Anyway, permission for using it. And, let's say in the past, we have the situation that somebody wants to use the public ground it was kind of rare. But now, let's say go to the go to the town Hall in Rotterdam and say I want to use this particular space in Rotterdam. The license fee is very low - It's about 100 plus 200 Euros application, but they have your license and they can say, I can put Traders there. Because usually, in the beginning it was more an event for Music culture events Etc. But now, it's a kind of competition, not only for the traders but also for the rest of retail as well. And for the inhabitants, because you can create a lot of events. With the money of the events it means that people can enjoy themselves etc. At the same time, it should clock up with the whole system. People should not be disturbed, but also the trade should not be disturbed as well. And I think that's what is one of the biggest trends that municipalities have to learn, to make a policy about events. But we have to have a policy with the understanding of the ground is there – use it, but is it of added value, is it not disturbing, well, first of all inhabitants itself, but trade there. Is there a market, a shop or other facility? If it is a threat, then you have to be able to say no. Yes, that's the point. The municipality can't say no and they can't say no, because they don't</p>

have policy which is simple so they have to put it down on paper first. So from that point of view, I think it's at the key things, Well, if especially if talk about markets. We have, what we call the municipality law, in Dutch it's called the 'Gemeente Vet'. One of the articles, It says specifically, that only the municipality can, let's say, what we say' ehm, they can say ... legalise a market. They can say I want the market there or they can change the market. It's mainly about what area in town, how big it is and ehm the times it should be there. This is the right of the municipality. Apart from that, it's the only thing what is written down about the markets. It means there is always, from that point of view... that the municipality has an essential role in connection with markets. That's why I said, I mentioned to you first, the thing with the events. Even the municipality they have an exclusive right as well to license events on public ground. So that's why there has to be a connection and let's say, that was the developing of the last years that they had to realize there should be a connection. So there should be somewhere in the municipality kind of a helicopter view on what's happening. And of course, every department has to make sure that they are doing the best with the best results. But, at the same time, if there are conflicting interests, they have to look into it and say is it important. Well, having said that, with the exclusive right, it means that it's only up to the municipality to say 'We allow a Market or not'. It's nowhere written that the municipality should run the market - facilitate the market and that is a kind of for some municipalities they've been doing it, well, for ages and some are more than hundred years and even longer and they think it's kind of a duty to do so. It's important again, If as a government body you want to do something you have to have an argument to say that this is why I want it. but it means you have to make the policy 'Why do I want a market?'. if you look at the policy documents of the most municipalities if you talk a markets, it's not there. There is in the policy document, It's not stating that what the relevance is for the municipality and to give you an example. It could be that the municipality says 'I don't think the market is essential for our community'. That's a policy, that can't be the case. So from that point of view there's obligation for the municipality to stimulate the creation of the market. At the same it could be, Let's call it a private party saying 'I think I will throw a Market in a municipality but municipality because you have the exclusive right to allow the market you'll allow me to do so. And even when the municipality says 'I think a market is not important, there's not immediately reason to say I don't want that. Unless, they have in the policy written 'we think that markets are, well, negative, for our...the pad or whatever.' I have already mentioned it, but only to give an example: you have to have a point where you can say, well, I don't want it. At the municipality itself, there should be a document there: do I want the market, yes or no? if they do want a market: what do I do about it to make it possible? Even then they there's not a necessity to say that they as municipality have to run the market if they want to, they're free to do so. At the same time they can ask other parts as well: Do you want to run the market for me? It could be even the market traders themselves. Let's say the market traders form a community from the market itself. As long as everything works and we are all happy with it - fine no problem. So today and then it comes to it, It is mainly if, assuming that you have to Market in because you think it's important for retail, because you can say as well I want a market for let's say employment. Because they say we want to have people whatever age to get an opportunity on the market or an experience or whatever. But that will not mean that the market is able to pay some costs. Which means than that the municipality will have to pay, which comes into it. I think it's important then it means as well at least you have to make an initial investment and if you talk about employment or if you talk about social cohesion or integration, these are choices make a commitment and if you do that it means as well then it's not a matter we use the market as a tool but the market has to be able to survive itself. Then you have responsibilities as the municipality to make sure that it is able to run. That the people who want to make a living out of it, are able to make a living out of it. Not only, by selling goods, but also by 'do we charge them many rents?' or 'do we give them yearly, let's call them subsidies. These are all variables there. Especially if you are going to look at it, about why are the markets not doing well. Let's start first with the municipalities – what are their thoughts about it? And then look if there are any private initiatives – why, what are the reasons for having that market?

Interv. Yeah, that's actually a very interesting that you elaborated on this because one of the markets I'm looking at is at Noordplein and is just making this transition from having an events permission to a market. They are just in this transition right now and in contact with the municipality exactly for these reasons.

I wanted to quickly go back to the entrepreneurs. You mentioned most of the markets are small entrepreneurs or small businesses. In what terms would you say does the market favor family entrepreneurship and is also a tradition of market families? And additionally, in what

Way is it also or have has been changed maybe in the last decades that it's more migrant entrepreneurs that come onto the market as well?

MdG I think, Originally, the idea was that they said the market should be for small businesses. So we don't want the large businesses on the market. Yeah, the way most municipalities dealt with it – most everybody, all the municipalities- is by saying: if we give them a license to run a market stall it's all the personal data of the actual trader – it's on the personal name. and let's say, but then we talk about long time ago. The most traders were running their businesses, there was no Limited company system on the other, well, business as such... most licenses now, even of the market traders, is on the name of the individuals. But what you see now, especially the more they professionalized, then you get different types of organisations. It could be that they say, I want a limited company or I want what you call, in Dutch it's called VOF, which is people working together. But that needs to get registered with the chamber of commerce. Which, what you see as well, it's the odd thing: if you want to get a license, get the license on your individual name, but you have to give a reference number of the chamber of commerce and then you can see that you have a business. But the reference number, the chamber of commerce, could be a limited company and at that moment, the person could be the owner, but with a limited company he can be sold. So you can see already, it's a protection for the individual, we want to keep it like this. Especially, nowadays, they don't want a HEMA on the market or a Hennes&Mauritz on the market or blocker or action etc. the thing is now, I think it's very difficult, let's say,...because it has to do with discrimination as well. And actually, the municipality or a government body, they can't, not in the Netherlands, you can't have protection rules with trade in economics. It's the same things like, if they say, ... shopping

	centres. If you have a lot of tea shops, the municipality can't discriminate or can't say we don't want this because of the other party says so. Did I say enough about this topic? Because you have to say so...
<i>Interv.</i>	Yes, don't worry. This is very interesting. Maybe because it's also a focus of my thesis a little bit more, although I am not sure how much it's a focus of your work as well, we can go a little bit more into the diversity on the markets and maybe we start with the products. How much do you think a variety and diversity of products on the market is crucial for a market to be successful? And additionally, do you see a change in what products have been sold maybe in the last twenty, thirty years ago?
<i>MdG</i>	<p>More or less what you have to bear in mind and that's because of the system that the individual gets the license and quite often with market traders, I'm generalizing now, but it's usually a family business and they start when they're fifteen/sixteen. So the way they get a license and a market trader, depends what part of the country you're in. Especially if you're in Rotterdam on one of these markets with more days, you can have a license for each of the days or it could be as well that you are one day in Rotterdam and one day in The Hague and another day in Dordrecht and in Schiedam, etc. You get the license there, they have a place on the market and as long as they're trading, certainly at the moment, most licenses are for indefinite period. So they are there for a long time. It all depends on the organization of the market, but especially if they become a big bitter. They quite often have a kind of regulation, that they say 'we want to regulate who is able to get on the market, because they can say we have too many people selling vegetables or too many people selling cheese, we have to do something about it. And in a way it means that, with the current most current rules or regulations it's very difficult for new developments to enter the market. Because it's either the trade selling the product in this license it says you can only sell the product. So if he wants to come with a new development he can have a discussion about can I do it or not. Let me give an example. If you're selling in the past a fruit and veg at a certain moment it started to become popular that you cut already the vegetables or make fruit salad. And there was a discussion about it if you are allowed to do this or not. So the municipality said, well you can't do this. So, that indicates already that that was a hindrance for the developments. But also,</p> <p>for new people, a start to get up getting in to the market. With this kind of system, you're not getting the place because of your product, you're getting place what is left because the longer you're on the market the higher your right to decide if those places are valuable. Do you want to stand there or not. Let's say, in the past that could have been the perfect reason for it, I'm not saying, at that time it was a wrong decision. But nowadays it doesn't work at the end of the day. It all depends on the market. So you have to look around you and it all depends, it could be within a particular area in Rotterdam or you could be focusing on the whole Rotterdam or you could have the whole region. So that's very important as well, well, how is the general demand and can I have a place somewhere. Let's say, for example say in Rotterdam as well and if. And that's what's not happening nor at the municipality nor the market traders are really looking into it or researching, where are our customers? Where do they come from? Yeah. Well what are the potential customers? And if you. let's say, this is the first thing you should do, is look what is the demand. And if you determine the demand then you know well if we want to have a greater market it should meet demand. Let's put aside the occasion, well we can create demand especially when you talk about new products. The chance, especially at a market, that if you come with a new concept with all new products then it always needs time to survive. Now, thinking that usually they are small businesses. They don't have large resources. If you look at, we have seen it with Amazon, but here in the Netherlands as well, especially with the, let's say with the catering online, with the ordering etc. well, these are multi-million investments, and they make losses for years. If you look at the market trading in connection with smaller businesses, they don't have the money nor the chance. Usually we have to look at the demand and if the demand is there, we have to say, well, we have to look for the market traders who are able to offer the products that people want. And that's essential, because you were talking about the market competition, I would be very curious, I would like to know. Do they survey other then – people come here, but are they happy. I can guess, most of the people coming there are over 45 and there is only a very small group of young people going to the market. Let's say, so, you have to look at the demand, you have to look at people, at the age group, at how much they spend – and that determines the demand. And in, for example, in Amsterdam, we have the, it's called thou Zoutermarkt, it's a very unusual type of market, in a way, for the Netherlands, because it's coordinated by people who live in the area. They said, we think it's important... it's only a small market, they have a small area. But it's a very popular market, and it's a market that serves the high end. Because, the inhabitants are all high earners and their business model, the way they run the business, because they run the cooperative, they are high earners but let's say, they're highly qualified people. The way they are connected to the cooperative, they do it on a voluntary basis, which means the marketing person is doing it for very low costs. This means, the managers are qualified people, they do very low costs. Which means, the organisaiton costs are very low, which is part of their success. But they knew, we like to have special goods, because it's lovely stuff you can buy there but if you have been shopping there, that's your budget, or that would be my budget for part of the week for food. Because it's very expensive. It's good, but it's expensive. At the same time, it could be that you're in an area and let's say, people can't spend that much then you have to offer, let's say, at the lower rent for it. I think that's essential. First of all, it's a very slow progress that the market is changing. It started in the bigger cities, because there you had sooner a bigger population of people from different cultures. But first of all, apart from the fact that different cultures meant as well different way of getting into the system. For the people in the Netherlands, it speaks to itself how it works, but someone from another culture, first of all, are need to be familiar with that you need a license to trade on public ground. And you can't blame people that they are not aware of this. That's where it starts. But then, especially in the beginning, trying to find the way to the municipality to get a license. Because, and if you, let's say, first of all you have to be literate and you have to be able to speak and to read Dutch as well. That's why especially in many municipalities they are doing it in different languages as well to lower it. But still the process of getting a license is very complicated. And another thing disturbing the speed of other parties entering the market. And then, apart from the different cultures, it's not only a matter of buying and selling goods, people have to be aware of it. And let's not say that the original Dutch traders always stuck to it but there is a kind of a safety issue with food safety as well with electrical things. Well you can say I have a cousin from let's say outside of Europe and cause coffee within Europe, It's fairly</p>

all right but everything outside of Europe could be different standards. Yeah. And if the standards are not on the standards of selling it here. So it's mainly for the big group entering the markets, especially from different cultures as well. It's the administrative thing was a barrier, but as well you have to get used to rules or regulations you have to get used to. Because, at the end of the day if you're a good salesman you have to go sell a good product because you want people to come back. Because once a bad sale, they never come back again. And I think that's happened partly in Rotterdam as well that because there was no quality control or no ... there's not necessarily always from the municipality but it was well for the group of market traders say 'listen if somebody is selling the wrong things then we have to do something about it' or not the things which are suitable because with a certain amount of... we have it in The Hague, in Rotterdam, in Amsterdam. A big group of people selling clothes from mainly India, Pakistan et cetera. Again way it's usually a few very big wholesalers and that they're actually asking people to trade for them. But if you look at the prices they're selling it for, they are so low that even with a profit margin of 80 percent it is impossible to make a living out of it. Which means they are selling cheap stuff because they saying OK we should shells cheap stuff but the quality was no good. It was too cheap. The market trader couldn't live with it. At the end of the day, the consumer couldn't live with it. That's the most important thing. There's no consumers, there's no market. So you can see now, it developed that on the markets you see new cultures entering. And mainly the new cultures, apparat from the traditional Dutch traders, I say, because the good Dutch traders, they developed their products as well. They introduced new products. I think the only new thing was if we talk about food trucks. That was a new trend and I still think it's a trend but I think a food truck is nothing different than are the hot foods that they're already selling off the market already. Only, it's different. You know, like 'Patat' in Dutch is very popular. Fries or whatever. The same with the burger. And we've seen it in Rotterdam. They had at a certain moment a waiting list and it could be waiting list from 10 to 15 years. So imagine yourself you're applying for a license and you could be waiting for 10 to 15 years before you were able to enter the market. When the food trucks came and they realized in the municipality in Amsterdam saying well listen, that's an important development for the markets because I think, in my opinion, I think the wrong thing is that the food trucks they have to run markets, but they could be parts of the existing markets. Only entering the existing markets is difficult. So when you have as a solitary business, when you have a waiting list for ten to fifteen years, as a food truck as well, they are mainly small businesses, they cant wait. So that's why they changed in Amsterdam. They said, well listen, we can abolish the waiting list, but you can imagine as well, you have been on that list for 14 years and 11 months and theri changing the rules that's not very nice. Now it is unfair and it's up to the municipality how they deal with it. But in the hague as well, the big market in the hague. In the past they had a waiting list for about 17 years. So that meant new developments - It's possibly change now. And it's all, it's improving some say, but at the same time especially if you look at, and it's in Rotterdam as well, they can see the new products entering the market and it could be just products from a technical point of view but it could be new products as well because there's demand from different cultures now like you can have food fruit or vegetable store and it's that's for me – it's funny and a good examples – if you look at about these lists about the products you can sell fruit and vegetables, only that you can't have fruit and vegetables prepared, like the example I gave earlier on. Separately called its fruit and vegetables what they call exotic products. Yeah and I'm sure if the groups are big enough they might say it could be in fruits vegetables from Africa or fruit vegetables from South America or from whatever, Asia etc. So yeah. All these things together it's maybe the rules and regulations what made it almost impossible for markets to allow new products. But it's one thing, but the other thing as well. It's from my point of view, it's the lack of management of the market. In my opinion, there is no owner of the market. The municipalities says we give the license to the market traders so actually they're responsible and monitor the system we haven't even started yet. So it's it's like always looking cross-eyed. From my point of view and you don't always have to talk about there has to be a limited company running a market, but if the municipality and the market traders find a way of organizing together the market at the end of today and it's more just to be able to say who was responsible would say there should be a manager. that manager is working according a businessman. That business plan is decided upon by it could be owned or a private company or if the municipality is involved even in combination with the market traders. They say, they decide what the plan is and than you have a management and the management they have to execute the plan. And every so often, at least once a year, let's say did we do well or did we do well. What can we improve? That system is hardly there – only on a few markets. We have some examples of municipalities doing very well. Some examples of private markets doing very well. But it's a very limited number.

Interv. Yes, and this is also how I understand very hindering for innovation in products and for the entry of new players...

MdG That's right. And for the markets as well, it's looking who are my clients. Because that's part of your business plan. First you look what's the demand and then if you know the demand you say this is what we have to offer and anything..if you look at the Hague. A big market in the hague is between two communities, but also a melting pot of cultures there you see as well that the market, as it is now, already has quite a lot of products offering the products people want: in price, in quality and from their culture.

Interv. How would you say did the Hague find this step to meet the demand of the people, after changing also a changing population that is more multicultural now? And how did they make this step to meet this demand?

MdG Well I think it. I'm putting a little bit black and white. They just get away with it. It is the same as in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. There is no vision and strategy about markets. So it would have helped to be able to tell you that it was somebody within the municipality who said this is direction we have that true. It didn't happen. So what you see that has to do with there is no vision a strategy that it has to do with management but all respect for the people they're very good people. But if you're not the management of running a market because mainly in the larger places like the Rotterdam, Amsterdam and you Utrecht management it's mainly aimed at enforcement of the rules. And they say the rules are there and we have to enforce them and that's it. But there's nobody thinking about the concept of the market. There's nobody thinking oh we should do.

And they all say we would love to do it but. They are well let's say. If I may put like that they don't dare to make that step and I understand why. Because if management decides we're going to do a different direction then you guess. Especially if you run as the municipality the market. Then you get the political element and the political element could be the individual market trader going to a counselor and saying I'm not happy with what he's doing. That could be an individual client from the outside according to the council it could be another pressure group could be retailers could be anybody. And then you get the let's say within the municipality all questions. Councillors are faced with a process that's to be elected every four years. Yes because. But the good thing if this council after four years you have a new chance. bad think is is that you have a good Chancellor - After four years he could be gone. Yes. And that means that that's a very big problem. You can have very good people and they're good for the market, but if the municipality says, well we don't want that then there's going to be frustration there. And that's part of the, why it is important as well: If you have a policy where you say I think market is important then the councillor can easier say this is what we want. But because this policy is mostly either not there or mostly so vague that it does not give enough substance to help the councillor. Because I think, within the municipality you have the councillor, the policy maker and what we call the marketmeester, market management. And from my point of view it's all the three of them. Let's say the least thing you want is that none of them are against the market. Yeah that's one thing. One of them is against the market It's going to be a disturbance in organization if you don't ask the counselor behind you then forget about changes just the policy maker is against it then because he has to write it down. You always write it down the wrong way because he doesn't want. And if the market manager doesn't want it, they are going to frustrate the markets as well. So, what you want is that all three are in favour of that. But I think the best thing is that at least of the three of them, that one of them is in favour of that and the other say: I give you backing. And if one of these three is really against it, then... if somebody want to have change you have to put a lot of effort in it. My advise would be, leave it for another four years and wait till it changes.

Interview.

Ok – so far this was most of my current questions so far. This gave me some food for thought for my progress...

MdG

Ok. We want to support your research and I hope if there is an output that it will be read by many more people, because at the moment the situation can only get better. I will send you some links and reports I have been involved in. Anytime you have questions feel free to skype or a mail.

Thank you very much. I really appreciate you taking the time and elaborating so much on this.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

Nr	Date	Time Approx.	Market	Who	Did What?	With Whom?	Authors position
	Tu, 12-3-2019	12.00-14.00	Central Market Binnenrotte				
	General Picture		Windy Tuesday. Small market. On the square in front of the Markthall only about 20 stalls. Little people in general on the market. People that are on the market seem to be there for the purpose of grocery shopping. Some couples, middle-aged, stroll around the market. Otherwise many people on their own with shopping bags or trolleys. Go from stall to stall and look at products and buy. A few people sit around. Only few snack/Food stalls, little people spend more time than needed on the market. Around 50 stalls, mainly in the textile street and at the antiques unit, between Meent and Laurens church, are closed. many empty stall units stand around. The media and facebook had shown that due to the stormy weather on saturday, many stalls stayed closed.				
1	12-3-2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Flower vendor	(Short interaction with known customer, around 3 min): Regular Visitor, male, middle-age, Dutch? (assumed because the seller knows the name of the customer) passes by on the bike. Seller greets customer. Talk is in Dutch. Customer picks up pre-ordered flowers. Short chatting in Dutch. (Customer stay on the bike standing during the whole conversation). Customer hands money. Vendor returns change and hands over flowers that were ready. Friendly goodbye greeting.	Customer	In a conversation with the vendor, standing beside the stall
2	12-3-2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Flower vendor	Customer, female, middle-aged Customer approaches the flower stalls. Ask a question about the flower. Short exchange about flowers and recommendation by the vendor. Customer buys several roses. Pays by card. Interaction with customer which was probably unknown, friendly interaction:	Customer	In a conversation with the vendor, standing beside the stall
3	12-3-2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Flower vendor	Short interaction, friendly chat (ca 4 min) Customer, female, middle-aged, Dutch comes to the stall. Conversation in Dutch. Customer asks for twenty pieces of one flower, Vendor starts picking out an amount of flowers and customer also picks out other flowers. Customer hands over flowers to vendor. Vendor packs in the Flowers, says the amount of money the flowers cost and asks if by card or cash. Customer says cash – friendly joking about how important cash is. Customer picks up the flowers and receives a recipe; friendly Conversation; Customer receives recipe: probably not flowers for own use but for professional purpose or to hand over to someone to get	Customer	In a conversation with the vendor, standing beside the stall
4	12-3-2019	13.00	Binnenrotte	Vegetable vendor	At the vegetable stall: Vendor sells buckets full with fruits of vegetables for 1 Euro. Three middle age, non-white men sell vegetables. They take boxes from the open truck and arrange the vegetables, Egg Plants, Bell Peppers, Cucumbers, Mango, Avocado, Lemons, in trays. One of the man stands next to a scale. He encashes the money. Customers gather at the stand. Some just look. Many touch the vegetables, see if the mangos or avocados are ripe. One woman amongst the others looks at the vegetables and takes them in her hand. The vendor shouts repeatedly 'All buckets for 1 Euro' (in Dutch). He turns to the lady and asks 'Where do you come from?' (in Dutch). She answers in Dutch (from Bosnia). She keeps checking the vegetables. The vendor does not respond more and goes on to organising the trays and shouting the price of the vegetables.	Customer	In a conversation with the vendor, standing beside the stall

5	12-3-2019	13.15	Binnenrotte	Soap vendor	At the soap stall: Four customers (female, middle aged, non-white) stand at the stall and smell different soaps. Three of them exchange chatter. The soap vendor explains where the soaps are from. He takes a bottle of oil and holds it in one hand. He explains to the women in Dutch the use of the Argan Oil: "It is very good for the skin and for the hair as well. You can put it in your face and on your body. Let's try on your hand." He offers the spray to the women and three of the women holds a hand out. He sprays some of the oil on their hands and they rub it into the skin. One woman denies the offer and says in Dutch: "No thank you. I know it well. I am from Morocco." The vendor replies. Oh yes, of course you know Argan Oil then. It is from there." The woman takes a nut she finds on the tabla into her hand and holds it up. "Yes, this is what it is made of", she says. The vendor answers: "yes, this is the nut. They rub it together to make it oil. it is a lot of hand labour. But you should not eat it." Woman "Oh yes you can eat it if you want." They laugh and the vendors turns to the three women again to continue the conversation.	Customer	Standing next to the market stalls
6	12-3-2019	13.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	A middle-aged couple, ethnic, buy vegetables at a stall	Vegetable vendor	Standing next to the market stalls
7	12-3-2019	13.30-14.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	Some people sit at the benches next to the Markthall or in front of the library. Little people sit at the snack tables or other areas. The market space is rather empty	Customers	Walking through the aisles
Tu, 12-3-2019 14.00-16.00 Eendrachtsplein Markt							
General Picture			Windy Saturday, busy market. Many people shopping. Background noises are traffic, people talking, some vendors shouting the prices of their vegetables				
8	12-3-2019	14.15	Eendrachtsplein	Customer	Middle-aged, white woman approaches the vegetable stall. Reads the posters and gets involved into a short conversatino with the woman selling the vegetables. She buys some vegetables, the vendor packs the vegetables into a paper bag. Woman looks around a bit longer. Packs in the bought vegetables and walks away.	Vegetable vendor	Standing next to the market stalls
9	12-3-2019	14.30	Eendrachtsplein	Bread vendor	Cleans up the stall, puts the bread and products back into the van. Closes the stall.	Bread vendor	Sitting on the Bench next to the market
10	12-3-2019	14.30-15.00	Eendrachtsplein	Vegetable vendor	Two women at the vegetable stall. Chat, drink coffee. Go around the stall and organise the vegetables and fruits that are laid out.	Vegetable vendor	Walking through the aisles
11	12-3-2019	15.00 - 15.30	Eendrachtsplein	General	Little visitors on the market. Some people walk over the square, exiting the metro station or crossing the street next to the square. A few people stop and look at the market stall. Generally, people walk by and do not pay attention to the stalls.	General	Walking through the market
Sa, 16-3-2019 10.00 - 12.00 Afrikaanderplein Market							
General Picture			Windy Saturday, busy market. Many people shopping. Background noises are traffic, people talking, some vendors shouting the prices of their vegetables				
12	16-3-2019	10.00 - 12.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Many people do their groceries, several people with shopping trolleys. Many middle-aged couples. Families with small children	Customers	Walking through the aisles
13	16-3-2019	10.15	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	A line of 15 people builds in front of the ATM	Customers	Walking through the market

14	16-3-2019	11.00-12.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Little people sit down. The park next to the market is empty.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
15	16-3-2019	11.30-12.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Big traffic on the crossroads around the market. People with shopping trolleys cross the street. Cars cross the streets. Some people lock the bike. Several people waiting in the bus station	Customers	Walking through the market
	Sa, 23-03-2019	11.00-13.00	Noordplein Market				
	General Picture		Medium sized market. Sunny Saturday. Average, busy people. Friendly Chatter.				
16	23-3-2019	11.00-12.00	Noordplein	Customers	Group of six young adults sit on a table in front of coffee stall. A baby-trolley stands next to the table. The group chats. One of the person gets up and walks over to a stall. The other persons sit there, chat	Customers	Sitting at the public tables
17	23-3-2019	12.15	Noordplein	Customers	Two women sit at one of the tables. They eat vietnamese spring rolls and chat	Customers	Sitting at the public tables
18	23-3-2019	12.20	Noordplein	Customers	Young couple strolls over the market. They look at the olive oils.	Customers	Sitting at the public tables
19	23-3-2019	12.00-13.00	Noordplein	Market management	The initiator of the market sits on one of the tables, drinks coffee and talks to a mid-aged white women. One of the women has a dog with them. Some people pass by her and greet her, stand there for a short chat and then continue walking along the market stalls	Customers	Sitting at the public tables; Informal interview
20	23-3-2019	13.15	Noordplein	Extraordinary participants	Political activity on one of the corners of the market. Two young persons talk to people passing by, explaining about a campaign to make the neighbourhood and the city cleaners. They give free garbage bags and flower seeds to the people.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
	Tu, 02-04-2019	10.00 - 12.00	Central Market Binnenrotte				
21	2-4-2019	10	Binnenrotte	Customers	Many, mainly elderly people sit on the benches outside of the Markthall	Customers	Walking through the aisles
22	2-4-2019	10.00-10.30	Binnenrotte	Vendors	Many vendors are arranging their products. Two vegetable vendors, middle-aged unload the products from the truck.	Vendors	Walking through the aisles
23	2-4-2019		Binnenrotte	Market management	A man and woman from the security service ('Handhaving') walk through the aisles of the market.	Market management	Walking through the aisles
24	2-4-2019	11.15	Binnenrotte	Vendors	At the carpet stall stands the vendor with two more people, they have a chat.	Visitors	Walking through the aisles
25	2-4-2019	11.00-11.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of people can be found strolling through the antique markets. Middle-age and elderly man behind the antique stalls sit there and talk to each other. Some vendors talk to the customers. One older man discusses about the price of a painting with a vendor. Two students are looking through the porcellain. One market vendor sits on a small chair and drinks coffee	Vendors	Walking through the aisles
	Sa, 06-04-2019	09.00 - 11.00	Central Market Binnenrotte				

26	6-4-2019	09.00-10.00	Binnenrotte	Vendors	Stalls are buidling up	Vendors	Walking through the aisles
27	6-4-2019	10.00-11.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	People with Marathon clothes and bags are walking around	Customers	Walking through the aisles
28	6-4-2019	10.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of around 10 people stands in front of the fish imbiss stall and wait in line to buy snacks.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
	Sa, 06-04-2019	13.00-15.00	Noordplein Markt				
	General Picture		Sunny Afternoon, Medium-sized market, many visitors walking through the markets				
29	6-4-2019		Noordplein	Customers	Many visitors, walk around and	Customer	Walking through the aisles
30	6-4-2019		Noordplein	Vendor	Customer, middle-aged female white approaches the stall. Tries some of the cranberries put out. She asks in English if the vendor also has apricots, turns towards her daughter. The vendors hears German speaking and offers to speak German as well. They talk about the quality of apri-cots and the (nährwert)	Customer	Walking through the aisles
31			Noordplein	Vendor	The knife (schleifer) talks to the passing customers	Customer	Walking through the aisles
	Sa, 13-04-2019	9.30-12.30	Central Market Binnenrotte				
	General Picture		Sunny Afternoon, Medium-sized market, many visitors walking through the markets				
32	13-4-2019	9.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two men, middle-aged, black, meet on the crosswalk to the market. They start talking in French. One of the man shows the other man some bike lights and explains that he needs to get the batteries repaired. They stand for about five minutes next to the market stall and talk. Then they say goodbye and walk into different directions	Customers	Standing next to the mar- ket stalls
33	13-4-2019	9.30	Binnenrotte	Coffee Seller	Beginning of the shift of the coffee vendor. He passes by each stall, greets the stall vendors and asks if they already want some coffee.	Vendors	Standing next to the mar- ket stalls
34	13-4-2019	10.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	Little Customers at the fruit and vegetable stalls. Some of the stalls are still unpacking the prod- ucts and organising them.	Customers	Standing next to the mar- ket stalls
35	13-4-2019	10	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two men, middle-aged, white buy Haring at a snack stall that sells fried fish snacks. They move to the high tables to eat the Haring and move further to the sitting tables when they see more space there. They sit there eat the Haring. Do not talk much. Watch the people passing by.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
36	13-4-2019	10	Binnenrotte	Customers	Many people wait in line for the Fried Fish Snack stall. Around 10 people stand in line. Five more people eat a snack in front of the stall. Several people sit at the tables next to the stall and eat a fish snack.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
37	13-4-2019	10.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of five women, around 50 years old, white, are looking at clothes at a stall. They look at the clothes, while simultaneoulsy chatting in Dutch	Clothes ven- dor	Standing next to the mar- ket stalls

38	13-4-2019	10.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	Several people in a wheelchair pass by. One woman in an electric wheelchair by herself, has the products bought on the market in plastic bags locked to her chair. She eats a Haring Snack some meters away from the snack stall		Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
39	13-4-2019	10.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two men, over 50 years old, south asian looking pass by the aisles in front of Markthall. One man carries a bag full of around 30 bananas. They talk, while walking through the aisles. One man eats a banana.		Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
40	13-4-2019	10.30-11.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two girls, around 13-15 years old walk down the aisles of the market stall eating fresh Stroopwaffles. In front of the Markthall at the stall of the Turkish bakery they meet up with two adult persons and other children. The woman, probably the mother, walks away with the two girls. Two adult man stay waiting at the Bakery stall with two children, one young girl around 8 years old and one girl in the trolley. they buy bakery goods and sit down at the tables. They sit at the tables, eat the breads and talk in Turkish. twenty minutes later a woman, carrying two Croquettes joins the group and sits down. The girls return with the mother and an older woman, wearing a headscarf, to the table. The whole group, around nine people by now, sits down at the table.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
41	13-4-2019	10.30-11	Binnenrotte	Customers	Several people pass by the market aisles: Woman and daughter walk buy with a trolley and bags with vegetables; elderly people, mixed female and male, in groups of two or alone walk by and carry shopping trolleys with them; young people walk around in groups and observe the market stalls; three persons with a bike walk by the market stalls; a group of students or school children with about 30 students crosses the market aisles in direction Markthall; a young boy passes by on a skateboard; an older man passes by the market stalls with walking sticks	Customers; Visitors	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
42	13-4-2019	11	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two young women sit down at the tables, they both drink a colourful smoothie (Mango-Avocado-Strawberry Smoothie). They sit at the table, check their mobile phones and talk	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
43	13-4-2019	11	Binnenrotte	Vegetable vendors	The customers at the fruit and vegetable stalls slowly increase. In front of one vegetable store, customers (around 8 persons), mainly middle-aged (around 40) white male and female stand in line to be sold vegetables.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
44	13-4-2019	11	Binnenrotte	Customers	A middle-age Dutch couple walks by the market stalls, stops to buy haring	Fish snack vendor	Standing next to the market stalls

	Sa, 13-04-2019	13.00-16.00	Noordplein Markt					
	General Picture		Nice weather, small market with around 10 stalls. The market stalls are allocated on one half of the Noordplein Square. On the other half of the square is a special event taking place. The event, consisting of four big tents, is organised by the Islam Community of Rotterdam Noord (According to a sign on the tents). They sell food stuff and have tents for community members to sit down and eat. One tent is separately only for women reserved.					
45	13-4-2019	13	Noordplein Markt	Customers	Small market, only around 10 stalls. Around 15 people walk around and look at the products or chat with the market vendors. In the middle of the market are three tables with benches. Two young women around 30 eat lunch there.	Customers	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
46	13-4-2019	13.15	Noordplein Markt	Customers	One woman stands at the coffee stall and talks to the vendor about things that have changed in the neighbourhood and how her neighbours are.	Customers	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
47	13-4-2019	14	Noordplein Markt	Coffee vendor	Coffee vendor walks over to the stall with Vietnamese foodstuff, he talks to the vendors a bit, walks back to his stall after five minutes when a customer shows up at his stall	Customers	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
48	13-4-2019	14.15	Noordplein Markt	Customer	One young woman, Dutch, talks to the Cheese vendor. She asks for recommendaions of cheeses and tastes several cheeses. She buys a goat cheese that was produced in the region	Cheese vendor	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
49	13-4-2019	14.40-15.00	Noordplein Markt	Bread Vendor	At the bread stall works a Dutch woman, mid-thirties, organises the bread, takes some more muffins out of the box. She warms her hands on a hot cup of coffee or tea she has behind the counter	Bread vendor	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
50	13-4-2019	15.00-16.00	Noordplein Markt	Coffee Vendor	The coffee vendor, a Dutch man in the mid-thirties, sells coffee every Saturday on the Noordplein market. The local brewery he sells coffee for has different selling points, he, however, only works on this market. He knows a lot of people that come regularly. He tells me that some people, such as a Surinamese woman and another elderly Dutch woman, come to his stall often and talk to him about life and everything that is happening. If he does not get interrupted by other customers, the women just stand there for hours and talk to him. He knows the other vendors on the market well and likes his job. He does it part-time, working as an artist mainly. He sees his task in making people happy by giving them good coffee.	Author	Talking to the vendor; Informal interview	
51	13-4-2019	14.45	Noordplein Markt	Customer	One women, around 40, buys a Hot Dog at the regional butcher and sits down on the benches and eats it	Butcher	Sitting at the tables in the middle of the market	
	Tu, 16-04-2019	10.00-12.00	Eendrachtsplein					
	General Picture		Sunny day, morning atmosphere. On the Eendrachtsplein are two stalls. One man, middle age, white, sits behind the bread stall. Three middle-aged white woman are selling at hte vegetable stall. There are a few customers. Some people cross the square and take picture of the Gnom. A few people stop by and buy something. No walk-in customers at this market. mostly customers that come here on the bike with the intension to buy something.					
52	16-4-2019	10	Eendrachtsplein	Customer; (Verteilerin)	Girl with Organisbike: Young student girl stands on the square with a cargo bike with different 'square plant pots'. The woman from the vegetable store loads some of the plant pots with	Vegetable vendors	Standing next to the market stalls	

					fresh fruits. I ask the girl what she is doing here. She says she works for the Organibike initiative from the Erasmus University. They pick up fresh fruits from market places and bring them to the offices. The girl picks up the filled fruit pots from the market lady. she loads her cargo bike. The market woman packs something in a bag for the girl. She tells the market lady that she won't be here next week, but will come once more for the last time. the market womans says ok, well then we can still say goodbye then. The girl loads here bikes and closes it with a fabric cover. she leaves. The market woman goes back to the stall		
53	16-4-2019	10	Eendachtsplein	Vegetable stall	One stall with vegetables under two tents. Many different vegetables. Information posters about the origin of the vegetables. One information poster on the asparagus. The poster indicates where the asparagus, which are season right now, are coming from and how they are grown. three women work on the vegetable store. One of the woman loads the plant pots form the 'Organisbike'. One woman talks to a customer. One woman oragnises something around the tent	Customers, vendors	Standing next to the market stalls
54	16-4-2019	10	Eendachtsplein	Bread vendor	Man, middle-aged, white, comes to the bread store walking with headphones on. Orders one croissant and says two sentences in dutch. Leaves again	Customer	Standing next to the market stalls
55	16-4-2019	10.30	Eendachtsplein	Customer	woman, middle-aged, 50-60 years old, drives with the bicycle to the Eendachtsplein. Leaves her bike in front of the stalls. Picks out different vegetables and fruits from the stalls. Talks shortly to the vendor. The vendor shows her a lemon. After paying the woman loads all of the products into the side pockets of her bike and drives off	Vegetable vendors	Standing next to the market stalls
	Tu, 16-04-2019	10.00-12.00	Central Market Binnenrotte				
56	16.04.2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of women stand together in the aisles of textiles and chat	Customers	Walking through the aisles
57	16.04.2019	12.10	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two Indina woman look at the fabrics on one of the stalls. They casually look at the fabrics and turn towards each other to talk and then move further. One of them carries a shopping trolley with them	Customers	Walking through the aisles
58	16.04.2019	12.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of five young, mid 30-ties women stand in front of one of the textiles store. All of them are wearing headscarfs. Two shopping trolleys stand around them. They talk and stand there for five minutes	Customers	Walking through the aisles
59	16.04.2019	12.00 - 13.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	Many peoplesit around the tree spaces and benches outside of the library eating. Many groups of people, probably from surrounding offices, as they are in business-casual look, are eating lunch. There is a line in front of the potatoe stalls	Vendors	Walking through the aisles
60	16.04.2019	13.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young woman pushes her bike through the people on the market square. She carries a flower bouquet and has a two packages from the mail put on the bike. While walking one of the packages falls down. An elderly woman stops and picks up the package. She hands it to the woman on the bike and smiles. The young woman thanks her and both walk further	Customers	Walking through the aisles
61	16.04.2019	13.30-14.00	Binnenrotte	Vendor	The soap vendor arranges his soaps in display. He mentions that he recognizes many returning customers at his stall. Unfortunately, he says, he does not always have the same stall. It would make it easier for him, if people would not have to walk around the whole market everytime	Customers	Walking through the aisles

					they come to find his stall. He would like to have a fixed stall, but he has not been on the market for long enough to get a fixed stall. The people who are here over 25 years get a chance to choose a fixed stall. He has only been on this market for 10 years. He likes working on the market, he does it as a hobby. This is also the reason why he only sells on the central market. He likes doing this as a hobby and is here every Tuesday and Saturday.		
62	16.04.2019	13.30-14.00	Binnenrotte	Coffee vendor	The coffee vendor passes by the stalls, he asks all the vendors from each stall if they want something to drink, by looking at them and making signs. If someone wants a drink, he brings the drinks and with a chalk he makes a mark at the edge of a tent, so he can collect the drinks later on	Vendors	Walking through the aisles
	We, 17-04-2019	10.00-13.00	Afrikaanderplein Markt				
	General Picture		Sunny, Cloudy Wednesday morning/noon.				
63	17.04.2019	10.00-11.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	3 older Dutch men are sitting together. one woman, the partner of one of the men is sitting with her. A man Sitting in an electric wheelchair. Saying goodbye. Says they should go for a drink of beer. A man says he doesn't drink beer. They talk about non-alcoholic beer. He mentions that he can already drink whisky. The man says goodbye to I'm wheelchair search. The men discuss how much they paid for which avocados and mangos. The men did not speak Ind. Another man comes by and talks. They talk about soccer, champions league, Barcelona. The men sit together for a while longer, discussing different topics.	Customers	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
64	17.04.2019	10.10	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Two older woman walk through the aisles, speak in vietnamese. They stop at a vegetable stall and start looking at the vegetables. One of them buys Spinach and herbs and puts them in the shopping trolley	Vegetable vendor	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
65	17.04.2019	10.15	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	A woman speaks in polish to her child in a pram while she selects vegetables	Customers	Walking through the aisles
66	17.04.2019	10.00-13.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Many young woman with baby buggies are on the market	Customers	Walking through the aisles
67	17.04.2019	10.30	Afrikaanderplein	Vendors	There is one stall that sells Surinamese specialities. The stall vendors explain that they only sell on this market twice a week	Customers	Walking through the aisles
68	17.04.2019	11.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	A group of six, coloured, middle-aged women walk to through the market. They talk excitedly and stop at a stand in between. They carry plastic bags with them to buy groceries.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
69	17.04.2019	11.00-11.30	Afrikaanderplein	Extraordinary participants	There's a mirror on the corner of the market that says. Be the change you want to see in the world. A man dressed as a clown distributes balloons to children and a woman distributes tulips to passers-by. The two are from a business school and turn a project into a company with social impact. The people they talk to hold a moment and are happy about the presents, then they go on.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
70	17.04.2019	11.15	Afrikaanderplein	Vendor	While I am shopping, the woman greeting the man selling next to me in Arabic. They talk a bit together while the woman continues to serve.	Customers	Shopping nuts

71	17.04.2019	11.30-12.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	I'm sitting, a lot of people are walking by. In the background you can hear sellers scream out their goods every now and then. A man walks past with four plastic bags, women with headscarves and shopping trolleys walk past. A woman with a pram and two puppies inside walks by. with her a man with two dogs walks by on a leash. Some people are strolling, others are passing quickly and purposefully.	Customers	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
72	17.04.2019	12.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Two men on electric wheelchairs meet in the corridor between the stands. They nod at each other and both drive to the side. After 4 minutes they continue together in the same direction.	Customers	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
73	17.04.2019	12.00-12.15	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	During 15 min sitting in one place 6 electronic wheelchairs passed by, after that even more	Customers	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
74	17.04.2019	12.30	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Two older muslim men meet looking in the corridor between the stands, talk something, tap their shoulders while saying goodbye	Customers	Sitting next to a tree in the centre of market aisles
Sa, 20-04-2019 10.30 - 12.30 Afrikaanderplein Markt General Picture							
75	20.04.2019	10.30	Afrikaanderplein		Two elderly women on electric wheelchairs meet between the cheese and flower stalls, they talk and move on further while doing their shopping		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
76	20.04.2019	10.35	Afrikaanderplein		Mother and Daughter, around fifteen years old, sit on a bench next to the market. They eat crackers and have a conversation. A shopping trolley stands in front of them. After five minutes they get up and leave, walking away from the market		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
77	20.04.2019	10.40	Afrikaanderplein		A bit further away are four people installed with flyers from a religious group. The elegantly dressed persons chat with each other and eventually talk to passing people		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
78	20.04.2019	10.40-10.50	Afrikaanderplein		Many women, various ages (mostly between 30 and 50 years old) and appearances walk towards the market. Either in groups of two or more. Some of them carry empty shopping trolleys with them or bring shopping bags.		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
79	20.04.2019	10.50-10.55	Afrikaanderplein		An elderly man pushes his bicycle away from the market. His carrier bags are filled with groceries and on the back of his bike he carries two flower bouquets. He walks towards the next empty bench, sits down and smokes a cigarette. He watches passing people and smokes. After five minutes he gets up and drives away with his bicycle		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
80	20.04.2019	10.50-11.00	Afrikaanderplein		A family of five people leave the market. Mother and Daughter sit on a bench and put their plastic bags with groceries on their sides. The father and two sons walk away. The women sitting on the bench wait until the men come back and afterwards the five of them sit down on the bench and wait for ten minutes		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
81	20.04.2019	11.00	Afrikaanderplein		An elderly woman with a Rollator exits the market stalls. She carries two plastic bags with groceries and a flower bouquet with her. She moves to the next free bench and sits down.		Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM
82	20.04.2019	11.00					Sitting at the benches in front of the ATM

83	20.04.2019	11.05 - 11.15	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	A queue of 8 people forms in front of the ATM. Among them are two middle-aged women with headscarves. A middle-aged dark-skinned man is waiting. An Indian woman greets another woman passing by with a shopping trolley. A woman dressed in black and wearing a headscarf makes a phone call.	Customers	Waiting in Line to the ATM
84	20.04.2019	11.15	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	Two older Muslim men run into each other at the market stall, they great each other happily with two kisses on the cheeks	Customers	Walking through the aisles
85	20.04.2019	11.20	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	A little boy looks at the fish and seafood, he's scared when he sees the crabs moving. His mother who is with him laughs	Customers	Walking through the aisles
86	20.04.2019	11.30	Afri-kaanderplein	Vendor	People are digging through shoes in an open shoe stand. The seller screams from far web 'amigo don't touch'.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
87	20.04.2019	11.45	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	Behind the market stall on a small square are several people waiting. One man stands with two shopping bags on the floor. He smokes a cigarette. As soon as a woman comes up to him, they take the bags and leave the market	Customers	Walking through the aisles
88	20.04.2019	11.45-12.15	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	Behind the market and the stall with the fries is a small square. One man in an electric wheelchair stops there and eats fries. Another woman in an electric wheelchair sits there and talks on the phone. Other people are waiting around. There are no seating possibilities	Customers	Standing on the small square
89	20.04.2019	12.15	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	One man, middle-aged, drives with his electrical wheelchair around the market. He is eccentricly dressed and has speakers on his wheelchair with which he listens to loud music.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
90	20.04.2019	12.15	Afri-kaanderplein	Customers	A group of four middle-aged women, wearing headscarves, stand at the textile stands and talk. All have a shopping cart with them. Every now and then they look at some fabrics and exchange their opinions about them.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
91	20.04.2019	12.00-12.30	Afri-kaanderplein	Vendor	This week for the first time is a moving beverage stall on the market. The stall named 'tropic ice romeo' sells ice water with different tasting syrups. The stall is colorful painted and distributes music around the market	Vendor	Walking through the aisles
Sa, 20-04-2019 13.00 - 15.00 Central Market Binnenrotte							
91	20.04.2019	13.00-13.15	Binnenrotte	Visitors	A group of Italian tourists, men, middle-age walk through the market stalls at the Binnenrotte. They take pictures of the market and the Markthall and buy fried corn	Customers	Walking through the aisles
92	20.04.2019	13.30-14.30	Binnenrotte	Visitors	Sitting on the bench in front of the library. An elder man from the Philippines sits next to me. He bought three cucumber plants. We start a conversation	Customers	Sitting on the bench in front of the library
93	20.04.2019	14.30-14.45	Binnenrotte	Visitors	Sitting on the bench in front of the library, an elder Dutch man starts talking to me. He asks me what I am doing here in Rotterdam and we have a short conversation. He comes to the market regularly with his girlfriend. He can not walk too much and has a rollator therefore. He advises me to subscribe to the UWV service, so if I am not working I would get social benefits from the Dutch government. He says he prefers me to get the benefit than all these other people here.	Customers	Sitting on the bench in front of the library

94	20.04.2019	15.00	Binnenrotte	Customer at vegetable store	Women, middle age with headscarf, buys vegetables at the store and puts them into her trolley. When she leaves, an older Dutch lady runs into her. The dutch lady turns around and explains loudly that hte women was standing in the way and has to be careful where she goes with the trolley. the women discuss in Dutch. The one female vendor looks at the women and then turn towards me. The Dutch woman eventually moves further. The woman quickly looks towards the vendor who smiles compromised a bit and keeps vending vegetables	Customers	Walking through the aisles
95	20.04.2019	15.00	Binnenrotte	Russian Tourists	Two russian tourists, middle-age men walk through the clothes stalls and look at shoes	Customers	Walking through the aisles
Tu, 23-04-2019 9.30-12.30 Central Market Binnenrotte							
General Picture			Sonnig, etwas windig. Tuesday after Easter break. In the morning around 9.30 many stalls are still installing. They are carrying boxes from their cars and the trucks to the stalls. Vegetable sellers arrange their vegetables. Clothes sellers hang clothes on hangers and fold clothes for the layout. Some people are already on the market visiting. Some people look at clothes, a few try on shoes. Many people are alone or in groups of two. Mostly elderly white people. Also some tourists.				
96	23.04.2019	9.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	Elder White woman in wheelchair tries on shoes at the stall. A young black girl stands next ot her. She wears classes with one eyepatch on it	Customers	Walking through the aisles
97	23.04.2019	9.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	One middle-aged Dutch woman walks with her older mother down the aisles of the market. They buy different vegetabels and move further. The woman explains that they will be walking untill the end of this line of stalls and then have to possibility to sit down on a bench next ot the stall with plants.	Customers	Walking through the aisles
98	23.04.2019	9.30	Binnenrotte	Tourists	One big group of tourists walk along the isle and look at the stalls. They don't buy. They walk direction meent	Customers	Walking through the aisles
99	23.04.2019	9.40	Binnenrotte	Tourists	One, middle-aged man sits on the bench in front of the library. After five minutes his wife comes up to him, she tells him in German that she bought several fabrics on the market because they were so much cheaper than back home. They sit there for several minutes, chatting about the products on the market. They look over to the Laurens Church and discuss if the Church is as old as the Notre-Dame in Paris. They get up and walk in direction the church.		Sitting in front of library
100	23.04.2019	9.40-10.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A few women, middle-age, Dutch, walk in groups of two to three people along the aisles, chat and stop at the clothes stores, looking at clothes, trying on shoes.		Sitting in front of library
101	23.04.2019	10.00	Binnenrotte	Vendor	The truck 'Rob van Klaveren: Verse Patat' opens the store. Four persons work behind the counter. One woman (Dutch, mid-twenties) cleans the vending machine which is located in front of the truck. Another young woman (Dutch, mid-twenties) fills up the sauces in big containers. A woman (Dutch, mid-fourties) peels potatoes. An older man fills up the stall with the boxes of potatoes from the truck.	Vendor	Sitting in front of library
102	23.04.2019	10.05	Binnenrotte		An old-school kermis truck playing music crosses the market and stops at the square in front of the Markthall. The truck plays music and stays as a background noise.		Sitting in front of library

103	23.04.2019	10.15	Binnenrotte		Middle-aged woman and elderly woman walk through the aisles		Sitting in front of library
104	23.04.2019	10.30	Binnenrotte		Three white, middle age women walk through the aisles of the textiles. Two of them carry a shopping trolley with them		Walking through the aisles
105	23.04.2019	10.30	Binnenrotte		Three woman walk through the aisles of textiles. Two of them carry a shopping trolley. They are wearing long white headscarfs and are around middle age. The third one is younger, probably a daughter		Walking through the aisles
106	23.04.2019	10.35	Binnenrotte		Woman with headscarf and trolley walks with daughter, holding hands along the isle of the market		Walking through the aisles
107	23.04.2019	10.40	Binnenrotte		Two young children, a boy and a girl, sell vegetables at the vegetable stall		Walking through the aisles
108	23.04.2019	10.45	Binnenrotte		An elderly woman exits Bagels and Bans. In her rollator she as two bouckets of flowers with her. She walks towards the market		Walking through the aisles
109	23.04.2019	10.45	Binnenrotte		A woman, middle aged white, bikes along the textile isles. Her son on a bike in front of her. She carries a plastic bag from the market vendors with two tulip flowers in it.		Walking through the aisles
110	23.04.2019	10.45	Binnenrotte	Probably tourists	A family, mother, father young daughter walk through the market, they look at the stalls and walk further		Walking through the aisles
111	23.04.2019	10.50	Binnenrotte		Elderly, white man sits on a stone bench next to the tree. He has a blue shopping trolley in front of him. He sits there for several minutes. Observes the people that pass him. After three minutes a vendor comes up to him. The woman wears a work-apron, blue. She brings a plastic bag (probably fish in it) to the older man. He laughs and says something in Dutch. The woman responds and helps him putting the bag into his trolley. When the trolley is finished loaded, the man gets up and walks further		Walking through the aisles
112	23.04.2019	10.50-11.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	In front of the ATM next to the library is along line of arund 20 people waiting. A young couple is at the ATM machine. One woman with headscarf and a shopping trolley is waitng in line. When another woman passes by, she greets friendly. A Dutch couple, middle-aged is waiting in front of me in line. Behind me waits a woman and a daughter carrying a shopping trolley. They start counting the coins in their wallet and when they notice that they will have enough for the rest of the fabric they want to buy, the leave the queue and move further towards the Fabric aisle	Customers	Waiting in Line to the ATM
113	23.04.2019	11.00	Binnenrotte		Two black women walk away from the market. Their shopping trollleys look full. They are looking for something that is next to Bagels and Beans (the ATM that was next to there was removed). They cross the street back again, cross the aisles with textile and stand in line for the ATM		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
114	23.04.2019	11.05	Binnenrotte		A middle-aged couple walks down the textile aisle. They meet another couple shopping on the market. They greet each other friendly and pleased and start a conversation. One of the women walks towards a textile stall, while the two men keep talking. The other woman, a bit older, wearing a headscarfs, joins the younger woman at the stall. The men talk for about 15 minutes. the women return with a plastic bag with fabrics. They say goodbye and move in different directions.		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library

115	23.04.2019	11.10	Binnenrotte		A biker couple (both wearing Harley Davidson leather jackets), middle-aged, Dutch, walk through the textile aisles. The woman stops at a cloth stores and inspects a pair of jeans. The man holds her cigarette while she tries on the jeans. They move further after the woman has bought the Jeans.		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
116	23.04.2019	11.15	Binnenrotte		A teenage boy, white walks with an elderly woman along the textile isles		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
117	23.04.2019	11.15	Binnenrotte		A young man with headphones on approaches the market. He gets off his bike and looks forward into the textile line, as if to measure if there was enough space to pass through		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
118	23.04.2019	11.20	Binnenrotte		The market fills with more people		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
119	23.04.2019	11.30	Binnenrotte		Three women stand, middle-age headsarfs, in front of the clothes sstore in the textile aisle and talk. They talk for about 10min		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
120	23.04.2019	11.40	Binnenrotte		an elder couple is buying fabrics in the fabric aisle. The woman carries a palstic bags and hand sthe other plastic bag to her partner, the casually walk further downt he textile aisle. The man		Sitting at Bagels & Beans Café opposite the central library
121	23.04.2019	11.45	Binnenrotte	vendors	Two female, middle-age, vendors behind the textile stalls have a conversation with each other	Vendor	Walking through the aisles
122	23.04.2019	11.50	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two women (ethnic background) stand in the middle of the textile aisles and have an intensive and concerned discussion in a foreign language	Customers	Walking through the aisles
123	23.04.2019	11.50	Binnenrotte	Customers	Several people are standing in line to the fried potato stall 'Rob van Klaveren'. In front of the li-brary are many people sitting on the benches, eating snacks. A group of five middle-aged, busi-ness men sit at the bench and eat fried potatoes	Customers	Walking through the aisles
124	23.04.2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of young woman, students, sit on the side of the market towards the library, eating fried corn	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the li-brary
125	23.04.2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A Dutch man, bewteen fifty and sixty years old, sits down on the stone bench in front of the li-brary. He puts two bags with flowers on the floor and sits on the bench, watching people pass buy. After ten minutes a woman joins him, sits down, smokes a cigarette. They talk and after ten minutes they get up and walk further down the market	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the li-brary
126	23.04.2019	12.10	Binnenrotte	Customers	A man, Dutch (approx. 50 years old) walks down the aisle with flowers, carries a shopping bag under his arms and whistles merrily	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the li-brary

127	23.04.2019	12.15	Binnenrotte		A woman, Dutch, middle-age, approaches the stone benches with a turkish kebab in her hands and sits down to eat	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the library
128	23.04.2019	12.15	Binnenrotte	Customers; Visitors	Three people on electric wheelchairs pass in the time of thirty minutes	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the library
129	23.04.2019	12.20	Binnenrotte	Customers	A middle-aged woman with a shopping trolley walks through the market aisles accompanied by two young kids. The boy runs around the market, jumps up the stones on the side of the market.	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the library
130	23.04.2019	12.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young woman sits down on the stone bench and eats fried corn. After she finishes eating, she smokes a cigarette. Her bike is standing in front of her. A soon as she is finished smoking she gets on the bike and drives away	Customers	Sitting on the stone bench in front of the library
We, 24-04-2019 11.00-14.00 Afrikaanderplein Markt							
General Picture			Sunny, drie day. It is alive buzz on the market. Many people walk through the aisles and buy groceries. Many people carry shopping trolleys with them and buy groceries. A few vendors shout to promote their vegetables. The background noise consists of vendors shouting and some people talking on the market.				
131		11.15	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Two women start talking and looking into the baby trolley that one carries with her. They stand still, interrupting the flow of people walking by in the aisles between the stalls. One man shouts to them in Dutch to move aside or keep walking to not disturb the other people walking in the aisles.	Customers	Walking in the aisle
132		11.20	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Next to the Snack stall that sells fried fish three women wearing headscarves sit on the (Palettroller), leaving their shopping trolley in front of them, relaxing	Customers	Walking in the aisle
133		11.50	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Many people stand around a stall with fish snacks	Customers	Walking in the aisle
134		12.30	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	A woman with her daughter and two twin kids sit in the park and the children drink fruit juices. The shopping trolley stands next to them	Customers	Walking in the aisle
135		13.00	Afrikaanderplein	Customers	Suddenly there's trouble in front of one of the stands. I turn around to see what is going on. I see a man about 40 lying on the ground. He is lying on the ground as if he had collapsed, not stumbled or fallen. A group of people is slowly forming around him. Some people are trying to talk to him. An older man tries to call the ambulance. A woman bends down to the man and looks if he is conscious. Another young woman comes to the rescue. A woman in the group says it is epilepsy. More people stop in the aisle and look at the man. The flow between the stalls is slowly impaired and because of the many people who have stopped, no more people can walk past. After about 5 minutes the man suddenly jumps up on the ground. He shouts something angry at the woman who had tried to pronounce him. Then he went up and runs away into the market. The group of spectators slowly dissolves and turns to the previous market activities.	Customers	Walking in the aisle

Sa, 27-04-2019	14.30 - 16.00	Central Market Binnenrotte					
General Picture		Windy, cold and cloudy day. Kingsday (national Dutch Holiday). Little stalls and on the sides of the markets are private flea market stalls all around the city centre, where individuals sell their clothes or belongings on small spaces. There is little (compared to previous market days) going on on the markets. Some tourists walk along the lines, also many Dutch people are seen and heard on the market. Only a few people are buying groceries or doing some shopping.					
27.04.2019	14.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of young international students, mixed females and males, stand at the cheese stall and try different cheeses. They discuss, which ones they like. One of them likes the truffle cheese and another one has tried this one at another stall before. They buy some cheeses and walk further.		Cheese stall	Walking through the aisles
27.04.2019	14.00 - 16.00	Binnenrotte	Visitors	Some tourists wearing orange hats and orange clothing walk through the market		Visitors	Walking through the aisles
27.04.2019	14.00 - 16.00	Binnenrotte	Visitors	The bar next to the market is full of people drinking, some people walk across the market with beer cans. Some people wear orange clothes, hats, scarfs, etc.		Visitors	Walking through the aisles
27.04.2019	14.45	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two young women sit on the stone bench around the tree next to the Laurens Church. They are soon joined by two young men. One of them bought a bag of ice from the fish stall and mentions to the rest of the group (in English) that this will keep the octopus fresh. They get up from the bench and walk further.		Fish Stall	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
27.04.2019	14.50	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two women, East-Asian, wearing headscarfs, push one child and one shopping trolley towards the bench. The older woman sits down on the bench. A man also joins them and they sit and play with the baby and chat for a while.		Customers	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
27.04.2019	14.50-15.15	Binnenrotte	Visitors	A group of young men around twenty years old, sit down near the tree on the stone bench and speak in Arabic. They have a conversation and watch people passing by. They sit there for about thirty minutes		Visitors	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
27.04.2019	15.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A family, two small children, with young father and mother wearing a headscarf approach the bench. They wait around near the bench and the woman sits down. The children play around. The man walks away and the woman waits with the children. The man comes back and then the woman goes away, while he waits with the children near the bench. The small boy jumps around and walks around the tree. He stops in between and coughs heavily. When the woman returns, with a plastic bag with vegetables, they walk further		Customers	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
27.04.2019	15.15	Binnenrotte	Visitors	A young Dutch couple, the woman wears an orange diadem. Look around at the market and then decide to sit down at the bench. They talk a bit. Another couple arrives, the man also wearing an orange hat. The girl carries a box with figs and when they arrive at the bench she explains that they can use the figs to cook a recipe from the Ottolenghi book with figs. They all sound excited about this idea. After a few minutes they all walk off, away from the market		Customers	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
27.04.2019	15.15	Binnenrotte	Vendors	Two women, carrying boxes from the Flesmish Bakery (Vlaamse Broodhuys) walk across the market and give away bags with bread and a flyer. Four women, individually, stop and take a bread and have a quick conversation then move further		Customers	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church

145	27.04.2019	15.40	Binnenrotte	Visitors	A group of young women walk across the market, observe the stalls and talk	Visitors	Sitting on the stone bench next to the Laurens Church
146	27.04.2019	15.00-15.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	Different tourists walk along the market, stop at the cheese and the spices stall and make some tastings. They take pictures of the products and stop at different stalls	Visitors	Walking through the aisles
147	27.04.2019	15.40-15.50	Binnenrotte	Customers	One man, middle-aged, puts his bicycle in front of the vegetable stalls and approaches the stall to buy food. While he looks at the vegetables, the bicycle falls over and nearly falls on a passing person. The flow of people walking through the aisle stop. A man makes a rude comment in Dutch and the other man turns around and puts his bicycle back up. People continue walking through the aisle	Customers	Walking through the aisles
148	27.04.2019	15.55	Binnenrotte	Customers	An older man, around seventy years old, waits at the end of the line of market stalls, next to the fish stall. He waits there for about five minutes, looking around. His shopping bag is standing next to him on the floor. After some minutes he takes out some coins out of his pocket and puts them back into his wallet. He counts the coins and then turns towards the fish stall to buy a Hering bread, which he immediately eats.	Fish Stall	Walking through the aisles
149	27.04.2019	16.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A man, coloured, with long dreadlock hairs walks across the market accompanied by young woman and a child. They all eat from a bag of nuts bought on the market	Nuts and dried fruits stall	Walking through the aisles
Tu, 30-04-2019 10.30-14.00 Eendrachtsplein Market General Picture Cold, cloudy, dry day. Only vegetable stall is on the market. One woman, the owner, works at the vegetable stall. Some single customers visit the stalls, buy some vegetables							
150	30.04.2019	10.30	Eendrachtsplein	Bread Vendor	The bread vendor is not on the market today. Hence, there is only one vegetable stall on the Eendrachtsplein market. The vegetable vendor has not been informed by the bread vendors about his absence, she highlights that they don't have such a close relationship. She guesses that the bread seller is not on the market today because it is national holidays and he has kids in school, so he doesn't come to the market	Visitors	Walking through the aisles
151	30.04.2019	10.30	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Two children, around 10 years old, walk to the vegetable stall and pick up two bananas and walk away. Five minutes later they come back with two women and a third child. The woman buys berries for all the children. The group is probably a group of tourists, as they carry a city map with them	Customers	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
152	30.04.2019	10.45	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	An elder man, over sixty years old, white, approaches the vegetable stall. He carries a shopping bag. He spends a good while, around 20 minutes buying different vegetables and chatting in between with the vendor. He then walks away from the market	Customers	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
153	30.04.2019	10.45	Eendrachtsplein	Vegetable vendor	The vegetable vendors, today three middle-aged women are working at the stall, are arranging the vegetables. There is a special place for Rhubarbs, which are highlighted as seasonal fruits/vegetables this week coming from farmers in the region	Vegetable vendor	Walking around on the market

154	30.04.2019	10.45	Eendrachtsplein	Vegetable vendor	One of the vegetable vendors mentions that the most people that come to the market are persons between 30 and 40 years old and that she expects most of them are living in the neighbourhood. She sees quite often the same people coming to the market and knows some of their regular customers	Customers	informal interview
155	30.04.2019	10.50	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Two young women, in their early twenties, white, pass by the market. They stop at the vegetable store and buy two bananas and then walk further away from the market	Customers	Walking around on the market
156	30.04.2019	10.50	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Two persons, middle-aged female and male, white, approach the market square with their bikes. They lock the bikes on the sides and walk to the stall. They have a short interaction (a conversation) with the vegetable vendor and then turn to buying vegetables. they buy different vegetables and let them all pack in paper bags by the vendor. They discuss, whether they should buy potatoes as well. The buying takes up around 15 minutes	Customers	Walking around on the market
157	30.04.2019	11.10	Eendrachtsplein	Vegetable vendor	After the two previous customers have left, there are no more customers on the market. The vegetable vendors fill up and arrange the vegetables.		Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
158	30.04.2019	10.30-12.30	Eendrachtsplein	Visitors	Several people walk across the square during the whole observation time. Some people lock their bikes on the side of the square and walk towards the city centre. Some people enter or exit the metro. There are always people walking on the Eendrachtsplein square, but only a few stop by the stalls.	Visitors	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
159	30.04.2019	11.15	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	One woman, middle-aged white walks with a shopping trolley to the vegetable stalls and buys groceries. The vendor packs the groceries in a bag for her. Another woman, middle-aged, asian, walks towards the stall and buys potatoes. A couple, man and woman both around fifty years old in colorful functional clothing walk towards the stall and read the information poster on the vegetables, they wait until one of the vendors is free to serve them. Then they ask her some questions and buy vegetables	Vegetable vendor	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
160	30.04.2019	11.30	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	A middle-aged woman with her daughter and a children trolley walk towards the stall. The woman lets the daughter pick the vegetables for her and they look at the different vegetables available. For about ten minutes they buy groceries and then walk further	Vegetable vendor	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
161	30.04.2019	11.30	Eendrachtsplein	Visitors	Two tourist walk along the stall and look at the groceries. They read the signs and look at the vegetables. They do not buy anything and move on to the bench on the side, where they sit down for ten minutes	Visitors	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
162	30.04.2019	11.30 - 11.45	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Young woman, middle-aged, drives to the market with a cargo bike. She greets the vegetable vendor and talks to her. After a while, around 15 minutes, she loads some vegetables on her bike and drives off	Vegetable vendor	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
163	30.04.2019	11.45	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	No customers. Some people exit the metro station, cross the square. Two trucks are parked on the side of the square unloading goods for the nearby store. The background noise is made up of the traffic on the big streets on the sides of the squares and the tram passing by once in a while	Customers; Locality	Sitting on a bench next to the stalls
164	30.04.2019	12.00	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Older man, white, wearing a Beret-Hat (french hat) walks towards the stall and buys some vegetables, mainly fresh asparagus from the region	Vegetable vendor	Walking around on the market
165	30.04.2019	12.00	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	Young woman with a suitcase approaches the vegetable stand and buys some vegetables and then walks off	Vegetable vendor	Walking around on the market

166	30.04.2019	12.00-12.15	Eendrachtsplein	Customers	No more customers	Vegetable vendor	Walking around on the market
	Sa, 04-05-2019	10.00 - 11.30	Noordplein Market				
	General Picture		Sunny Saturday Morning, XXL market with several stalls (around 40) and many stalls selling alcoholic beverages such as beer and wine				
167	04.05.2019	10.00-11.30	Noordplein	Vendors	Stalls are slowly opening up, organising their products and arranging the products to look nicely	Vendors	Walking around on the market
168	04.05.2019	10.00-10.30	Noordplein	Customers	Some people, mainly white middle-age people are already walking around on the market, looking at the stalls, buying coffee or small things	Customers	Walking around on the market
169	04.05.2019	10.30	Noordplein	Market Management	The market manager walks around on the market and greets the vendors	Vendors	Walking around on the market
170	04.05.2019	10.45	Noordplein	Vendors	The market today has many plant stalls, around four stalls with female vendors sell home made seeds and small plants	Vendors	Walking around on the market
171	04.05.2019	10.50	Noordplein	Customers	A young family, mother and father with a small boy pass by a cheese stall. They stop at a toy cow and explain the boy where the milk comes from and how the cheese is made	Customers	Walking around on the market
172	04.05.2019	11.00	Noordplein	Vendors	A stall with Dutch wines sells wines and Mulled Wine to drink on the spot	Vendors	Walking around on the market
173	04.05.2019	11.00	Noordplein	Vendors	Many stalls that sell homemade goods, such as aetheric oils, soaps, jams and chutneys, caramel	Vendors	Walking around on the market
174	04.05.2019	11.15	Noordplein	Extraordinary participants	At one corner some people advertise a farmers collective. They search participants for a farmers collective which includes people that would like to farm a piece of lands together with other in a cooperative	Visitors	Walking around on the market
175	04.05.2019	11.00-11.30	Noordplein	Customers	Many people on the market have small conversations and chats. There is a background noise of people talking	Customers	Walking around on the market
	Sa, 04-05-2019	12.00 - 13.30	Central Market Binnenrotte				
	General Picture		Windy Saturday morning/lunch. Some stalls are still arranging and organising their products. Some stands are empty. Less stands than usual on the market, probably due to the Dutch holidays. Generally more people are walking around the market, looking at the stalls, and taking pictures than people are actually making groceries.				
176	04.05.2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Market Manager; Security Personnel	Two security men walk through the aisles and control the stalls. They stop at a clothes stall and correct the organisation by moving the bags further inside in the stall. At the next cloth stall they discuss the length of the tent and how far the tent falls into the aisles. The vendor approaches them, after they have taken a picture of his stall. They start a long discussion	Vendors	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall

177	04.05.2019	12.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A group of people, around 6 stand at the high tables in front of the snack stall and eat fried fish	Fish Stall	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
178	04.05.2019	12.10	Binnenrotte	Customers	Two elderly women, white, one with a shopping trolley meet in front of a market stall, they greet each other and walk on together	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
179	04.05.2019	12.00-13.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	Many people walk along the market aisles, some shopping, some just looking at the products and the other people at the market. Some people carry shopping bags or trolleys.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
180	04.05.2019	12.20	Binnenrotte	Customers	A woman, middle-aged, Asian, walks along the aisles with a shopping trolley accompanied by two small children around the age of 9	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
181	04.05.2019	12.20	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young woman with a baby trolley passes by without buying products	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
182	04.05.2019	12.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	In front of the Snack bar with the fried fish stands a young man, mid-twenties and a young woman, also mid-twenties. They eat haring. A man with a bike walks by and greets them. They have a short conversation. After five minutes the man moves on.		Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
183	04.05.2019	12.30-13.00	Binnenrotte	Visitors	Some tourists take pictures of the market stalls and the Markthall		Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
184	04.05.2019	13.00-14.00	Binnenrotte	Guitar man; vendors	One stall sells guitar accessories, a man around fifty years old plays the guitar. He contributes to the buzzing background noise that is dominating the markets. The background noise is a mixture of music, people talking and vendors shouting prices of their vegetables or products	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
185	04.05.2019	12.30	Binnenrotte	Visitors	A group of around 25 people walk across the market with bicycles	Visitors	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
186	04.05.2019	12.30	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young Dutch couple, around 30 years old pushes a baby trolley full of plants. The mother carries the young daughter on her arm	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
187	04.05.2019	12.40	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young woman, mid-twenties walks away from the market carrying a big bouquet of flowers and a pulling a full shopping trolley behind her	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
188	04.05.2019	12.45	Binnenrotte	Customers	A man, middle-aged, Asian, drives in an electric wheelchair towards the market. His small daughter sits on his lap	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall

189	04.05.2019	12.50	Binnenrotte	Visitors	Two people, middle-aged man and woman, crosse the market square with suitcases	Visitors	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
190	04.05.2019	12.50	Binnenrotte	Customers	Three women, middle-aged, wearing headscarfs, walk next to each other down the aisles. All three of them eat a fried corn. While looking at the clothes stalls, they chat and continue walking.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
191	04.05.2019	12.55	Binnenrotte	Customers	An older woman leaves the market carrying a flower bouqueta and a red shopping bag. Three asian men with fully filled shopping bags walk away from the market.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
192	04.05.2019	13.0	Binnenrotte	Customers	A Dutch couple, both around fifty years old, walk across the market. They are holding hands. The woman carries a shopping bag.	Customers	Sitting next to the snack stall in front of the Markthall
193	04.05.2019	13.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	At the clothes stall a coloured woman in company of her husband looks at the clothes, two woman with headscarfs inspect long dresses and two older, white women try on different pants. The vendor arranges the clothes and picks up clothes that fell down through the wind.	Customers: Vendors	Standing next to the stalls
194	04.05.2019	13.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	A young couple walks away from the market. The woman pulls a shopping trolley behind her. Both eat a turkish Gözleme from the Turkish bakery stall while waking.	Customers	Standing next to the stalls
195	04.05.2019	13.00	Binnenrotte	Customers	At the stall with fried potatoes many people sit in front of the stalls at the tables and talk in groups or eat snacks. An older woman in a wheelchair and an older man sit there and eat fish, placing their shopping bags next to them on the floor	Customers	Standing next to the stalls
196	04.05.2019	13.15	Binnenrotte	Customers	Some people are staning close by the fish stall while some eat snacks at the high tables or next to the garbage bins. Many people look out for a place to sit, which they cannot find, because everything is occupied.	Customers	Standing next to the stalls
197	04.05.2019	13.20	Binnenrotte	Customers	It starts raining: a young Dutch family with two children around 8 years old look for shelter under an empty market stall. They eat fries there and wait until it rains less. Many people move closer to the stalls or enter the stalls as it starts raining. There is immediately less walking activities in the aisles. Two women, a young and an old one, both wearing head scarfs walk with umbrellas through the aisles. A young couple walks across the market. The woman wears a bread bag on her head to protect the hair from the rain.	Customers	Standing next to the stalls

General Notes

There is one stall with electronic articles, which is not actually a stall, but rather a truck that opens the sides to sell. The market is on the Market on Afrikaanderplein as well as on the central market at the Binnenrotte on different days a week

There is a stall with Surinamese Vegetables who sells on wednesdays and saturdays on the Afrikaanderplein stalls, but also on Tuesdays on the Central Market

Peculiarities Afrikaanderplein

The stall with tobacco is only selling on saturdays; Many of the clothes stalls sell headscarfs or long dresses; there is a stall selling and called 'Halal Fried Chicken'; Another snack stall is called 'King of Persia' and there is a very popular Kebab and Falafel place 'Dilek Doener' that is there twice a week

Many of the markets visitors carry a shopping trolley with them. In general, there are many wheels on the market. Many people on electric wheelchairs, rolling walking frames or with baby buggies.

Peculiarities Central Market at Binnenrotte

Many people sit around the market on any day. Also some people use the public space and benches on non-market days. On market days more people with shopping trolleys and shopping bags sit around. Some sit in groups and talk, some sit there and look around or wait for someone

The market is popular from people from surrounding companies or students to eat lunch

Peculiarities Organic market at the Eendrachtsplein

Many young women or older people, mostly white

Not many customers, although the square does have some people passing by, only little people stop to buy

many customers come specifically to buy at the market, little pass-by/walk-in customers

Personal service. There are always plenty of vendors at the market stall, so they can serve every customer individually. They take the time to pack up the vegetables for the people talk a bit and give recommendation.

No overcrossed service, meaning that they always take the time to finish serving one person before they serve the next person.

The stall has several info posters, informing the customer about the biological production of the fruits and vegetables and about seasonal specialties

The square itself is a noisy place with a constant buzzing background noise of the car traffic, the tram passing by and people with suitcases entering and exiting the metro station

Peculiarities Farmers Market on the Noordplein

Many people come by bike to the market; many young families; many young people and students that stroll around and look at the products and taste; many more possibilities to taste the offered products

Sometimes live music; often there is another event or activity going on on the market as well (such as an event from the muslim community, a small petting zoo or a political initiative)

