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Public Markets and Social Justice in Cities:
A South-North comparative study of markets' social justice
potential and the role of urban governance

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Abstract

Public markets have historically been plural spaces with potential to support social justice, for example through accessible work opportunities and inclusive social spaces. Yet, recent research from multiple disciplines highlights markets' critical and contested state in contemporary urban environments, due to trading decline, increasing urban marginalisation, and exclusionary redevelopment, often exacerbated by inappropriate or ineffective urban governance interventions. This research explores the relationship between public markets, social justice and urban governance, with the purpose of contributing to more comprehensive understandings of public markets' potentials to support social justice in cities, and the role played by urban governance in determining this relationship. In order to do so, a relational comparative study was carried out, exploring multiple cases of markets and their governance in two cities across the global South and North. Cases were analysed with a multidimensional social justice framework based on Fainstein's (2010) three pillars: *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. Inspired by critical debates around epistemic justice, the thesis also reflects about the potential for alternative development and governance for markets through Southern more holistic conceptions of social justice, which also allow for the critical consideration of the Northern situatedness of Fainstein's (2010) framework.

Markets and their governance in Belo Horizonte (Brazil) and Birmingham (United Kingdom) were investigated using qualitative ethnographically-informed methods. Findings reveal the influence of contextual aspects at different scales, but also some commonalities: markets in both cities experience threats to sustainability caused by retail obsolescence and inadequate markets' governance. Yet, markets in both contexts continue to support social justice in the cities, especially in terms of *equity* and *diversity*. A further commonality is the establishment of new systems of markets' governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, with forward-looking plans for markets showing on the one hand the undeniable influence of global trends of entrepreneurial governance in the prospects of markets, and on the other, attempts to combine economic pragmatism and social justice priorities, particularly in Belo Horizonte. In juxtaposing markets in these two cities, this research supports South-North learning and more creative and holistic approaches to markets' governance in contemporary cities.

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List of Acronyms

Belo Horizonte:

CAM: Centro de Abastecimento Municipal (Centre of Municipal Provision)

CEPES: Centro Público de Economia Solidária (Public Centre of Solidarity Economy)

FECOPE: Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (Covered Fair of Padre Eustáquio)

PBH: Prefeitura de Belo Horizonte (Municipality of Belo Horizonte)

PPAG: Plano Plurianual de Ação Governamental (Pluriannual Plan of Government Action)

SFP: Social Function of Property

SMC: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura (Culture Secretariat)

SMASAC: Secretaria Municipal de Assistência Social, Segurança Alimentar e Cidadania (Secretariat of Social Services, Food Security and Citizenship)

SMDE: Secretaria Municipal de Desenvolvimento Econômico (Secretariat of Economic Development)

SMFA: Secretaria Municipal de Fazenda (Treasury Secretariat)

SMPOG: Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento, Orçamento e Gestão (Secretariat of Planning, Budgeting and Management)

SMPU: Secretaria Municipal de Política Urbana (Secretariat of Urban Policy/ Planning)

SST: Salve Santa Tereza (collective of activists)

SUSAN: Subsecretaria de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional (Subsecretariat of Food Security and Nutrition)

Birmingham:

BCC: Birmingham City Council

BCP: Big city Plan

BDP: Birmingham Development Plan 2031

BRMs: Bull Ring Markets

BSRC: Bull Ring Shopping Centre

NPPF: National Planning Policy Framework

General:

PPS: Project for Public Spaces

SSE: Social and Solidarity Economy

1. Introduction: A Research on Public Markets, Social Justice and Urban Governance

'What is the role of markets? This is the big question that everybody asks. If you are in the market, or if you are a manager of the market...' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

On a cold and rainy day in November 2019 I had the opportunity to interview an especially knowledgeable trader of the Bull Ring Markets (BRMs), in Birmingham. Disillusioned about the local municipality's approach to managing the markets that he clearly cared about deeply, he explained the particularities of the challenges faced by the BRMs, in terms of economic sustainability and public governance, in the context of wider struggles faced by public markets across England. Almost at the end of the interview, he posed the '*big [reflective] question*' presented in the quote above. A few months prior to this, across the Atlantic Ocean, in the larger, sunnier and warmer city of Belo Horizonte, I had posed the same question to local traders and market customers. When asked about the role of public markets in Belo Horizonte, multiple answers were given: their crucial importance for the local Mineira culture; as spaces of socialisation for the city's population; as locus of employment, and as providers of food. They revealed the common sentiment of local fondness for markets, with several participants calling them '*the heart of neighbourhoods*'.

The question '*what is the role of markets¹?*' has motivated a growing body of research in the last two decades in planning-related disciplines, from both within academia and beyond. For example, the cross-disciplinary non-profit *Project for Public Spaces* (PPS) in the United States has been developing research on markets' multiple urban roles since the early 2000's (PPS, n.d.), exploring matters such as markets' potential for social integration and upward mobility (PPS, 2003) and the economic impact of public markets (PPS, 2007)². Figure 1.1 (below) shows PPS' analysis of markets' benefits for cities.

Similarly, the European Union *Urbact Markets* project, launched in 2013, investigated '*the role of urban markets as key drivers of change in terms of local economic development, regeneration and sustainable*

¹ It is important to draw attention to the fact that broadly speaking much of the urban roles played by markets are also present in traditional bazaars and street trading. Nevertheless, despite sometimes used interchangeably - but entailing more variation than what I can cover here - bazaars and markets, on the one hand, tend to happen periodically in a specific location, involve a more or less stable group of salesmen, and are formal events, i.e. recognised by the authorities. On the other hand, street vending can be less structured and more informal in terms of physical conditions, participants and legal permission. It can sometimes be seen in a similar arrangement of a market, when the salesmen congregate consistently in a specific location due to some magnet aspect (e.g. a busy central area, an event, or even a more stable market's presence). Considering the nature of my case studies, I will nevertheless mostly apply the term 'markets' to refer to the traditional trading activity and the (enclosed) space where it permanently takes place, occasionally using 'marketplaces' to avoid repetition.

living' (Urbact Markets, 2015), through studying multiple European cases across different countries. The reports produced by these research initiatives (e.g. PPS, 2003; Urbact Markets, 2015) stress a hopeful prospect for traditional markets, which, recognised as infrastructures of transversal nature and multiple relevance for cities, can be rediscovered by local authorities to support sustainable and more socially just urban development (Urbact Markets, 2015).

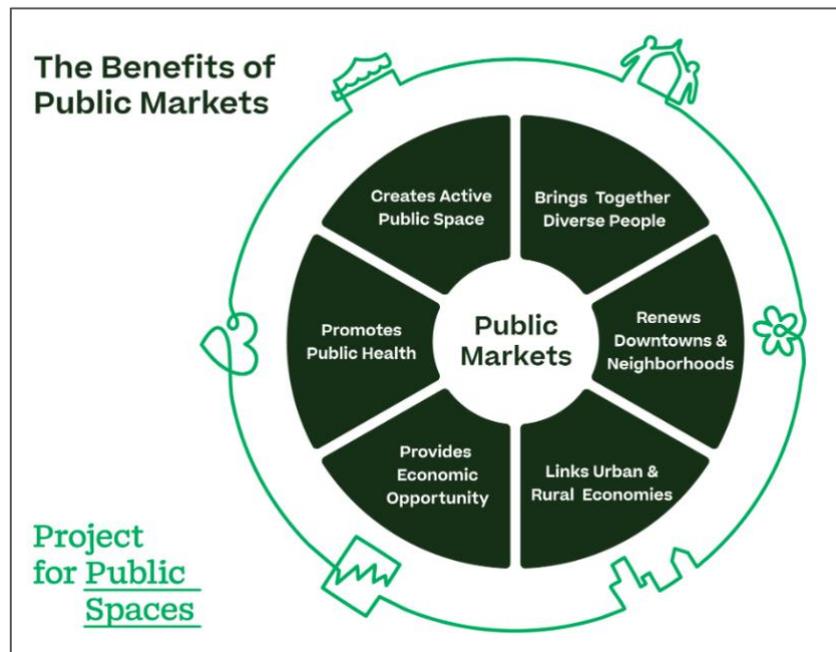


Figure 1.1: The benefits of public markets, according to the non-profit Project for Public Spaces
Source: PPS, 2010 (<https://www.pps.org/article/the-benefits-of-public-markets>)

Some academic debates followed a similar rationale. The Built Environment special issue *Marketplaces as an Urban Development Strategy*, edited by Janseens and Sezer (2013a), converged with other recent publications (e.g. Morales, 2009; S. Watson, 2009) adding weight to the argument in favour of markets being considered as urban development strategies by local authorities supporting inclusive city life (Janseens and Sezer, 2013a). Importantly, the editors stressed the need to investigate markets from multiple disciplinary perspectives, in the aim of properly conceptualising them and their urban relevance:

'Only a bridging of the disciplinary cliffs from social science, to policy, to planning, and to design – and all the other routes possible – will provide us with a thorough understanding of the potential of marketplaces' (Janseens and Sezer, 2013a, p. 170).

Multidisciplinary findings recognise markets' roles as inclusive public spaces (Hou, 2010), where friendly interaction and caring practices take place (S. Watson, 2009), facilitating integration of different groups and cultures (Schappo and van Melik, 2016), while giving a sense of local identity (Mehta and Gohil, 2013). Furthermore, markets enable income generation activities for vulnerable groups (PPS, 2003). In many contexts low entry barriers result in marketplaces being meaningful elements for upward mobility of such groups (Morales, 2009). Beyond explaining markets' wide range of roles for cities, what all these

accounts have in common is an assertion of the importance of markets for vulnerable social groups, in multiple dimensions. This suggests a strong link between markets and social justice at the city scale.

However, other studies (e.g. Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; S. Watson, 2006) have drawn attention to the increasingly constrained conditions in which markets are operating in different locations of the world in recent decades, particularly relating to issues of urban governance. Markets' social justice potential is jeopardised as markets are currently under threat in diverse ways. Historically, cities, markets and local governments around the world flourished through the centuries based on a symbiotic relationship established around urban supply chains (Janssens, 2014). Their decline during the final decades of the last century is linked to the advent of more modern provision facilities such as supermarkets, which ever since their appearance have competed on an unequal footing with traditional markets. Municipalities have gradually stopped supporting these traditional infrastructures (e.g. Mehta and Gohil, 2013), which are considered outdated and unnecessary, while other policy agendas (e.g. housing, education) have been prioritised (S. Watson, 2006). Social (justice) impacts of markets' decline include, among others, diminished employment provision and social integration. More recently, however, an almost paradoxical trend has been increasingly observed: markets are being reframed in governance discourses as spaces of 'authentic shopping experiences' (Zukin, 2008), often linked to exclusionary redevelopment that results in retail gentrification (Dawson and Gonzalez, 2018).

Returning to the question posed by my Birmingham informant, it in fact implied rather *a lack of clarity in governments' framing of markets' roles for cities, or perhaps a problematic one*, which involves disputes around markets' existence in cities, rather than a theorising about markets' multiple roles per se. Within the body of literature in the field of markets, there is a growing trend of critical studies, academic and policy-related, exploring markets as spaces where disputes around the right to the city and social justice materialise. A key example is Gonzalez's (2018) edited collection *Contested Markets, Contested Cities: Gentrification and Urban Justice in Retail Spaces*³. Cases in Europe and Latin-America highlight the exclusionary nature of markets' governance and how key stakeholders such as traders and other market users are affected, for example, by gentrification.

The convergence of markets' social justice potential for urban development, along with the challenges they currently face, result in markets being a fascinating research theme. Unsurprisingly, studies on markets are becoming increasingly common, as reported above. My own research in 2015 about the integrative potential of Hague Market (Netherlands) adds to the field (see Schappo, 2015; Schappo and van Melik, 2016) and it was a departing point for this doctoral research. The field of markets has continued potential, because of the wide range of disciplines studying them and their intrinsic plurality of configurations (involving both permanent, temporary, enclosed, open, formal and informal

³ Gonzalez's work is particularly relevant to the theme of social justice in markets globally, and this thesis draws significantly on her recent work in this area.

arrangements). Nevertheless, there are some research gaps suggesting the need to advance knowledge frontiers in specific directions.

The majority of market studies come from anthropology, ethnography and development fields, with an emphasis on informal markets that tend to be located in the global South. Comparatively there is little research on formal markets, managed by public authorities, which are more commonly located in the global North (Gonzalez, 2018, pp. 878-879). The fragmented understanding within the field therefore suggests the need for studies which not only address gaps in specific contexts (global North – informal markets; global South – formal markets), but also approach comparatively this geographical divide. Current research foci risk over-emphasising differences between countries in different regions of the globe, while overlooking potential commonalities in the development of their public markets.

This research aims to understand how public markets support social justice in cities, and what role urban governance plays in mediating this relationship, that is, in (potentially) influencing markets' social justice potential. I undertake this aim through a relational comparative analysis across global divides, studying markets in a city located in the global South (Belo Horizonte/ Brazil) and one in the global North⁴ (Birmingham/ United Kingdom). Therefore, my research design contributes to addressing these knowledge gaps in comparative work through investigating formal enclosed public markets in two cities shaped by diverse urban, regional and national influences.

The following section highlights the entanglement between public markets, social justice and urban governance, the three themes that structure this investigation. Section 1.2 then explains the research design and methodological approach, including a brief description of the cases selected. The chapter closes with the thesis structure outline (1.3).

1.1 Research foundations 1: Public markets, social justice, and urban governance

'...[T]he challenge for policy-makers (...) is thus to enhance the viability of markets in towns and cities. Without strategic thinking at local and national levels, markets are unlikely to remain part of the rich tapestry of urban and rural public space' (S. Watson, 2009, p. 1590).

Marketplaces have historically played fundamental roles in cities around the world, showing how they can 'naturally' fulfil urban functions aligned with social justice aims, even if policy discourses do not explicitly state this (Janssens and Sezer, 2013b). Still, planning can be a key catalyst as, although commonly inclusive, markets do not automatically embody progressive ideas. Social justice in relation to urban (and markets') development is understood in this study as a multidimensional concept composed of three 'types' of justice concerns: *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural* justice. The planning-oriented triadic framework of Fainstein's *Just City* approach (2010 and 2014) encompasses these three spheres in, respectively, the axes of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. Social justice can be

⁴ I explain my critical approach to this terminology in section 1.2.

achieved through the accommodation of different and potentially conflicting interests within these three dimensions, aiming for as close as possible to equilibrium between them.

Equity considers the different (normally economic) starting points of individuals, trying to bridge the gap by counterbalancing the push for growth and accumulation, through a fair distribution of wealth, resources, benefits and opportunities (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017). *Equity* prompts planning considerations such as, who has access to public space? And for what purposes public space can be used (Fainstein 2010, pp. 29-30)? *Diversity* involves the recognition of and respect for group differences (Young, 1990), embracing cities' multiplicity (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017). It acknowledges identity grounds for oppression and injustice, e.g. class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, and age, which intertwine with objective material distributional matters (MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014). Fairness through *diversity* means the inclusion in city spaces of the different 'identity' groups, where they feel legitimate (Young, 1990). *Democracy*, finally, focuses on the policy making process, addressing not the ends but the means. It regards the fairness in circumstances, and how participatory and transparent decision-making is; in other words, how citizens of different backgrounds and identities have a voice or feel their interests are adequately represented in important deliberative arenas (MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014; Nikšič and Sezer, 2017; Parnell and Robinson, 2006)⁵.

Faced with the growing inequality in cities managed under the ethos of neoliberalism, (discussions of) governance alternatives to promote social justice are increasingly necessary. As evidence of the matter's urgency, the United Nations stated its commitment to social justice in 2006, defining it as the fair and compassionate distribution of the fruits of economic growth also highlighting the crucial role of governments in actively supporting social justice agendas (DESA, 2006). Local governments' promotion of social justice through markets' functioning is observed and defended by, for example, Morales (2009), who stated that markets can be '*multipurpose tools for social, economic, and community development*' (p.437), and provided practical guidance to planners.

However, markets' retail obsolescence has led to their marginalisation in governance priorities and their decline, as mentioned above. Markets often suffer from a lack of strategic thinking and investment by local governments who fail to recognise their multipurpose importance beyond city provision (S. Watson, 2006), which threatens their existence as socially and economically accessible spaces. Marketplaces have different levels of importance for different global regions and urban populations. However, regardless of where, the most disadvantaged urban groups – such as new-comers, ethnic groups or people with little formal education and financial resources - are among the most likely to benefit from markets' existence, because of the accessibility to employment, affordability and range of goods on offer, and the social and diverse nature of markets and their interactions, which support

⁵ I have recently contributed to a book on marketplaces exploring the case of Belo Horizonte public markets and their new governance system, analysed with a similar social justice framework. The book was recently made available online. See Schappo (2022) in the reference list.

senses of belonging (Janseens and Sezer, 2013b). Markets' relevance is therefore progressively important, in the face of increasingly exclusionary cities.

Recently, academic research (Morales, 2009) and institutional initiatives (e.g. Urbact Markets/EU) have sought to turn the tide on markets' development trends (Schappo and van Melik, 2016), responding to the frequently *laissez-faire* attitude of local governments, advocating for markets as holistic venues of sustainable economic development (Hiebert, Rath, and Vertovec 2015; Mele, Ng, and Chim 2015; Ünlü-Yücesoy 2013). But there is still a significant gap between research findings and the development (and enforcement) of better policies for markets' governance, in support of social justice. In fact, academic analyses of contemporary planning for markets often convey a strong criticism of its drivers and/ or effects. Cases across the world (e.g. Freire 2018, Gonzalez, 2020; Pereira 2017) present similar governance tendencies driven by a neoliberal rationale, where markets are commodified through privatisation or outsourcing. Revitalization projects performed by private partners are defended and legitimised by discourses representing markets as outdated, decayed and empty infrastructures, with the onus of inadequate governance burdening less well-off traders and users (Pereira, 2017). Renewed markets commonly become a simulacrum of the original ones (Freire, 2018), with sanitised, securitised and exclusionary environments targeting wealthier users, producing gentrified spaces (Filipi, 2013; Gonzalez, 2020).

These critiques notwithstanding, cities' governance realities resist simplified interpretations. Besides municipalities' dilemmas about what agendas to prioritise, pragmatic constraints such as limited time, staff and budgets need to be factored into planning for policies' enforcement. Public managers' decisions may be driven by the wish to deliver fairer societies (Parnell and Robinson, 2006), but their actions and ability to control outcomes are frequently limited. In many metropolises, managers are constantly pressured by tight budgets and the often contradictory aims to simultaneously promote economic growth, update or build infrastructure and provide basic services to vulnerable populations (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). This calls for creative ways to promote (markets)' governance to support social justice in cities with realistic planning strategies (Campbell, Tait and Watkins, 2014).

Contributing to these debates, this thesis investigates 1) the current social justice contribution of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, for their respective cities, and 2) the role played by urban governance in this contribution, in terms of how governments, through markets' governance⁶, support their development for social justice (or not), and how. Therefore, the overarching research question guiding this study is: *How do public markets support social justice in cities, and what role does urban governance play in this, considering insights from Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?* The specific sub-questions structuring the discussion of findings are presented in Chapter Three.

⁶ Markets' governance is defined in this study as the agendas, strategies and/ or policies put in place to manage public markets. It is mainly (throughout the thesis) associated with specific policy terms (e.g. contracts) used by government departments in the management of public markets. Nevertheless, bottom-up approaches to governing markets more in line with social justice, for instance promoted or put in practice by other stakeholders rather than governments, may also be considered as part of the conception of markets' governance where appropriate.

1.2 Research foundations 2: Research design and methodology

'...Highlighting the importance of these urban margins can help transcend fixed disciplinary and epistemological notions that have prevailed in urban studies (formal/informal; North/South). It is this complex marginality that leads to marketplaces, as well as other similar collective infrastructures, becoming spaces of contestation (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 890).

Social and epistemic justice: moving beyond South-North (epistemological) divides

There are parallels between the contemporary marginality of markets, highlighted by Gonzalez (2020), and the global multidimensional marginalisation of the regions often denoted by the term 'the South', an enduring legacy of colonialism (Robinson, 2006; Santos, 2014 and 2018). Exclusionary economic, retail and governance trends are also an outcome of broader ontological and epistemological dominant narratives reproduced within neoliberalism and hegemonic Western modes of knowledge production (Santos, 2014) that cause injustices. Hence, markets are excluded by the 'same' dominant processes. My study of markets' potential for social justice is therefore designed within an overarching methodological frame: an epistemological commitment to promote more justice in knowledge production and contribute to pluralising knowledge about cities, in line with recent calls of post/decolonial debates in urban theory (e.g. McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2006 and 2016). Converging with research gaps in theory about public markets, this research follows a relational comparative approach (Ward, 2010) enlightened by epistemic justice (Fricker, 2007). I came across the concept of epistemic justice in 2021⁷, in the phase of analysis of my findings. While not part of the origins of my research project, it actually perfectly expresses my epistemological orientation and therefore it is adopted to describe it.

Injustices in epistemic terms, according to Fricker (2007), happen when someone is wronged in their capacity as a knower. This can be seen in the academic marginalisation of knowledge produced outside Western Europe and North America, deemed 'irrational', too localised, unsuitable, or not relevant to 'global' theories (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012). Post/decolonial thinkers (e.g. Escobar, 2007; Mignolo, 2008; Quijano 2000; Robinson, 2006; Rojas, 2016; Santos, 2014 and 2018) have committed – explicitly or not – to epistemic justice, in the aim of counteracting hegemonic and oppressive forms of knowledge creation and reproduction, through questioning assumptions taken as truths. They defend the move to a plural 'model' that respects different local economies, politics, cultures, epistemologies, and forms of knowledge (Martin *et al*, 2015, p.258; Santos 2018).

In relation to urban studies, epistemic injustices come from the generation of 'universal' theories about cities based solely on rather narrow samples of cities of the global North (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012; Robinson, 2006; Ward, 2010). The cutting-edge of urbanisation processes and the bulk of contemporary urban experience and its associated complex issues now take place in cities of the South, where most of the world's population live (V. Watson, 2009). Therefore, the incorporation of insights from urban

⁷ When participating in the Interpretive Policy Analysis Conference (2021, online)

realities elsewhere in the geopolitical South (e.g. Maricato, 2011; Roy, 2009a), is not only a matter of urgent epistemic justice, but the only way to more comprehensively understand contemporary cities' realities (Robinson, 2006; V. Watson 2009). As such it can illuminate not only analyses of processes in both global South and North (Hentschel, 2015), but also support the development of better governance approaches, to respond to injustices in cities. This is a pressing issue since local authorities in the South may uncritically adopt models generated in the North (Fainstein and Defilippis, 2016, p.501; Robinson, 2006).

Neoliberalism and globalisation deliver an overarching setting of socioeconomic and political dynamics – referred to as the 'context of contexts' by Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2010), that produces certain identifiable patterns of impacts (e.g. starker urban inequality and poverty in the South), depending on the geopolitical and socioeconomic conditions of countries. These seem to 'justify' and reproduce a (epistemological) perception of a 'development' divide, putting on one side the countries geographically located in the North, and on the other, the ones in the South, where cities are 'assumed to be at different stages of advancement [with] hierarchical assumptions about the relations amongst cities informing their analysis at the international scale (Robinson, 2006, p.5). Yet the explanatory power of this inequality tendency rooted in a colonial past (Robinson, 2006) is reductionist (Raco, 2009, p.624). Brenner and Schmid (2015) argue that the new mosaic of spatial unevenness in a world after colonialism cannot be captured adequately through dual divisions of geographic areas, since distinctions e.g. between urban and rural, global North and South, became blurred or obsolete (Brenner and Schmid, 2015; see also Robinson, 2002 and 2006; McFarlane, 2010; Roy, 2009a). It is important to clarify then that in keeping up with my epistemological orientation, my classification of case studies as either from the global South (Belo Horizonte) or North (Birmingham) is provocative. The stark division implied by these labels and the stereotypes they evoke will be challenged and problematised by the presentation of my case studies and the research results, which confirm understandings from the literature that this divide is not (completely) useful (or accurate) (Hentschel, 2015).

In response to a developmentalist approach to the analysis of cities globally, Robinson's ordinary city approach (2006) argues that urban theory needs to 'draw its inspiration from all cities, [where] all cities 'emerge as diverse, differentiated and contested, shaped by processes stretching far beyond their physical extent, but also by the complex dynamics of the city itself' (Robinson, 2006, p. 10). The approach recognises the diversity, complexity and singularity of urban realities as a starting point to understand cities; and cities, as autonomous and creative (Robinson, 2006, p.2), are not assumed to be simply a by-product of the national/ global context they are inserted in. Such an approach enables the exploration of different tactics of urban development, drawing on the distinctive characteristics of each city (Robinson, 2006, p. 11).

The adoption of a relational comparative investigation (Robinson, 2014; Ward, 2010) is appropriate to operationalise my epistemological stance and address the aforementioned research gaps in the markets' field. Comparativism in current post/decolonial debates is a way of conceiving urban theory development in a relational and generative way (Robinson, 2016), where none of the cases is elevated

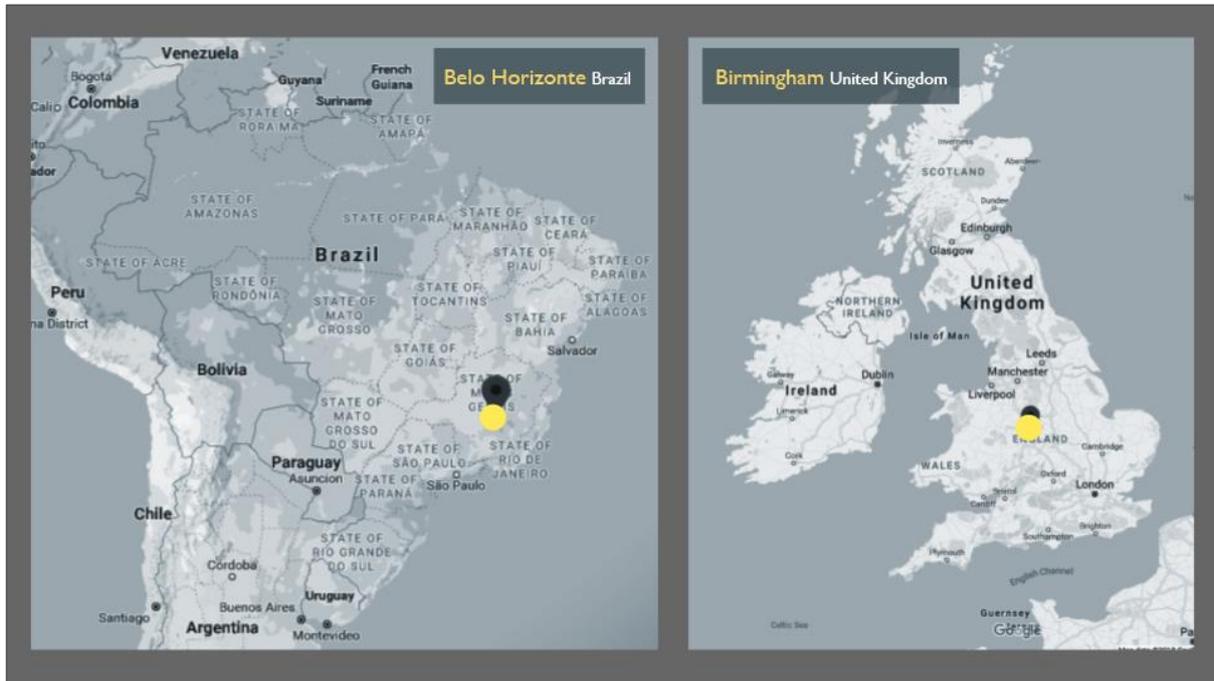
as a model. A relational comparison of cities should conceive them as ‘dense bundles of social relations and power-infused interactions that are always formed out of entanglements and connections with dynamics at work in other places, and in wider regional, national and transnational arenas’ (Hart, 2002 p. 297 in Ward, 2010, p.481). In sum, cities are ‘open, embedded and relational’ (Ward, 2010, p. 481). A qualitative, ethnographically informed methodology (e.g. Scheper-Hughes, 1992) with the employment of mixed methods to collect data in case studies was considered appropriate, to capture the complexity and nuance sought in this comparative work. While case study selection is addressed briefly below, the adopted methods and their application are explained in Chapter Three.

Selected Case Studies

The deliberate choice of non-‘paradigmatic cities’ (McFarlane, 2010)⁸ with relative similarities in terms of size, national relevance, and urban challenges, but differences in terms of history, geopolitical regions, and political context, was informed by my critical epistemological approach, and related debates on Southern urban theory. The choices of the United Kingdom and Brazil came naturally, for practical and academic reasons: there is a substantial body of academic (e.g. Gonzalez, 2018; S. Watson, 2006 and 2009) and institutional research on English markets (e.g. Watson and Studder, 2006; Bua, Taylor and González, 2018), and access to the field and informants was facilitated by my academic engagement and language knowledge in both contexts. The choice of Brazil was guided by the lively culture of street markets (*feiras*) and municipal marketplaces, which nevertheless have not yet been investigated from an urban planning academic perspective (though see relevant works from related fields, e.g. Freire, 2018; Pereira, 2017), as well as my proficiency in Portuguese and knowledge about the national context and legal framework (as a Brazilian national).

In Brazil the choice of Belo Horizonte was driven by the evidence of a strong culture of markets in the city and some recent progressive local planning measures (e.g. participatory budgeting and the food security *ABastecer* programme). In the United Kingdom, the chosen case was Birmingham, founded as a market city of similar scale and national relevance to Belo Horizonte, although consistently influenced by entrepreneurial governance trends, continuing to undergo iterations of the urban regeneration processes started several decades ago. In both cities, notwithstanding the existence of iconic markets, public marketplaces are suffering from government under-investment (Magalhães, 2018; Young, 2018a and b). An important additional commonality is the markets’ redevelopment processes which are currently underway in both cities. Moreover, Belo Horizonte and Birmingham face similar urban development challenges: they work as magnets for migrants (whether rural-urban or international), and have relatively high levels of unemployment. The features of each city are explained in more detail in Chapters Three and Four.

⁸ i.e. cities taken as the epitome of urban processes, ‘over studied’ and taken as models, impoverishing urban theory and limiting the potential of comparative studies (McFarlane, 2010).



Map 1.1: The location of Belo Horizonte in the Brazilian territory (left) and Birmingham in the United Kingdom (right)

Source: google maps with author's edition

1.3 Thesis structure

The conceptual intersections of the three core themes of this thesis, namely public markets, social justice and urban governance, are explored in Chapter Two, which presents the conceptual framework of this research. Essentially the chapter situates this study in relation to public markets literature, and provides the analytical tools to investigate the cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham comparatively. A historical account of markets' development highlights the simultaneous dependence and tension between markets and local authorities, which is disrupted by recent retail modernisation. This results in the need to explore markets' roles for cities and rethink the governance approach to them. Considering that urban markets can benefit more vulnerable groups in cities in diverse ways, their contributions are approached as potentially supporting social justice. As mentioned above, in this study social justice is defined as multidimensional, involving *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural* concerns, elements which are included within Fainstein's triad (2010 and 2014), *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*, the framework adopted to analyse and compare findings about markets and their governance in Chapters Four to Seven. The commitment to promote more epistemic justice, understood to be an additional and critical layer of social justice, also guides the engagement with Southern authors in this chapter, as well as supports methodological choices (Chapter Three), anticipating final reflections and recommendations in Chapter Eight. Recognising that public markets' contributions to social justice are substantially impacted by local authorities, the theme of urban governance and urban development challenges are discussed in the third section of Chapter Two. Critical academic debates suggest that contemporary municipalities tend to adopt neoliberal values and strategies in contexts with increasingly complex issues and limited resources (time, personnel and capital), relevant factors in the

analysis of local government practices. Finally, the last section brings together the three previous themes and analyses concrete examples of contested governance of markets, market communities' mobilisation to defend these public spaces, and alternatives for markets' development. As such, it provides a comprehensive and realistic view of challenges and potentials for markets' planning and functioning in support of social justice promotion in cities.

Chapter Three presents the methodological foundations and strategies adopted in this investigation, inspired by the recent focus on relational comparative work as a means to promote epistemically just (and more accurate) urban theory. The research questions are presented and justified in relation to the research aim of understanding how markets support social justice in cities and what role urban governance plays in this (main research question). They target the context's influence in markets' current functioning (research sub-question A); markets' actual social justice contributions in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham (B); the impact of current systems of governance of markets for markets' development for justice in both contexts (C); and the (expected) influence of new systems of markets' governance, to be implemented in both cities (D). The qualitative methodology employing mixed methods (secondary source analysis, participant observations, questionnaires and interviews) is developed to capture the complexity of the chosen cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, enabling a relational comparison that can address the fragmented understanding of markets' realities in literature. Besides explaining the way in which methods were applied and the challenges faced in data collection, I discuss my positionality and participation in markets' governance debates and processes unfolding in both contexts, as well as the impact of my stance in interactions with research informants.

Chapters Four to Seven answer respectively the research sub-questions A to D. Chapter Four discusses different structural and institutional scales of context, focusing on national, local, and global social and retail transformation that result in direct and indirect impacts on markets' functioning for social justice. Discussion engages with the development challenges in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham and their connection with national trends; state and urban governance tendencies and responses to social justice issues, and markets' functioning and prospects in the face of different pressures. In examining issues at different contextual scales, this chapter explores the possible causal relations between markets' development (for social justice) and aspects beyond the scope of public urban governance, such as chronic national inequality, deindustrialisation and retail modernisation. In this way, it delineates the limits of urban governance influence in how markets develop in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham and supports more nuanced understandings of why and how specific governance strategies are adopted, to manage cities and their markets.

Chapter Five engages with the social justice contributions of the selected markets in this study, namely Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (FECOPE) and Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM) in Belo Horizonte, and the three markets known as the Bull Ring Markets in Birmingham. The assessment and discussion is structured around the three theoretical axes of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. The challenging structural and institutional conditions discussed in Chapter Four have taken their toll on markets' contributions to these axes, in reducing the reach, number and diversity of people benefitted

by their inclusive conditions. Yet, markets in both cities have important roles in terms of *equity* and *diversity*; and their existence as inclusionary places is progressively more relevant while exclusionary tendencies are increasing in cities. Meanwhile, *democracy*, understood in terms of the mobilisation of market communities around participating in planning the researched markets, is mostly absent. This inspires the discussion about the influence of features such as specific demographics or policy aspects prompting action in planning for markets. In observing the everyday reality of markets and their users, this chapter analyses how markets *actually* work as sites for social justice in the two observed cities⁹, avoiding idealised narratives about their potentials (e.g. Urbact Markets, 2015) that disregard context and governance impacts in markets' functioning.

Within these contextual conditions, the enduring critical role played by municipalities, is discussed in Chapter Six, to explore why markets perform as they do in relation to social justice. It discusses how Belo Horizonte and Birmingham municipalities understand and represent markets' (multiple) functions in their 1) allocation of markets' management attributions in the council's institutional structure; 2) the contracts with traders and other policy documents, and 3) the enforcement of markets' governance. The management of markets is currently inadequate to address their support needs, in terms of economic viability and planning for markets to support social justice. Yet, combined with comparison with the municipalities' approach and support to other sorts of traditional trading spaces and events in each city, Belo Horizonte and Birmingham reveal different degrees of understanding of markets as spaces for social justice, particularly related to the degree of entrepreneurial governance influence in each city.

Chapter Seven analyses the new proposed systems for markets' governance, relating to current proposals for change in both cities. It not only assesses the ends (final proposed format of the systems and their terms), but also the means (the process of system development, with a focus on social justice). Underlying these proposals, the municipalities' agendas and priorities reveal a renewed interest in markets, now mobilised to support wider urban governance agendas. With the involvement of private partners and investment, the vision indicates a risk of markets becoming spaces for the extraction of profit (Gonzalez, 2020), with exclusionary effects for the vulnerable groups markets now support. Nevertheless, agendas behind the creation of strategies and the likely results intended by municipalities are of different natures, with different degrees of connection with the promotion of social justice in the cities, something once again related to the level of influence of entrepreneurial governance in the definition of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham broader government priorities.

The conclusions of this research are presented in Chapter Eight, which answers the main research question and discusses the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions of this study in light of a critical engagement with findings and theory on public markets, urban governance and social justice. While findings concur with literature arguments about the decline of markets in the context of

⁹ Due to the timing of fieldwork, all considerations about the current reality of markets are pre-pandemic.

neoliberal governance, they also reveal that markets' governance is highly contextualised, leaving scope for more progressive approaches from which other sites could learn. In this sense, the new system to govern markets in Belo Horizonte, attempting to balance economic growth and social justice agendas, presents insightful hybrid solutions to consider in the aim of developing *realistic* governance approaches to support social justice through markets. Therefore, research findings argue for South-North learning and the challenging of binary understandings about global phenomena impact on urban contexts. Based on findings, the chapter also suggests further directions for research and provides some recommendations for markets' planning and governance, inspired by framings coming from the South, particularly relating to the social and solidarity economy.

2. Public markets: Entanglements with social justice and urban governance

'Local governments have re-discovered or are rediscovering the centrality of markets in their city and their relevance to urban development, their role in jobs creation and entrepreneurship and their importance for the social development of neighbourhoods. Markets have a broad impact over cities: most of the quality of life indicators are influenced, such as social development and integration, sustainability, availability of products and employment' (Urbact Project 2015c).

'...[T]he struggle for markets is often a demand for the right to the city. (...) Thus [it] can become the struggle for a fairer city, a city based on social reproduction, where people have access to affordable food and services, which is not over-regulated and corporatised' (Gonzalez, 2018, p. 188).

2.1 Introduction

Marketplaces have been, since their appearance, essential for cities' supply of goods, especially food, and places where the public life of urban settlements took place. Markets supported less well-off social groups for centuries, with plural functions converging with social justice aspirations, such as the access to employment opportunities and affordable goods. Simultaneously, they helped local governments to gain legitimacy to rule, through the collection of taxes that supported cities' growth. Nevertheless, the last century saw markets gradually being replaced in their essential role of cities' provision, through the advent of more modern facilities such as supermarkets. Therefore, their mutual dependency bond with municipalities was undone, with markets facing decline in trade that threatens their existence. Consequently, this situation threatens the social justice potential markets still have for cities, especially in those urban contexts mostly affected by exclusionary development trends.

In response to markets' current development struggles in cities, and their entanglement with social justice and urban governance, which the opening quotes highlight, this research aims to understand how public markets support social justice in cities and how urban governance influences this relationship. This chapter is key for this endeavour, presenting and discussing the theoretical background and framework for analysis of this research. It is structured in four sections which broadly correspond to the three core themes of the conceptual framework, namely: public markets (2.2), social justice (2.3), urban governance (2.4), and their relationship (2.5).

As public infrastructures, markets' development in cities and their sustainability for the future depend on how they are governed by local authorities. The engagement with academic literature on markets explores this multidisciplinary research field in recent years, first narrating markets' development through history, and the relationship between markets, society, and governments (2.2.1). Subsequently, the discussion explores the multiple contributions markets (can) make to cities, with

these plural roles indicating that governments can support markets' existence in cities to promote more social justice (2.2.2). Section 2.3 then discusses social justice as a concept and as a framework to analyse firstly, the actual contributions that markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham deliver to each city, and secondly, the (lack of) support local governments give to markets, in terms of their development as sites supporting social justice.

Theorisations about justice have intensified since the 1970's, driven by the need to address growing injustices caused by neoliberalism. Specific categories have developed incrementally, departing from a sole concern to address material inequalities (*distributive justice*), to include matters of recognition and valuing of diversity (*recognition justice*) and the need for society to participate in planning and legal arenas (*procedural justice*). This research adopts the framework developed by Susan Fainstein (2010) which combines these three categories under three axes – *equity, diversity and democracy* – with a focus on urban planning and cities' development challenges. Section 2.3 also locates this framework within a broader and more holistic understanding of social justice, incorporating ideas rooted in 'epistemologies of the South' (Santos, 2014). The concept of epistemic justice¹⁰, presented in the Introduction Chapter, is explored in more detail for its commitment, beyond human rights, to moral development; and complemented with broader ideas about participation and social and solidarity economy.

Despite their potential to support social justice, markets and their governance are an increasingly varied and complex challenge for contemporary urban governments within the context of limited resources and the need to promote (paradoxical) economic growth interests and equity (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). The United Nations' guidance (2006) for planners facing contemporary cities' challenges is to abandon a purely technical engagement with governance and commit to matters of justice (V. Watson, 2009). Aligned with this understanding, this research analyses urban (and markets') governance in terms of actual and potential planning and management of markets to support social justice processes and outcomes. Section 2.4 thus discusses urban governance as a concept and tendency in (local) governments' approach to ruling, presenting its implications for the development of cities of the North and South, particularly in a context of increasingly entrepreneurial governance tendencies.

Finally, synthesising the conceptual framework and bringing together concepts and debates outlined in previous sections, section 2.5 discusses the contemporary governance of markets in relation to social justice and entrepreneurial urban governance. It brings together Fainstein's triadic model of justice with the multiple roles that markets can have for cities, identified in section 2.2.2, to present the analytical framework for the research, on which the comparative assessment in Chapters Four to Seven is based. Additionally, this section provides a panorama of elements composing markets' contemporary development and governance trends in diverse contexts. The identified groups of stakeholders, their

¹⁰ Chapter Three takes up the idea of epistemic justice as a methodological principle to support the comparative study developed.

discourses and strategies will provide a reference to compare the real cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham against. The narrative nevertheless also reveals the complexities inherent in real-life examples, which call for more nuanced understandings of stakeholders, their agendas and impacts in markets' governance. The discussion closes with a brief consideration of alternative development possibilities for supporting markets' social justice potential in cities, for example converging with practices of social and solidarity economy.

2.2 Approaching public markets: a panorama

2.2.1 Markets through history: from ancient times to current days

Markets appeared as one of the first signs of humans' separation from nature (Pintaudi, 2006). Despite existing in ancient times (for example, the Greek agora (Urbact Markets, 2015)), their legacy in current (Western) societies dates mainly from the Middle Ages. In Europe markets were essential actors in the commercial revolution and resurgence of cities, the cornerstone for numerous urban centres, born from the establishing of commercial hubs in the crossing of trading routes, locations that became the heart of towns (Urbact Markets 2015). In other continents at similar time, markets were also meeting points on long trading routes, reuniting a diversity of goods and ethnicities (Gonzalez, 2018). Marketplaces have played a fundamental role as commercial and gathering locations (Janssens and Sezer 2013a; Ünlü-Yücesoy 2013; Urbact Markets 2015), the setting also for important social activities – festivities, information sharing and even executions (Pintaudi, 2006) - where people could establish relationships within the community (Freire, 2018; Urbact Markets, 2015). They were often surrounded by the institutions of power and facilitated the development of new services as retail shops and craftworks, enhancing the growth of a city and its population (Schappo, 2015).

Ever since their appearance, marketplaces, cities and local governments around the world have therefore flourished on a symbiotic relationship established around urban supply and the exchange of goods (Urbact Markets, 2015; Janssens, 2014). Cities provided the location, demand and social context for marketplaces, while markets provided sustenance, profit and culture to cities (Bestor 2001 in Janssens and Sezer 2013b, p.245). Until the nineteenth century, the ability to guarantee a constant flow of food and other necessary goods through the market's presence gave rise to governing bodies and entitled these to legitimately rule and collect taxes (Steel, 2009 in Janssens and Sezer, 2013b, p. 249), which was not only crucial for authorities' final establishment but, ultimately, for the city's expansion. Despite this reciprocal dependence, Janssens (2014) explained that the relationship between markets and councils involved frictions and conflicts of interests. Authorities often perceived marketplaces as chaotic, messy and even immoral settings. Historically, the occupation of public space was uncontrolled, traders unregulated and markets blocked paths and left a mess after the event, hence disrupting the daily life of residents. Authorities had to paradoxically both facilitate and restrict markets. Cities and their authority depended on them, but their exuberant expansion threatened everyday urban life (Janssens, 2014).

Following industrialisation and rapid urban growth, local governments were strengthened, establishing their legitimacy and ruling structure through regulating food supply and distribution for growing populations (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015 in Gonzalez, 2018). From the second half of the nineteenth century, local governments developed a system based on the existence of market halls, enclosed buildings that embodied the idea of modernity (Contreras, 2020). Authorities aimed to control markets in terms of prices, quality, hygiene standards and sprawl (Fulford, 2005; Polyák 2014). The relocation of informal street markets to market halls was often part of urban improvement initiatives (Jones, 2016 in Gonzalez, 2020), a moral tool to reform *'the most offensive kind of lower-class street culture and people [...] who often made the old market their home'* (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999, p. 55, in Gonzalez, 2018, p.4).



Figure 2.1: Billingsgate Market Hall, c.1900

Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/gallery/2017/oct/03/london-markets-100-years-ago-archives-in-pictures>

The market halls model quickly spread through European cities (Cordero, 2017; Fulford, 2005; Polyák 2014) and countries across the Atlantic (Contreras, 2020; Gonzalez, 2018; Pintaudi, 2006), but it was only partially effective, in both the global North and South. Plenty of traders either could not or did not want to move to indoor markets, which were more restrictive, expensive and inconvenient for the rather low-income customers (Gonzalez, 2018). Hence, informal and even illegal unregulated commercial locations sprung up throughout cities, encroaching on open spaces, like in Budapest (Polyák, 2014) and Amsterdam, where peddlers tried to escape higher trading costs (Janseens, 2014). Market halls furthermore never became a shopping destination for the wealthier bourgeois public, retaining the stigma of a place for the poor. Their prospects were also impacted by the appearance of new retail spaces more in tune with higher classes' expectations. Since department stores and later supermarkets were much easier to control, and embodied ideas of modernity, municipalities gradually stopped supporting markets (Hou, 2010; Mehta and Gohil, 2013).

From the beginning of the twentieth century, in the global North, the symbiotic relationship between markets and public governments was gradually weakened (Fulford, 2005), with cities migrating to a new food retailing system, with large wholesalers and food chains (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015, in Gonzalez, 2018)¹¹. The aftermath of the Second World War saw a further accentuation of this trend in Europe and United States. The erosion of public markets was the compound effect of multiple factors: destruction of the physical infrastructure, individual car ownership, the dispersion of the population and the supermarket revolution (Wolhuter, 2002). Petty trading lost its vital importance and markets were pushed to a marginal position in society, where many still remain (Gonzalez, 2020). As the safeguarding of food supply to cities was no longer considered an essential public service, local authorities' management approach increasingly became more restrictive and regulatory (Janssens 2014) and even explicitly hostile (for example in Budapest (Polyák, 2014)).

Markets have experienced increasing decline in developed countries such as the United Kingdom (S. Watson, 2006), where supermarkets were first established. But the trend is increasingly observed in countries of the global South, for instance in Brazil (Freire, 2018; Pereira, 2017); Mexico (Contreras, 2020; Delgadillo, 2018); Chile (Schlack, Turnbull and Sánchez, 2018), with the phenomena taking place virtually all around the globe (for example in China (Lin Pang and Sterling; 2013; Qiang, 2013) and Turkey (Mehta and Gohil, 2013; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013)). Many markets in the United States have failed or are facing problems with sustainability (Morales, 2009), especially the ones serving medium to low-income communities (PPS, 2003). In the UK, markets have been under threat, closed down or relocated over the past forty years, suffering from limited strategic thinking nationally (S. Watson, 2009) and lack of investment locally, as governments do not seem to recognise markets' multiple contributions to cities and their most vulnerable populations (Watson 2006, 2009) and municipalities choose to invest in agendas deemed of higher priority such as education and housing (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Watson 2009). The relocation of markets represents a threat to traders' social capital (Carrieri and Murta, 2011; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005), which are especially meaningful support resources for vulnerable groups.

In Brazil, as in other more recently industrialised and urbanised countries, market halls are not as closely associated with poverty as in the global North. Nevertheless, the modernising of goods' production and retail equally resulted in the diversification of food supply venues, which led to the gradual replacement of traditional (and scattered) retail spaces (e.g. bakeries, butchers, markets) with concentrated convenient venues such as supermarkets, established from the 1960s (Martins, Margarido and Bueno, 2007; Pereira, 2017). Supermarkets became the main suppliers of food in Brazil since the 1970s following the penetration of international companies, which have monopolised the commercialisation of food in urban centres (Freire, 2018, p. 187). Although the supermarkets' price range did not reach

¹¹ It is important to emphasise that industrialisation and markets' gradual marginalisation unfolded (and still unfolds) in different moments in time, depending on the specific contextual features of urban centres. In general terms, global South countries witnessed this trend more recently, and to some extent markets have not yet fully developed. Details about it will be discussed in section 2.3.

all strata of society, poorer groups' use of markets was undermined by a different initiative since the 1970s, the appearance of the 'buy-in-bulk' shops called 'sacolões'. These provide basic staples, at cheaper prices (Prado, 2016). Hence, markets were made dispensable, *obsolete* to middle and upper classes, and *unaffordable* to urban vulnerable groups.



Figure 2.2: Sacolão Perdizes in São Paulo.

Source: <https://daquiperdizes.tudoeste.com.br/2016/03/10/pascoa-tudo-em-um-so-lugar/>

This recent reality of public markets brought significant impacts for stakeholders involved in their dynamics. From a prestigious family business activity, trading at markets became a 'futureless job' (S. Watson, 2006). The considerable drop in footfall and trading in markets generates insecurity about the sustainability of businesses, resulting in a heightened fear of competition and potentially animosity between traders, more acute towards new ones. Compounded by xenophobic feelings, this suggests that new (migrant) traders may be seen as scapegoats for markets' decline, distorting perceptions about the real causes of hardship (S. Watson, 2006). It has been suggested that traders' individualist behaviour compromises social cohesion in the market environment and surrounding neighbourhoods, also jeopardising traders' political strength and collective mobilisation to claim more support from markets' managers (Schappo and van Melik, 2016).

Nevertheless, while food distribution increasingly takes place via supermarkets (Polyák, 2014), markets still serve millions of people around the world, especially in the most vulnerable communities (Gonzalez, 2018). Industry figures reveal that they are still a relevant retail activity in terms of location, trade and capital turnover. A survey carried out in the European Union in 2008 (World Union of Wholesale Markets, n.d. in Urbact Markets, 2015 p.5) showed that some 25,000 retail markets, including open-air/street and covered markets, operate in the EU, with over 450,000 retail market traders. Additionally, over one million people worked in these retail markets, with their total turnover surpassing 40 billion Euros (Urbact Markets, 2015, p. 15).

Qualitative evidence of markets' relevance can also be found in completely different contexts. In smaller cities in the Global South, markets are important everyday spaces, and key retail destinations for employment and provision of goods. This results from the 'delayed' arrival of modern retail tendencies, and absent or indirect global neoliberal pressures. La Quebradilla, a market in Alto Hospicio, a remote location in the north of Chile (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019) illustrates well the case: on bare land, the market houses more than 1000 traders, including formal and informal merchants. In the precarious and fluctuating labour landscape of northern Chile, the demand for trading spots in the market is very high.



Figures 2.3 and 2.4: The physical configuration and surroundings of La Quebradilla market and stalls seen from above
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/EsDelquiuenos/photos/>

With cities saturated with franchises that homogenise high streets, recent decades have witnessed a revival: '[p]ublic markets are making a comeback' (PPS, 2003, p. 9), reversing some of the trends explored above. Farmer and craft markets have sprung up alongside more traditional marketplaces in cities throughout the US and Europe (Janssens 2014; PPS 2003), often being 'reinvented' to attract relatively wealthy customers who are interested in local, environmentally friendly, ethical and 'authentic' shopping experiences (Freire, 2018; Gonzalez and Waley 2013), regardless of whether these experiences are authentic or 'simulacra' (Pintaudi, 2006).

The existence of apparently paradoxical trends on markets' development in cities and their related governance tendencies, as mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, both converged with and further stimulated growing research interest on markets in the last two decades. Section 2.5 resumes the discussion on markets' contemporary challenges and governance from a lens of social justice, drawing on accounts of what social justice entails for cities, and of the urban development challenges and governance trends experienced by local governments in an era dominated by neoliberalism influence, discussed respectively in sections 2.3 and 2.4. Before this, it is important to explore the plural roles markets (can) have for cities, drawing on academic and policy literature, which supports the argument for markets' promotion by local governments in pursuit of social justice.

2.2.2 Markets' plural roles for cities

Primordial functions: employment and supply

Markets can have variable configurations: between the public and private, temporary and permanent, formal and informal, open-air and indoor. A single description hardly encompasses their plurality. Yet, what is basic and universal is that markets involve '*a concourse of buyers and sellers*' (Wilson, 2018 in Gonzalez, 2020, p.878). This is at the heart of markets' origins: the connection of production and consumption, through the role of urban supply. The primordial material contribution of markets to urban dwellers is the provision of basic staples and affordable goods. The supply of fresh and healthy food items at low cost, especially in developed countries, highlight markets' continued relevance in terms of food security and public health (Contreras, 2020a; Morales, 2009; Urbact Project, 2015). Food security is defined by the United Nations' Committee on World Food Security as when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food, meeting their food preferences and dietary needs for an active and healthy life' (in IFPRI, n.d.).

Despite being commonly associated with supply, markets have a second key role that is generally portrayed as universal: their democratic and inclusive access to employment and livelihoods. With their low entry barriers to entrepreneurship in comparison to other sorts of retail and catering venues, markets enable livelihoods (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019; Habermehl, et al 2018; Maharaj, 2020; Urbact Project, 2015). They promote economic inclusion, can empower traders (Lyon, 2003; Morales, 2009), facilitate their self-development (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017) and make upward mobility possible for vulnerable groups, which may include migrants and refugees, ethnic groups, the elderly, single mothers (Wolhuter, 2002), and national residents with few qualifications (Lin Pang and Sterling, 2013; Mehta and Gohil, 2013) and/ or capital resources (Janssens and Sezer, 2013b). In multicultural cities, immigrant vendors are usually a significant proportion of traders (PPS, 2003). Market selling can therefore be a survival strategy (Janseens, 2014) and a refuge (Hou, 2010) for those newly-arrived and experiencing social and cultural obstacles such as language limitations (Pottie-Sherman, 2013) to enter labour markets, facilitating the integration of new migrants to the city (Öz and Eder, 2012, in Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013; Schappo, 2017)

The extent of markets' accessibility in terms of low entry barriers may be more limited in relation to formal markets: while costs of rents for stalls are one of the key factors for aspiring traders, markets managed by city councils are formal environments, which entails contractual terms that can be restrictive. Therefore, while markets' economic inclusiveness through low-entry barriers is defended widely (e.g. Contreras, 2020; Gonzalez, 2020; Morales, 2009; Polyák, 2014 Urbact Project, 2015a; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, Wolhuter, 2002), it should not be assumed as a given in all contexts.

In specific settings markets can serve as nodes of more widespread economic welfare in neighbourhoods, benefiting through their magnetic nature surrounding retail and hospitality venues (PPS, 2003; Schappo, 2015). They can also work as hubs enabling alternative production and consumption practices, seedbeds of opportunity for more durable change, that impact positively the

quality of life of the neighbourhood and beyond, by engaging customers, residents and other institutions. Such is the example of the Mercado Bonpland, in Buenos Aires (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018; Habermehl, 2021; Viderman, Rosa and Aigner, 2014), managed according to the principles of agroecology and social and solidarity economy, explained in more detail in following sections.

Public place (and infrastructure) function

Markets' multiple roles are a result of their material and human configurations and importantly, their *publicness*. Considering that public spaces are not simply material infrastructures, but spaces enacted through copresence and interactions, markets effectively work as such because they prompt quality and focused interaction (Fulford, 2007). So far little has been said in this discussion about the *material features* of markets and their interactions which make them so appealing for public life. Their physical environment (e.g. proximity of stalls (S. Watson, 2009)) imposes co-presence. Moreover, the shopping behaviour codes in this setting (Reijndorp, 2009), alongside the uproar (Van Eck, Van Melik and Schapendonk, 2020) and vocal prompts from traders, and the need for merchants' assistance when shopping all prompt people to interact (Fulford, 2007). Comparatively, the self-absorbed, pragmatic and individual shopping experience at shopping malls and supermarkets fail to support public life by failing to promote interaction (Fulford, 2007). It is through markets' 'rubbing along' (S. Watson, 2009) that people develop a sense of place in markets (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019) where the common routines and configuration of these trading spaces feel familiar even for newly arrived residents (Reijndorp, 2009).

Moreover, as provision venues for cities, markets are basic components of urban territories. They spatially concentrate subsistence, consumption, social and political practices (Contreras, 2020a). Therefore, markets are key infrastructures for the life of cities (Janssens and Sezer, 2013a), where social and cultural activities happen (Pereira, 2017) and people can establish relationships within the community (Freire, 2018; Urbact Markets, 2015). Markets 'social glue' holds sociality in place (S. Watson, 2009), something not seen in all public spaces. Inherently political spaces (Lacarrieu, 2016), markets reunite a multitude of visions and interests, mediating power relations, providing the means for both domination and for emancipation projects (Contreras, 2020a). In fact, in more deprived areas of the world markets are not just an attraction for consumers; their publicness and permeable nature – such as in La Quebradilla, discussed above (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019) – provide space for informally sharing information about income generation opportunities, even if these are not directly connected to the market, in line with conceptions of 'people as infrastructure' by Simone (2004).

Fostering cosmopolitanism, place-making and inclusion

Markets are the living evidence of the spatial and social transformations faced by cities and societies in a specific place (Freire, 2018) and reflect the contemporary demographic, social, and economic structure of urban environments (Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013, p. 194) at a specific time. Oftentimes, when we

visit a place for the first time, we head to its main marketplace to get a sense of the city. It is through the bustle of traders, the chatting of customers and local products (Polyák, 2014), that we feel its 'pulse' (Janssens and Sezer 2013b), its distinct identity (Mehta and Gohil 2013; Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019). Hence, markets work as 'barometers' for neighbourhoods and cities (Seale, 2015). They can be windows into the living culture of societies and places (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019), transmitting a sense of authenticity (Mehta and Gohil, 2013; Gonzalez, 2018, Pintaudi, 2006), sometimes with items that cannot be found elsewhere (S. Watson, 2009). The consumption at markets goes beyond goods, encompassing tangible (architectural) and intangible (cultural, historical) heritage (Lin Pang and Sterling, 2013; Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019).

In addition to contributing to the life and 'soul' of a city (Urbact Markets 2015a), markets provide settings of supralocal familiarity where routines and codes of conduct are intrinsically known (Ünlü-Yücesoy 2013); places with a similar social ecology (i.e. market traders, users, managers and their common relationship dynamics) (Gonzalez, 2018) which provide local products while also catering for migrants' preferences in multicultural cities (PPS, 2003). As diverse spaces where people share the environment with others different from oneself, observing and being observed by others, modelling comity unwittingly (Anderson, 2011, p. 278-279), markets help mitigating the impersonality and mistrust that emerges from living in crowded and highly differentiated cities.

Markets' experience is therefore an embodied practice of acknowledging heterogeneity and co-existence (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017; Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2013), inviting users to stretch themselves mentally, emotionally, and socially (Wolhuter, 2002) and to bridge gaps in communication across cultural, class and language barriers (Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018, p.145). They foster a feeling of comfortable co-presence, even if interaction is unfocused (Goffman, 1963, in Schappo and van Melik, 2017), limited to a nod or smile. Markets accommodate therefore the 'unsettling of cultural codes', making them widely attractive (Valentine, 1998, p. 201 in Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 185) to people of diverse backgrounds (in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, culture, social class, etc). Hence, they support sense of belonging (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019) for different groups and contribute to an inclusive city life (Janssens and Sezer 2013a), working as counteractive spaces to advanced urbanisation's exclusionary tendencies (Mele, Ng and Chim, 2015; Wolhuter, 2002).

Markets are defended as spaces that can contribute to the experience of diversity and integration in cities (Lin Pang and Sterling 2013; Schappo and van Melik, 2017), and it is not by chance that city governments see lively international marketplaces as fostering social capital through intercultural relationships (Hiebert, Rath and Vertovec, 2015), immigrant integration (S. Watson, 2009), neighbourhood revitalisation (Pottie-Sherman, 2013) and community building (Hou, 2010; Schappo and van Melik, 2017). In particular, co-presence with diversity helps to challenge racist discourses and stereotypes of unknown others (Mele, Ng, and Chim 2015; Watson 2009).

Co-presence is an unavoidable element of markets' experience but research actually showed that for both customers and traders, more than products or businesses' opportunities, what they *liked best*

about markets was the 'people it brings together' (PPS, 2003). In fact, beyond friendliness, interaction at markets can evolve to caring practices, observed among traders and between traders and customers, (S. Watson, 2009; Wolhuter, 2002), such as the assistance with mobility for the elderly or disabled, and friendly conversations with those who feel lonely (Gonzalez, 2020; Wolhuter, 2002). Family relationships may emerge, such as the shared childcare practices in San Roque, Ecuador (Garcés and Bedón, 2018), or in Birmingham (Wolhuter, 2002), and practices can expand beyond markets' environments or immediate users, where empathy drives traders to offer free food to homeless in La Vega (Schlack, Turnbull and Sánchez. 2018), and officers to turn a blind eye to informal traders in La Quebradilla, as mentioned above, both cases in Chile.

The continuous engagement with markets can give rise to a community's social identity (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019, p. 117), or strengthen already existing communal ties. Such collective bonds in markets, where (multicultural) difference is 'normalised' (Gonzalez, 2020) can sometimes result in a growing social sophistication that allows for the forming of what can be loosely described as 'heterogeneous communities' (Schappo, 2015): a type of integration achieving a peaceful conviviality without resorting to homogenisation.

Exploring markets' integration – sustained encounters and 'market communities'

Recent studies about markets' integrative potential tend to focus exclusively on their everyday life, including exchanges between and amongst sellers and buyers (e.g. Lin Pang and Sterling 2013; Mele, Ng, and Chim 2015). However, not all social exchanges in markets run deep (Schappo and van Melik, 2017), meaning that collective bonds might be rather loose and based largely on physical presence at markets. Therefore, it is important not to idealise markets' integrative potential, since this can have rather limited outcomes (Schappo and van Melik, 2017).

Integration can be better achieved through sustained encounters (Matejskova and Leitner, 2011), which can be found at the 'organisational level' of markets (Schappo and van Melik, 2017). This level involves stakeholders with an interest and/ or a role in the planning or governance of markets, most commonly representatives of local authorities, traders, and communities. The top-down mobilisation of stakeholders promoted by the markets' department in The Hague, for example, to plan its market refurbishment, brought together groups of stakeholders including chambers of traders, residents and other local business-owners and institutions. It attempted a more participatory process, to influence the future of the market, and established enduring partnerships between the market and the community: for example, local educational institutions benefitted from internships at the markets for students from vulnerable backgrounds (Schappo, 2015 and Schappo and van Melik, 2016). I will return to this example in section 2.5.



Figure 2.5: Stall offering internships in The Hague Market for students of local schools

Source: Author's archives

Collective engagement around markets may result in stronger ties and social capital (Putnam, 1995) and social trust (Svendsen, 2014) for the participants, reunited around common objectives. This can lead to more internal cohesion within participating stakeholder groups and individuals (despite their potentially heterogeneous constitution), and result in the achievement of concrete results, such as in the organisation of the night market in Seattle (Hou, 2010). The collaboration of different organisations¹² was critical to the market event success, ensuring that stakeholders in the neighbourhood not only took ownership of the market, but were also empowered to take on future challenges (Hou 2010, p.121).

The claim that the space of the market can be connected to the notion of democracy or can be generative of urban politics might be too grand, but sustained encounters prompted by political engagement around markets can strengthen democracy and active participation in cities' deliberation arenas. Besides the cases mentioned, market communities in London (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018), Leeds (Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018), Barcelona, Madrid (Gonzalez, 2020) Budapest (Polyák 2014), Mexico City (Contreras, 2020a and b); Durban (South Africa) (Maharaj, 2020) and Tucuman (Argentina) (Gonzalez, 2020) have emerged or mobilised to protect markets from neoliberal threats. Both decline and gentrifying redevelopment threaten markets' 'human corals' (Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018) and their existence as (physically and economically) accessible spaces in increasingly divided and exclusionary cities. The matter will be discussed in more detail in section 2.5.

Collective engagement around markets can therefore result in what I would like to call 'market communities'. I am aware of the contested nature of the term *community*, explored at length elsewhere (e.g. Bhattacharyya, 2004; Sennett, 1977; Young; 1986), which denounces the oppressive practice and exclusionary effects (racism, ethnic chauvinism, and political sectarianism) of trying to suppress difference and disagreements in the construction of a social wholeness (Young, 1986). Nevertheless, a market community as conceived here is a loosely bounded heterogeneous network of people who, whether living geographically close to markets or not, identify as a community in the sense explained

¹² the Police department, department of Parks and Recreation, department of Neighbourhoods, business associations and non-profit social service organisations (Hou, 2010).

by Bhattacharyya, (2004): by sharing values in relation to something (in this case the markets), and act collectively to address shared problems.

The engagement with markets' governance can happen in the opposition to an undesirable plan, or in the proposition of development alternatives. Therefore, in my understanding market communities have what I would define as *oppositional* and *propositional* powers, which besides resulting in more political influence over markets' governance decisions, can lead to initiatives expanding beyond the market, developing other community activities, such as cultural events (PPS, 2003). Furthermore, market communities in their activism and engagement with markets' planning (can) play a strategic role in supporting the further democratisation of academic findings about markets' plural roles, bridging the gap between academic environments and society's everyday life. Through widening the social awareness about markets' governance challenges and urban potentials, their work is crucial for a change of mentality and practices in markets' governance.

This section discussed the universe of marketplaces in relation to: 1) their history with urban development and local governments, and 2) the multiple roles they can have in cities, advocated by an increasing body of research that critically engages with current tendencies of markets' decline or exclusionary redevelopment. Building on and contributing to these critical debates, while acknowledging what is already known about markets' historical and contextual realities, this research addresses some of the gaps identified by Gonzalez (2020), particularly relating to the need for comparative studies across different global development regions, and the lack of studies of formal markets in the global South. Considering the discussion above, this research seeks to understand how markets develop(ed) in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, including their historical relationship with municipalities, and factors that influence recent dynamics experienced by public markets in these cities, influencing their prospects (discussed in Chapter Four).

Markets' multiple roles furthermore reveal their potential to contribute to social justice in cities, a link explored further below. These holistic contributions are progressively more relevant in increasingly exclusionary cities, especially for more vulnerable groups. The attributes discussed above guide the analysis of Belo Horizonte's and Birmingham's markets' *actual* roles for these cities (see Chapter Five). This includes the search for *market communities*, and understanding their role in markets' governance. Findings are then compared to the *ideal* reference reported in this section. This appraisal also allows the critical consideration of the extent to which *optimistic narratives of markets' potentials are realised*, supporting the analysis of how Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets' management relate to the actual delivery of diverse possible roles (discussed in Chapter Six).

In order to develop this analysis, the next section discusses social justice, presenting the core elements of the analytical framework for assessing the case study markets and their governance.

2.3 Approaching social justice

'We cannot do without the concept of justice for the simple reason that the sense of injustice has historically been one of the most potent seedbeds of all to animate the quest for social change' (Harvey and Potter, 2009, p.41).

'The just is not determined by an algorithm, particularly with respect to a situated activity such as planning. There is always scope for discretion, which in turn emphasizes that practical reasoning is essentially about judgment. . . It is about negotiating a path between the universal and the particular, leading to action' (Campbell, 2006, p. 102).

Social justice is a contested concept, taken by some to be value laden (Fainstein, 2010), and by others to be an empty signifier, not instrumental for practical achievements (e.g. Hayek, 1979). Discussions about justice, what constitutes it and the criteria to assess it have existed for centuries, for example in the work of Hegel and Marx. Nevertheless, for the focus of this study, the discussion will concentrate on debates about what (social) justice entails since the 1970's, in relation to increasing exclusionary global realities under neoliberalism. Neoliberalism refers to the doctrine that (economic) market processes produce the most efficient allocation of resources, provide incentives that stimulate innovation and economic growth, reward merit, and therefore should not suffer political intervention (Cypher and Dietz, 1997; Glassman, 2009 Hayek, 1981; Harvey, 2005). The impacts it has in cities and on urban governance will be discussed in section 2.4.

In order to explore how markets contribute to social justice, and how this is supported (or not) by urban governance, it is necessary to explore theorisations of justice. Ultimately, this informs the development of an analytical framework to explore the processes and outcomes of urban governance practices in relation to public markets, and their relationship with social justice. Therefore, this section will engage with recent debates around social justice (2.3.1) and explore criteria for assessing markets and governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham through social justice (2.3.2). The framework developed is based on Susan Fainstein's book *The Just City* (2010) and its triadic approach to social justice issues, through the axes of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. These relate respectively to *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural justice* concerns, explained further below. This framework is complemented by a critical epistemological objective of challenging hegemonic knowledge constructs and processes that reproduce injustices towards concepts and theories coming from the South, explored briefly in terms of epistemic justice and Southern understandings of social justice. These influenced the research design and methodology (explained in Chapter Three) at different phases of research development, allowing for a critical reflection about Fainstein's triad and its situatedness in the Conclusion (Chapter Eight).

2.3.1 Social justice: conceptual evolution and practice

Debates about justice, which have informed conceptualisations of social justice, are often understood in terms of three different categories, which address injustices of different natures: *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural*. Regarding *distributive justice*, scholars argue that justice needs the 'defence

of the weakest' – i.e. the mechanisms (institutional, organisational, political and economic) for justice should be such that 'the (material) prospects of the least advantaged are as great as they possibly can be' (Rawls, 1967, p.138). Writing from a Marxist perspective, David Harvey originally framed justice as intrinsically entailing a 'justly arrived at *distribution* of benefits and burdens' (Harvey, 1973, p.98). *What* is being distributed, besides costs and benefits, involves the access to resources and opportunities, deemed to be critical to redress social injustices (c.f. Schlosberg, 2007; Williams and Doyon, 2019, p. 147). Thus, *distributive justice* can also be linked to the idea of *contributive justice* (Gomberg, 2007; Sayer, 2009), which resembles what Nussbaum (2011) named the capabilities' approach¹³. Still focusing on a fairer distribution, instead of being concerned with economic *outputs*, *contributive justice* addresses opportunities to *contribute to society* through ones' abilities in the workplace and, through work, achieve self-development and fulfilment (Sayer, 2009). Section 2.3.3, which addresses equity and social and solidarity economy, returns to this framing of justice.

Politicians and institutions generally take part in social justice discussions from a distributive perspective: the United Nations stated its commitment to social justice in 2006, defining it as 'the fair and compassionate distribution of the fruits of economic growth' (DESA, 2006, p.7), evoking good governance as key to protect and include the least well-off, within a notion of universal solidarity. The definition of criteria for *how* to perform this distribution is, however, more contested. For instance, some defend it on the basis of welfare, and the need to prioritise *equality* of opportunity or resources (Arneson, 2002, in de Little, 2019). Others, more in line with values of neoliberalism, would stress *desert*: distribution on the basis of who is the most deserving (Lamont and Favor, 2017). Nevertheless, despite the undeniable relevance of distributive aspects of justice, this paradigm has been criticised for its reductionism of justice to material matters. Both liberal and Marxist accounts of *distributive justice* fail to account for non-material forms of oppression and injustice (Fainstein, 2010, p.42): discrimination against race, religion, gender and ethnicity, for example, cannot be conflated with distributive injustices.

Post-structuralist conceptions of the world influenced a more plural framing of justice. Philosophy, sociology, political science, geography, planning and more recently environmental studies are fields engaging with the contemporary discussion of justice, one that evolved from purely material and economic considerations to an ideal concerned also with recognising difference (Young, 1990) and the participation of multiple groups in city life and spaces. This marked the emergence of *justice as recognition* (Fraser, 1995), which relates to prejudice and discrimination of all forms, focusing on recognition, misrecognition, or non-recognition of different groups. Recognition injustices derive from cultural and institutional processes and legacies which explicitly or implicitly give individuals, communities, or social groups different levels of appreciation and legitimacy (Williams and Doyon, 2019, p. 147).

¹³ where people have the freedom, respect and conditions needed to realise their objectives in life and flourish (Nussbaum, 2011).

Justice as *recognition* does not aim at the suppression of *distributive justice*, but as argued by Fraser (1995), injustices result from intertwined cultural and economic forces; in other words, 'the ways in which economic disadvantage and cultural disrespect are currently entwined with and support one another' (Fraser, 1997, p.69). Hence, *distributive* and *recognition justice* while entangled in real life, need to be analysed separately (Fraser and Honneth 2003), and responses to injustices must be multidimensional. Recognition is a first needed step towards the inclusion of the plurality of individuals and groups in societies. Young (1990 and 2004) advanced this discussion through her seminal work on multiculturalism and justice. She suggested that oppression and domination impede justice; the former is defined as any institutional or structural constraint(s) in self-development, such as marginalization and violence, while the latter is any institutional or structural constraint to self-determination (Young, 1990).

A third, no less important category, especially considering contemporary moral conceptions of policy-making processes, is defined as *procedural justice* (Williams and Doyon, 2019). Justice in procedural terms is framed as the way decisions are made, who is involved, has influence, and access to the formal justice system (Walker, 2012, p.12 in Williams and Doyon, 2019, p.147) In planning theory, the concept of participation (Arnstein, 1969) is concerned with *procedural justice*. Procedural injustices 'occur when information is unavailable, as well as when there is exclusion and inequity in relation to public (meaningful) participation in policy, decision-making, and access to the formal justice system'. (Williams and Doyon, 2019, p. 147). The limitations of participatory planning as a means to guarantee just outcomes in cities is later discussed in section 2.4, when addressing urban governance.

It is important to remark that the influence of post-structuralism in conceptions of justice also results in some common ground between different contemporary authors. It is acknowledged that social justice is context dependent, requiring the consideration of territorial (Dikeç, 2001), socioeconomic, political and cultural realities in which at a specific time relations between individuals, groups and institutions can be assessed as just or unjust (DESA, 2006; Harvey, 1973). The consequent notion of rights, whether collective or individual, is a result of social relatedness rather than an inherent and natural property of individuals (Holston and Appadurai, 1996, p. 197 in Dikeç, 2001, p. 1791). Similarly, '*justice is not an ontological given, but a contingent "reification of commensurability"*' (Dimock, 1997, p.6 in Dikeç, 2001, p. 1803). In line with Campbell's opening statement above (2006), the positionality of individuals, institutions, governments and organisations must be accounted for, since judgments are made based on complex and generally unformulated frameworks of moral and political values (Blomley, 2009). Therefore, there is not a single model to promote and achieve more social justice in cities, which can simply be replicated everywhere.

The questioning of what was taken before as fixed and unproblematically accepted ideals of justice draw attention to which overarching processes and frames, previously not seen, direct justice theorisations and the forming of norms. Therefore, a final category of justice, overlapping aspects of *recognition* and *procedural justice*, is *epistemic justice*, which contributed to this study's comparative research design, as indicated in the Introduction Chapter. It is concerned with what knowledges (and

from whom) are recognised as valid. Epistemic injustices happen when individuals or groups are not recognised as knowledgeable (Fricker, 2007), consequently devaluing the knowledge produced by them. It is a process that through colonialism led to the marginalisation of knowledge produced in the geopolitical South (Santos, 2014 and 2018). As mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, epistemic justice is an Important element for the critical epistemology of this research, inspiring 1) more plural understandings of social justice and 2) alternatives to markets' development and governance in line with these more holistic conceptualisations. An epistemic justice approach welcomes creative 'cross-fertilisation' of knowledges through horizontal relations (Santos, 2018) between stakeholders that can result in hybrid ideas, while remaining sensitive to contextual realities and the appropriateness of translating knowledges to different places (Hentschel, 2015). This approach is discussed further in Chapter Three.

This section discussed the multidimensional nature of justice, whose different areas of concern (*distributive, recognition, procedural*) are embraced in this study, also highlighting the relevance of epistemic justice, which has informed the research design and supports a critical engagement with Fainstein's triad, presented below. In order to present the social justice framework for the study, which is focused on urban cities' realities and planning dilemmas, it is first important to frame social justice in relation to urban development struggles and governance approaches.

2.3.2 Analysing social justice in urban development and governance: Fainstein's triadic framework

For urban studies and planning, it is important to conceive social justice in relation to cities' materiality. Particular attention to the physical configuration of cities is necessary and some defend the use of the term *spatial* justice rather than social justice, exactly to highlight this fact (e.g. Dikeç, 2001; Soja, 2010). The focus is not only on space as a 'finished product' that materialises and to a certain extent crystallises inequalities, but the social processes of (re)production of space, as one of the major systematic (re)producers of injustices (Dikeç, 2001, p. 1787). Produced spaces furthermore interact with social, economic and political dynamics, feeding a vicious circle of domination and oppression (Young, 1990), hence, injustice (Dikeç, 2001). Still, the same spaces that evidence injustice can be seedbeds of resistance (Cresswell, 1996) as argued in relation to markets, above (2.2.2).

Assessing justice therefore depends on the situated judgement of specific contexts' spatial dynamics, which are intrinsically connected to the enactment and reproduction of (in)justice (Campbell, 2006; Soja, 2010). Such an approach does not state whether a particular event is just or unjust. It rather seeks to investigate dynamic social, spatial, economic, and political processes, which may (re)produce dominant and oppressive conditions through the interplay of state authorities, economic ownership and urban residents with unjust spatial implications (Dikeç, 2001, p. 1793).

When talking about spatial justice or even justice in cities it is impossible to ignore Lefebvre's call for the Right to the City (Lefebvre, 1996), which supports claims for the right to public space, diversity and heterogeneity in urban spaces, and the right to participate in the (material and planning) (re)production of the city. However, Fainstein (2009) and Purcell (2002) critique Lefebvre for failing to provide

specificities (about what is included within his notions of 'rights' or 'city'), or a methodology to achieve the right to the city¹⁴. Hence, while 'the right to the city' is used as a slogan for activist movements and even in planning debates, such ideas work better as 'rhetorical devices [rather] than policy-making instruments' (Fainstein, 2009, p.27).

In response, Fainstein (2010) proposes an evaluative framework for social justice, which addresses the gap in practical guidance on how to promote just cities through urban planning and governance in real and complex cities' realities (see also Fainstein, 2009, 2014). Fainstein's (2010) pragmatic approach recognises that complete justice (as aimed for in e.g. Harvey's work) is a utopian aspiration. Social justice is therefore to be achieved through the accommodation of different and perhaps conflicting interests of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*, aiming for as close as possible to equilibrium between the three. These categories correspond respectively to matters of *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural justice*, suggesting the appropriateness of Fainstein's framework for research focused on markets' social justice potential.

In addressing complex 'wicked problems' (Rittel and Webber, 1973), there will be trade-offs and overlaps between the different three categories, making it sometimes hard to classify specific situations along a single axis. Nevertheless, local governments should aim to gradually achieve more social justice, starting with a shift in governance to prioritise justice rather than efficiency in planning (Fainstein 2009, 2010 and 2014). The discussion on urban governance in section 2.4 explores this matter more in depth. Below, each of the three axes developed by Fainstein (2010) is explained, in relation to the sources of injustice they consider and aim to tackle.

Equity

Equity considers the different material starting points of individuals, trying to bridge the gap by counterbalancing the push for growth and accumulation, through a fair distribution of wealth, resources, benefits, and opportunities (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017), which highlights its convergence with *distributive* justice concerns. Equity is used rather than equality because it is concerned with redressing disadvantages as they affect groups with different starting points and hence needs (Campbell 2006, pp. 94–95 in Fainstein, 2009, p. 29). The image below provides a clear analogy/ distinction of the two concepts. Equity as a lens prompts planning considerations such as, '*who has access to public space? And for what purposes can public space be used?*' (Fainstein 2009, pp. 29-30). Gentrified and exclusive spaces not only generate fragmented territories, but decrease vulnerable groups' confidence in right to ownership, inclusion and belonging to the city (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017, p.167).

¹⁴ This is according to Fainstein (2009), a common issue with philosophers' approaches to justice.

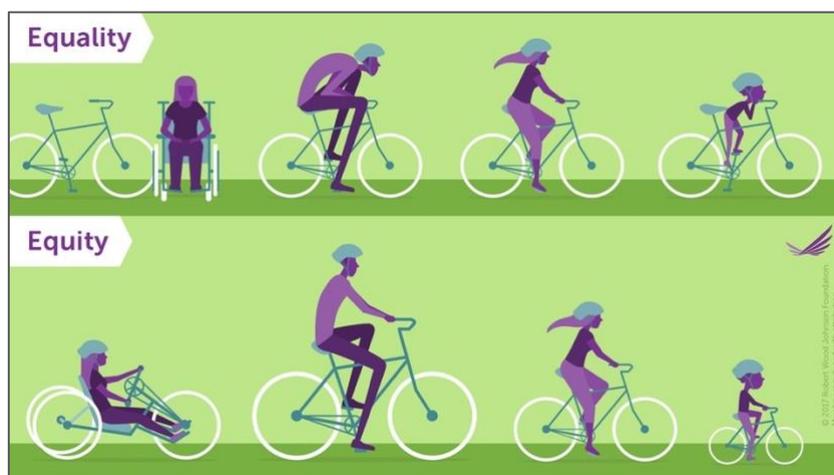


Figure 2.6: Differences between Equality and Equity, infographic by Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
 Source : <https://www.tides.org/accelerating-social-change/what-is-health-equity-and-why-does-it-matter/>

Equity is the most important of justice principles for Fainstein, as a response to the deepening of material inequality caused by neoliberalism (discussed further in section 2.4). The adoption of a justice lens for assessing planning and its results does not negate the neoliberal emphasis on (economic) efficiency – a widely accepted value (Fainstein, 2009) – as a goal, but instead requires policy makers to ask to what end efficiency applies. If a policy can provide poverty alleviation services without wasting resources, then it is efficient even if not maximising economic gains (Fainstein, 2014). In this sense, megaprojects (such as massive regeneration plans) should be subject to heightened scrutiny by planners; be required to provide direct benefits to low-income people in the form of employment provisions and public amenities; and, if public subsidy is involved, should include public participation in the profits. If possible, development should be performed by multiple companies in an incremental way, rather than by a single (monopolising, hence powerful) company (Fainstein, 2010).

Spatially, the zoning in cities with specific planning conditions can also be put in place to promote more equity, for instance promoting mixed housing or special conditions for socially vulnerable pockets in cities (see the *Special Zones of Social Interest*¹⁵, in the Brazilian City Statute, 2002). Despite the spatial focus, another aspect of *equity* is the need to promote livelihoods/ employment that can ensure decent living standards. Fainstein (2012) suggests that priority in economic development programs should be given to small businesses and employees. This is in line with conceptions of the social and solidarity economy, discussed below for its potential as an umbrella concept for promoting sustainable livelihoods, and alternative, fairer, economic development that challenges hegemonic neoliberal strategies.

¹⁵ Originally called ZEIS: Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social.

Diversity

Diversity involves recognition and respect for group differences (Young, 1990; Blomley, 2009), embracing cities' multiplicity (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017). It acknowledges intersectional identity grounds for oppression and injustice, e.g. class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, and age, which intertwine with objective material distributional matters (MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014), stressing its convergence with recognition justice concerns. Fairness through diversity means the *inclusion* in city spaces of the different 'identity' groups, where they feel legitimate (Young, 1990) and with the capacity of satisfying living standards and finding ways of dwelling in the (host) society's context (Schappo, 2017, p. 11). However, a complete integration of groups is not the aim, as it could 'impose' homogenisation (Philips, 2010). Young (1986) rather argues for geographical groupings with fuzzy permeable borders (Fainstein, 2009, p. 32), or heterogeneous communities, in such as those captured by the 'market communities' concept presented above.

Different contexts will reveal different grounds for injustices based on diversity. For example, in England ethnicity and nationality are nowadays more pronounced roots for *diversity* (S. Watson, 2006). Fainstein suggests that in relation to *diversity*, local authorities should identify and assist groups who have historically suffered from discrimination in achieving access to opportunity in housing, education, and employment. Additionally, public space should be widely accessible and varied, giving individuals who are different the opportunity to coexist, although not forcing groups with clashing lifestyles to occupy the same spaces (Fainstein, 2010, p. 174).

Democracy

The focus of contemporary discussions about planning best practices tends to emphasise the importance of participatory planning as *the* means of achieving just outcomes (Healey, 1992). *Democracy* as an axis follows this rationale and focuses on the policy making process, addressing not the *ends* but the *means*, highlighting the parallel with *procedural justice*. It explores fairness in circumstances, and how participatory and transparent decision-making is; in other words, how citizens of different backgrounds and identities have a voice or feel their interests are adequately represented (Parnell and Robinson, 2006) in important deliberative arenas (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017; MacLeod and McFarlane, 2014).

Fainstein suggests that plans should be developed in consultation with the target population if the area is already developed. The existing population, however, should not be the sole arbiter of the future of an area; citywide considerations must also apply (Fainstein, 2010, p. 175). *Democracy's* goal should therefore not be participation per se, but to have interests fairly represented (Fainstein, 2012, p. 14). Crucial, in the judgement of urban justice, is to examine the results of public policies, rather than the circumstances under which they were created. In highly unequal societies and contexts where participation is limited, vulnerable groups may be reliant on elected representatives and local government officials to represent their interests, the effectiveness of which depends on contextual

factors (Parnell and Robinson, 2006) and planners and officers' choice (or not) to opt for the alternative that benefits the least well-off, since the groups most lacking in political and financial power are least likely to prevail (Fainstein, 2009, p. 26).

The discussion on section 2.4 will further examine participatory planning relevance in urban governance. For the moment it is important to turn to other Southern conceptions that can widen the scope of understandings of social justice, allowing for the critical consideration of Fainstein's framework limitations, and its further complementing, including concerns with human (moral) development that can provide more transformative potential.

2.3.3 A more holistic interpretation of social justice

Fainstein's (2010) pragmatic planning-oriented approach can suggest that social justice is simply the summing of the three axes' aspects discussed above, and that planning can tackle injustice as isolated matters of *equity*, *diversity* or *democracy*, when in reality they are deeply entangled. In South-inspired epistemologies, justice is an aspiration strongly driven by moral values deeply connected with not only rational knowledge, but also with emotional and spiritual ones (see Freire, 1968; Guerrero, 2011), often demeaned by hegemonic scientific thought as lacking 'logic'. It demands human moral development, driven by values such as love (for humanity), empathy and humility (Freire, 1968). Love teaches how to feel and think the other, and how this fusion gives rise to empowering motivations (Santos, 2018, p. 100), driving a collective responsibility towards nature, all its elements, and to future generations. Love should nevertheless be complemented with *empathy*, the felt self-identification with the reality of others, not only at the individual, but collective sense, fighting injustice as a common issue to all, not only those deemed 'oppressed' (Freire, 1968; Suzina and Tufté, 2020). To understand oneself as equally valuable and knowledgeable to another, despite differences, demands *humility*, a core principle that links back to the discussion above on *epistemic justice*.

Bordenave's (1989) ideas about participation support the understanding that many non-hegemonic ways of knowing and conceptions of justice come from holistic thought *and lived* knowledges (Santos, 2018). In contrast to a planning framing of participation that focuses solely on people taking part in formal processes of decision-making, as indicated in the scope of *democracy*, participation should be understood more broadly, as the process in which one understands itself as a singular being and at the same time as a member of a community. Bordenave (1989) highlights that besides obvious needs of e.g. food and shelter, participation is also a human need and intrinsic right, alongside love, recognition, expression, creativity, solidarity, and freedom. It involves different scales of society, with people contributing to both the macro and microspheres of social life in e.g. families, factories, schools, churches and, relevant to this study, *markets*. Concomitantly, (re)developing the social, institutional and legal structures favours the participation of all not only in the production of goods and services, material or cultural, but also in the planning and management of the process and, above all, in the distribution and use of the resources produced. A participatory society is therefore, in Bordenave's understanding, the only way in which people can achieve fulfilment and *justice*.

In line with the claims of a more holistic understanding of social justice, the framework of alternative development captured by the idea of the *social and solidarity economy* (SSE) offers a way to approach and plan markets to maximise their social justice potential. SSE brings a holistic understanding of the indivisibility of social, political and economic matters (Coraggio, 2004; Habermehl, *et al*, 2018). The notion of it had different origins: a cooperativism culture in Europe (Telles, Servós and Bittencourt, 2020) and a political stance, connected to the recognition of the practices of *social economy* in Latin-America, their socioeconomic relevance, and the need to promote the emancipation of those exploited through an alternative to the current capitalist model (Razeto, 2002; Fernandes and Diniz, 2018; Rosa, 2016). The social economy¹⁶ encompasses the inferior economic circuit, a heterogeneous and dynamic sector that despite marginalised is, in reality, essential for the support and functioning of the superior circuit (Santos, 2008 in Fernandes and Diniz, 2018). Businesses composing public markets can be considered part of the social economy.

SSE includes a multiplicity of social and economic practices of production, distribution, consumption, accumulation and development, such as family agriculture and businesses with production happening at the home space (Quijano, 1998) and cooperativism (Rosa, 2016). These practices are based on relationships of solidarity (Razeto, 1999 in Telles, Servós and Bittencourt, 2020, p.3) collaboration, community (Coraggio, 2004) reciprocity (Quijano, 1998) and values as equal rights, human dignity, respect to nature and diversity, democracy, freedom and social justice (Telles, Servós and Bittencourt, 2020, p.9). SSE is an evolution of social economy because it has a self-development and emancipatory character, with economic practices not based in competition and accumulation (Fernandes and Diniz, 2018) and where resources (venue/ machinery) for production are owned and managed collectively, in a horizontal and communitarian way (Fernandes and Diniz, 2018, Singer, 2008). If markets are governed according to SSE, they can also amplify their potentials to *contributive* justice and individual and collective (moral) development. Later section 2.5 will discuss the case of the Mercado Bonpland in Buenos Aires, showing markets' appropriateness to be developed according to SSE.

Social Justice, as discussed in this section, encompasses a multiplicity of dimensions aiming to address unfairness and inequality. Despite being differently conceived by different authors and institutions, social justice is seen as a collective endeavour, implicitly or explicitly expressed as a guiding principle for researchers and activist movements across the world, as expressed in Harvey's quote above (2009). This section revealed that there is not a single model to promote and achieve more social justice in cities which can simply be replicated everywhere: strategies depend on positionalities, judgement, and can only emerge locally, in relation to contextual challenges.

In support of exploring social justice in markets, the analytical framework adopted here is grounded in Fainsteins' triad because of its planning focus and incorporation of elements of *distributive, recognition*

¹⁶ Called *Economia Popular* in Portuguese, which might give a different connotation.

and *procedural justice*. Fainstein's framework provides clear guidance on how to identify more systematically injustice issues, and on how to promote more social justice in cities. The proposed framework is instrumental for analysing the contexts and governance of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, their overall agendas and actions, and the extent to which they converge with social justice. More specifically, the three axes allow for a diagnosis of markets' *actual* contribution to social justice in each city (discussed further in section 2.4), as well as to identify strengths and weaknesses in markets' governance in relation to these same axes. Nevertheless, the engagement with the idea of epistemic justice indicates the need to recognise the situatedness of Fainstein's (2010) Northern-inspired analytical framework and its limits. It therefore calls for the inclusion and valuing of Southern debates on social justice that complement Fainstein's approach and stress the holistic nature of social justice, which achievement depends on human moral development. Such widened understanding allows for a more encompassing analysis of comparative findings and the development of potential alternatives for the governance of markets in the Conclusions Chapter.

Considering its crucial role in influencing the extent to which markets function in support to social justice in cities, the following section now discusses urban governance.

2.4 Urban governance implications for city and markets' development

Governance is a common term in current discussions about public administration (e.g. Goodwin, 2009; Grindle, 2017; Mayntz, 1998), policy making and planning (e.g. McCann, 2017; Fainstein and Defilippis, 2016). Urban governance, more specifically, is the focus of this section. It concerns the elements involved in governing cities: the stakeholders, their power in dictating the processes of decision-making, the values guiding those (Raco, 2009) and how planning and other regulations are created or dismantled (McCann, 2017). In analysing urban governance, one needs to engage with policies, discourses, and their representations that reveal, together with governments' enforcement of ruling, the agendas and priorities of stakeholders implicated in the process of governing cities.

Urban governance moreover includes the lived realities, citizenship, identity, culture, and community relations in cities (McCann, 2017). These elements are largely enacted in public spaces, including markets. Markets are, in fact, embedded in their contexts and local authorities' management and agendas. Therefore, to understand the links between markets development for social justice and their governance, it is necessary to engage with cities and urban governance from a contemporary understanding of urban phenomena, their multiple and complex nature, and causes. Entrepreneurial governance as mentioned in the Introduction Chapter, results in some identifiable patterns of impacts on cities depending on where in the globe phenomena are unfolding. For instance, stronger international intercity competition is normally associated with cities' realities in the global North, and starker urban inequality and poverty to those in the South, explained in more detail below. These support the reproduction of a global South and North epistemological and geopolitical division based on the idea of socioeconomic 'development', where cities in the South are understood to be inferior to cities in the North (Robinson, 2006). Despite the 'deterministic' impact of these tendencies, these

trends do not necessarily reflect the messy reality of the multiplicity of cities around the world and in terms of urban theory, there is a need to step back and observe cities in their plurality, as ordinary, without pre-conceived ideas (Robinson, 2006). As such, reductionist accounts that fail to capture and portray the complexity of urban phenomena in contemporary cities can be avoided.

Urban development matters in contemporary cities are discussed in the following section (2.4.1), which explains the influence of neoliberalism and entrepreneurial governance in cities' dynamics and their issues in the last decades. As a response to deepened inequality and poverty caused by the neoliberal hegemonic development model, section 2.4.2 presents the growing call for 'good governance' and the engagement with a social justice normative, where a special attention is given to participatory planning, one of the key elements of the good governance 'toolkit'. Section 2.4.3 then concludes the discussion on urban governance exploring both the pragmatic challenges and the realistic potentials to social justice promotion through it. While empirical evidence reveals that managers and planners 'good' intentionality and commitment to justice is, per se, not enough to ensure better urban environments, it also stresses that planning can make use of existing tools and strategies, including those designed to support economic growth in creative ways prioritising social justice.

2.4.1 Urban governance and challenges in contemporary cities

Contemporary cities are nested 'in a world of strong interconnectivity, inter-referencing and relationality' (McCann, 2017, p. 323). Local features take place within a 'context of contexts' (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010): an overarching temporal setting of globalisation and neoliberalism as the hegemonic geopolitical and economic governance approach. The rationale prioritising economic growth and efficiency, i.e. entrepreneurial governance¹⁷ (identified by Harvey in 1989), is intertwined with this overarching global context. It developed as an appealing approach since the 1970's in a global scenario of deindustrialisation (Raco, 2009; Wolhuter, 2002), social welfare erosion, and austerity. The argument for entrepreneurial governance insists that the public authorities need the discipline of the private sector, intensifying the political control, reducing the expenses and personnel, and discharging the burden of governing through privatisation and outsourcing of public services and infrastructures (Theodore, Peck and Brenner, 2009 in Pereira, 2017).

New forms of government are flexible and light-touch, tend not to interfere with the operation of market systems and business entrepreneurialism (Raco, 2009, p.626) and may even be subjected to it. At the same time, the constitution of governance networks involves multiple new players in public management, for instance private companies, NGO's, quangos¹⁸ (Cannettieri, 2017). Implicated in a complex partnerships system, new stakeholders become increasingly influential and powerful in setting

¹⁷ oftentimes is simply defined as 'governance'.

¹⁸ a semi-public administrative body outside the civil service but receiving financial support from the government, which makes senior appointments to it (Thesaurus dictionary).

governments' agendas, while at the same time being benefitted by opaque relations of power with responsibility hard to trace (Goodwin, 2009; Mayntz, 1998; Raco, 2009) something that stakeholders with less praiseworthy agendas can take advantage of (see Roy, 2009b).

Cities, particularly large ones, are spaces where national-scale uneven development is materialised, perceived and felt in daily life (Raco, 2009). Modern urban areas often possess a greater diversity of social groups than non-urban areas and have a greater concentration of problems to be tackled (Raco, 2009, p.622). In fact, according to Harvey (1989), urban governance primarily serves to reproduce the needs of capitalists at the expense of other interests, which explains the material inequalities and individual privileges it generates, maintain and increases. Cities suffer from high levels of unemployment, crime, and social problems, and often display deprived districts alongside areas of affluence.

In many global cities around the world, the rapid escalation of real estate prices makes urban life unaffordable to locals, culminating in new forms of gentrification trends (Maricato, 2011) through the infiltration of international interest groups in local property markets (Rolnik, 2017), often facilitated by planning arrangements (Fainstein, 2016). Moreover, the increased focus under entrepreneurial governance on exchange values rather than use values results in governments commercialising anything that can become a source of profit, for example urban services as transport, cleaning, lighting (Maricato, 2011). Neoliberal-led government decisions also include surveillance, new strategies of control and exclusion. For example, gentrification may be intentionally (though not openly) promoted for social cleansing (Rangel, 2019), and activities which apparently harm the city's image can be criminalised (Pereira, 2017, p. 40-41), expelling urban dwellers such as street traders and homeless from the 'public view' of tourists and other target audiences. Impacts of these trends on markets will be discussed in section 2.5.

Measures such as these form part of encompassing strategies where increasingly less autonomous governments commodify cities as a whole with the support of the private sector, especially in the global North, to be appealing in a scenario of intercity competition for investment (Cordero, 2017; Maricato, 2011). To achieve results, governments focus on city branding and might sacrifice social welfare, albeit temporarily, to support urban regeneration (Roberts, Sykes and Granger, 2017). Municipalities may indebt themselves or reallocate funds from, for instance, social services or education to build basic infrastructure for coalitions promoting spatial changes, especially in central areas, through ground-breaking strategies including flagship projects (Sandercock, 2003).

Nevertheless, the employment of entrepreneurial governance strategies might be even more problematic in cities of the global South, where most of the world's population live in nowadays (V. Watson, 2009). These cities urbanised rapidly, and the impacts of inequality and poverty are more acute than in cities of the global North (Maricato, 2011). Moreover, beyond the weak or inexistent social welfare apparatus of governments, resulting in acute housing precariousness, high levels of unemployment or precarious/ informal employment and urban violence put poor populations under

further pressure (Maricato, 2011 and 2017). On top of this, the impacts of global challenges such as climate change and resource depletion will be increasingly dramatic for these vulnerable populations (V. Watson, 2009).

Entrepreneurial urban governance is therefore found – and criticised – in multiple contexts in recent decades (e.g. Cannettieri, 2017; Maricato, 2011, 2015 and 2017, Rolnik, 2017). Its wide acceptance is related to its rhetoric of political neutrality (Raco, 2009) that conceals its profit-driven agenda as a *value*, through arguing that ruling measures are technical, and economic efficiency and growth logical. The consequence for politics is that entrepreneurial governance makes previously existing party affiliations and the political values attached to one pole or the other obsolete (Maricato, 2017). In this context, the apparently ‘just’ argument of devolution and empowerment of the civil society works as a rhetoric, covering the actual abandonment of the most vulnerable, left to fend for themselves in increasingly exclusionary cities. (Maricato, 2011; Raco, 2009). With endemic corruption and hidden agendas contributing to stark material inequality, counteracting injustice and promoting social justice appears to be a herculean task for urban governance. Nevertheless, it is one that public authorities are increasingly pressurised to commit to, considering contemporary debates on good governance, discussed below.

2.4.2 Values in urban governance: The growing call for committing to social justice

The last decades have shown that, as a consequence of the neoliberal contemporary setting, the struggles over access to urban resources, especially in large cities, remain as fundamental as ever, and will continue to shape their ongoing processes of urbanisation (Brenner and Schmid, 2015). Thus, adequate policy-making interventions, tailored to the size and nature of (social justice) challenges (Robinson, 2014; Watson, 2016) are urgently needed. In fact, following the United Nations’ commitment to social justice in 2006 (DESA, 2006), the UN-Habitat recognised that the profession of urban planning needs to abandon its simple technical positioning to engage with matters of justice, in order to respond to issues in rapidly growing poor cities (V. Watson, 2009).

This tendency towards embracing norms of social justice in (urban) governance converged with a growing debate on what constitutes ‘good governance’. Promoted by the World Bank as a way to generate some common criteria to evaluate state governments and promote best practices, good governance remains however an inherently contested and political concept (Williams, 2009). Yet, conceptions of good governance influence multiple scales of ruling nowadays, including cities. The list of attributes within its umbrella, presented in Grindle’s (2017) statement below, is increasingly complex, and might be more ‘distracting’ than helpful, to those concerned about *how* to get there (Grindle, 2017, p.17). Nevertheless, the attention to these multiple matters also demonstrates a growing political awareness to multidimensional matters of social justice, translating them to – hardly questioned – (urban) governance guidance:

‘While two decades ago governments were expected to be effective, accountable, transparent, and capable to demonstrate the rule of law, they are currently expected to ‘promote equity,

participation, inclusiveness, democracy, widespread service delivery, sound regulation, decentralization, an open trade regime, respect for human rights, gender and racial equality, a good investment climate, sustainable energy use, citizen security, job creation, among others' (Grindle, 2017, p.18, author's emphasis).

The highlighted elements above show that the advocacy for norms supporting social justice (as understood in this research) can overlap with a call for good governance. Notwithstanding, the starting point, unavoidably, is the need to persuade people, especially the ones in positions of power, within public institutions or not, to transcend their own narrow self-interest so that *they do actively support justice promotion measures* (DESA, 2006; Fainstein, 2009, p. 34-35, author's emphasis). Planners and governance officers should therefore contribute to the generation of better legal frameworks and policies, and more importantly, find ways to enforce them (Maricato, 2017), in an approach that is pro-poor and inclusive, focused on the generation of livelihoods (V. Watson, 2009, p.2259). This suggests again the relevance of marketplaces and other small scale cooperative economic initiatives as those part of what is defined as social and solidarity economy, presented on 2.3 and discussed in more detail on section 2.5.

Urban (good) governance and participation: Potentials and challenges for socially just decision-making processes

Participatory planning is seen as a central tenet of good (urban) governance practice and the engagement of residents in public deliberation brings a promise of enhanced democratic benefits (McCann, 2017) and co-production of policies. Therefore, participatory planning is proposed as a key means towards fairer outcomes, and a goal in itself, as a 'best-practice' ideal of socially just process of decision-making. Still, similarly to the concept of good governance, the idea and application of participatory planning stages in public policy development might work rather as a rhetoric than as an instrument of devolution and civil society empowerment. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge and analyse the challenges in the conceiving and application of participation in line with social justice, something quite relevant for this study because of the need to analyse processes of decision-making for the governance of markets.

The idea of participatory planning seems founded on the belief that people will behave transparently (Habermas, 1979; Innes, 1995), while in practice, there are always power imbalances, conflictive interests, and discourses surrounding planning which can involve false claims to defend covert interests (Fainstein, 2009, p.27). To uncover falsity or hidden agendas, the analysis of participation processes should also include the way in which power is organised, distributed and exercised (DESA, 2006) among society's various (formal and informal) stakeholders (Raco, 2009) and the manner in which political processes are carried out. As such, analysis can reveal how horizontal and devolved governance actually is (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2007).

One of the main challenges of participation is that groups lacking in social or human capital may be structurally excluded. Without understanding why their presence is a right and their say legitimate

when confronted with other powerful stakeholders, groups lacking in social or human capital might not be willing to participate (Wachhaus, 2014). They might be uninterested, overwhelmed by other practical duties, or sceptical of having any transformative potential. To convince people to faithfully engage is harder in contexts of more inequality, corruption and distrust towards governments, and unfortunately, academic evidence reveals participants' frustration and cynicism regarding citizen participation, following suboptimal outcomes (e.g. Durose and Lowndes, 2010). And, if participation arenas are not spaces of civic empowerment, they risk becoming spaces legitimising individualised, potentially exclusionary planning outcomes towards society, with 'public support' ratifying powerful groups' intentions through, for instance, tokenist participation. Arnstein (1969, p.25) defines tokenist participation spaces as those where less powerful stakeholders are apparently given the right to have a voice and be heard, but they still lack the power to have their views actually considered by those in power, i.e. they lack the power to change the status quo.

Uneven power relations are not eliminated by comprehensive participation in decision-making. But, when political deliberation is embedded in dense networks of social interaction, that is, when there are civically engaged communities, incentives for opportunism are reduced (Putnam, 1995). Active communities retain more social capital (Putnam, 1995, p. 66) and strong ties that facilitate coordination, communication and cooperation, features supporting a more effective influence in good public management (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001). To design more socially just deliberation processes, governments need to foster the interest of communities in civic engagement and pay greater attention to the cultural politics of deliberative space (Fischer, 2006). Considering epistemic justice, planners and other powerful stakeholders in planning discussions should be humble (Freire, 1968) and make an effort to appreciate the different knowledges of less influential stakeholders (e.g. market traders).

These matters can be translated to the setting of markets through the analysis of the processes of development of plans for markets' governance, who is included in it (e.g. are there market communities?) and in which ways. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that beyond participation and its careful crafting, the content of planning outcomes is ultimately the most relevant, particularly in terms of how much they reflect the needs of those impacted by plans, especially the ones most disadvantaged and powerless (Campbell, 2006; Fainstein, 2010).

2.4.3 Social justice promotion through urban governance: Pragmatic challenges and realistic potentials

The commitment of (key decision-making) stakeholders to social justice in an unsurpassable element in its promotion through urban governance. But urban governance is a practice that involves multiple compromises. A realistic appraisal of pragmatic challenges and potentials is therefore essential in the development of fair criticism of existing approaches and feasible suggestions for planning and governance alternatives. Approaching first the structural constraints, increasingly around the world, city managers are constantly pressured by tight budgets and the need to simultaneously promote economic growth, update or build infrastructure and provide basic services to vulnerable populations. Particularly challenging is the need to find strategies within a contradictory environment: to negotiate

urban growth and poverty, implementing policies for economic growth which do not deepen inequalities, poverty increase and urban fragmentation (Parnell and Robinson, 2006, p. 348; V. Watson, 2009). Even when agendas are compatible and plans are designed to deliver fairer societies (e.g. Parnell and Robinson, 2006), there is a limit to the control that public managers have over outcomes within wider capitalist dynamics.

On top of tight budgets and limitations caused by path dependency of existing long-established structures of power and privilege (Grindle, 2017, p.21), there are issues of limited staff capacities, a slow bureaucracy apparatus, and time. Matters of justice are not short-term and the government cycles of a few years are rather short considering the common practice of restructuring state institutions and staff, and adoption of new agendas. Oftentimes plans and projects started in one government period are not taken forward by successors, and there is a temptation to focus on projects that deliver quick results and 'look good' to electors, in order to win votes and continue in power. In a decentralised system of governance, with increased number of stakeholders, processes move slower because the diverse regulatory agencies, coalitions, movements and actors struggle to act, not only to influence the production of places, but (more importantly) to reshape the broader institutional and territorial frameworks through which urbanization processes are being managed (Brenner and Schmid, 2015, p.153). The governance of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham are also subjected to these structural challenges, something to consider when analysing the governance agendas and strategies for markets' management.

Nevertheless, Campbell, Tait and Watkins (2014) rescue the notion that 'planning is the organisation of hope', arguing that it can make a positive difference even in face of economic (structural) pressures (p.46). Similarly, Marcuse stressed that not everything done in society is governed by capital: there is plenty of volunteer work, and there are individual, spontaneous actions such as caring for children and the elderly, meeting with friends, participating in sports, and sharing love (in Maricato, 2017, p.33). These accounts call attention to the need to factor in agency, individual or collective, as an element of not only variation, but transformative capacity, in the analysis of governance.

In support of a realistic yet hopeful understanding of planning potentials, Rolnik (2017) points out that in face of the hegemonic economic development model, alternatives to urban development and governance are nowadays better explored through observing and supporting the construction of common spaces, even localised and small scale ones. More than 'simply there' public spaces, common spaces embody a mobilisation against real estate pressures, challenging the logic of capital through collective ownership and appropriation (Bastos *et al.*, 2017). Common spaces can be seedbeds of social activism and a reminder that despite the constraints of state rules and capital's influence, the city continues to be an open arena, a generative and contradictory space where varied types of resources, goods and common spaces can develop, articulate and gain strength (Bastos *et al.*, 2017, p. 451). Markets can work as common spaces fostering among others alternative economic strategies, recalling the discussion in section 2.2.2.

Nevertheless, the argument in favour of a planning approach that organises hope in a realistic way, made by Campbell, Tait and Watkins (2014), resonates with Fainstein's pragmatic understanding of social justice and how to promote it. In the 'real world', planning needs to work with the tools at hand, meaning that the mechanisms of entrepreneurial governance can hardly be fully abandoned. What can be done though is an *inversion of priorities*, determined by governments; in other words, instead of submitting public governance to the logics of capital, to implement entrepreneurial governance tools in favour of public (social justice) interests. Applied to markets, this might mean the need to accept the involvement of private partners and management, an idea returned to in section 2.5.4, after discussing the contemporary reality of markets and their governance.

This section focused on urban governance as a lens to engage with cities' development and governing tendencies at local level. It provided insights about likely contextual challenges and potentials for contemporary cities to develop in the direction of promoting social justice. Considering that entrepreneurial governance is a widespread tendency in governing cities, and that it deepens injustices, this study explores the influence of this approach in governing Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, and the governance instruments and strategies put in place for it. The analysis of the case studies' contexts (explored in Chapter Four) supports the identification of the local specificities influencing markets and urban governance trends in each city, revealing the depth of similarities and differences between them. In observing these aspects, the analysis shows how urban governance, as the overall ruling approach of the municipalities, mediates the relationship between public markets and social justice in each city, through specific systems of markets' governance.

The analysis of policies, planning processes and outcomes for markets in each city, complemented by the way in which markets' governance is enforced reveals Belo Horizonte and Birmingham governments' overarching policy agenda for markets and its underlying values. Furthermore, also within the scope of a critical engagement with markets' governance, is the identification of all the policy relevant stakeholders, within and beyond governments (such as market communities) in both study cities. Stakeholders' levels of agency and engagement with markets' governance is analysed (in Chapter Five, in relation to market communities), as well as their impact in the definition of markets' governance strategies, discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. Important questions in this sense, applied in the analysis of markets' governance systems are: How are markets conceived to be? What are they expected to deliver for cities? The possibility of analysing governance imaginaries through representations is particularly helpful when discussing in Chapter Seven the new systems for markets' governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, still to be implemented. Yet, an important contribution of this section is the need to consider governments' institutional capacity *limits*, which enlightens the understanding of *why*, even where there are good policies and committed officers, more social justice is not achieved in the settings of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham.

The growing advocacy for (urban) governance commitment to social justice promotion is nevertheless a hopeful prospect for the governance of markets, and it converges with this study's understanding of governance priorities for cities and markets. The triadic analytical framework inspired in Fainstein's (2010) work was therefore applied to analyse both urban and markets' governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. The following section explains now how this framework was adapted to the setting of markets and completes the explanation of the conceptual framework, bringing together the foregoing discussions on markets, social justice and urban governance.

2.5 Markets as instruments for social justice in cities

The growing body of literature on the field of markets highlights the connection between markets, social justice and urban governance. Beyond academic evidence, institutional research initiatives including Project for Public Space (2003); and the European Union project Urbact Markets (2015), demonstrate the links between markets' functioning and sustainable socioeconomic urban development. Their conclusions emphasise that the role of municipalities and public bodies in the management of markets must not be neglected (Urbact Markets, 2015, p. 24; PPS, 2003), since appropriate planning related to markets and other public spaces plays a key role in cities' liveliness and inhabitants' quality of life, and the way markets are managed has a substantial impact in how sustainable and inclusive they are. Morales (2009) among others defends the local governments' promotion of social justice through markets' functioning and Nikšič and Sezer (2017) make it quite clear how impactful is the management of markets:

'The management of markets impact aspects of their design and access, which crucially lead to more or less inclusive or exclusionary spaces. Inclusion and access to markets regard two types: first, how affordable and open markets are to the most vulnerable groups in cities to make a living through trading, facilitating self-development; second, how open markets are to the multiplicity of urban dwellers, constituting a site for sociability, including traders, in the sense of spontaneous social interaction, offering opportunities for strangers to coexist harmoniously at the same time, regardless of their gender, income, age and cultural groups' (Nikšič and Sezer, 2017, p.166).

Within (increasingly) divided cities all around the world, ways of bridging inequalities are (or should be) a strong concern of (local) governments (Fainstein, 2010), as stark disparities mean more precarious living conditions and employment to those at the poorer end. Section 2.4.2 reported the growing advocacy for an engagement with social justice values in governance and planning. The social justice analytical framework presented in section 2.3 facilitates analysis of markets' actual contributions to social justice, and their governance, which plays an important role in this respect. In the first part of this section (2.5.1), this framework is applied to markets' core functions, outlined above (2.2.2), in support of synthesising the thesis' conceptual framework as the basis for comparison between Belo Horizonte and Birmingham cases.

The remainder of the section discusses markets and their governance contemporary reality, supported by examples from the literature. In exclusionary cities managed according to entrepreneurial principles, markets, as important public spaces and basic infrastructures, become contested spaces. The disputes

around markets can reflect wider struggles for the right to the city, and consequently, for social justice in cities (Gonzalez, 2018). The two clearly identifiable tendencies of 1) decline and eventual disappearance of markets, or 2) renovation through retail gentrification, sometimes interconnected, are presented in 2.5.2. These exclusionary trends are in some settings resisted by market communities, commonly brought together because of the need to resist neoliberal displacement. Section 2.5.3 reports some examples of their activism to defend markets, their potentials and achievements.

Despite the relevance of identifying pressures and disputes around markets, real cases call for a more nuanced understanding that can accommodate complexities, as suggested above. The interplay and interests of stakeholders are multiple and despite uneven power relations that render some weaker, in terms of the likelihood of having their agendas satisfied, there are no absolute victims or oppressors. Section 2.5.4 discusses this, highlighting that ultimately, regardless of defending collective or individual interests and which, stakeholders want to have their agendas satisfied. This understanding supports a more hopeful analysis of markets' governance that can work with the idea that governments, communities, and traders can have common interests that prioritise the collective wellbeing, where economic gains do not eclipse social priorities. There is even potential to lead to alternative governing and economic practices, based on cooperation and solidarity, such as the governance of markets from the perspective of the social and solidarity economy (explained in more detail in section 2.5.5), as a way to inspire planning and management practices related to markets.

2.5.1 Markets and social justice: analytical framework

Markets and equity

Fainstein frames *equity* as the most important of the social justice axes, concerned with distributional inequalities and ways of counteracting them, improving the life quality and prospects of disadvantaged urban groups. Markets' contributions to *equity* are related to their essential nature as public places of provision of basic staples, employment and socialisation. In offering affordable healthy food items, such as fruits and vegetables, markets support food security. Moreover, markets' accessibility, remarked on by Nikšič and Sezer (2017) above, allows traders to make a living, because of its low-entry barriers in terms of economic resources and qualifications. It is important to note that the work at markets is not only a survival strategy. Businesses are part of the social economy and an opportunity for traders to develop a positive relationship with work, feel empowered, and improve their material life quality. Therefore, markets support *contributive* justice. Finally, markets respond to Fainstein's concerns with accessibility to public spaces and their functions in cities by working as spaces of interaction and exchange that are open to the multiplicity of urban dwellers, even those normally excluded from other spaces and considered undesirable by other groups, such as informal traders and the homeless.

Markets and diversity

Markets in their publicness allow for the presence of plurality. Fainstein's *diversity* relate to the recognition of and respect for all groups and identity grounds in cities. In this respect, markets favour

diversity by both providing a sense of local authenticity, and by being settings of a supralocal familiarity, where people from diverse backgrounds tend to feel equally welcomed. Consequently, markets facilitate integration, but rather supporting the forming of *heterogenous* groups, since recognising difference as a positive feature. They are therefore fertile spaces that can give rise to collective bonds forming (perhaps loose) groups, defined as ‘market communities’ in section 2.2.2. Section 2.5.3 will present some examples of politically active communities in which members could rely in social capital constructs to advocate for markets’ preservation.

Markets and democracy

Democracy focuses on how just *processes* of decision-making and governance are, what involves enabling the participation in planning and governance of all the stakeholders impacted by decisions. Accordingly, markets’ governance needs to involve the opportunity for participation in markets’ *organisational realm* of all market stakeholders, including those of its *external realm*: the actors and institutions that are connected to markets in a non-managerial way, i.e. not including municipality nor traders (Schappo and van Melik, 2016). If this is not granted through *invited* spaces of participation, that is, in (formal) participation spaces recognised as legitimate by governments (Miraftab, 2004) market communities can be prompted to claim their right to be part of the planning for markets in *invented* spaces (through insurgent practices contesting authorities, like protests (Miraftab, 2004)). These groups can then articulate discourses about markets social relevance, which can help to direct decisions that consider less technical or numerical variables (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019). While at a small scale, practices of democracy and participation in markets’ governance can inspire the establishment of other practices of *democracy* aiming to reach other/ wider spheres of city life and governance (e.g. Polyak, 2014), perhaps questioning exclusion in cities more broadly, resonating with Gonzalez’s (2020) understanding of markets as ‘*spaces for mobilisation, contestation and debate over public space and the city*’ (p.883).

The following table offers a schematic view of the contributions markets can make to social justice in cities according to Fainstein’s (2010) framework. The findings on Chapters Five to Seven will be presented in tables following the same template and elements.

MARKETS EXPECTED CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE		
Equity	Diversity	Democracy
Food Security; Low-barriers to trading – enabling livelihoods, empowering traders in line with <i>contributive</i> justice; Public accessible spaces, sites for social and cultural practices;	Both Global (supralocal familiarity) and Local (identity and culture); Material and intangible heritage Inclusion of all diverse groups – fostering senses of belonging Contribute to Integration Market communities can emerge	Market communities (involving traders and/ or customers) claim the right to engage in planning and governance of markets Market Communities mobilisation can reach other dimensions of city governance.

Table 2.1: Markets expected contributions to social justice
 Source: Author’s analysis based on multiple authors

Markets and social justice beyond equity, diversity and democracy

Markets are public spaces of a transversal nature, in regard to urban development and social justice. Because they touch a wide spectrum of matters of urban life, they can function as common spaces, favouring not only the civic participation of market communities, but also alternative development experiments. As such, markets hold the potential to support more holistic and sustainable production and consumption practices, based on collaboration rather than competition. This understanding converges with Gonzalez’s (2020) conception of markets as ‘*spaces for building alternative and counter practices of production and consumption*’ (p.886). Therefore, they can be – intentionally or not – aligned with principles of social and solidarity economy, with positive effects that traverse Fainstein’s three axes of social justice, revealing a more holistic connection between markets and social justice, linking to understandings of justice more aligned with Southern moral/ transformative principles.

The broad banner of economic solidarity as an approach is more than an alternative economic model, as explained in 2.3. It is a way of life, involving social, cultural and political practices (Habermehl, 2018 and 2021; Rosa, 2016). It resonates with Bordenave’s idea of participation and moral values such as love, empathy and humility. Therefore, markets planned through the consideration of social and solidarity economy – explained in more detail in 2.5.5 - can support the promotion not only of individual businesses and *contributive* justice, but of different models of collective ownership. Chapter Eight will engage with a discussion of research findings and recommendations for policy and further research from a more holistic South-inspired understanding of social justice, including exploring the potential for developing markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham from an SSE perspective.

2.5.2 Current tendencies in public markets' governance

Municipalities could support markets to promote all the social justice potentials presented above. However, as discussed in section 2.2.1, markets and local governments have historically developed in a relationship of dependence and friction. Literature reveals councils are (to some extent) aware of markets' multiple functions (e.g. Morales, 2009; Dankers and Pavicich, 2019; Habermehl, 2018; Schappo and van Melik, 2016) but more often than not, academic analyses of contemporary planning for markets convey a strong criticism of its drivers and/ or effects. Van Eck (2021) argues that the governance of street vending and market trading has been reshaped by the global dynamics identified above, 'the emergence of a neoliberal urban paradigm of competitive cities and entrepreneurial states' (Rolnik, 2013, p.54 in van Eck, 2021, p.558). Consequently, municipalities often engage in market settings according to one of two main trends:

- 1) either as regulators, constraining growth and flexibility, or even fighting against them (Polyák, 2014), oftentimes through letting them degrade, without economic, management or infrastructural support. Or
- 2) investing in markets, perhaps after an intentional disinvestment period, (Gonzalez, 2020) to transform them to a new public, and exploit them for the generation of profit, which can be a second moment of the trend above.

Representations in governance discourses are intrinsic in the process of policy-making and reveal the interplay between different actors, their agendas and expectations for markets. In the case of the first identified trend, markets across the world are not recognised by governments as valuable spaces (Gonzalez, 2018). They are rather seen as places of insignificant commercial transactions taking place in (considered) dangerous or peripheral locations with poor quality products (Rangel, 2019). Despite their vibrancy, economic relevance and contribution to local economies (e.g. Urbact Markets, 2015), they are ignored and marginalised as if reflecting an underdeveloped status of urban economy (Janecskó, 2010, in Polyák, 2014). They are therefore associated with ideas of precariousness, poverty, informality and even illegality (Schappo, 2015). Nowadays this depiction is complemented with arguments that markets are outdated, inefficient for contemporary urban supply, and an obstacle to modernisation (Delgadillo, 2018). In such case, a period of severe public disinvestment is identified (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; van Eck, van Melik and Schapendonk, 2020).

Governments with this negative understanding of markets argue that they should be demolished and substituted by more modern supply and retail venues, or upgraded (Hou, 2010; Maharaj, 2020; Mehta and Gohil, 2013), which can result in a shift to the second trend and the plan to redevelop markets. A parenthesis is important: the adoption of market halls, as discussed in section 2.2.1, shows that the rationale of repression of markets is not new. It involves a whole ethos of containment and regulation of traditional trading activities (Rangel, 2019), exerting pressure on markets' existing activities and users. 'Revitalization' projects applying this approach are found around the world, including China (Qiang, 2013; Lin Pang and Sterling, 2013), India (Mehta and Gohil, 2013), Turkey (Ünlü- Yücesoy, 2013),

United States (Hou, 2010), Hungary (Polyák, 2014), Netherlands (Janssens, 2014; Janssens and Sezer, 2013b), Spain (Lacarrière, 2016), South Africa (Maharaj, 2020) Brazil (Freire, 2018 and Pereira, 2017) United Kingdom (Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018; Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018) and other countries in Latin America. They are defended, legitimised and naturalised by the negative representations associated with markets' decline explained above.

Framed as the result of a 'natural' economic process, markets' critical state might actually be strategically planned for, to become a strong justification for redevelopment (Gonzalez, 2020). The narrative employed in Juazeiro do Norte (Brazil) (Pereira, 2017) and Barcelona (Cordero, 2017), for example, used the urgency of physical and commercial decline of markets to draw attention away from municipalities' responsibility in the process, while justifying the rapid intervention with the private sector support as a way to 'save' failing markets from extinction (Cordero, 2017). In some cases, governments distort representations to 'demoralise' markets and also traders, with the aim of undermining resistance to plans. This can happen through, for example, spreading claims that traders have illicit activities (Delgadillo, 2018, p. 33), or criminalising traders' resistance against eviction (Maharaj, 2020).

One of the dangers of market redevelopment strategies such as those observed in Barcelona (Cordeiro, 2017), São Paulo (Rangel, 2019), Juazeiro do Norte (Pereira, 2017) and Mexico City (Delgadillo, 2018) is exactly the one-sided discourse employed by councils and partners. Positive words such as *requalification*, *recovery* and *revitalisation* are complemented by moral arguments about the 'good for communities', 'good for municipalities' and 'good for businesses'. The new private managers of the Feirinha da Madrugada market in São Paulo, for example, declared that its mission for the market was 'to promote the inclusion through social, cultural, economic and political development, providing quality products, services and treatment, in a safe and profitable way to customers, shop owners and investors' (Grupo UAI in Rangel, 2019, p.10). Traders were moreover promised an increased footfall and variety of users in the market. Their professional profile would also be more 'reputable' in the new venue: from being considered sometimes semi-illegal marginal workers, traders would be 'elevated' to the 'respectable' category of *entrepreneurs*. Nevertheless, the significant exclusionary effects in the redevelopment of the market were not acknowledged neither in the municipality nor partners discourse (Rangel, 2019). The matter of (concealing) displacement in markets' redevelopment is discussed below.

Contemporary investment in markets, as already suggested, is normally realised with the engagement of the private sector (Freire, 2018; Maharaj, 2020). Governments argue they have tight budgets and are overwhelmed by their multiple functions, representing themselves as rather powerless. The combination of arguments of 'good for all' with 'powerless governments' is very instrumental to convince civil society more broadly of the need for private investment and management for markets. It is defended by local authorities as essential to alleviate the managing and financial responsibilities of weak states (Pereira, 2017), and to ensure markets' economic sustainability (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018). Hence, governments (try to) persuade traders and society that the outcome will be better, which

sometimes result in their cooperation in the redevelopment process (Rangel, 2019). Potential concerns with social exclusion are therefore eclipsed (Delgadillo, 2018, p. 22), guaranteeing that the neoliberal ideology is established unquestionably (Pereira, 2017). The case of Juazeiro do Norte is again instrumental to illustrate the matter, where the council stated the following before local markets became privately managed:

'The outsourcing is positive for the city, because beyond the economic saving for the municipality, there will be investment in the recuperation of the markets, the construction of a new market [and] at the end of the contract, everything returns to municipal management since the [markets] belong to Juazeiro do Norte. What was before a source of expenses and loss for the public funds now will generate profit' (Pereira, 2017, pp. 41-42, author's translation).

When the private sector is assigned the responsibility of managing markets, the governance approach is likely to be significantly – if not completely - profit oriented. The change therefore commonly involves more expensive rental fees for market traders. Combined with more bureaucratic requirements, higher fees raise the bar in terms of markets' accessibility to employment (Gonzalez, 2018 and 2020; Rangel, 2019). Processes of increased regulation (Rangel, 2019), formal governance and the sanitisation of spaces (van Eck, van Melik and Schapendonk, 2020) furthermore create conditions that will likely compromise – at least partially – markets' social and community benefits, contributing to the displacement of vulnerable market users and traders (Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018, p.134) and resulting in retail gentrification (Gonzalez, 2020). In the case of the Feirinha da Madrugada, despite the 'all' positive narrative, traders that could not make this move to the new market were excluded and ever since strongly repressed when encroach neighbouring public space to trade informally (Rangel, 2019). Yet, for the traders that can afford this transition, not all changes are negative. In São Paulo, the enrolment in a legal registry of entrepreneurship provided access to public pension schemes and more labour security (Rangel, 2019).

The second trend despite growing worldwide has its geographical variations. In cities of the global North, authorities recognise a clear potential economic gain from markets, including helping to attract external investments to the city, working as flagship elements within urban regeneration agendas and city branding (e.g. Cordeiro, 2017). Urban landscapes' foremost function within a context of intercity competition is to impress and stimulate visitors through a beautified upmarket appearance, contributing to spatial changes that make cityscapes more desirable (Zukin, 2008, p. 736), as highlighted above in 2.4.1. In the context of undifferentiated high streets, with a repetition of franchises, especially in European cities, markets' *authenticity* appears to be a valuable element.

The search for authenticity in cities today is triggered by a loss of sense of place that globalisation and the standardisation of urban landscape is bringing about (Gonzalez, 2018, p. 183). Markets are seen as a place where these roots can be found, where one can belong and reconnect, with the place, the products, the countryside and the people (Gonzalez, 2018; Pintaudi, 2006; Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019). Yet, since authenticity cannot be fabricated, as it depends on the spontaneous everyday practices and products sold at traditional markets (Cordero, 2017), reinvented markets tend to become a simulacrum

of the original ones (Freire, 2018). Nevertheless, markets' authenticity - whether real or invented – can become a source of power (Zukin, 2008) for municipalities and partners. It is commodified together with everything that can help selling the concept and model of 'traditional markets' (Pintaudi, 2006) as an experience destination, converting them in motors of vibrant high streets and street life (Schlack, Turnbull and Sánchez, 2018): markets' history, culture, architectural heritage (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019), identity (Freire, 2018).

This situation fits what Gonzalez (2020) classified as markets becoming the site of *extraction of profit*, where municipalities transform them in new frontiers for the accumulation and capital reproduction in the urban scale (Pereira, 2017, p.45) and exclusion. Redeveloped markets commonly become dissociated from their original food provisioning role, develop elitist consumption practices, e.g. *gourmet* trends (Arreortua and del Campo, 2018), and lose their feature of public space (Cordero, 2017) which is constituted through social relations of vicinity and trust¹⁹. Hence, redevelopment projects of the kind can just 'pay lip service to social mixing [but be] accompanied by the displacement of the poor, and diminishing 'levels of social mix, ethnic diversity, and immigrant concentration' (Lees et al., 2007, p. 293 in Pottie-Sherman, 2013, p. 174).

Increasingly, academic research stresses markets' instrumental role for studying wider struggles for the right to the city and urban (exclusionary) transformations both in the global North and South (Gonzalez, 2020, p.877; Pereira, 2017). Retail gentrification and upmarket new venues, besides compromising the social justice potential of markets, can also promote the raising of property values around them (Filipi, 2013). Therefore, retrofitted to a wealthier clientele and gentrified, markets are 'at the frontier of processes of displacement and dispossession' (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 890). Exclusionary spaces in cities, be it specific infrastructures or whole neighbourhoods, not only lead to fragmented territories, but for the excluded parts of the population decrease their confidence regarding ownership, inclusion and belonging to public spaces (Nikšič and Sezer, p.167).

2.5.3 Collective resistance through market communities

'El poder no sólo está en el poder público o privado; igual está en los sujetos y grupos sociales, aparentemente afectados por esos procesos llevados adelante por el poder público y/o el mercado' (Lacarrieu, 2016, p.40).²⁰

Despite the disheartening governance trends just described, it is important to remember that markets hold the potential for alternative development projects inspired by social justice, with stakeholders'

¹⁹ Farmers' and craft markets, while not the focus of this research, are also part of this 'new wave' of markets. Despite being celebrated in research as tools promoting social cohesion at neighbourhood scale and even employment opportunities (e.g. PPS, 2003), they can nevertheless also generate exclusionary transformations (Gonzalez, 2020).

²⁰ Power is not only present in the public or private power; it is equally in the subjects and social groups apparently affected by these processes taken forward by the public authorities and/ or the market.

agency playing an important role in it, as remarked above by Lacarrieu (2016). The promotion of change in markets' governance, to support social justice, happens commonly through invented spaces of participation involving market communities, whose agenda tend to clash with interests of municipalities and private partners, to maximise land value (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 885). Market communities can reunite a variety of stakeholders from the civil society, including market traders, customers, residents and even owners of adjacent businesses (Schappo and van Melik, 2016). Building on the combination of varied skills and social capital resources, they perform activism and resistance to neoliberal pressures in cities of different sizes and countries, for instance in England (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018; Rivlin and Gonzalez, 2018), South Africa (Maharaj, 2020) and Brazil (Pereira, 2017), playing an important role in how governance plans move forward or not.

Examples from the literature indicate the diversity of market communities' movement, their strategies, and achievements. Their discussion can inspire analysis of stakeholders' mobilisation in other contexts facing similar threats, as is the case in this study's analysis of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, linking to the *democracy* element of social justice. Furthermore, it can inspire action against exclusionary trends, suggesting specific strategies of advocacy and activism for markets. One basic premise nevertheless is to contest governments' stated 'neutral' economic rationale for financial efficiency in defending markets' redevelopment, which can be done by market communities through employing a social welfare discourse. In this way, they can defend livelihoods, inclusion, and justice, even accusing redevelopment plans of intentionally promoting 'ethnic/ social cleansing' (Maharaj, 2020). While concerns within market communities can vary, for instance, between priorities of traders (more concerned with the impacts of plans in their income-generation activities (Schappo, 2015)) and community (socialising and provision), Gonzalez (2020) stresses that resistance to markets' redevelopment can encourage wider city-level public debates, with the support of social and local media. Markets' public nature is stressed in such discussions, and they are defended as 'the last bastions of inclusiveness, affordability and diversity at the margins of the neoliberal city' (Gonzalez 2020, p.884).

In London, three markets and their communities were studied by Gonzalez and Dawson (2018): The Queen's Market and the Friends of Queen's Market – FoQM; The Seven Sisters' Market and the Wards Corner Community Coalition – WCCC; and Shepherd's Bush Market and the Shepherd's Bush Market Tenants Association – SBMTA). All the markets are in low-income and highly international neighbourhoods, which suffer from London's heavy real estate pressure and its gentrification effects. After a period of disinvestment, redevelopment plans appeared, trying to profit from markets now understood to be under-realised profit generating opportunities (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018, p.59). The groups emerged from the need to act against redevelopment projects for the markets. They created petitions and lobbied against the planning applications approved by the council, questioning the lack of public participation in their development and the expected exclusionary effects of the plans. Furthermore, they provided research evidence of the social relevance of the markets to vulnerable communities, entered legal battles with the participation of solicitors, and produced alternative

development projects. Groups were successful in their resistance, forcing the council to step back in granting permissions to private projects. They argued that markets need to be recognised in policies and planning as more than commercial hubs; as public and community spaces, affordable and welcoming for low income and ethnic minority groups, where these can find support and solidarity (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018, p.66-67).

The example of these groups show that market communities hold *oppositional* and *propositional* powers, respectively the capacity to resist plans deemed exclusionary/ improper; and to propose alternative plans. They can enact such powers and defend markets through multiple strategies both in invited and invented spaces of participation. Invented spaces such as social media can denounce exclusionary plans and be instrumental in articulating the wider public support (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018). In Juazeiro do Norte, Pereira's work (2017) showed how the local media strengthened traders' mobilisation and claims against the council and partners through denouncing irregular political practices and contracts, which resulted in heavy criticism from the wider civil society. Nevertheless, planning and legal arenas, while more restrictive in terms of access (depend on financial resources and some technical expertise) can deliver more long-lasting results. There is where the social relevance of markets can be institutionalised, and its compliance demanded and monitored. In Juazeiro do Norte, after five years of battle in court, market traders managed to have the public management re-established, while discussing alternatives of cooperative management to be performed by the traders themselves or in partnership with the council (Pereira, 2017). The FoQM group furthermore managed to have a special policy in markets included in the Mayor's London Plan of 2010:

'in considering proposals for redevelopment (the mayor should) consider whether this will impact on economically hard-pressed groups; enable(s) mechanisms to protect the levels of rent necessary for the market's social and locally affordable function' (Friends of Queen Market, n.d. in Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018, p.66).

This is a significant achievement and important step in guaranteeing greater legal protection of markets facing current and future threats to their existence in the city (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018). Nevertheless, the collective mobilisation of these groups did not stop at the markets' individual struggle. With new expertise development, communities engaged other social justice relevant debates, campaigns and experimental practices in the city, defending, for instance, housing rights and cultural heritage protection (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018). This shows evidence of the second element of *democracy* in Table 2.1.

2.5.4 Beyond stereotypes: acknowledging complexity in markets' governance

The discussion in the last two sections delineated the dynamics of contestation around markets very clearly. Nevertheless, in observing the complex reality of cities and market cases in more detail, and from multiple angles, it is suggested that to support change it is necessary to keep with the more nuanced understanding of urban governance, explained above, and approach markets' governance dynamics and stakeholders more openly. Barcelona's model of market management is an interesting

case to explore this reasoning. It is the most well-known among public authorities aiming for markets as instruments for city branding, awarded international prizes (Urbact Markets, 2015) and sold to market managers around the world (Montaner, 2012 in Cordero, 2017) as a successful model defending markets as tools of sustainable urban development, promoting employment and entrepreneurship. It is, nevertheless, a contested example – both defended (Urbact Markets, 2015) and criticised in literature (e.g. Cordero, 2017; Gonzalez, 2020).

Aimed at contributing to Barcelona's image for the Olympic Games, central markets²¹ such as La Boqueria and Santa Caterina were remodelled physically and now offer the sort of spectacle that tourists and wealthier audiences consume (Cordero, 2017). They are part of a new system of mixed financing, with the council responsible for fifty per cent and the private sector for the other half, through concessions for restaurants and even supermarkets that join the new offer of gourmet-kind businesses. To accompany the new format, original traders had access to professional training, promoting 'corporative efficiency'. Their businesses were redesigned, and markets were widely advertised, and cultural events promoted (Cordero, 2017, pp.171-172).

Gonzalez (2020) condemns models like Barcelona, but also contends that the relationship of processes of gentrification, displacement and dispossession with markets in cities across the world includes wider processes of retail and urban transformation. Such exclusionary dynamics are complex, and play out differently according to the institutional and governance arrangements that surround markets (ownership, regulations, traders' rights, etc.) and the local context (Gonzalez, 2020, p.881). In fact, a more holistic consideration of the strategy adopted in Barcelona suggests it is imprudent to condemn the model in its entirety. Barcelona has more than forty markets, with distinctive characteristics. According to the council, they reflect and attend to the needs of their neighbourhoods²², where the municipality tries to update the system and provision of goods and services to keep markets as economically sustainable spaces serving the local population (Municipality of Barcelona, n.d.). Therefore, it is advised that analyses of strategies of markets' governance should not assume from the outset that governments' primary – or only - intention is to gentrify markets and profit from them.

A more nuanced view might reveal cases where public authorities and perhaps even private partners are truly committed to markets' social justice capacities (Schappo, 2015). In particular, the well-defined trend of co-optation of markets for profit-making in the global North is not yet experienced with the same strength or coherence in the global South (Pereira, 2017). The example of the market La Quebradilla in Alto Hospício, Chile, reported by Dankers and Pavivich (2019) and mentioned earlier, is worth unfolding because it illustrates well a pro-justice effort by the municipality. Council officers' understanding of the market's role for the city is: 'to provide for employment of the most vulnerable

²¹ Central markets were the first to be redeveloped, but neighbourhood ones are also progressively going through transformations.

²² My experience living in Barcelona for a year in 2016-2017, more specifically in the neighbourhood of Sant Andreu, supports the understanding that neighbourhood markets in the city do not necessarily follow a trend of exclusionary redevelopment.

cases in terms of the social and economic aspects, facilitating the conditions so that they can work' (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019, p.62, author's translation). The market has more than a thousand stalls and yet, the money generated by it through permits and other taxes does not cover its management costs, revealing the local authorities' 'social perspective' in La Quebradilla's governance. Some proven deprived stall holders are even entitled to fees' exemption (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019, p. 62-63). The municipality is well aware that employment opportunities in the city fluctuate a lot, and oftentimes the poor have to resort to vending to support their families, which is why some level of informality is furthermore tolerated in the market.

The analysis of real cases also presents other important narratives that can contradict the assumptions, so far suggested, that 1) traders and customers always have similar interests and therefore work together defending markets to support social justice; and 2) that market communities are always active against exclusionary plans for markets' governance. Not all market redevelopment projects evoke mobilisation and resistance, for example. In fact, perhaps the majority simply result in scattered criticism and dissatisfaction, limited to discussions between traders and market operators (Gonzalez, 2018). And residents and customers, depicted as so active in the previous section, might be uncritical and even welcoming to exclusionary changes in markets (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 886) as suggested by Rangel (2019), above. Another issue is that community and traders' interests do not always converge. The example of the market in Gràcia, Barcelona, presents traders clashing with the anti-gentrification campaign of residents, fearful that delays in the redevelopment of the market, after years of neglect, will threaten their livelihoods (Benvenuti, 2017 in Gonzalez, 2020, p. 886).

Traders' behaviour in some contexts can actually promote exclusion more deliberately. Examples from Mexico City (Contreras, 2020; Méndez, 2018) and Ghana (Lyon, 2003) reveal traders' organisations defending their own (group) interests via clientelist and corruptive practices with governments. They oppress others who are more vulnerable (Contreras, 2020a), for instance informal or aspirant traders, who can be denied access to marketspaces controlled informally by these organisations (Lyon, 2003). In the majority of cases, solidarity practices and disputes, though at varied degrees, coexist in markets. Competition and animosity furthermore are likely to increase in proportion to markets' size and diversity of stakeholders and the extent that trading is compromised by markets' decline or economic crises (Schappo, 2015; S. Watson, 2006). Cases like these thus reveal that markets are not idyllic havens of conviviality.

Finally, literature discourses imply that markets 'were better before', in a perhaps distorted nostalgic perception (S. Watson, 2006). Yet, an undeniable reality, emphasised by markets' decline, is that markets need to change, to accompany the evolution of societies (Pintaudi, 2006). For instance, they might need to adapt opening hours (Wolhuter, 2002) and products on offer if not to disappear. Therefore, the criticism against markets' redevelopment trends should not question or resist redevelopment per se, because it will transform markets. What shall be questioned is the *way* in which change happens, and what *result* it aims for. Within the complex landscape and resource constraints of governments, the employment of private management and capital in the revitalization of markets,

while economically driven, may be the only viable alternative to bring life back to markets condemned to abandonment (Freire, 2018) and to maintain - or even promote new - social agendas. What determines the inclusivity or exclusivity performed by a market lies in the 'details', such as how planning processes are conducted (for example, whether they are in line with *democracy* or not) and how 'socially just' policies are enforced or not, and monitored. This is where the task of designing, organising, and managing a market gains its ultimate significance (Polyák, 2014).

2.5.5 Alternatives for markets' governance and development

'Markets can nurture the kinds of politicised consumption and production practices that challenge the existing industrialised and globalised agri-food and other commodity system' (Soler Montiel et al., 2010 in Gonzalez, 2020, p.888).

It has been suggested above that markets have the potential for transformative practices, and here this potential is explored in more detail. The action of market communities and their achievements are a reminder that there are avenues for hope in markets' governance, and that individual and collective agency have the potential to promote change. Even if not completely revolutionary, initiatives can nevertheless result in improvements in markets' situations. Strategies to promote transformations in line with social justice, while associated with insurgence – as the cases discussed above showed – can also come from (collaboration with) governments. The Hague Market redevelopment process, presented in section 2.2.2, involved a council-led top-down attempt to promote collaboration between municipality officers, traders, and community. Aware that higher levels of the municipality had covert intentions of potentially privatising the market after refurbishment, the team of outsourced consultants working for the municipality in the markets' refurbishment phase decided to support a process of traders and community empowerment, via the creation of a cooperative. As such, it fostered the creation of market communities, engaging them in the organisational level of markets (Schappo and van Melik, 2016).

The unfolding of the process revealed that historical issues between municipality and traders, such as top-down planning, mistrust, uneven power relations and individual interests, jeopardised the prospects of the plan and their mutual collaboration in planning for the market. Nevertheless, it still set an important milestone in the direction of creating more understanding and hopefully collaboration between the council and the traders. Besides, the civic relevance of the market was extended, with social justice roles increased. Surrounded by two highly deprived and international neighbourhoods, the market started providing internship opportunities for students of two local schools (see image on section 2.2.2) included in the network of stakeholders approached to plan the markets.

The case of the Hague Market, despite not being conceived as such, revealed some elements of collaboration seen in projects connected to social and solidarity economy, such as cooperativism. As explained before, SSE offers a helpful model to promote social justice in markets in accordance not only with Fainstein's triad, but to more holistic conceptions of social justice that focus on human individual and collective moral development. Viderman, Rosa and Aigner (2014) state that:

'From the perspective of the Social and Solidarity Economy the markets are conceived as environments that allow for the commercialisation of what is produced by families or groups, creating spaces that favour the connection between producers and consumers. Therefore, they promote the production of healthier and fresher goods, fair trade that guarantees dignified living conditions for the producers, social exchanges and closer bonds with other people, the community and nature' (pp. 45-46, author's translation).

The Mercado Bonpland in Argentina, mentioned before, is 'a [SSE] space for prefiguration of a different and fairer future, which challenges the inevitability of the status quo' (Habermehl, 2021, p.539) and could inspire the governance/ planning of markets in the direction of promoting more holistic social justice. Bonpland is a small neighbourhood market, with 17 stalls managed each by a cooperative of producers. Nevertheless, perhaps because of the small size, it can be governed by an ethos of commitment to SSE and agroecological production and consumption. It was created in 1990's during a severe economic crisis in Argentina, and it is still a physical and political space of connection, with a collaborative economic approach between traders, producers and consumers (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018; Habermehl, 2021; Viderman, Rosa and Aigner, 2014). Images 2.7 and 2.8 below show the market.

Unfortunately, despite being included in some state apparatuses, SSE still occupies a marginal space in terms of recognition of its economic importance (Fernandes and Diniz, 2018; Diniz, 2019). It is rather seen as a social welfare support alternative. The Mercado Bonpland for example still receives public subsidies to operate (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018) leading to the realisation that such alternative experiences, similarly to the examples of strong market communities and their achievements, are mostly marginal and situated within wider circuits of capital accumulation and exploitation (Gonzalez, 2020, p.889). Still, well-organised market communities are capable of bridging to a significant extent the power unevenness between them and the influential public authorities and private investors. In working together, they achieve objectives that would have not been possible individually, and find resources to cope with crises (such as the pandemic) (van Eck, van Melik and Schapendonk, 2020).



Figures 2.7 and 2.8: Entrance of the Mercado Bonpland (left), and interior of the market (right)

Sources: <https://pt.foursquare.com/v/mercado-de-econom%C3%ADa-solidaria-bonpland/4dcee5c71f6eb12270871265> (left) and <https://www.puraciudad.com.ar/palermo-clausuraron-el-mercado-bonpland-y-haran-ferias-callejeras-para-exigir-la-reapertura/> (right)

Where such communities encounter governments enlightened about markets' social justice relevance for cities, such as in the discussed cases of The Hague and Alto Hospício, the possibility of markets' governance and promotion being aligned with social justice objectives is higher. This suggests that to be more effective, approaches towards this objective should be both top-down and bottom-up. And, in the hope to be successful, they need to face the complex reality of implicated stakeholders, and their capacity and limitations, in face of often (un)favourable structural circumstances.

This section combined the discussions about public markets, social justice in cities, and urban governance. First it applied the social justice analytical framework to markets' field. The resulting criteria will initially be used to identify markets' current contribution to social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, in Chapter Five. Furthermore, it will allow for the analysis of markets' current and envisioned roles according to municipalities, their governance systems and the outcomes of these for markets in each of my case studies, in Chapters Six and Seven. The developed framework will enable the comparative work between cities and within them, in comparing the current and new systems of markets' governance. It will not only indicate if markets' governance is being developed in the direction of promoting more justice or not, but to what extent and in which axes' directions. The awareness of achievements in different axes of social justice can indicate clearer directions of how governance can be improved for markets, to tackle especially the weaker points.

A second aim of the section was to present a more complete, complex, and nuanced discussion of markets' governance challenges and opportunities in relation to social justice, and the role played by different stakeholders in this. Examples revealed that while there are strong trends identified in markets' contemporary development and governance, inferred stereotypes can be unhelpful simplifications for the analysis of the plural universe of markets from a critical standpoint informed by epistemic justice. Perhaps the governments' planning for markets to support social justice in cities, in the real world of economic limitations of the public sector, might need to include the involvement of private partners as investors and managers, be the solutions more bottom-up (e.g. with cooperatives/associations of traders) or even involving entrepreneurial governance strategies (e.g. tenderings). This understanding, appreciating complexity and the need for inputs from diverse stakeholders, has informed the research approach in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham.

This section also presented real cases of resistance and activism from market communities. The reporting of their constitution, values, activities and achievements supports the statement that civil society has the power to influence the shaping of the governance of markets and beyond. When analysing Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, I engage with market communities and explore their composition, strategies and achievements (especially in Chapter Five). Markets' governance systems and development are also analysed more systemically, with the observation of the presence of

elements in markets constitution and functioning that converge with practices and principles of social and solidarity economy, such as cooperatives. Chapter Eight then discusses challenges and possibilities to develop markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham in more alternative directions.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework of this research, based on a detailed engagement with academic and policy literature on public markets, social justice and urban governance. First, it contextualised and justified the relevance of this study on two fronts. Considering the contributions to knowledge in the field of markets, it addresses the deficiency in comparative studies and in the understanding of development and governance trends in formal markets in the Global South. Furthermore, discussion suggests that markets, currently subjected to exclusionary governance trends, can be helpful policy instruments to support social justice in cities. This takes place in a context of growing intensity and complexity of inequality problems in urban development, which call for governments' urgent action in the direction of promoting more social justice. Therefore, this research relevance also lies in explaining the connection between markets, social justice and urban governance, in different global contexts, so that it can support municipalities planning (more effectively) for markets as spaces for the promotion of social justice in cities.

The argument that markets should be framed and governed to support social justice in cities depended on a clear definition of what is included in the idea of 'social justice', and the determination of a framework of analysis with clear criteria. The discussion in section 2.3 explained how the debate in social justice evolved since the advent of neoliberalism, diversifying the types of injustices identified. The criteria developed by Fainstein (2010), sensitive to *distributive*, *recognition* and *procedural* aspects of justice was adopted for this research, because of its planning-relevance, straightforwardness, and adaptability. The framework was employed in section 2.5 to categorise the markets' multiple potential roles for cities, and it is used to compare and analyse markets' contributions and their governance systems. It is important to highlight that the conception of social justice in this study includes some ideas of South authors which encourage a more holistic understanding and promotion of social justice, in line with epistemic justice and a holistic human development that allow for the critical engagement with Fainstein's framework in Chapter Eight. Furthermore, an alternative lens for social justice in markets is provided by the social and solidarity economy, which informs later reflections on alternative possibilities for markets also in Chapter Eight.

The discussion of markets and urban governance development trends in this chapter indicated the need to consider contextual *structural* and *institutional* (governance) aspects, which are entangled in delivering the setting where markets develop relationally. Therefore, Chapter Four begins with the discussion of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham's context, constituted by national and local spheres, as well as the local impacts of global trends, such as retail modernisation and entrepreneurial governance. Chapter Four identifies how contexts determine markets' specific development patterns. Subsequently, Chapter Five explores markets' contemporary contributions to social justice in each case. The analysis

employing the framework developed in section 2.5.1 suggests causal relations between identified potentials and deficiencies in social justice contributions, contexts, and urban governance, complementing perceptions expressed in Chapter Four. Chapter Six then closes a circle, clarifying the extent of the indicated causal relations in the previous two chapters by discussing markets' current governance systems. Finally, engaging with municipalities' imaginary for the future of the public markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, Chapter Seven reveals more clearly the local governments' agenda for markets' development and what roles they are expected to have for the cities. In sum, it shows the extent to which urban governance understands markets relevance for social justice in cities and supports their functioning in that direction (or not).

Before the analytical chapters, Chapter Three presents the specific research questions emerging from the theoretical discussions in this chapter, and research gaps (identified here and in the Introduction), and the methodology adopted to collect data in order to respond to these.

3. Research design and methodology

'[T]here is no global social justice without global cognitive justice' (Santos, 2014, p.237).

3.1 Introduction

Marketplaces fulfil multiple roles for cities, in line with social justice aspirations. Yet, in many cases around the world, these roles are not recognised nor promoted through markets' governance. As a result, these public infrastructures, once so essential for cities' existence and governments' legitimisation, are marginalised in contemporary processes of exclusionary transformation, be it through redevelopment projects aiming to attract a different population of traders and customers, or through neglect and closure. Considering the changing nature of markets' governance and the argument developed in Chapter Two, that markets can contribute to more socially just processes and outcomes in cities, my research investigates how public markets function, and are supported (or not) by local governments, as spaces for social justice promotion.

The discussion in the Introduction showed that despite the substantial body of research on markets in recent years, there are still important frontiers of knowledge in which advances are needed. Gaps reveal there is a fragmented understanding of markets within the field, which calls for more studies addressing not only global North and South contexts, but also comparative studies across this geographical divide, in order to advance theoretical and empirical understandings of markets globally. This research contributes to these debates, delivering a relational comparative study of (formal) public markets in two cities: one in the global South, in Belo Horizonte (Brazil); and one in the North, in Birmingham (UK). The stark division implied by these labels and the stereotypes they evoke, along with normative hierarchies which position Northern theory and experience as superior, will be interrogated and challenged through the analysis and presentation of findings from these two case study cities.

Santos' (2014) quote above implies that academic research has a responsibility for contributing to the construction of social justice. This chapter therefore explains the comparative research design and methodology of this study, which informed by post/decolonial urban debates (e.g. McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2006) converges with notions of epistemic justice in knowledge production. It is divided into six sections. Section 3.2 presents the study's research questions and 3.3, the ontological and epistemological foundations underpinning it, and its comparative rationale. Section 3.4 explains the rationale behind the choice of Birmingham and Belo Horizonte, presenting a brief profile of each city. Section 3.5 presents the study's qualitative methodology, specific methods, and analytical approach. Section 3.6 reflects on positionality, and research challenges and limitations and 3.7 concludes the chapter.

3.2 Research questions

My research aims to contribute to the understanding of how public markets (can) support social justice for cities, and what role urban governance plays in this, considering the cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. Therefore, based on the review of literature presented in the preceding chapter, I developed the following research questions to investigate these two cities:

Overarching question:

How do public markets support social justice in cities, and what role does urban governance play in this, considering insights from Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?

Supporting sub-questions:

- a) What are the key contextual factors influencing markets and their governance in Belo Horizonte and in Birmingham? How do they impact those and the relationship between markets and local governments?*
- b) What is the relationship between public markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?*
- c) What role does urban governance play in mediating the relationship between markets and social justice, in terms of the current system of markets' governance in each case?*
- d) How do the future imaginaries projected for markets and their supporting systems of governance affect their (potential for) social justice?*

The first and overarching question will be discussed in Chapter Eight, with the conclusions of the research. Supporting this, sub-questions a) to d) are discussed in chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven, respectively. The ontological and epistemological foundations of this research's comparative approach are discussed below.

3.3 The comparative rationale

Ontology and epistemology, in any given research, are charged with political meaning and have justice implications, within and beyond academia (Woodard and Jones, 2009). This research's ontology, inspired by post-structuralism, conceives reality as dynamic, ever becoming, and complex. There are objective components materialised in the world but, simultaneously, infinite subjective and immaterial elements that do not exist in isolation, in ongoing interaction with objective materiality. Objects and events are not 'things in themselves' and phenomena cannot be dissociated from experience, since reality is apprehended by 'being in the world' (Woodard and Jones, 2009). Yet, there are other specificities, as the process of knowing reality is embodied and partial. It depends on the lens of who observes it, from where and at what time, and hence is *situated* (Barnes, 2009; Haraway, 1991)²³.

²³I will discuss the implications of my own situatedness in section 3.6, as it is indissociable from all that this work is.

The assumption that there is an absolute neutral objectivity that can be apprehended in full through science is a myth defended by hegemonic views of mainly Western white man (Haraway, 1991; Massey, 2005) who conceal the situatedness and parochialism (Robinson, 2006) of their ontology. To address such limiting ways of apprehending and producing knowledge about the world, it is necessary to unveil their roots and embrace complexity. Nevertheless, so as not to be drawn in an ocean of relativism and isolation (Barnes, 2009), and to purposefully act in the world, it is necessary to develop a 'workable objectivity' (Haraway, 1991): a collectively co-constructed, circumstantial, and unavoidably incomplete 'truth', transparent about its positionality, biases, and internal contradictions. In line with the ontology presented, a relational comparison of cities should conceive them as 'dense bundles of social relations and power-infused interactions that are always formed out of entanglements and connections with dynamics at work in other places, and in wider regional, national and transnational arenas' (Hart, 2002 p. 297 in Ward, 2010, p.481). In sum, cities are 'open, embedded and relational' (Ward, 2010, p. 481).

The epistemological orientation of this comparative study was informed by critical literature around comparative research, rooted in post/decolonial²⁴ debates (e.g. McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2006, 2014 and 2016; Santos, 2014 and 2018). The concept of epistemic justice emerged later (see section 2.3) and it is a way of clearly articulating - in relation to the social justice conceptual framework - the epistemological commitment to pluralising urban theory and contributing to more justice in knowledge production. There is a need to redress epistemic injustices that reproduce and are reproduced by enduring unfair social, political and economic colonial legacies (Bhambra, 2014; Quijano 2007; Santos (2014 and 2018)), in the process of promoting social justice (Santos, 2014). Mafalda's cartoon below represents well the extent of this domination.



Figure 3.1: Mafalda's cartoon, highlighting the influence of colonialism in the mentality of people living in the global South
 Source: <https://7egsilvasusana.blogspot.com/2019/01/mafalda-1964-1973.html>

²⁴ There is no consensus on the scope and differences between the terms decolonialism and postcolonialism, in urban studies, and many would potentially use them interchangeably, as their epistemological arguments do overlap significantly. The work of Bhambra (2014): *Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues*, marks the distinctions of each movement, the geographical roots, time span and key authors, and can be consulted for a clearer understanding of differences.

²⁵ Author's translation of the cartoon: 1) Mafalda: But Libertad, you are putting it upside down. 2) Libertad: Upside down in relation to what? Earth is in space, and space has neither *up* nor *down*. 3) Libertad: This thing that the North Hemisphere is the one *on top* is a psychological trick invented by those who *believe* they are *on top*, so that we that *believe* we are *below* keep *believing* that we are *below*. And the evil is that if we keep *believing* we are *below*, we will *continue to be below*. But from today, that is over! 4) Mafalda's mother: Mafalda, where were you? Mafalda: I don't know, but something is over.

Regarding urban studies, epistemic injustices result from 'universal' theories about cities constructed solely based on phenomena observed in cities of the global North (Robinson, 2006; Ward, 2010.) The urgency to incorporate insights from cities of the geopolitical South (i.e. Southern urban theory), is nevertheless not only a matter of epistemic justice, but the only way of more holistically approaching contemporary cities' realities, illuminating understandings of processes in both global South and North (Hentschel, 2015), producing relevant and applicable knowledge in the twenty-first century (Brenner and Schmid, 2015; Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Robinson, 2014, Roy, 2009a; V. Watson, 2009). Yet, it is an attempt to pluralise knowledge beyond limiting conceptual boundaries (Mabin, 2014), and not to establish a new hegemony (Bhambra, 2014; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012).

The adoption of a relational comparative investigation (Robinson, 2014; Ward, 2010) that considers case cities as 'ordinary' (Robinson, 2006), is appropriate to operationalise this vision because none of the cases is elevated as a model, as is the case in developmentalist approaches. Such an approach enables the exploration of different tactics of urban development, drawing on the distinctive characteristics of each city (Robinson, 2006, p. 11). This methodological choice thus allowed me to produce novel knowledge about formal markets, a topic which remains under-researched in global Southern contexts. Through putting Belo Horizonte and Birmingham in conversation (McFarlane, 2010), I aim to contribute to debates on markets' development and governance for social justice, through exploring context-specific factors alongside global and regional influences. I observed how similar processes in each context, such as 'entrepreneurial governance', unfolded in the localised complexity of Birmingham and Belo Horizonte' urban environments. This allows me to put theory in revision (Robinson, 2016), observing how expected trends are denied or confirmed (deductive process), and to what extent, in each case. Moreover, I also gained insight of nuanced, unanticipated novel features of these phenomena in these cities, which allows me to inductively provide emergent interpretations (Robinson, 2016).

Comparative work has the potential to formulate new positions and lines of inquiry (McFarlane, 2010). The novel aspects discovered in each case inspired me to question the other city (Ward, 2010), resulting in an iterative and open-to-revision template for analysis: In the engagement with Belo Horizonte, I calibrated (e.g. what is the apparent depth of the X phenomenon?) and sharpened (e.g. what should I pay more attention to, i.e. prioritise?) my strategy, leading to a clearer definition of comparison elements. Yet, this emerging analytical 'map' was also open to the input of Birmingham; and, subsequently, I recalibrated my considerations about Belo Horizonte. Through this iterative process, I locate my findings about markets, social justice, and local governance implications in the continuum between the *general* and the *specific*; '*between what is true of all societies and what is true of one society at one point in time and space*' (Sjoberg 1959, in Ward, 2010, p. 474). Similarly, I identify the specificities and common elements between my cases, observing them in relation to assumptions of 'expected' distinctions because of their North or South global location.

3.4 The cities' selection

The deliberate choice of non-'paradigmatic cities' (McFarlane, 2010) with similarities in terms of size, national relevance, and experienced urban challenges, but differences in terms of geopolitical (and epistemological) regions, was informed by critical post/decolonial debates and Southern urban theory. Understanding the limitation of a global South and North dualism, I engaged with these cities as 'ordinary' (Robinson, 2006) as mentioned above, keeping the binary provocatively, with validity to be questioned through research findings. Within this design, the choices of the UK and Brazil came naturally, for practical and academic reasons: there is a substantial body of academic (e.g. Gonzalez, 2018; S. Watson, 2006 and 2009) and institutional research on English markets (e.g. Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009; Mission for Markets, 2018), and access to the field and informants was facilitated because of my academic enrolment and language knowledge. The choice of Brazil was guided by the lively culture of street markets (*feiras*) and municipal marketplaces, which nevertheless have not yet been investigated from an urban planning academic perspective (though see relevant works from related fields, e.g. Freire, 2018; Pereira, 2017), as well as my proficiency in Portuguese and knowledge about the national context and legal framework (as a Brazilian national).

In Brazil the choice of Belo Horizonte was driven by the evidence of a strong culture of markets in the city and some recent progressive local planning measures. In the UK, the chosen case was Birmingham, founded as a market city. An important commonality was the markets' redevelopment processes which are currently underway in both cities. Moreover, Belo Horizonte and Birmingham face similar governance challenges: both cities work as magnets for migrants (whether rural-urban or international), and have relatively high levels of unemployment. Specific figures are discussed in Chapter Four (4.3.1 for Belo Horizonte and 4.3.3 for Birmingham).

3.4.1 Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Belo Horizonte was created to be the capital of Minas Gerais state in 1897, due to its strategic location. Within the South-East geographical boundary (see map in Chapter One), Belo Horizonte is part of Brazil's most developed economic regions (Souza, 2001) with better quality of life indicators than the national average (see Chapter Four). Although not as well-known as Porto Alegre's example, Belo Horizonte is also internationally recognised for the adoption of participatory budgeting (PB). Implemented since the mid-1990's, despite the limited scope and budget, PB was recognised for empowering commonly excluded groups, increasing their knowledge about rights, and participation on the definition of investment priorities (Souza, 2001).

Belo Horizonte faces issues of unemployment and economic hardship, worsened by multiple economic crises in the last decade. The gap between jobs needed and jobs created results in the growth of Belo Horizonte's informal economy (Carrieri and Murta, 2011, pp. 218-219), of which street vending is a substantial part, occupying especially the city centre streets. The council has previously tackled the issue through the *Centro Vivo* program. Yet the formalising and relocating of traders to popular

shopping malls, aimed rather to ‘sanitize’ the streets for greater economic and touristic interests than to support low-income dwellers, as clientelist practices demonstrated (Carrieri and Murta, 2011).

Traditional trading, formal and informal, is nevertheless a strong trace of Belo Horizonte’s culture. The Mercado Central²⁶ is considered one of the best marketplaces of the country (TAM, 2016), and there are multiple events and other market venues spread through the city. Yet public marketplaces struggle with declining economic activity and substantially reduced relevance in terms of food supply. I will discuss these in more detail in the following chapters.

I chose to work with the enclosed public markets because their struggles resonate with the reality of markets described in academia and importantly, because they were the ones included in the recent tendering process, with new governance and practical implications. The city has three still functioning neighbourhood markets: Mercado do Cruzeiro, Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (FECOPE), and Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM) were somehow engaged through data collection. Yet, following an initial communication with the municipality, FECOPE and CAM were the ones where fieldwork concentrated²⁷, for governance-related reasons: neither received proposals through the Procedure of Interest Manifestation (PMI), part of the new system of markets’ governance (see Chapter Six)).

3.4.2 Birmingham, United Kingdom

Birmingham is a multicultural centre (Henry, McEwan and Pollard, 2002), with a higher concentration of young people than the British average, probably a consequence of it being a major employment magnet. The projected growth in Birmingham’s population will require the city to plan for the creation of a significant number of new jobs. Unemployment is an important issue: approximately 8% of Birmingham’s working population is economically inactive (ONS, 2021), a figure which is higher than UK’s average (4.6%) (ONS, 2021), with high levels of inactivity prevalent in inner city areas and some edge-of-city estates. This distribution closely follows the pattern of deprivation across the city (BCC, 2017a).

Despite being a significant European business destination, Birmingham still suffers the effects of deindustrialisation from the 1970s. The local government presented some progressive policy intentions in recent years, but the possibilities for success are constrained by the levels of inequality and poverty, as well as the strong budget cuts enacted under successive governments’ austerity programmes which reduced by approximately 40% the council’s spending capacity since 2010 (McKendry, 2016, p. 1364). Birmingham city council is therefore trying to enhance the city’s capacities through public-private investment. The city centre is going through massive renovation projects within the Big City Plan (BCP), a 20 years city centre masterplan, classified by the council as ‘the most ambitious, far-reaching

²⁶ it is owned by a large cooperative of traders since 1964 (Mercado Central, n.d.). The salesmen united efforts when the mayor announced it would sell the plot where the market is located, due to an acknowledged incapacity to manage it.

²⁷ The cases of the Mercado do Cruzeiro and Mercado de Santa Tereza will nevertheless be considered when discussing *democracy* and the impact of market community’s activism in Belo Horizonte (see Chapters Four and Five).

development project ever undertaken in the UK', (BCC, 2011). Despite the ongoing changes, a retail assessment (BRNA Update, 2013) has identified a particular deficiency in independent retailing in the city centre. The council then announced that 'other forms of retailing such as markets that encourage smaller and independent retailers will be supported and encouraged' (BCC, 2017a, p. 101).

Nevertheless, as part of the BCP, the Birmingham Smithfield development led to the relocation of the wholesale market from the Centre to an outer neighbourhood in May 2018. Together with the Bull Ring Market (BRM), the wholesale market was a core element of the city's foundation, with 850 years of history, something proudly informed in panels in its markets. The current venues of the Bull Ring Markets, namely the Open Market, Rag Market and Indoor Market (presented in more detail in Chapter Four) will also be demolished, with the markets concentrated in a new venue in Smithfield, slightly less central than their current one (BCC, 2016a).

Smithfield is defined as 'a once in a generation opportunity' (BCC, 2016a). The enterprise's rationale is to attract investment and enhance the city's international standard and reputation. The plan mentions multiple 'desirable' deliverables, such as 1,000 new homes and 3,000 new jobs, adding £470 million GVA to the local economy, (Visit Birmingham, 2015). However, such a development demonstrates Birmingham's obsession with reinventing its image and based on the previous experience of markets' relocation (see Wolhuter, 2002), threatens to displace markets and customers. The BRMs therefore represent a contested setting at the heart of the city, and were chosen for this research because of this. Similarly to Belo Horizonte's case, I will also discuss the BRM's critical situation in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

3.5 Methodology, choice of methods, and how they were employed

A qualitative, ethnographically-informed methodology (e.g. Scheper-Hughes, 1992) with the employment of case studies was considered appropriate to capture the complexity and nuance sought in this comparative work. Case studies investigated qualitatively are commonly employed in the study of marketplaces (e.g. Janseens, 2014; S. Watson, 2006 and 2009)²⁸. They are intersections of dynamic, mobile, constructed and contested spatial processes (Massey, 1994b, in Chari, 2009, p.72), particularly useful to show how broader processes work through specific constellations of social space (Chari, 2009, p.72). The qualitative comparison of cases allowed me to properly engage with the nature of my research questions, my analytical framework based on social justice and the themes of markets' and urban governance. It revealed the different understandings and representations about markets' roles and relevance for the cities of Birmingham and Belo Horizonte, involving values and agendas of individuals and groups, and to recognise the implications of such in markets' governance and functioning.

²⁸ I employed a similar (though not comparative) methodology on my work on the Hague Market (Schappo, 2015; Schappo and van Melik, 2016).

Qualitative approaches share some common ontological and epistemological ground that opposes positivism (Pratt, 2009b), as discussed above. They embrace the subjectivities and agency implicated in the production of the (traced and analysed) 'facts' (Mayoux 2006, in Lombard, 2009). Smith (2001) further defends that the choice of a qualitative methodology is a political decision: it converges with epistemic justice, and post/decolonial debates, questioning hegemonic conceptions and knowledges. It avoids structural determinism, relying on hermeneutics and the relational process between researcher and researched in the construction of situated knowledge (Haraway, 1991). Thus, it has the potential of opening new horizons and supporting transformative practices, by including the voices and knowledges that were previously neglected (Smith, 2001, p. 25).

Case study investigations normally entail the spending time in the field and employing a multiplicity of methods. Mixed methods are tied to the idea of triangulation (Pratt, 2009b) and complementation, reducing biases, and supporting findings' reliability (Crang, 2005) and strength (Valentine, 2005) where one method can address the limitations of the other (Nightingale, 2003). In my research, for example, interviews helped to clarify causal relations (Pratt, 2009b) in the development of specific policies. The methods employed in data collection were: *secondary source analysis, participant observation, questionnaires*²⁹ and *semi-structured interviews*. An important concern that traversed the application of all of them was the search for representations about 1) the markets and their relevance for each city, and of 2) policy relevant stakeholders, mainly governments (and their officers), traders and market users. The identification of clear representations (through spoken and written communication) is helpful in understanding stakeholders' agenda and intentions in relation to markets.

I visited both Birmingham (October 2018) and Belo Horizonte (December 2018) prior to fieldwork, to confirm my case study choices, and fieldwork was planned to last three to four months for each case study. I lived in Belo Horizonte (May – August 2019) and after in Birmingham (October 2019 - February 2020), for intense fieldwork. In Birmingham the process was more fragmented. Some initial fieldwork was conducted in April 2019. In January 2020 data collection was interrupted because of personal health circumstances and despite being restarted in the end of that month, a few weeks after it was abruptly finalised because of the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown. The assessment of secondary data spanned both before and after the period of fieldwork.

Considering the relevance of urban governance for this research, fieldwork started in the approach to municipalities. In Birmingham the council was initially open to collaborate with the research, but this changed after I stated my interest in discussing the more political aspects of the markets'

²⁹ Questionnaires were used with a limited group of informants: 24 traders and 40 customers in Belo Horizonte. Therefore, despite the quantitative information generated (about e.g. age profile, gender, time working in the markets), the main contribution of the method was the brief answers to open-ended qualitative questions (e.g. what is the importance of this market for the neighbourhood/ city).

management.³⁰ In Belo Horizonte the research interest was welcomed and a collaboration was developed.

3.5.1 Secondary source analysis

My secondary source analysis involved the collection and assessment of written and audio/ video recordings of different natures. I reviewed policy documents, previous academic or institutional research reports and videos, recent and old media publications. A list of the main sources can be found in Appendix One; here, a few examples of publication in each category are provided in Table 3.1:

TYPES OF SECONDARY SOURCES ANALYSED	
Policy Documents	National and local planning frameworks (e.g. City Statute, 2002 (Brazil); <i>Big City Plan</i> (Birmingham); National and local markets' governance and planning documents (e.g. report ' <i>Market Failure?: Can the traditional market survive?</i> ' (2009) (UK); terms of selection of traders for markets and their contractual terms with each council.
Previous academic or institutional research	Academic and institutional research outputs (e.g. Wolhuters' (2002) PhD thesis about women's employment in the Rag Market; findings research Markets4people (UK).
Media publications	Newspaper cuts collected in the local municipal archives and recent newspaper articles accessed online (e.g. Young, 2018a and b).

Table 3.1: Types of secondary sources analysed
Source: Author's analysis

The relevance of this method was manifold: it supported the understanding of the contextual background of my cases, with the historical development of markets in each city, and key issues. Moreover, publications were extremely important to understand the legal and planning framework of the cities, and in specific aspects relevant to markets' governance, of the country (e.g. City Statute, in Brazil and its focus on social justice). Besides, some reports about the markets' sector supported the construction of the 'bigger picture' of each countries markets' trends (e.g. Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006). Finally, the analysis of policies, and current news through an interpretive

³⁰ According to findings of this research (e.g. the legal battles involving Bull Ring Market traders and Birmingham city council) and previous evidence (see Wolhuter, 2002), the governance of markets in Birmingham is politically complex, resulting in officers avoidance to discuss the matter. This for example led to the need to open a Freedom of Information Request, further discussed.

perspective (better outlines in 3.5.5), allowed me to identify governments and other key stakeholders' perceptions about markets' functions in each city, and how these are articulated in instrumental representations to defend their agendas.

Policy documents were particularly relevant for this study. They are the materialisation of governance intentions and how they are planned to be enforced. Delgadillo (2018) defends 'public policies as fundamentally political because they are the sphere for discussion and contestation between political parties and groups for different visions of development in the broadest sense of the term' (p.20). Furthermore, they can indicate retrospectively how participatory planning processes were, since it can be assumed that the more multiple representations are brought together and translated into policies, the more different groups' interests were considered.

Archives were sought at the beginning of fieldwork, where I collected older newspaper cuts about the markets. Online sources including current news and later policy developments were sought from the second half of 2018 till May 2022³¹. The reports on the Covid-19 impact on markets are not part of the scope of what I included in my secondary sources. Still, I do reflect briefly on it in my Conclusion chapter.

The collection and analysis of secondary sources was also a necessary stage in the definition of who to engage for interviews, how to approach interviewees, what to bring as topics for discussion and what to pay more attention to, during participatory observations, small talk, questionnaires and interviews.

3.5.2 Participant observation

Participant observation was employed to contribute to a holistic understanding³² of the studied theme in the selected contexts. The experience of living in the cities provided insights about the cultural parameters (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte, 1999) within which the markets dynamics and the relationships between people happened, calibrating my understandings, especially when combined with other methods (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). Besides the city centre and the markets, the institutional governance spaces were also observed³³. Participant observation was an encompassing method, also performed during questionnaires' filling and interviews.

Participant observation allowed me to understand the everyday reality and routine of markets, and their surroundings. Visits to FECOPE, CAM and the BRM were done regularly and intentionally in different days of the weeks, to account for footfall, shops opened and the type (and variations) on the users. I paid attention to the flows of people, the sort of relationships/ bonds between traders, customers, officers, and other groups sharing the same spaces. Participant observation involved small talk with customers and traders, which complemented and clarified my findings about the roles that each market fulfilled for the city and for the neighbourhoods where they were located.

³¹ Considering the still ongoing process of development of Birmingham Smithfield's markets' project.

³² As holistic as possible, considering the limited time of engagement and my positionality limitations

³³ Though in this sense mostly in Belo Horizonte, as I was not granted access to municipal departments in the case of Birmingham.

The engagement with Belo Horizonte revealed on the one hand the city's significant poverty and unemployment challenges in recent years, with the numerous homeless dwellers and informal traders in the centre. On the other hand, it revealed the pronounced fondness for traditional trading environments and the generally laid back and hospitable culture: a 'large countryside'³⁴, as defined by the locals. This trace was also evident in the dealings with the council, in both research-focused conversations and interviews, and in general small talk. Most contact of this sort was informal, the exception being the interview occasions with a few heads of secretariats, where their high institutional position and experience in politics made it a bit intimidating.

In Birmingham the multi-ethnic and international profile of the city came through in the observations, as did the grand-scale and intense physical redevelopment work in the centre. Repeated visits also revealed a temporal/seasonal dimension to certain issues: for example, the contrast between the council's pride of and support to the Frankfurt Christmas Market, in comparison to the BRMs was also perceptible. Conversely to Belo Horizonte, in Birmingham the municipality's engagement with the research was quite limited. Hence, my observations of the council's governance of markets related to their markedly absent voices, and the everyday logistics work performed by the Enforcement team. A guided tour to the markets with one of the officers in April 2019, and some later participant observation visits, provided the opportunity to, beyond small talk, do some unstructured interviews.

3.5.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires can be used to explore people's perceptions, attitudes, experiences, behaviours and spatial and social interactions in diverse geographical contexts (McLafferty, 2010, p.77). In this research they were designed to provide a general panorama about and from the markets' quotidian users: their profile; their reasons to engage with these spaces and how often they do it; their interpersonal relationships; their opinions about markets' relevance for the neighbourhood and city; any concerns about their future and/or suggestions of improvement; and their impressions about the municipality's governance of markets. Moreover, questionnaires were strategically employed to recruit interviewees within the group of customers and traders³⁵.

In Belo Horizonte I conducted surveys with FECOPE and CAM traders and customers in June 2019. Within the total of twenty-nine traders, five preferred not to participate. Questionnaires contained multiple choice and open-ended questions, some suggested by the Secretariat of Food Security and Nutrition (SUSAN), the markets' manager, to support the markets' future governance³⁶. With many traders, the questionnaires of fifteen minutes took rather an hour to be completed, with conversation covering other topics and resembling (and delivering) information as interviews. With customers,

³⁴ Locals refer to Belo Horizonte as a *Roça Grande*. It is hard to find a literal translation. *Roça* would be an informal way to define a farm, or a vast field full of crops.

³⁵ Participants of the surveys were asked at the end of it if they would be willing to be interviewed and interviewees were selected between those that replied yes.

³⁶ When questionnaires were performed, FECOPE and CAM were out of the scope of the tendering, following the results of the PMI. The case is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

approached during shopping or social activities, hence with limited time, questionnaire filling was more straightforward, with shorter answers. Below Table 3.2 contains the number of informants and some basic information. The questionnaires applied can be found in Appendix Two.

Considering the size of the customers' sample and biases in terms of age and gender, findings are not generalisable. Yet, while not fully representative, the group of informants resemble the population making most use of the markets, in line with my participant observation findings, and trends identified in literature (e.g. S. Watson, 2009; Wolhuter, 2002). However, an observation is necessary, and it explains in part the gender bias in the sample: while male informants were normally alone or waiting for partners shopping, women were harder to approach. They were normally either rushing, or shopping with family members that could not wait for the questionnaire to be completed.

Because of the interruption to Birmingham fieldwork outlined above, questionnaires were employed only in Belo Horizonte. I will reflect on the implications of this in section 3.6.

PROFILE OF BELO HORIZONTE QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMANTS			
Group surveyed	Number	Age Group	Gender
FECOPE and CAM traders	9 and 15	8.32% between 25 and 34 4.16% between 35 and 44 33.3% between 45 and 59 50% over 60;	41.7% are women 58.3% are men
FECOPE customers	19	5.3% between 15 and 24 5.3% between 25 and 34 36,8% between 45 and 59 52.6% over 60;	21.2% are women 78.9% are men
CAM customers	21	9.5% between 25 and 34 4.8% between 35 and 44 38.1% between 45 and 59 47.6% over 60;	35% are women 65% are men

Table 3.2: Profile of Belo Horizonte questionnaire informants

Source: Author's analysis

3.5.4 Interviews

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are instrumental to capture the complexity and perhaps contradictions of social processes and experiences of stakeholders or phenomena being investigated (Pratt, 2009a, p.393). Interviews were employed to explore the complexities and nuances of markets' recent development in each city, their opportunities and challenges, and the multiple aspects

implicated in their governance. Interviewees were chosen to form a purposive sampling: selected because of their 'relevant knowledge, interest and/ or experience in relation to the case' (Rule and John 2011: 64 in Charlton, 2013, p.122).

Moreover, complementing findings of other methods, interviews were crucial for understanding more comprehensively the (emotional or practical) connection of informants with the market(s) and with other stakeholders; how they and/or the organisation/ group they represent frame(s) markets and understands their role for cities; and, how this inform and justify specific plans or views about how the markets should develop and be governed. Interviews allowed me to, for example, analyse the extent to which stakeholders connected by institutional bonds share or not a 'single' vision about markets' roles for cities and how their management and future should be.

Interviews were recorded, with informants' written consent. They lasted normally around an hour, though some unstructured ones in Birmingham were shorter. Despite the common topics, the sets of pre-defined interview questions were elaborated according to the profile of the interviewees. Questions to council officers, for example, differed from the ones posed to traders. It is important to remark that the defined groups of informants were inspired by literature and that although interviewees have multiple, fluid and even ambivalent (Charlton, 2013) positionalities, they were assigned to a single category for heuristic purposes, according to their key role within the markets' field in the contexts studied. Five groups were defined: *Municipality Officers, Market Traders (from FECOPE, CAM³⁷ and BRM), Market Customers, Local Leaderships and Local Researchers/ Experts.*

On some occasions, pre-defined questions seemed inappropriate and were discarded. This was the case in some fluidly emerging interviews with traders in Birmingham, or when respondents avoided specific topics and focused on unanticipated ones. In these circumstances I tried to leave my assumptions aside, and instead of looking for clues to confirm or deny theories, take the opportunity to 'learn to listen' (Pratt, 2009a, p.394), creating a comfortable environment for interviewees to express themselves in their own terms and pace (Pratt, 2009a, p.393). Moreover, in this process I tried to capture the other forms of non-verbal and non-cognitive communication (Bondi, 2003). One clear example was my gut feeling when interviewing a council manager in Belo Horizonte. Despite very eloquent, I felt that he was being rather opaque, concealing his sincere views.

In Birmingham, significant challenges of access to municipality respondents, and the fieldwork interruption, resulted in more limited coverage of the municipality's and customers' voices. Besides, with a much larger population of traders than in Belo Horizonte, the nine traders interviewed do not represent generalisable views. Yet, secondary sources about the markets in Birmingham are fairly

³⁷ But one trader of the Mercado do Cruzeiro, who was one of the only traders that participated in a public session for the discussion of the tendering of the markets, and who was sought because of that, since traders from FECOPE and CAM did not attend the meeting. His views about the life of a trader, and about the Mercado do Cruzeiro were considered, but not taken as generalizable.

numerous and varied in scope, making up for (part of) this gap. Information is well complemented by interviews with key informants. More information about each category of informants in each city is provided in Table 3.3 (after Analysis section). Appendix Three presents the interviewees per category, providing an identification system, and giving more information about when interviews were conducted.

3.5.5 Analysis

Qualitative analysis is a process to connect collected data to the research's conceptual framework, generating theoretical contributions. In line with the ontological approach described above, analysis was inspired by principles of *Interpretive Policy Analysis* (IPA): a rather holistic approach supporting the understanding of perceptions and representations around markets and their governance. I interpreted language (written, spoken), the performed actions that convey meaning, and who conveys the messages, with their positionality, agency, and underlying motivations (Yanow, 2007). Besides, I observed the built spaces involved in the phenomena: in the production of policies (city councils), or impacted by them (markets) (Burke, 1989, in Yanow, 2007). Nevertheless, a tenet of IPA is the recognition of the unavoidable entanglement of the interpreter/ researcher and her positionality and situatedness in the production of meaning from the interpreted material (Yanow, 2007). Thus, there is not an expected single 'correct' interpretation. In line with this reality, I reflect on my positionality and my research limitations in the following section.

It is important to highlight that my findings were constructed incrementally (Crang, 2005), result of an ongoing and iterative process before³⁸, during, and after fieldwork. To exemplify, during fieldwork the analysis of secondary sources and preliminary findings of participant observation informed my choices for questionnaires and interviews. In such an open-ended process, insights following interviews were incorporated in the analytical process, despite the systematic stages of transcribing and coding happening later.

Analysis involved interpreting the secondary sources (i.e. selected policies, plans, research reports and media current and past publications) and fieldnotes. It also included the compilation of the grouped findings (on multiple or single choice questions) of the questionnaires; and the interpretation of these and of the open-ended questions of questionnaires and transcribed interviews considering broad deductive and inductive codes³⁹. Different sets of codes were employed for different groups of informants' interviews, as some themes and city-contexts were specific to specific groups. An example of my code books can be found in Appendix Four. The material collected in Brazil was kept in Portuguese, with the translation to English of quotes deemed important for the analytical chapters.

³⁸ In the assessment of secondary sources.

³⁹ With the support of the software Nvivo.

INTERVIEWEES BY GROUP AND CITY		
Group	Belo Horizonte	Birmingham
<p>Municipality Officers</p> <p><i>Chosen because of their roles in relation to markets' governance;</i></p> <p><i>Interviews happened in the interviewee's office;</i></p>	<p>12 officers:</p> <p>4 representing different secretariats of the work group planning the markets' tendering;</p> <p>3 from PBH Ativos⁴⁰;</p> <p>4 from SUSAN's market management department;</p> <p>1 local councillor.</p>	<p>2 officers:</p> <p>2 members of the Enforcement team.</p>
<p>Market Traders:</p> <p><i>Sought to explain their history and bonds with markets and customers; and to unfold views on markets' current state and governance approaches.</i></p> <p><i>Mostly interviewed on the markets during their working hours.</i></p>	<p>9 traders: FECOPE (4); CAM (4); Cruzeiro (1)⁴¹;</p> <p>Gender: 5 women and 4 men;</p> <p>Age range: from 30's to 70's;</p> <p>Education levels: ranging from only with primary school degree till with higher education degree;</p> <p>Long-term and new to trading merchants;</p> <p>Merchants both fully reliant on markets' for income generation, and not, for whom the business is rather a way of keeping active.</p>	<p>9 traders, including the long-term chairman of one of the markets;</p> <p>Gender: 3 women⁴² and 5 men</p> <p>Age range: late 20's to early 70's</p> <p>Education levels: ranging from only with primary school degree till with higher education;</p> <p>Long-term and new to trading merchants;</p> <p>Merchants both fully reliant on markets' for income generation, and not, for whom the business is rather a way of keeping active.</p>
<p>Market Customers</p> <p><i>Approached to talk about personal bonds and memories with the markets, the environment's perceived change, differences of other supply venues, opinions about markets' governance</i></p>	<p>6 informants from FECOPE (5); CAM (1);</p> <p>Gender: 2 women⁴³ and 4 men;</p> <p>Age range: from early 20's to early 60's.</p>	<p>2 informants:</p> <p>Gender: 1 man and 1 woman;</p> <p>Age range: early 30's to early 50's</p>
<p>Local leaderships</p>	<p>2 activists:</p> <p>1 part of Cruzeiro's market community;</p> <p>1 part of Santa Tereza's market community⁴⁴.</p>	<p>2 street traders' association leaderships⁴⁵.</p>

Group	Belo Horizonte	Birmingham
Local Experts <i>Instrumental for the critical understanding of the broader political, planning, socioeconomic and traditional trading context of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham</i>	7 local researchers from Geography, Architecture and Economy departments of the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG); A private market manager.	6 informants: 1 involved in previous research on the markets; 1 historian; 1 journalist ⁴⁶ ; 1 consultant;

Table 3.3: Interviewees by group and city

Source: Author's analysis

3.5.6 Data collection challenges

There were some practical challenges related to the application of my methods. In Belo Horizonte I was not able to get an appointment with all the relevant interviewees, e.g. the head of the Culture Subsecretariat. I also recognise that there is a lack of representativeness on the voices of female CAM customers, though the content from questionnaires addresses part of this issue. Still, the most significant methodology challenges refer to the case of Birmingham. The higher officers of the Markets' Service department refused to participate in my study. Beyond the resulting missing voice from the council, their attitude made it difficult for me to access institutional information delaying my work. I had to open a Freedom of Information Request (FOI)⁴⁷, to access policy documents, and basic footfall records.

⁴⁰ Company in charge for the tendering technical and legal processes.

⁴¹ The Cruzeiro informant was sought because of his participation in the public session discussing the tendering project, therefore giving the traders' perspective on the matter, since neither FECOPE or CAM traders attended the session. He furthermore expressed his perspective on working in a public market, its potentials and challenges.

⁴² I intended to have more female informants; however, their absent voices in primary data collection are covered to a certain extent by secondary analysis of the work conducted by Wolhuter (2002) with women trading in the Rag Market, and by my participant observation.

⁴³ Winter holidays in July posed a challenge to access women interviewees: on top of regular work and family duties, it meant that female informants from CAM previously willing to participate were unavailable. Unfortunately, the lower income and younger profile of CAM customers results in informants with little available time to engage in research activities.

⁴⁴ Because of the city impact of their activism in relation to markets' governance and the absence of market communities in FECOPE and CAM – see Chapter Five.

⁴⁵ In Birmingham, street trading is also an attribution of the Market's Service department, despite separate of the management of the Bull Ring Markets. The contribution of the interviewed leaderships was instrumental to understand more broadly the Birmingham City Council approach to traditional trading.

⁴⁶ The connection with the journalist resulted both in positive and negative outcomes: on the one hand, it snowballed to new informants. Conversely, it also resulted in some traders' doors shutting, following a controversial publication with which I was involved. On the bright side, it connected me to the street traders' chairman and treasurer, which despite not trading at the markets, face similar struggles with the municipality.

⁴⁷ A FOI is a formal procedure in line with legislation on transparency of public institutions in the UK. All the material I requested access to already existed, and was eventually made available, but for unknown reasons, was not initially provided.

Personal health circumstances and later Covid-19 furthermore prevented me of conducting questionnaires and more interviews with both traders and customers in Birmingham. Differently to Belo Horizonte, when I conducted fieldwork in Birmingham, I was part of the time still living in Sheffield, where I was working as a teaching assistant. Combined with the wait for some council responses, and a certain fieldwork fatigue, this contributed to postponing the beginning of questionnaire filling and a more proactive posture towards potential interviewees, with both methods compromise, though to different extents. Nevertheless, because of the design of the comparative work, the final format of my research questions, and the existence of strategic secondary sources (see particularly Wolhuter, 2002), and key informant interviewees in Birmingham, the potentially missing information from the specific methods not (ideally) applied in the city did not result in significant unevenness in data, in relation to Belo Horizonte.

3.6 Reflections about positionality and its impacts

The discussion of researchers and researched positionalities is a way to stress that all knowledge is partial, rooted in the social and political positioning of those who construct it' (Pain et al 2001: 5), and embedded within power relations (Pratt, 2009b, p.556; Sultana, 2007). The reflection on my positionality allows for the consideration of my power and politics in relation to the setting and the actors I studied. To others, simultaneously, it gives the opportunity to assess the adequacy of my analysis and interpretation (Yanow, 2007, p. 116). I must therefore acknowledge that I am a Brazilian woman on my early thirties, enrolled in an English university, and that for me the idea of a 'neutral researcher' is not only impossible, but undesirable. Aligning with critical urban theory (e.g. Robinson, 2006; V. Watson, 2009) and aiming to contribute to a more plural and just investigation of cities, I attempt to use the power that my position holds to support what I believe is a responsibility of social scientists and planners: to support social change (Pratt, 2009c, p.603) in the direction of more social justice.

Yet, that doesn't mean conducting research under assumptions fed by stereotypes, that some stakeholders are powerless victims of processes and that others are only to blame. I attempted to the limit of my objectiveness, to engage openly with my informants and secondary sources. On many occasions, especially during conversations and interviews, I did see my positionality shifting, empathising with the current informant's situation and view. Nevertheless, during the process I developed some allegiance to the traders, with whom, and perhaps partly because of it, I developed a friendly relationship. Conversely, the department in charge of markets in Birmingham, through constantly ignoring my information requests and latter coldly expressing unwillingness to participate in my research, fed an animosity towards them. Still, the council's very refusal to participate is insightful to my findings.

Reflecting first on the impact of language, as a Brazilian, my native Portuguese made communication with my informants quite straightforward in Belo Horizonte, though I could easily be recognised as from elsewhere, because of mine and locals' accent and expressions. In Birmingham, language was a bit more

of a barrier. Despite communicating daily in a rather 'academic' English⁴⁸ for seven years, some local expressions and the accents were hard to understand, especially when combined with a fast-speaking informant. Hence, I believe I lost part of the meaning and the nuances of oral information gathered in the city.

Nevertheless, possibly the most meaningful learnings from my fieldwork experience relate to how my positionality was taken by and responded to, by informants. In Brazil work and study opportunities (and virtually anything) that comes from the global North is taken as better, evidence of the colonisation of the mind (Quijano, 2007) discussed previously. Therefore, when a doctoral student enrolled in England showed interest in collaborating with SUSAN, this was very well received, my position almost praised, and all the possible support given. At the same time, to be a PhD student for the council in Birmingham did not seem to be any 'desirable' status, what might have contributed to their lack of interest on my work and findings.

The strongest senses of power unevenness, in relation to my positionality, were on one end when dealing with the market customers at CAM, and on the other, with the heads of the Secretariats in Belo Horizonte, especially the head of the Treasury. The ambience of his office and his position were intimidating. Despite his apparent friendliness, and my dress code suitable to the occasion, his way of talking had something of condescending, perhaps because he is a white man on his seventies with a long career in politics. In the context of the markets, I always tried to be very basic about my appearance, in an attempt to 'fit in' (Pratt, 2009, p.393) reducing the impact of the socioeconomic gap between me and the people I was researching and ultimately try to 'balance' power unevenness (Sultana, 2007). However, while conducting questionnaires, I wore a badge with my university card, to give me credibility, once my clipboard gave it away that I was not simply another customer. Yet, while these strategies worked apparently fine, my gender, age and overall appearance attracted the attention of a few older male questionnaire respondents, with whom I sensed some sort of harassment through shady looks and invitations.

The engagement with my research contexts and subjects from an ambivalent positionality, of both a researcher and an 'aspirant' activist, was an attempt of avoiding extractive research (Rose, 1997). I tried to convey - what I believed to be - the less dominant and perhaps missing voices (Yanow, 2007, p. 116) of market traders and customers constrained in time, access and/ or expertise to engage in technical debate. I thus engaged in practices beyond my researcher scope, giving formal written feedback on the tendering contractual terms in Belo Horizonte and on the Birmingham Street Trading Policy during their consultation rounds. Yet, in the context of Birmingham one situation backfired to a certain extent. In contributing to a local newspaper publication, about the issues of the Bull Ring Markets, my positionality was distorted, and my critical statements aiming to prompt an answer from the council, taken out of their context, offended some traders, who took that as a personal attack and an attempt

⁴⁸ I have conducted two master programmes in European countries prior to the PhD, both in English.

to denigrate the markets. The use of the term '*market expert*', employed by the journalist to define me in the publication, a choice I was not consulted about, was something particularly uncomfortable. I believe it sounds arrogant, especially considering the lived experience of traders and council officers, potential readers of the article. I would have rather described myself as somebody that research markets. The experience nevertheless encouraged me to pay more careful attention to the (impacts of the) politicised element of my interaction with informants and the interplay between mine and my research stakeholders' multiple positionalities and power relations (Sultana, 2007).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter engaged with, on the one hand, the theoretical foundations underpinning my research project and lenses of analysis and on the other, with the pragmatic decisions and stages that operationalised my data collection, providing the approach to answer the research questions presented above. A situated knowledge ontological base, combined with a critical understanding of hegemonic processes of knowledge (re)production, motivated me to compare cases in cities with similar characteristics, but which are often assumed to be very different because of their global geopolitical location and associated binaries in relation to ideas of 'development' (Robinson, 2006). Guided by a concern with epistemic justice, I challenge these assumptions and the sense of Northern superiority, through approaching both cities and market cases as ordinary (Robinson, 2006).

A qualitative methodology performed with the use of multiple methods was adopted to address the theme of markets and to provide enough data to enable the comparison of case studies. Secondary source analysis, participant observation, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were applied, complementing each other, and capturing the complexity of markets and their material and policy settings in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. Inspired by interpretive policy analysis' principles, and mindful of my positionality, I assessed the written, spoken and performed material collected, applying my social justice framework explained in Chapter Two (2.5.1) to critically answer research sub-questions a) to d), respectively in Chapters Four to Seven, which provide an analysis of the empirical cases.

Chapter Four now discusses the influence of multi-scale contextual features in markets' (and their governance) development trends. Chapter Five then presents the actual contributions that markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham make for their cities, in terms of social justice. Chapters Six and Seven finally discuss the role played by markets' governance in the relationship between markets and social justice. The first engages with the current systems and its impacts, while the second explores the governments' imaginaries and agendas for markets revealed in the proposed governance strategies, yet to be materialised.

4. Contextual settings in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham: Implications for public markets and social justice

4.1 Introduction

Around the world markets reveal their embeddedness by showing contextual features through their design, material components, the sort of products sold, and the kind of people engaging with/ in the space. Markets are a result of endogenous processes unfolding inside them, but also, significantly, of exogenous dynamics happening at multiple scales (Wolhuter, 2002). A 'context' can be understood as the circumstances found in the intersection of spatial and temporal settings, where objects and events unfold (Simonsen, 2009). According to Giddens (1984) contexts are not boundaries of social life, nor passive backdrops, but rather performative social situations, plural events (Thrift, 1996) and features involved in its construction. Considering this definition, this chapter addresses the research question *What are the key contextual factors influencing markets and their governance in Belo Horizonte and in Birmingham? How do they impact markets and their relationship with local governments?* The aim is to discuss identified elements from the multiscalar global, national and local context that impact on the planning and functioning of public markets as sites for social justice in cities.

Contextual features are divided between *structural* and/or *institutional* (policies and planning framework) that are understood to be beyond the responsibility or control of markets' governance. Nevertheless, they are those that may have an effect on markets, either directly, or indirectly (because of their broader impact on the setting of agendas and plans in municipalities). The discussion supports the overall aim of understanding how markets support social justice in cities and what role urban governance plays in this, by delineating the limits of urban governance influence/ responsibility in how markets develop in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, which can shed light in the identification of trends elsewhere. The chapter draws on multiple sources, including secondary data (policy documents and media publications), ethnography and interviews.

Section 4.2 discusses the national contexts of Brazil and United Kingdom, comparing main socioeconomic indicators such as GDP and Gini coefficient. They reveal – unsurprisingly – differences between the two countries, with social justice challenges in Brazil of a greater magnitude than in the United Kingdom. A second part of the section presents the national planning frameworks of each country, analysing their commitment to social justice and how they respond – or not - to the presented injustice issues. A final part of 4.2 analyses the existence of national level (institutional) mobilisation, research and policy in the 'markets' industry'⁴⁹, impacting the development of planning/ governance

⁴⁹ How the traditional markets' retail sector is identified by the NABMA/ UK.

supporting markets. Organised groups - such as the National Market Traders' Federation (NMTF) – and a substantial body of research on the sector exists in the UK. In Brazil, however, there is no national-level articulation of or data about traditional markets.

Despite the clear socioeconomic differences between Brazil and the UK, the focus on the two local contexts in Section 4.3 through an ordinary cities' lens demonstrates that national realities are not the only determinant of how cities and markets develop. In some respects, Belo Horizonte and Birmingham's injustice challenges appear more similar than might be assumed from their country profiles, e.g. in economic inequity and unemployment. Key city policies are then explored to understand the extent of normative commitment to social justice in local governments, and how much governance trends in the last decades prioritise social justice (or not), and in which ways. The municipality in Belo Horizonte (PBH) appears overall more conscious of its role in promoting social justice in a reality of stark inequity, while in Birmingham, the city council (BCC) has consistently promoted an agenda of urban regeneration that overshadows social justice needs.

Finally, the markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham are presented, and the effect of global trends of social, retail and entrepreneurial governance transformations over these markets are analysed (4.4) Processes unfold with different intensities and timing, with Birmingham's markets more subject to these tendencies' adverse effects. The conclusion reflects on the comparative findings between the cities in each explained context dimension: national (4.2.5), local (4.3.5) and impacts of global trends, 4.4.3), assessing the (direct or indirect) impact of these in markets development.

4.2 National contexts

Brazil and the United Kingdom differ substantially in terms of territorial size, location and climate, socioeconomic and political circumstances, and injustice challenges. The Human Development Index rates and the distance in the countries' global ranking positions easily illustrate this fact. They are included in Table 4.1 below, which contains some key national socioeconomic indicators. The figures show that according to a developmentalist approach, the categories 'global South' and 'global North'⁵⁰ seem justified, corresponding to different national profiles⁵¹. The population, social and economic indicators presented support the subsequent discussion of Brazil's and United Kingdom's prospects and challenges for social justice.

⁵⁰ See discussion about the terminology in Introduction Chapter.

⁵¹ It is important to mention that this study intends to question these binary categories (developed/ developing; South/ North) and hierarchies they reproduce. Nevertheless, there are concrete realities of more poverty, inequality and deprivation in Brazil which need to be recognised, and which cannot be ignored in the attempt to horizontalize urban theory and make it more plural.

NATIONAL SOCIOECONOMIC INDICATORS		
Indicator	Brazil	United Kingdom
Total Population (UN, 2020a and b)	212,559,000 (2020)	67,886,000 (2020)
HDI (index/ world rank position) (World Population Review, 2021)	0.765/84 th	0.932/ 13 th
GDP (million current US\$) (UN, 2020a and b)	2,208,838 (2010) 1,868,613 (2020)	2,475,244 (2010) 2,855,297 (2020)
GDP per capita (US\$) (UN, 2020a and b)	11,286.1 (2010) 8,920.7 (2020)	39,004.9 (2010) 42,526.4 (2020)
Poverty (World Bank, 2021a and b)) ⁵²	4.6% (2019); lowest ever recorded: 2.7% (2014)	0.3% (2017); lowest ever recorded: 0.1% (2015)
Inequality (Gini coefficient)	53.9/ 9 th most unequal ⁵³ (World Bank, 2019)	34.8/ 110 th most unequal (ONS, 2020a)
Economic Informality (% of total employment) (World Bank, 2021c)	32.5 (2018) ⁵⁴	15.8 (2018)
Unemployment (% work force)	14.1 (IBGE, 2020a)	4.6 (ONS, 2021) ⁵⁵
Population Born Abroad (%) (UN, 2020c)	0.4	14.1
Population Distribution by Race ⁵⁶ (%)	White: 43,1 Brown: 46,5 Black: 9,3 (G1, 2019) ⁵⁷	White: 86,0 Black: 3,3 Asian: 7,5 Mixed: 2,2 Other: 1,0 (ONS, 2020b)

Table 4.1: National socioeconomic indicators

Source: produced based on data from multiple sources (see references on the table)

⁵² Definitions of poverty and criteria to measure it vary substantially between countries (more details are given on note 56). For comparison purposes therefore I used the World Bank criteria, which considers as extremely poor those living on less than \$1.90 a day).

⁵³ To illustrate the extent of the inequality, the UNDP 2019 report revealed Brazil to be the country with the second highest income concentration in the world, behind Qatar only (G1, 2019). The poorest 10% accounted for 0,8% of the total GDP, while on the other end, the richest 10% accumulated 42.9% of it (Campos, 2020). More shocking is the concentration of 28,% of the GDP by the richest 1% (G1, 2019). Moreover, there is a strong correlation between poverty, race and gender: Among the 10% richest, 70,6% are white, while on the poorest 10% the situation is opposed: 77% are black or brown. Men's earnings are 12.7% higher than women's ones. (Campos. 2020).

⁵⁴ Numbers reveal that informality is higher among people with lower educational levels: among the ones without complete primary education, 62.7% work informally. The rate is of only 21,9% for those with high education (Campos. 2020)

⁵⁵ This data (September 2021) is 0.6 percentage points higher than before the pandemic (ONS. 2021)

⁵⁶ Numbers for the UK referring only to England and Wales, according to categorisation of the British Government (gov.uk).

⁵⁷ Data is based on the criteria of self-classification (the informant auto determine its category within offered options).

This table flags the evident differences in socioeconomic outcomes between Brazil and United Kingdom. Despite having a population three times larger than the British one, Brazil's GDP in 2020 was roughly two thirds of the United Kingdom's. A starker contrast emerges when comparing GDP per capita, with Brazil's citizens getting roughly a fifth of what British ones do⁵⁸. When placed in relation to results ten years before, one can identify a potential increase in poverty in Brazil, which indeed happened, following the economic crisis in 2013. Meanwhile, in the UK, austerity has taken its toll since 2010, increasing economic instability, and socioeconomic inequality (Toynbee and Walker, 2020). Nevertheless, the poverty indicator above suggests that the matter was less acute in the United Kingdom at the time of these figures.

It is important to remark that *poverty* in each of the countries has not only different meanings⁵⁹, but also very different implications, mainly due to the capacity of the state to support less well-off citizens. In fact, the quality of life indicators in relation to material aspects are much better in the United Kingdom, such as the HDI (0.932) and GDP (2,855,297). The unemployment rate is three times higher in Brazil than in the UK, what combined with Brazil's three times larger population could indicate that nine times more Brazilians suffer with the issue than the British ones. The rather poor performance of Brazil has a close connection with inequality, which is deeply ingrained in the country, as in most of Latin America, with a common colonial past. The issue intersects with gender and has a strong correlation with race, but it is mostly understood in relation to material economic terms, visible in cities through the presence of wealthy securitised gated communities which are an extreme contrast to the informal settlements with very precarious or even absent basic infrastructure⁶⁰. Another strong indicator of injustices in Brazil that relates to and reproduces inequality is the level of employment informality: almost a third of the economically active population works in precarious work conditions with low job security (Matias, n.d.). The ones most subject to these conditions are the workers with poor educational levels.

In the United Kingdom, inequality is often entangled with injustices relating to specific groups, particularly ethnic minorities and migrants, which is not obvious through the demographic figures above. The exception could be informality in employment, rather high in comparison to other indicators of the country. The 15,8% rate, despite considerably lower than in Brazil, indicate socioeconomic issues

⁵⁸ It is a fact that Brazil's currency (Real) is weaker than the British Pound Sterling, what could in part justify the stark numbers, in American Dollars. Yet, as way of illustration, comparing living costs between Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, while consumer prices in Birmingham are 138% higher than in Belo Horizonte, purchasing power in Birmingham is 263% higher than in Belo Horizonte (Numbeo, 2021)

⁵⁹ In the UK, people are considered to be living in relative poverty if their household income is less than 60% of the median income of that year. For 2020 it meant a monthly amount of £1574 pounds (Statista, 2022). And absolute poverty is when people's household income is less than 60% of the median income in some base year, commonly 2010/11 (UK parliament, 2022). Hence, households would live on less than £1294/month (Statista, 2022) In Brazil the Ministry of Citizenship classifies people living with less than R\$178.00 (roughly £23.80) per month as poor, and people living with less than R\$89,00 (£11,90) per month as extremely poor (Gomes, 2021). Therefore, as argued on note 44, the national poverty rates would be incomparable.

⁶⁰ In Brazil 48% of the population does not have access to the sewerage system (Senado Notícias, 2019).

that go concealed, under the surface of the country's global hegemonic position⁶¹. It nevertheless has material consequences for the affected population, which the discussion of Birmingham's case will support.

4.2.1 Legal and planning frameworks

The main conclusion of the brief countries' comparison above is that challenges of social justice in each national context are of different magnitudes and to a certain extent, different natures and effects, especially for urban contexts. Therefore, they demand specific policy strategies. This section analyses key aspects of the national planning frameworks in each country, and their implications for social justice outcomes, understood in terms of the triadic analytical framework presented in Chapter Two, thus in relation to *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. Despite not always being directly connected to the planning and management of municipal markets, national norms are legally dominant and set the boundaries for urban governance practices at local scale.

The Brazilian legal and planning framework in relation to social justice

Brazil's local governance practices and urban planning must comply with the Federal Constitution (1988), and its connected legal framework for cities: the City Statute⁶²(Oliveira, Lopes and Sousa, 2018). They declare the prioritisation of a social justice agenda, promoting *equity*, in relation to economic and private interests (Instituto Viva Direitos, 2021). Implemented in 2002 the City Statute aims to redress Brazil's stark urban inequality, the result of unequal access to land⁶³ in the context of rapid urbanisation⁶⁴, and high real estate speculation, which result in booming informal settlements (Klink and Denaldi, 2016), that ill-funded and poorly structured local governments cannot tackle alone (Rocco, Royer and Gonçalves, 2019). It is understood that unregulated private property feeds exclusion in cities, at the heart of material injustices. Therefore, a key element mentioned in these documents is the *Social Function of Property* (SFP). Article 39 of the City Statute declares that:

'Urban property fulfils its social function when it complies with fundamental demands of city's organisation, expressed in the masterplan, securing compliance with citizens' needs regarding quality of life, social justice and the development of economic activities (...)' (Senado Federal, 2004, p. 32, author's translation).

The SFP determines that the right to private property depends on its use according to collective interests and well-being. The SFP is to be enforced locally through city's masterplans⁶⁵, developed

⁶¹ In fact its 'developed' status is almost taken for granted: socioeconomic indicators of the opposite are harder to find, apparently unaccounted for by international (development) agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank that did not provide such data for the United Kingdom.

⁶² Federal Law no. 10.257.

⁶³ Land was developed mostly in large estates during colonial times (Instituto Viva Direitos, 2021).

⁶⁴ The access to land in Brazil is extremely unequal, result of a colonial development structured in large country estates. To exemplify, in 2018 there were 6,69 millions of families in the country in need of housing, and 6,05 millions of empty properties. (Instituto Viva Direitos, 2021).

⁶⁵ which became mandatory since 2001 for cities with more than 20.000 inhabitants.

through participatory planning, reproducing the promise of democratic benefits in engaging residents in public deliberation (McCann, 2017), discussed as an element of 'good' governance in Chapter Two (section 2.4.2). Municipalities are expected to choose appropriate instruments from the City Statute's 'planning toolkit' according to local needs, ranging from increasing taxation to the expropriation (with compensation) of properties (Instituto Viva Direitos, 2021), and have a crucial role in the enforcement of structural changes in the direction of social justice in cities.

The City Statute is considered a benchmark in urban governance in support of vulnerable dwellers' needs (Maricato, 2011). Progressiveness in urban planning nevertheless preceded the CS. They converged with the new Constitution's approval in 1988, in a wave of commitment to democracy, social justice and the '*inversion of priorities*', i.e. to govern for the poor⁶⁶, after more than 20 years of a neoliberally guided military dictatorship⁶⁷ (Klink and Denaldi, 2016). Municipalities started experimenting with processes such as participatory budgeting (e.g. Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte), although with constrained economic resources (Klink and Denaldi, 2016).

In spite of the City Statute's international recognition⁶⁸, it is important to reflect on its scope and achievements' limitations. First, it frames social justice solely in terms of spatial planning⁶⁹, and addresses material redistribution as *the* injustice issue to be tackled. Yet concerns with housing backlogs and geographical proximity to (rather precarious) work opportunities do not address the employment issues for the urban poor, something that could sustain change for justice (Fainstein, 2010; V. Watson, 2009, p.2259). A perhaps more problematic deficiency is, however, the ironic absence of jurisdiction over public property in the scope of the SFP, implying a (oftentimes lacking) compliance to its principles. In a reality where government officials and politicians are not always committed to social justice values, this absence in policy gives flexibility for governments to manage public assets informally, according to individual agendas (Roy, 2009b). Moreover, public and private partnerships (PPPs) with the transferring of public properties or their management to the private sector, like many processes involving the regeneration of markets nowadays, would be better regulated if these assets' compliance with the SFP was explicitly mentioned.

Concrete results following the City Statute have unfortunately been quite limited, not challenging hegemonic practices that perpetuate privilege (Rocco, Royer and Gonçalves, 2019). They were hindered by the fragile operational capacity of the state and its difficulty in implementing policy terms, faced with a status quo of clientelist and corrupt practices, i.e. the 'stickiness' or path dependence of existing long-established structures of power and privilege, a widespread obstacle to better governance according to Grindle (2017, p.21) and a reality faced by many Latin-American countries (Maricato,

⁶⁶ Interestingly, the tendency happened regardless of the centre and right wing national governments of Itamar Franco (1993-1994) and Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2001).

⁶⁷ From 1964 till 1985.

⁶⁸ '*The Brazilian legislation is vanguard and source of inspiration till nowadays (20 years later) and it would be more if it was applied in its entirety*' (United Nations, 2021)

⁶⁹ the SFP does not determine the functions of plots and buildings. That is defined by the specific zoning established by each city's masterplan.

2017), as discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.4.1). Thus, exclusionary tendencies in access to land in cities have continued to worsen (Maricato, 2017). The recent state shift towards more austere and entrepreneurial trends further marginalised social justice concerns⁷⁰, especially after Bolsonaro rose to power in 2018. Currently, progressive planning appears to be in decline in Brazil, though attempts to keep the commitment to the SFP alive do exist. The new masterplan of Belo Horizonte, approved in 2019 and presented below, is an example of progressive planning.

The British legal and planning framework in relation to social justice

Unlike Brazil, the United Kingdom does not have a unified urban policy at national level (OECD, 2017). Nevertheless, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2021) combines state policy guidance on planning at national level. The document, reviewed in 2021, declares that *'the purpose of the planning system is to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development'*, in a commitment to the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2015). Sustainable development is to be achieved through tackling three overarching objectives, expressed as equally relevant:

- 1) Economic: *'to help build a strong responsive and competitive economy'* (through support to land and key infrastructure provision);
- 2) Social: *'to support strong, vibrant and healthy communities'* (providing adequate housing and good quality public spaces and facilities);
- 3) Environmental: *'to protect and enhance the natural, built and historic environment'* (including efficient and sustainable use of natural resources and transition to a low-carbon economy) (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2012).

Furthermore, since 2011 the state has been dedicated to decentralising urban policy through its City Deals, especially in England. In theory, devolution gives more power and responsibilities to local governments and communities (see the *Localism Act* of 2011 and the *Cities and Local Government Devolution Act* of 2016). There is the acknowledgement of the importance of communities' engagement in developing adequate plans for localised needs, which can be associated to the wave of participation in planning as a normative must in governance systems (see section 2.4.2) also observed in Brazil's City Statute. Yet, evidence suggests that with designs insensitive to power imbalances dynamics (Fischer, 2006), attempts of devolution were not enough 'horizontal' or 'devolved' (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2008), causing frustration in residents and their cynicism following their participation in planning (Durose and Lowndes, 2010). Devolution can also be taken by states as a rhetoric which simultaneously show a commitment to participation, and conceal the gain of governments in having the states' 'burden' reduced, the 'roll-back' of the state (Goodwin, 2009), transferring practical and

⁷⁰ As way of illustrating it, the Ministry of Cities created in 2003 to support the federal vision for the development of cities in line with the City Statute was closed in 2019 (Portal to Governo Brasileiro, n.d).

financial responsibilities to local governments. In tandem with the UK context of austerity budget cuts, ‘devolution’ has resulted in the abandonment of the most vulnerable (Raco, 2009), as the discussion of the Birmingham case will help to exemplify.

British policy documents do not engage with the normative call for social justice in planning (DESA, 2006), differing to the Brazilian framework. There is a tone of political neutrality, as if policies were drafted in a contextual vacuum, with no historical challenges to tackle. The objectiveness and lack of an explicit commitment to justice⁷¹ or to the needs of more vulnerable groups, with a moderate engagement with human development compared to an emphasis on economic growth (OECD, 2017), results in policies expressing implicitly that economic interests are the state priority. UK policies’ content is an evidence of how ‘flat’ politics recently became, as discussed in Chapter Two, with party affiliations becoming obsolete when (economic) ‘efficiency’ is taken for granted and not framed as a political *value* (Maricato, 2017). Even so, in relation to economic development, the matter of generating secure and well-paid jobs is not explicitly discussed.

4.2.2 Policy and national data on traditional markets

This section explores to what extent Brazil and the United Kingdom account for traditional markets in state planning guidance and in which ways. Moreover, it presents existing knowledge about the markets industry in each country, and what claims research on markets make about how they should be governed and planned for. Given the lack of data and mobilisation on markets at the national level in Brazil, mentioned above, the discussion is by necessity uneven.

Research and planning for markets in Brazil

There are no regulations or official state level guidelines for the management of public markets in Brazil. They are considered a sole attribution of local governments, and in terms of economic relevance, trading at markets is taken to be a marginal survival activity. Following the discussion on the deficiencies of the City Statute framing of social justice, and the discussion in Chapter Two about the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) (2.3.3), principles and projects within the approach could complement policy for justice, including economic sustainable development that would consider traditional markets. Unfortunately, the institutional structure for SSE in Brazil is fragmented between state, regional and local level, with a limited scope since governments associate it to social welfare rather than ‘alternative’ economic development⁷² (Simara/lecturer UFMG, July 2019).

Markets in Brazil, as elsewhere in the world are suffering with retail and social changes (see section 2.2). Additionally, and differently to other contexts including the UK, another aspect weakening the markets’ agenda at state level in Brazil is the absence of a nation-wide institutional organisation of

⁷¹ Mentioned only once in the NPPF (2021), but in relation to criminal justice (p.28). It is absent in the Localism Act 2011 and the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016.

⁷² This indicates how misconceived economic policies in Brazil are, since the huge majority of livelihoods depend on work circumstances more aligned with the profile of SSE.

traders or market managers, discussed below. This explains the disarticulated and almost insipid political mobilisation in favour of markets witnessed in the country. Market communities, where they exist, are normally bound to specific markets, or at most, in relation to a city's public markets (see Pereira, 2017), which this research will confirm. The findings of this study suggest that the demographic profile of traders and neighbourhoods play a role in how active/ politically strong market communities are, a discussion elaborated in Chapter Five when markets' contribution to social justice in each case study are explained.

Research and planning for markets in the United Kingdom

Regulation on markets in the United Kingdom started with market charters, royal permissions given by the king that date back to the Middle Ages. It established an exclusive right to lords in possession of land to hold a market, with a minimum radius of 2/3 of a mile within which no other markets could take place (BCC, n.d. a). More importantly, in places where it exists, it still requires the protection of city markets by municipalities, who inherited lord's rights and responsibilities (Wolhuter, 2002). Despite the historical policy engagement with markets, the report *Markets as Sites for Social Interaction* (Watson and Studder, 2006) flagged the lack of coordinated strategy for markets at national level, and of local policy to encourage support to markets. Authors considered it a lost opportunity, since markets could play a crucial role in helping to deliver many government agendas, such as town-centre regeneration, healthy eating, and social inclusion (Watson and Studdert, 2006), converging with the arguments of PPS (2003), the later Urbact Markets EU project (2015) and many academics (e.g. Janseen and Cezer, 2013a and b; Morales, 2009).

In the last decade market traders and market managers, organised nationally in the NMTF (National Market Trader Federation)⁷³, and in the NABMA (National Association of British Markets)⁷⁴ have been working together to develop a thorough diagnosis of the country's markets industry (e.g. the Mission for Markets surveys) and produce evidence of markets' holistic contributions for cities, aiming to lobby the national government. They were joined by researchers with expertise in markets, e.g. Dr. Sara Gonzalez (University of Leeds), who recently led the project *Markets4People* (2018-2020), and Dr. Sophie Watson (Open University), and by organisations concerned with social welfare (such as the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the New Economics Foundation) in the aim of delivering a strong and cohesive message to governments and society. The several government reports discussing markets' relevance and how policy could support in recent years undoubtedly result from this continuous and robust advocacy.

The policy argument for markets has remained consistent in central government reports over the last fifteen years, regardless of the party in power. Qualitative case studies confirmed both 1) the challenges to markets' future sustainability, and 2) the holistic role that markets can have for cities, reflecting the

⁷³ Founded in 1899 (NMTF, 2021 - <https://www.nmtf.co.uk/about-us/our-history/#presentDay>).

⁷⁴ Founded in 1919 (NABMA, 2021 - <https://nabma.com/the-history-of-nabma/>).

discussion in Chapter Two (2.2 and 2.5). Hence, the UK's Department for Communities and Local Government's reports '*Market Failure?: Can the traditional market survive?*' (2009) and '*Supporting Retail Markets*' (2010) argued that national and local governments should support markets: the state should promote strategic change encouraging municipalities to employ markets as instruments to help with multiple development objectives. Nevertheless, it is still unclear how advocacy for markets is (to be) incorporated in wider policy guidance. The current NPPF item '*Ensuring the vitality of town centres*', states that city planning should '*retain and enhance existing markets and, where appropriate, re-introduce or create new ones*' (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2021, p. 25)⁷⁵. Yet, wording is ambiguous: 'markets' could be understood not as traditional trading spaces, but just as commercial activity as a whole.

The most recent round of national statistics (Mission for Markets, 2018) reveals that 82% of the markets in the UK are managed by municipalities. There are 1,173⁷⁶ markets, amounting to 32,400 businesses and 57,000 traders (Bua, Taylor and González, 2018). In 2017-18, traders on markets and one-off trading events collectively turned over £3.1 billion - an increase of £200 million year on year since 2012. These numbers converge with findings of e.g. the '*Urbact Markets*' EU project (2015), showing that the markets' industry is still a relevant sector economically. Yet, despite it, 41% of market operators reported a decrease in footfall, traders' and stalls' income, in a strong contrast with the well-performing niche markets catering for wealthier customers. Findings confirm the pattern discussed in Chapter Two (2.2) There is an average stall occupancy in England of 72% which plummets to 46%, if it is assumed that traders occupy only a single stall each (Mission for Markets, n.d.).⁷⁷ In fact, according to the '*Mission for Markets*' initiative, the biggest issue for traditional markets is to attract the next generation of traders (Mission for Markets, n.d.), what confirms the understanding that the profession is increasingly seen as a futureless job (S. Watson, 2006).

Reports linked the bleak professional prospects with the challenging impacts of the retail sector and consumer behaviour changes (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018), and the lack of financial support and proper management by local authorities (Zasada, 2009; Department for Communities and Local Governments, 2009), the latter connected with austerity budget cuts to municipalities (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018). Recently attention has been increasingly given to exclusionary effects of markets' redevelopment projects, as they commonly displace existing communities of users and traders, because of higher cost of products and stall rent prices (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018). Therefore, research findings indicate that markets in the UK can support social justice, and do so to a certain extent; but their potential is jeopardised by social and retail changes, and ineffective governance.

⁷⁵ The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government is the new name of the Department for Communities and Local Government.

⁷⁶ Both traditional and specialist markets

⁷⁷ There is a tendency of traders occupying more/ adjacent stalls in a same market, spreading their shops (Mission for Markets, n.d)

Markets can help the development of a more equitable society, where ownership is more widespread and decentralised (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018). In support to this aim, recent contributions of the collaborative project *Markets4People*, attempt to strengthen the evidence of what was called the ‘social value’ of markets (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018), still small in comparison to data about their economic relevance (Mission for Markets, n.d. b). ‘Social value’ acknowledges that in practice it is extremely difficult to disentangle markets economic and social contributions, as they do not happen in isolation. The report *Measuring the Value of Traditional Retail Markets: Towards a Holistic Approach* (Bua, Taylor and González 2018) suggests the employment of three methods used in other sectors to measure social value: Local Multiplier 3 (LM3), Social Return on Investment (SROI) and Social Impact Assessment (SIA)⁷⁸. The resulting data demonstrate that markets can be considered a good investment even within a context of prioritisation of economic efficiency. They can be included in redevelopment projects, but their social and cultural roles should be retained and enhanced in the process, instead of compromised, (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018).

Despite the recent years advancements in the body of research, national policy consideration and activism to protect markets (see Dawson and Gonzalez, 2015; Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018), Gonzalez (2018) contends that there is still a long way to go in raising the wider society and local governments’ awareness about markets’ holistic urban relevance in the UK. Market communities’ work hardly impacts beyond the specific market being defended, resulting in isolated initiatives with limited political strength. Nevertheless, the joint effort put in the production of research like that of *Markets4People* has the potential of bringing closer activist groups from different sectors and locations.

4.2.3 Comparing national contexts

The discussion above presented the national structural and institutional contexts of Brazil and United Kingdom in relation to 1) challenges and opportunities for social justice, and 2) planning for markets at national level and their connection with social justice agendas. Socioeconomic indicators confirmed that there are substantial differences between Brazil and the UK, with the stark material inequality in Brazil inspiring a more intense and clear commitment of the state to justice matters. The City Statute materialises this commitment, and its notion of SFP could be mobilised to defend markets as spaces of multiple ‘social functions’, supporting social justice in cities. Yet, structural issues already jeopardising

⁷⁸ The Local Multiplier 3 (LM3) focuses strictly on economic impact, and can be used to calculate a local ‘economic multiplier’ to measure the wider impact on the local economy of every £1 spent by customers in a market, for example adding up the value of further spending by market traders through their supply chains. The Social Return on Investment (SROI) focuses on broader social value, and seeks to monetise this. It is the method recommended by the government for evidencing social value and involves estimating and adding up the monetary value of wider benefits resulting from every £1 invested in a market, for example savings to the NHS resulting from increasing access to healthy food through markets. In SROI ‘social value’ includes soft impacts that are harder to quantify and measure, and its attractiveness lies in its development of a sophisticated method for measuring these in *financial* terms. Finally, the Social Impact Assessment (SIA), is more bottom up, using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative data to evidence social value. Community members or those affected by a decision take the lead in assessing priorities, options and impacts, for example develop an understanding of the value of a market to traders, customers and the wider community and how this value might be enhanced. It originated in the USA in the 1970s and developed into a tool often used to promote environmental sustainability and social justice (Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018).

the City Statute enforcement could also result in little practical achievements for markets, even if policy stated their relevance. The lack of national level research evidence of markets' relevance and of mobilisation and advocacy for traditional markets in Brazil, differently to the observed in the UK, is also a key problem in the aim to include markets in national planning guidance.

Conversely, in the United Kingdom the last fifteen years of advocacy for and realisation of research delivered a solid understanding of 1) markets' potential roles in support of multiple urban sustainable development agendas, i.e. social justice, and 2) the challenges faced by the sector; 3) policy alternatives/ strategies to be adopted at national and local level. Yet, little practical result has been witnessed in terms of better governance and planning for markets at the local level. Part of the problem can be perhaps connected to the shallow acknowledgement of social agendas in key national planning documents (e.g. NPPF), which state a commitment to 'sustainable development' via economic, social and environmental fronts, but reveal a predominant concern with (mainstream/ large-scale) economic development.

In both contexts the planning framework highlights a commitment to devolution and participation in planning, following governance trends worldwide, discussed in section 2.4 (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2008; Fainstein, 2010). Yet, their efficiency at local level (discussed in the next section) is what determines if they work properly or only as a powerful rhetoric concealing rather exclusionary governance agendas (Arnstein, 1969). Additionally, a key problem linked to the promotion of social justice in national planning guidance is that both Brazil and the United Kingdom fail to acknowledge the need to support the generation of livelihoods for the urban poor, i.e. the social economy. The sector, which employs the most vulnerable groups of society, especially in Brazil, goes unnoticed by agendas concerned with big companies, i.e. mainstream economic development agenda. In the absence of such, social justice achievements in increased quality of life for vulnerable groups through - solely - the provision of housing and other public infrastructure can be short lived or jeopardised. A (more substantial) support to social and solidarity economy in planning/ economic development plans could address this gap, and include traditional markets.

The national context influences dynamics at local level. Yet, as the discussion in the next section will demonstrate, they are the only determinant to the witnessed realities in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham.

4.3 Urban contexts

This section engages with the discussion of the structural and institutional contextual features of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. Despite the significant differences in the realities of Brazil and the UK which reproduce understandings of a divide such as global 'South' and 'North', increasing inequality in the UK suggests that reality is more complex on the ground. Indeed, when Belo Horizonte and Birmingham are juxtaposed, they appear to have more in common, confirming that cities should be researched as 'ordinary' places (see section 1.2). Considering that markets need to respond to the surrounding

community/ city needs, and the local socioeconomic and demographic profile of users (Watson and Studdert, 2006), the profile of each city, their urban challenges and how municipalities respond in developing agendas and plans, are most directly implicated in how markets function and their prospects in this context.

4.3.1 Urban profile and injustice challenges in Belo Horizonte

Belo Horizonte was created in 1897 to replace the colonial Ouro Preto as the new capital of Minas Gerais (MG) state. It was the first planned city of Brazil, with an expected population of up to 200,000 inhabitants by 2000 (Peixoto, 1997). However, growth beyond its boundaries and spatial sprawl was already experienced by the end of the 1920's (Giudice, 2012). Nowadays Belo Horizonte has a population of approximately 2,523,701 inhabitants (IBGE, 2021). It is the sixth biggest city in Brazil (IBGE, 2021) and the third biggest metropolitan region of the country, with around 6.000.000 inhabitants (Agencia IBGE Noticia, 2020), behind only São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro's ones.

Belo Horizonte is located within the South-East country region, the most economically developed of Brazil (Souza, 2001), formed by the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo. The South-East was responsible for 52.9% of the national GDP in 2017, but Minas Gerais contributes only approximately 9% of it (G1, 2018). In terms of quality of life, Belo Horizonte's HDI score is 0.810 (IBGE, 2020b), slightly higher than the national Brazilian score of 0.766 (UN, 2020a). However, a recent publication in partnership with the UN revealed that while not poorly placed in the national capital cities' ranking, Belo Horizonte had poor performance in social justice related SDG indicators such as *Health and Wellbeing; Gender Equality; Reduced Inequalities; and Sustainable Cities and Communities* (Instituto Cidades Sustentáveis, 2021).⁷⁹

This assessment, however, seems to miss the significance of Belo Horizonte's challenges of unemployment and poverty, which have substantially increased in recent years. Regarding the former, in 2016 Belo Horizonte had 7.2% of unemployment (IBGE, 2016), but recent state figures (MG: 12.9% - PNAD/ IBGE, 2020 in Bianchetti, 2020), suggest a deepening of the issue in the capital, since it is the key regional magnet for people searching for jobs (Xavier, 2021). A related issue is rampant: from 2015 to 2018, the percentage of families living in extreme poverty⁸⁰ increased from 19% to 30% in Belo Horizonte. The growing unemployment and poverty are visible in the spatial dynamics in the city⁸¹. People walk around traffic lights with boards asking for any kind of work opportunities (Xavier, 2021) and very precarious housing situations, and increasing homelessness are seen (Gomes, 2021; Mariano,

⁷⁹ Belo Horizonte was in the 5th place among the 26 capitals in the country (Oliveira, 2021). It presented the poorest level of performance, with big challenges in 3) Health and Wellbeing; 4) Quality Education; 5) Gender Equality; 10) Reduced Inequalities; 11) Sustainable Cities and Communities; 16) Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions (Instituto Cidades Sustentáveis et al, 2021).

⁸⁰ Criteria for calculation of such was explained in note n. 56

⁸¹ Something the pandemic and lockdown contributed to, the effects of pandemic-induced unemployment, the number of families living in extreme poverty in Belo Horizonte went up 3%, from 59.891 in March 2020 to 61.734 in December 2020 (Brito, 2021). Unfortunately, the analysis of the pandemic impacts are beyond the scope of this study.

2021) especially in the margins of big roads and city centre streets (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). While disheartening, the situation is less extreme than other big cities in Brazil; the national unemployment rate is 14.1% (IBGE, 2020a). Between 2015 and 2018, the percentage of families living in extreme poverty increased from 33% to 41% in the country, from 32% to 35% in São Paulo and from 26% to 37% in Rio de Janeiro (PBH, 2019a).

Belo Horizonte's better performance masks the key problem. Extremely poor living conditions are mainly a result of unequal distribution of wealth rather than lack of it. Belo Horizonte's main challenge is to address the endemic inequality, a historical legacy that the present reproduces, as at national scale. In fact, the city presents a higher inequality rate (Gini Index = 0.60 - 2010) (Atlas of Human Development in Brazil, n.d.) than the national one of 53.9 (World Bank, 2018). It is important to stress that Inequality is not simply an index. It poses serious challenges to social justice, in the light of, on the one hand stark spatial and social disparities such as the pockets of extreme deprivation, precarious settlements and increasing homelessness, (Mariano, 2019), and the informal economy (Carrieri and Murta, 2011), and on the other, in the centre of Belo Horizonte, neighbourhoods with some of the most expensive squared meter costs of the country (Gomes, 2021).



Figures 4.1 and 4.2: Homeless dwellers encroaching a private parking in the centre (left) and traders waiting for the bus, where they will offer sweet popcorn packages (right)

Source: Author's archives

Despite the very challenging circumstances, people in Belo Horizonte are friendly, and local practices and places reveal a laid-back culture with strong roots in Minas Gerais' countryside. Many city residents fondly refer to Belo Horizonte as 'Roça Grande' (a large countryside still maintaining an atmosphere of small city, despite its large population. Spaces of social interaction such as 'botecos' (local pubs) and of traditional trading are mentioned by locals as strong features of the local culture. The population therefore has a soft spot for markets with the Mercado Central and the Feira Hippie figuring as main attractions of the city. An interviewee that is a regular at markets explained their importance:

'They are meeting and exchange places. It is a manifestation of the [Minas Gerais] culture, the identity, the traditional. If somebody comes from elsewhere, it is a place of local memory. And

also of “the natural” - appropriating the space in a creative, spontaneous and inclusive way.’ (Carlos/ customer FECOPE, July 2019).



Figure 4.3: Belo Horizonte's contest of best Quadrilha choreography, evidence of the city's link with the countryside roots

Source: Author's archives

4.3.2 Belo Horizonte's municipality: governance agenda and framework

Belo Horizonte's urban governance has been marked by clearly different phases since the national Constitution's approval in 1988. The left-wing government elected in 1992 ruled according to the mentioned above 'inversion of priorities' (Mountambeault, 2015) agenda, and council and academic interviewees praised its legacy in relation to social justice promotion in the city. Besides participatory budgeting, introduced in the mid-1990's, which experimented with citizen participation and increased the knowledge about rights, and the impact on definition of investment priorities of commonly excluded groups (Mountambeault, 2015; Souza, 2001), there was the vanguard work of the food security and nutrition department. The pioneering and nationally recognised (DOM, 2010a) *ABasteCer* (Supply) Programme is worth mentioning in more detail, for the scope of this research. It was created in the early 1990's, addressing the food deserts in peripheral low-income neighbourhoods of the city through the establishment of big warehouse-like shops called 'sacolões' ('big bags') (see Figure 4.4). These commercialise produce in bulk very cheaply, with associated shops required to sell twenty items at a low price determined by the municipality (*Ítalo/ SUSAN, August 2019*). The *ABasteCer* was a huge success and with the model copied by the private sector, units spread through the city. As unbeatable suppliers, especially for the urban poor, *sacolões* regulate fresh produce prices in Belo Horizonte, contributing to *equity* in the city. Unfortunately, their appearance had an adverse impact on Belo Horizonte's public markets, something discussed in section 4.4.

The progressiveness of Belo Horizonte's local government steadily decreased from the end of the 1990's. The PB lost strength and some programmes of social support and urban regeneration had questionable intentions. The programme *Centro Vivo* was created to tackle the issue of informal trading

(see Figure 4.5) and spatial decline in the city centre (Pinheiro, 1997), as mentioned in Chapter Three. Defended on the grounds of social inclusion, it relocated street traders to formal enclosed commercial venues known as *Shopping Popular*. The ones that could not pay rent or did not want to relocate, had to cope with the threat of eviction by the increased police force in the centre (Estado de Minas, 2004). Carrieri and Murta (2011) state that the policy's real aim was to 'sanitize' the streets for greater economic and touristic interests, resonating with cases discussed in section 2.5.1, about repressing traditional trading through increased regulation, while having public support to do so, via a positive representation of the process as good for business and communities.



Figure 4.4: An Abastecer sacolão in Venda Nova, Belo Horizonte

Source: <https://vendanovablog.blogspot.com/2018/03/sacoloes-da-rede-abastecer-tem-produtos.html>



Figure 4.5: Motivations for the Centro Vivo Programme: clandestine traders in the corner of main streets in the centre, commercialising fruits in improvised boxes

Source: photo of Juarez Rodrigues, in Estado de Minas, 21st of June 2004

The tendency towards urban entrepreneurial governance achieved its apex during Marcio Lacerda's ruling (2009-2016). Zenilda, an academic who worked in the planning department at the time explained:

'...[I]t was a government with a clear emphasis in entrepreneurship. It was when the PBH Ativos was created. There was a conflict with many areas of the city, especially with the social movements. First because it understood the city as merchandise, really. Then there was an attempt of privatising public spaces. There was a significant intensification of partnerships, PPPs, with the third sector' (Zenilda/ lecturer UFMG, July 2019).

A key instrument to realise Lacerda's agenda, mentioned in this quote, is the *PBH Ativos*, created in 2011 to give specialised technical support to the municipality in the enforcement of public policies and the realisation of infrastructure projects. It does so by developing fund-raising strategies and planning *Public-Private-Partnerships* (PPPs) and *Tendering* projects. It is a state-owned company of mixed economy and closed capital. Hierarchically, the *PBH Ativos* reports to the Treasury Secretariat (SMFA). However, the company claims not to *'receive any money from the city Treasury'* (PBH Ativos, 2019). Canetti (2017) contests this statement, arguing that what was observed since the company's creation was its impressive capital increase through direct investment of the municipality through e.g. credit concession and the transfer of public land plots and buildings to the private sector. A CPI (Parliamentary Enquiry Commission) was then established to investigate the *PBH Ativos* potentially corrupt practices (G1, 2017; Reis, 2017). Despite the inconclusive termination of the commission, the *PBH Ativos* never again issued titles (debentures) to the private sector. Prior to this, selling titles had been an easy way to raise funds for core infrastructure work, indebting the council for the future beyond the allowed for a public authority, according to the *Law of Fiscal Responsibility* (Alberto/ lecturer UFMG, July 2019).

Yet, the *PBH Ativos*' role in legitimizing the process of commodification of urban (previously public) space in Belo Horizonte continued, through PPPs and Tenderings including for public lighting, hospitals, and the city's markets, which the company was in charge of organising. The *PBH Ativos* and its activity fit what Canetti called a 'neoliberal ontology', resonating with features and representations of entrepreneurial governance noted in Chapter Two: *'the privatisation of public goods in the State's possession, combined with the discourse of its failure and the need of privately funding urban public services, argued as the only possible answer to the "crisis"'* (2017, pp. 514, author's translation). The irony however is that PPPs' contracts made the provision and maintenance of public infrastructure and services more expensive for the council, which furthermore lost control in their management (Alberto/ lecturer UFMG, July 2019). This is an indication of the endemic existence of corruptive practices across government spheres in Brazil, part of the 'path dependency' that makes political change a hard task around the world, even when promoted (Grindle, 2017). The discussion of *PBH Ativos*' role in markets' governance will be further explored in Chapter Seven.

The delayed impacts of the global economic crisis of 2008, and a national strong recession since 2014, nevertheless frustrated entrepreneurial governance plans for Belo Horizonte, both processes prompting the return of activism since 2010. Mobilisation involved poor population, opposition

politicians and academics, who joined in acts of civil disobedience⁸² making use of the Constitution and City Statute framework explained above to claim legitimate rights (Rocco, Royer and Gonçalves, 2019). It was in essence a cry for social justice, and the scope of the mobilisation and its implications for the Brazilian planning are discussed in detail elsewhere. For this study, it is relevant to note that the ethos of civil engagement converged with and reciprocally inspired resistance against the privatisation of the city's Mercado do Cruzeiro and Mercado de Santa Tereza, further explained in Chapters Five and Six.



Figure 4.6: Photo of a mobilisation in Belo Horizonte central streets - June 2019

Source: Authors' archives

The past and current city government is still marked by the presence of civil society in invented and invited spaces of participation, but the current mayor's agenda is less clear, according to local experts. The *Plano Plurianual de Ação Governamental*⁸³ (PPAG) 2018-2021 is the current document establishing government's priorities and budget allocation. It considered the Sustainable Development Goals, the context of economic recession in Brazil and the growing social welfare demands in Belo Horizonte, declaring two main commitments. The first, *'to govern for those who need most'*, establishes the most vulnerable as the priority population of public policies, while the second, *'to make the city function with more quality'* expresses the need of ruling more efficiently and delivering better services to the population, in face of the limited resources it has (PBH, 2017, p. 22). The PBH also demonstrated awareness of the multidimensional nature of injustices when it declared that all programmes have the *'intention of reducing inequalities in the city, inequality that has many faces, social, economic, of mobility, of access to public assets and services, and of participation'* (PBH, 2017, p. 21, author's translation).

The modernising of the urban planning legal framework was also declared in the PPAG as a key challenge (PBH, 2017). The new masterplan for the city was retained in the chamber of local councillors

⁸² the massive mobilisation in June 2013 joined thousands of similar acts throughout the country. The events were triggered by the discontent with public expenditure to host the World Cup, but aimed to address multiple injustice agendas.

⁸³ Pluriannual Plan of Governmental Action.

since 2015 because, in its commitment to enforce the City Statute social function of properties (PBH, 2019b), it constrains the action of multiple powerful groups in the city, especially developers (Fonseca, 2019). It was finally approved in a tumultuous council session in 2019. Its terms force developers to pay for higher construction rights in affluent areas, with a significant expected impact on the real estate dynamics in the city. Besides, revenue generated is supposed to be invested in public infrastructure, social housing provision (Fonseca, 2019; PBH, 2019b), and the urbanisation of less-well-off areas, alleviating the council's limited capacity to invest in urban development.

On the other end of the government spectrum is the more mainstream governing approach of the PBH. The executive sphere of the council is divided into secretariats and among these, the Treasury Secretariat (SMFA) and the Planning, Budgeting and Governance Secretariat (SMPOG) have the strongest influence, involved in the development of all main projects. The economic development focus is on big corporations and industries, and attracting external/ private investment for the city. Therefore, despite the progressive measures and the commitment to fight inequalities of all dimensions explained above (PBH, 2017), the council reveal the same issue of economic policies in other Brazilian cities, the Minas Gerais state and the country. It is a 'long-sightedness' that fails to acknowledge that, for the majority of the population, livelihoods depend on small-scale businesses, oftentimes informal, which would fit under the umbrella of social and solidarity economy (*Simara/ lecturer UFMG, July 2019*). Implications of this issue will be addressed in the conclusion of this section.

Nevertheless, another emphasis of a renewed commitment to an 'inversion of priorities' agenda is the re-emergence of SUSAN as an important department, after years of being in limbo and marginalised. The PPAG stated food security as a priority (PBH, 2017) and SUSAN is inspired by the sector's innovative approach in the 1990's now promoting agroecology, family agriculture and short circuits of production. Chapter Seven will discuss how SUSAN influenced the shaping of markets' tendering conditions in relation to these principles, trying to take markets from the peripheral institutional position they occupy, not only in the council, but in the department itself.

4.3.3 Urban profile and injustice challenges in Birmingham

Birmingham developed as a market town since the royal market charter signed by King Henry II in 1166 gave Peter de Birmingham permission to hold a market on his land (BCC, n.d. b). Today the '*city of a thousand trades*' (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*) is the second largest in the UK (BCC, 2017a). It has 1,141,800 inhabitants and a growing population (BCC, 2021a), attracted by the prospect of finding employment (BCC, 2017a). Birmingham's population growth by 8.7% in the last ten years (BCC, 2021a), and local and international migration play an important role in it (BCC, 2017a). Birmingham is recognised as a multicultural centre (Henry, McEwan and Pollard, 2002): 22.9% of its population was born abroad, and ethnic minority groups account for 36.74% of its inhabitants. It is therefore more ethnically diverse than many English cities, since national figures reveal a foreign population of 14.1% (UN, 2020c).

Birmingham's socioeconomic features reveal some similar challenges to Belo Horizonte in relation to social justice. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), a national combination of indicators related to poverty, reveals Birmingham is in the 7th worst position in England. In 2019, 43% of its population was living in the 10% most deprived *Lower Layer Super Output Areas* (LSOA)⁸⁴ of the country (BCC, 2019). This was an increase from the 40% in 2015 and amounted to 490,800 citizens. Despite appearing in some pockets throughout the city, deprivation geographically concentrates in the areas surrounding the city centre (BCC, 2019). This results in Birmingham occupying the 3rd worst place in the IMD assessment when analysing cities' core areas, behind only Manchester and Liverpool (BCC, 2019). Figure 4.7 shows other central and whole city positions nationwide according to IMD subdomains.

As in other national and international multicultural contexts (e.g. The Hague – Schappo, 2015), *'the coincidences between ethnicity and deprivation in the Birmingham's neighbourhoods are too powerful to be accidental'* (Fenton *et al.*, 2011, p. 37). Therefore, vulnerability in Birmingham has different material impacts than in Belo Horizonte, and it affects more specific groups: those of a foreign or ethnic minorities' background (Fenton *et al.*, 2011). Deprivation pockets reveal poorer, lower-educated dwellers where unemployment and low-income are acute issues. The last two are especially significant for Birmingham's IMD position, with the city leading nationally in the proportion of income and work poverty among English districts (Fenton *et al.*, 2011, p. 13). These findings explain why Birmingham's centre is the main locus of continuous deprivation in the city. Residents are trapped in a vicious cycle of vulnerability. Comparatively to British-born residents, immigrants regardless of nationality have fewer recognised qualifications, and can expect to earn less for many years after arrival. (Fenton *et al.*, 2011, p. 8). Below the graph, table and map illustrate well the depth of challenges and who is most impacted. They show respectively Birmingham deprivation figures, divided between the whole city and inner-city boundaries (BCC, 2019), the ethnic composition of deprived areas, and their geographical distribution, with a collar around the centre.

⁸⁴ LSOA are a geographic hierarchy designed to improve the reporting of small area statistics in England and Wales (NHS digital, 2022).



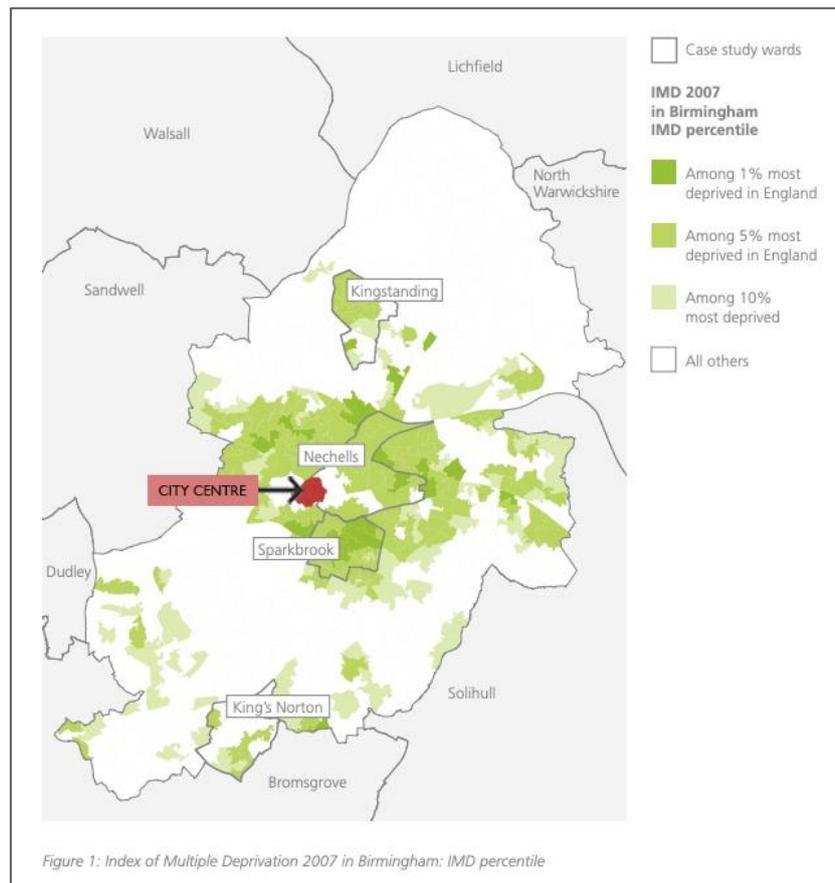
Figure 4.7: Deprivation in Birmingham - IMD subdomains

Source: Fenton et al., 2011

	% of Birmingham's population	% living in most deprived areas	% of most deprived areas' population
White British	65.6	30.5	49.8
Irish	3.2	37.5	3.0
Indian	5.7	38.2	5.4
Pakistani	10.6	77.2	20.4
Bangladeshi	2.1	85.5	4.5
Black Caribbean	4.9	60.4	7.3
Mixed White/Black Caribbean	1.6	56.5	2.2

Table 4.2: Area deprivation and ethnic population in Birmingham

Source: Census 2001; IMD 2004 in Fenton et al., 2011



Map 4.1: Distribution of Deprivation in Birmingham, in relation to national IMD (2007). In red the city centre area
 Source: Fenton et al., 2011 with author's edition

The accentuated problems in Birmingham are related to more recent historical events than the long-lasting endemic inequality in Belo Horizonte. Deindustrialisation, experienced in many British cities, had multiple, complex, enduring and more acute negative impacts in Birmingham since the 1970's. Sandercock (2003) explored the case of Birmingham in her influential book *Mongrel Cities* (2003) because it is according to her, a clear example of 'a typical industrial twentieth-century city that has undergone massive changes [since the 1970's], and [which] is still struggling to understand "what hit it", and how to respond' (2003, p.14). Birmingham's multiple impacts of deindustrialisation include urban decay, poverty and increased inequality, besides the persistence of structural unemployment (Wolhuter, 2002). The last reached 20% in the 1980's (Sandercock, (2003, p.16), although latest figures (from June 2020) show it at 14.5% (BCC, 2020a).

The irreversible decline in manufacturing and the intensive economic restructuring are recognised as main reasons for unemployment and the precarisation of work experienced in Birmingham since the 1980's. Jobs in manufacturing were replaced by positions in transport and distribution, retail and wholesaling and hotels and restaurants, sectors where low pay, low skills and casualisation of labour are common (Fenton *et al.*, 2011, p. 28). Besides the economic changes, the physical appearance of Birmingham has changed substantially since the 1980's. Both aspects are deeply connected with the

council's strategy to address the effects of deindustrialisation and urban growth, especially the need to attract investment and create new jobs, which are discussed below in more detail.

4.3.4 Birmingham's municipality: governance agenda and framework

The *Birmingham Development Plan 2031* (BDP) is the city's planning framework guiding decisions on all developments and regeneration activity till 2031 (BCC, 2017a, p.8) and it complies with the loosely-defined state level policies. In the BDP the BCC recognises the need to strengthen and diversify the economy and create jobs as the main actions to achieve change in terms of deprivation. In fact, this document and other recent plans (e.g. Big City Plan, 2011) reveal the continuation of a council's consistent agenda and strategies since the 1980's, regardless of the party in power. The BCC is a very good example of governance where party affiliations and the political values attached to one pole or the other became obsolete, under entrepreneurial governance (Maricato, 2017).

Birmingham has seen intense spatial transformations for over three decades, especially in the city centre (Wolhuter, 2002). The BDP declares that '*building on previous plans the approach will continue to be to promote urban regeneration*' (BCC, 2017a, p. 19). The physical makeover aims to achieve an appealing international image of a city that is a business, leisure, retail and cultural destination, to attract investment and visitors to deliver its growth agenda (BCC, 2017a). To enforce this plan, the BCC established an economic framework to facilitate massive scale investment from private parties in the city centre (Barber and Hall, 2008; Sandercock, 2003) which resulted in the replacement of the 1960's concrete infrastructure and buildings in the centre with new large-scale flagship projects (Wolhuter 2002). The ambitious plan to erase Birmingham's heavy manufacturing past, taken as a sign of the city's decline, counted on the deployment of symbolic and cultural resources, including public media and politicians, to aggressively market and promote Birmingham (Hall, 1995, in Wolhuter 2002). To date, this strategy is still applied, with exclusionary effects also on the Bull Ring Markets, as further discussed in Chapters Five and Six.



Figures 4.8 and 4.9: Area in Birmingham city centre undergoing redevelopment (left) and the interior of Grand Central and New Street train station, one of the most recent flagship projects of the city

Source: Author's archives

The regeneration strategy has two salient aspects. The first is the concern of policymakers in advancing Birmingham's position in an increasingly competitive global scenario, where it faces new economic, social, and environmental pressures (BCC, 2011). According to its entrepreneurial governance approach, *'for the City to compete in the international arena and secure investment, attention needs to be focussed on the design, quality and function of places'*. (BCC, 2017a, p.30). The prioritisation of this approach at the expense of other issues meant that resources were compromised for essential services for many years, e.g. investment in education and housing roughly 30% below the national rate (Sandercock, 2003, p.17).

The second aspect is the budget cuts enacted by the central government's austerity programmes since 2010, which resulted in a municipal spending capacity reduced by approximately 40% (McKendry, 2016, p. 1364). To adapt to this new reality, a series of departments were merged in the BCC, with administrative duties condensed and assigned to a smaller number of officers (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*). The regeneration strategy, always reliant on private capital, became even more dependent on external investment and the council's role in urban governance changed from provider to enabler of partners, communities and individuals (BCC, 2018a): a clear example of the 'roll-back' of the state (Goodwin, 2009). In practice, the BCC is strongly subjected to macroeconomic tendencies and less autonomous in setting its agenda, with social support services further marginalised (BCC, 2018a).

Despite the visually impressive regeneration in the centre, including the construction of flagship projects such as the National Indoor Arena (NIA) (Wolhuter, 2002), the Library of Birmingham, the New Street Train Station and the new Bullring Shopping Centre, the resulting investment has not achieved improvements in terms of inequality and deprivation. This strategy benefited only a narrow fringe of the middle-class (Sandercock, 2003, p.18), forming an enclave in the centre for the national and international tourist/ business class, which is detached from the local context (Barber and Hall, 2008), especially contrasting with the centre's immediate deprived surroundings. The outcomes evoke the question 'urban renaissance for whom?' (Barber and Hall, 2008; Sandercock, 2003), as in Birmingham the regeneration agenda is selective, geographically and socially. (p. 283 Barber and Hall, 2008; p.283). Until 2001 regeneration plans failed to acknowledge the multi-ethnic and multiracial composition of Birmingham's population, with a culturally exclusionary representation of the city that kept reproducing inequalities (Sandercock, 2003, p.18).

More recent planning documents try to address the problem and promote appreciation of diversity and inclusion. The four-annual BCC Plan 2018-2022 defines: *'Birmingham (as) a city where every child, citizen and place matters* (BCC, 2018b). Its content is divided between five core envisioned Outcomes and a group of priorities within it. Outcomes 2 (*'Birmingham is an Aspirational City to Grow Up in'*; 3 (*'Birmingham is a Fulfilling City to Age Well'*); and 4 (*'Birmingham is a Great City to Live in'*) present different aspects of social welfare, aiming to tackle *equity* and *diversity* injustices, across ages and ethnic profiles, as well as promoting participation in planning (*democracy*). In the concluding remarks the council expresses that it aims to focus on greater efficiency, transparency and equality through a ruling that will *'promote the needs of all (the) citizens; tackle disparities between neighbourhoods (and*

support) a workforce (that) reflects the diversity of our city' (BCC, 2018b, p.4). Moreover, it commits to a 'priority-based budgeting to ensure resources are used where they are most needed' (BCC, 2018b, p.4). In the Council Plan and Budget 2018+, the council stated that:

'There has been significant national press coverage and lobbying by local government groups, such as the Local Government Association, around the shortfall in funding of social care. The City Council has made particular efforts to ensure that Adults' and Children's Social Care in Birmingham have received the funding increases necessary' (BCC, 2018a, p.6).

Nevertheless, recent planning documents still demonstrate a deficiency Sandercock identified in 2002: an obvious prioritisation of 'place-marketing' (economic interests) over 'place-making' (social needs) (2003, pp. 173-175). The first Outcome of the 2018-2022 plan is '*Birmingham is an Entrepreneurial City to Learn, Work and Invest in*', with an emphasis on the contributions that the HS2⁸⁵ and the Commonwealth Games hosting in 2022 will have for the city's international profile and economic development. The Big City Plan, a 20 years city centre masterplan, classified by the council as '*the most ambitious, far-reaching development project ever undertaken in the UK*', (BCC, 2011) and the BDP 2031 plan (BCC, 2017a) are filled with language highlighting its grandeur, as the constant use of the expression 'world-class' associated to infrastructure and services (BCC, 2017a). However, the outcome is that Birmingham is now a 'indistinct clone-city' (*interviews with Herbert and Richard*), including unattractive and undifferentiated high streets, where big franchises push away independent retail, unable to compete with it.

Two aspects are worth mentioning following the panorama presented. Similarly to Belo Horizonte, though more acute, there is a long-sightedness problem in Birmingham's urban governance and planning for economic development. The BCC fails to acknowledge that the envisioned diversified and globally competitive post-industrial economy of the city (BCC, 2011) needs to consider its actual post-colonial nature. 33% of Birmingham's business activities is within minority ethnic-owned enterprises (Barber and Hall, 2008) and among these are many market stalls and shops. These are made invisible in representations about Birmingham and its centre, and on plans of the council, which govern it '*to become a leading world city in the 21st century*' (BCC, 2011, p.9).

According to Herbert, a local historian, the BCC single model of development has detrimental impacts on social justice in the city because it confirms a widespread contemporary tendency in governance, described by Arnstein (1969) and more recently Raco (2009): that participatory processes work only as rhetoric elements to legitimise government pre-set agendas:

'...[T]here is no doubt Birmingham needed to be changed physically [because of deindustrialisation], but the dominant feature is always we're looking to America, America, America! With no real consultation to the working class people, an issue that continues. Councils always say "we've consulted", but do they actually take on board, what people tell them? And then you look at the results and you think "no, they haven't"' (Herbert/ historian, May 2020).

⁸⁵ A high speed train line connecting Birmingham and London promising to reduce the traveling time to 49 minutes.

The BCC's governance agenda despite the recent incorporation of inclusion discourses still pushes more vulnerable populations away from the centre. It white washes it while fulfilling a second interest: freeing up increasingly scarce land in the centre for new developments more tuned with the 'global Birmingham' the BCC wants to achieve, which ironically, denies its diasporic composition. According to Henry, McEwan and Pollard (2002) Birmingham is '*already a global city due to its diversity, a meeting place of global diaspora(s) where the real distinctiveness [and perhaps Birmingham's highest economic potential] is based less on prestige projects and more on the transnational roots of the city's residents*' (p. 124). The multicultural nature of Birmingham is today one of its main richness (Barber and Hall, 2008). However, it seems that this same multiculturalism results in a fragmented society, with low social capital, as observed by Putnam (1995) in similarly diverse contexts in the United States. This might explain why, despite the exclusionary practices, activism/insurgence is not observed as in Belo Horizonte.

4.3.5 Comparing urban contexts

The findings of this section demonstrate that Birmingham and Belo Horizonte have several injustice challenges in common. Both cities struggle with substantial issues of inequality, although the roots differ in each city. In Belo Horizonte core causes are long-term, established in relation to distribution of material assets and economic welfare, hence related to *equity* matters. In Birmingham, conversely, vulnerability converges with ethnicity, a more recent dynamic of injustices related to migration outcomes. Thus, *diversity* injustices seem to cause *equity* issues in a vicious cycle.

The section also discussed how councils react to the urban justice struggles through governance agendas and planning frameworks, considering the extent of their prioritisation (or not) of social justice. Analysing the last decades, it is possible to see on the one hand a consistent agenda in Birmingham, heavily focused on urban regeneration and economic revitalisation, though recently attempting to nuance it, stating a concern with softening inequalities perpetuated in this process. On the other hand, Belo Horizonte was marked by distinct periods ranging from a clear commitment to social justice in the 1990's, a marked corporative governance - resonating with the BCC's approach - between 2009 and 2016, and a more nuanced entrepreneurial approach in the current government (2017 onwards). Yet, even in the apices of the PBH entrepreneurial governance, its ambition for Belo Horizonte were far from the scale of the BCC's one, which aims not only a spot in a global scenario of intercity competition, but a leading one in it.

Participation in planning is presented as a relevant element in governing both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, following the City Statute and NPPF planning guidance and the broader devolution/participation contemporary planning norms. But they do work rather as rhetorical elements, in power-imbalanced contexts dominated by a focus in mainstream economic growth. In fact, perhaps the key - and common problem in both cases - is what I defined as a 'long-sighted' misconception of the economic profile and needs for economic development in both cities, which result in inappropriate policy response and the marginalisation of social welfare agendas. Growing inequality is reproduced

and deepened through the insistent governance focus on attracting - quickly - external investment of large scale and promoting growth at all costs.

Nevertheless, even though unemployment rates in Birmingham are currently higher than in Belo Horizonte, and the 'roll-back' of the state (Goodwin, 2009) is more clearly marked in the British city, the government support via e.g. Jobseeker's Allowance, Universal Credit and social housing alleviates the economic impact of deprivation and unemployment, a sort of resource inexistent in Brazil, where social housing is extremely scarce and unemployment support short-termed⁸⁶. Hence, in providing basic living standards, the material/ spatial realities for those at the lower end in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham are quite different. This can be linked to the differences in socioeconomic and political conditions observed at national level, between Brazil and United Kingdom, an enduring legacy of colonialism. This finding is a reminder that cities do not exist in isolation, and that national and global tendencies still affect how issues develop at local level, and how capable municipalities are to govern in the direction of changing the status quo.

The following session now presents the markets of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, with a brief historical account that reveal the impact of global trends of social and retail transformation on markets' development. Furthermore, it discusses the impact of entrepreneurial governance in markets' governance, an aspect entangled with markets decline.

4.4 Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets: global tendencies and injustice challenges

The discussion in previous sections has focused on structural and institutional elements of the national and local realities of markets in this research. Yet, with contemporary global interconnectedness, tendencies travel and impact simultaneously places geographically far apart. Three elements at global scale, in historical starting order, had impacts in markets functioning everywhere in the last century: social changes, retail evolution and the establishment of neoliberalism as the most influential economic order, influencing urban governance.

In terms of social transformations, the incorporation of women in the labour market means that they are unavailable for shopping in markets' limited opening times during the week, which nevertheless remained unchanged, something observed in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham (Wolhuter, 2002). The shift in mobility trends towards reliance on cars has also had its toll on markets, especially those located in central areas with poor parking facilities (Wolhuter, 2002). Compounded with retail modernisation, these transformations resulted in markets' decline and marginalisation, with the subsequent reduction of local governments' support, as discussed in Chapter Two (2.2). Nevertheless, more recently the impact of neoliberalism in cities' governance results in markets now understood to be 'under-realised profit generating opportunities' (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018, p.59), where their redevelopment aims

⁸⁶ Up to five instalments of up to around £300 pounds, and depends on previous employment (i.e. only people that worked formally for at least six months are entitled to it). It is called 'seguro desemprego' (unemployment insurance) (g1, 2022).

reaching a more capitalised audience of customers, traders, and investors. The markets of Belo Horizonte and following Birmingham are presented below, where the specific consequences of the mentioned elements to them is explored.

4.4.1 Belo Horizonte public markets: impacts of recent social and retail changes

In Belo Horizonte, the obsolescence of markets as venues of essential supply is a relatively recent tendency. The first supermarkets in the city appeared in 1958, with units spreading in the 1960s. By 1967 they became predominant as supply venues (AMIS, n.d), The transformations in the sector started impacting the way the municipality understood markets' relevance for the city in the 1960's. Converging with development interests in the city centre, the PBH decided to sell the land where the Municipal Market created in 1901 stood. It argued that it no longer had the means to support the market (Mercado Central, n.d.). However, in a successful example of bottom-up mobilisation, seven hundred traders joined forces and formed a cooperative to counteract the threat. Supported by public opinion, they managed to buy the market from the council, renaming it the Mercado Central⁸⁷ (*Mateus/ market manager, July 2019*), now one of the main touristic attractions of the city. Always busy and very lively, it caters for a very diverse population (Costa, 2007) of locals and visitors, functioning effectively as a public space regardless of its private ownership.



Figure 4.10: Main entrance of the Mercado Central

Source: mercadocentral.com.br

⁸⁷ The Mercado's Central director explained in an interview (July 2019) how inclusive and sustainable the management system is, where the five hundred and twenty associated traders have an equal say in decision making regardless of the size or number of units they own. The market currently has 400 shops and 200 support staff in cleaning, security and market's management.

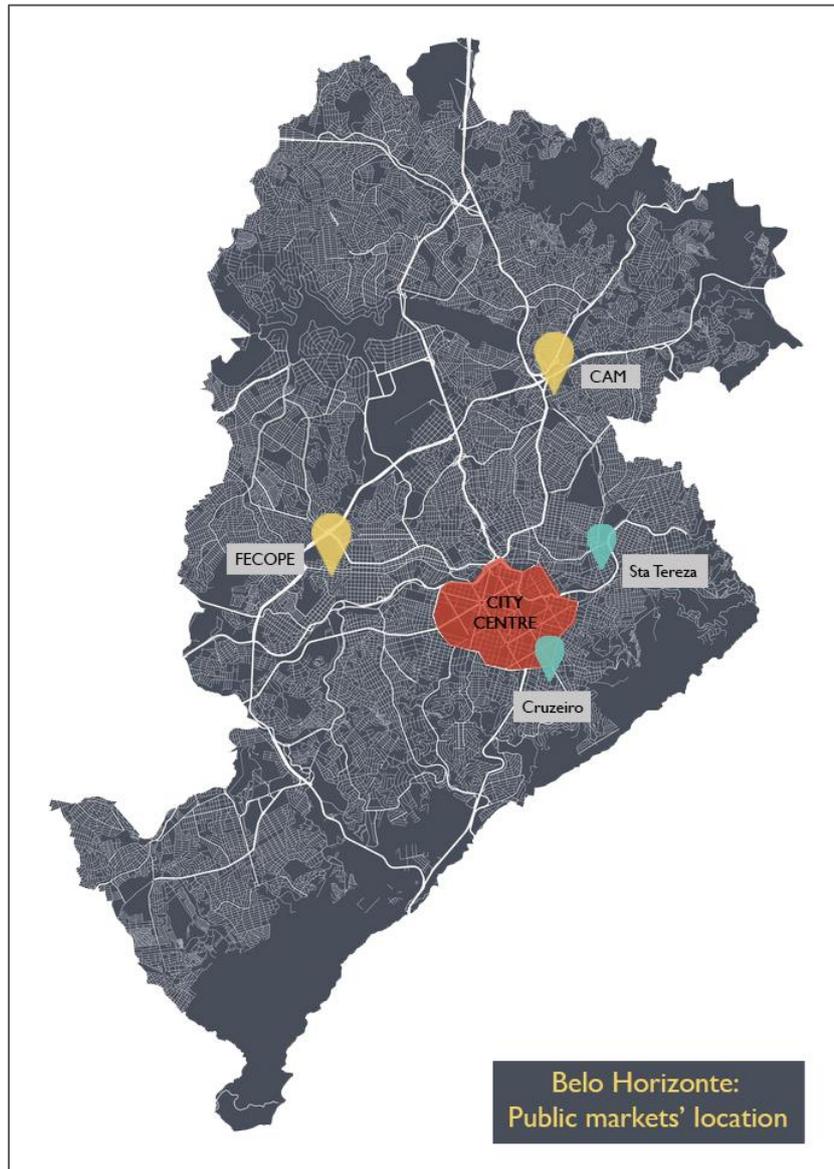


Figure 4.11: Internal corridor of the Mercado Central

Source: author's archives

While no longer identifying a need to support food supply in the centre, the council still needed to expand public food provision to other areas of the city, and three large scale District Markets were created to replace open air trading spaces in the early 1970s: Mercado da Barroca, Mercado do Cruzeiro and Mercado de Santa Tereza (Rezende, 2006). They joined the offer at the Mercado da Lagoinha and FECOPE (Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio), local markets created in the 1950s, (PBH Ativos, 2018) to address food supply limitations outside the centre. The last enclosed public market was created in 1985: CAM (Central de Abastecimento Municipal). Map 4.2 shows their approximate location in the city.

Markets' essential supply role in neighbourhoods was however soon compromised. Interviewees that worked long-term for the council reported that the *ABasteCer* programme for food security, discussed above, which was created by SUSAN, the same department managing markets, soon became an unmatched competitor in terms of reach, convenience and most importantly, prices. Markets that did not manage to adapt their product offer in face of competition from supermarkets and *sacolões* suffered substantial decline (Ramos, 2003). The lack of management thought to change opening times – which remained the same - made it hard through the years to attract younger generations, resulting in limited demographics on markets especially during the week. The council did nevertheless try to an extent to aid markets. In the late 1990s it refurbished the Mercado da Lagoinha (Pataro, 1995; Haikal, 1996), and Mercado da Barroca (Simões, 1998) opening spaces for leisure and longer permanence as bars and restaurants. In the Mercado de Santa Tereza, a flower fair and a supermarket were deployed, to work as 'anchor enterprises', to attract people (Simões, 1998). Moreover, following the cry of traders about not surviving in business otherwise, in all markets the range of products and services was incrementally enlarged, from only basic staples to even beauty salons nowadays (Hugo/ SUSAN July 2019). Unfortunately, however, for the mentioned markets these strategies failed to attract enough customers (Diário da Tarde, 2002).



Map 4.2: Belo Horizonte city area and public markets' location

Source: VectorStock with author's edition

Yet, the trend was controversial, and simultaneously, since 1997 the council declared that the district markets' provision system was outdated (Rosenburg, 1997), and their destiny – except in the case of Cruzeiro – was to end (Ramos, 2003; Lima; 2003). In 2006 traders of Santa Tereza accused the council of no longer opening bidding calls for new market merchants when there were, according to them, more than fifty aspirant traders waiting for such an opportunity there (Guimarães and Paixão, 2006). At the same time, the council stated that around 50% of the market businesses had some rent debt with the council (Franco, 2007), which might justify the little interest to open new calls.

Already far from an investment priority, the council declared that 'not a single penny' would be directed to markets (Rosenburg, 1997), a reason why partnerships with the private sector were increasingly sought, putting trading venues under pressure. Most projects envisioned transforming markets partially

or completely into something else, and expected to include other public or more profitable private roles. As a result, among the six⁸⁸ public markets in the late 1990s, three are no longer markets. The Mercado da Lagoinha became a – intensively used - food security and professional training centre with social inclusion purposes (PBH Ativos, 2018). The Mercado da Barroca was closed in 2000, the plot was sold and the building demolished in 2011, giving way to a private hospital. The Mercado de Santa Tereza, finally, is empty since closing in 2007.

The remaining three functioning public markets have very different scales and economic conditions. They were subject to different pressures in the last twenty years. For FECOPE and CAM, competition with retail venues and decline in trading were the main challenges. As way of illustration, in 2003 FECOPE had only 14% of its shops occupied (Ramos, 2003), one of the reasons why the market had its area reduced by more than half, with the building now accommodating the public Cultural Centre of Padre Eustáquio (CCPE),⁸⁹ created in 2008. Yet nowadays FECOPE has less than half of its (reduced number) of units rented. There were eleven permission holders registered with the council in 2019. CAM is in a similar state, though numbers were slightly higher: eighteen traders. And both markets also contain in their structure a unit of the *sacolão* ABasteCer, which were deployed in markets because of a practical reason: the council already owned the land and buildings (*Hugo/ SUSAN July 2019*). CAM also includes the city's central food warehouse, which stores all the food distributed to municipal schools and other social projects of the local government (PBH Ativos, 2018). Its name, meaning 'city's distribution centre' derives from such infrastructure, though completely disconnected from the market.

The Mercado do Cruzeiro also faced challenges with decline in footfall, but it adapted its infrastructure to accommodate spaces as restaurants and cultural activities that attract the public. It had fifty traders in 2019. The charging for the parking use, with 180 spaces furthermore generates enough funds to sustain the market (PBH Ativos, 2018), providing overall economic stability and future prospects that are better than those of FECOPE and CAM. The images below, from 2019, portray these markets' pre-Covid-19 realities and their neighbourhood contexts.

⁸⁸ There is a 7th, though it is only partially owned by the municipality. The Mercado Novo was included in the scope of the PMI, discussed in Chapter Six. It was built in 1963 (PBH Ativos, 2018) and occupies an area of the city centre mostly used by low-middle classes and poor dwellers. Until recently it was seen as a no-go area by higher classes but activities and shops on its third floor increasingly attract wealthier young groups. The 'hipster' tendency started with the 'Mercado das Borboletas', a cultural appropriation organised by local artists, hosting night gatherings and temporary expositions. More recently bars and artisanal breweries established in the space, providing a sort of simulacrum of a traditional market, but offering more sophisticated goods.

⁸⁹ The centre was a project chosen by the population in a round of Participatory Budgeting, which provided the funds for its construction. The CCPE attracts more users than FECOPE these days, and unfortunately not many of its users become customers of the market.



Figure 4.12: Front of FECOPE
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.13: Internal corridor in FECOPE. The supermarket EPA, located across the street is visible at the back
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.14: Padre Eustáquio neighbourhood, near FECOPE
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.15: CAM seen from the top of the staircase at its main entrance
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.16: A corridor of CAM, showing vacant shops and the poor infrastructure maintenance
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.17: São Paulo neighbourhood, in the vicinity of CAM
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.18: One of the entrances of the Mercado do Cruzeiro, showing the access to the paid parking
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.19: Area for cultural events in the Mercado do Cruzeiro
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.20: The 'gourmet' area of Mercado do Cruzeiro
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.21: Cruzeiro neighbourhood near the market
Source: Author's archives

Despite the challenges, the main threats the Mercado do Cruzeiro suffered related to increasing real estate and entrepreneurial governance interests. With a good location and size plot in a rather wealthy neighbourhood, there were multiple attempts at exclusionary revitalisation, resisted by traders and residents. The most extreme proposition was made in 2011, and it was supported by the city council. The project envisioned the demolition of the current market building, the construction of hotel towers, a gastronomic centre and 1900 parking spaces, besides promising space for the current traders (Ayer, 2011). The plan was dropped after its bad repercussion with the public opinion following mobilisation by Cruzeiro's market community. Besides the Mercado do Cruzeiro, pressures guided by entrepreneurial governance intentions were strongly felt at the Mercado de Santa Tereza, even after its closure. The neighbourhood association withheld several attempts after 2007 to give other uses to the market building and plot. The case of mobilisation around these two markets will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, as their activism reverberated to a city-wide debate, and left a legacy that influenced the current plans for markets' governance, discussed in Chapter Six.

Currently different trends of markets development coexist in Belo Horizonte. There is a fondness for traditional market environments, like that found in the Mercado Central, and in the enclosed and open public markets across the city. Another iconic example is the Feira da Afonso Pena, the biggest open-air crafts market of Latin America, with more than 2000 traders. It is managed by the council's planning department and attracts more than 60.000 visitors every Sunday (PBH, 2021a). Alongside, there is a growing tendency of niche and hipster gourmet markets in the city: the Mercado das Borboletas, and the newly created Mercado Cervejeiro and Mercado da Boca, in the (affluent) South of the City, catering for the tastes of wealthier customers, confirming trends experienced elsewhere in national (e.g. Espírito Santo - Freire, 2018) and international contexts (e.g. Mexico City and Madrid - Arreortua and del Campo, 2018). These reveal that famous international examples of markets in e.g. Barcelona, or Rotterdam increasingly infiltrate the imaginary of private developers and local officers, inspiring plans even for publicly-owned infrastructure, that can deliver rather exclusionary environments. Belo Horizonte seems nevertheless to have enough room to accommodate preferences of both traditional

and gourmet/ niche markets, since as in other Latin-American large cities (e.g. Mexico City - Arreortua and del Campo, 2018), upscale markets have not yet been able to replace traditional markets.

The enclosed public markets in Belo Horizonte, as observed, suffered with multiple contextual and governance pressures in recent years that resonate with challenges identified in academia, discussed in Chapter Two (2.5). Yet, the claim that council's disinvestment is a planned action intending the degradation of markets for posteriorly performing a gentrifying revitalisation (Gonzalez, 2018) potentially present in Santa Tereza, and Cruzeiro, does not seem to apply to the markets of FECOPE and CAM. Besides, there are some reasons for hope, regarding markets' governance. First, the buildings of Santa Tereza, Cruzeiro and Lagoinha are in the process of being listed, something that subjects development plans to conditions determined by the City's Cultural Heritage Deliberation Council⁹⁰ (PBH Ativos, 2018). Moreover, there is a new system of markets' governance being developed, i.e. the markets' tendering, in which secretariats (department heads) of multiple sectors are involved. They reveal an understanding of markets and their urban roles that converges to a fair extent with social justice promotion, opening the possibility of a more hopeful prospect for Belo Horizonte public markets. The tendering of markets project will be discussed in Chapter Seven, to understand its potential relation to social justice.

4.4.2 Birmingham public markets: impacts of recent social and retail changes

Birmingham markets date back to the city's foundation. Through the centuries, *'money for improving the town was occasionally raised by the imposition of special market tolls'* (Post, 1912) and markets were lively social and commercial spaces. Herbert, local historian, explained that the markets were in the Nineteenth century a centre of entertainment and an attraction in themselves, bringing together political meetings, escapologists, fund-raisers, preachers as well as the traders. It was an epitome of a well-functioning public space for most of its more than 850 years (see Figure 4.22 and 4.24).

The markets survived two world wars, despite bombed in 1940. They remain in their approximate original location, by St Martin's Church, at the heart of medieval Birmingham (Chinn, 1994, p 139 in Wolhuter, 2002, p. 118). But, because of Birmingham's city centre brutalist American-inspired modernisation, and later its urban regeneration strategy, since the late 1950's the BRMs were relocated twice, which contributed to their decline. The construction of the first Bull Ring Shopping Centre, opened in 1964, resulted in markets being positioned outside the official city centre, separated by a busy ring road. Access to markets had to be done through poorly lit, unsafe underpasses that, as the markets' venues, quickly deteriorated.

⁹⁰ Conselho Deliberativo do Patrimônio Cultural do Município



Figure 4.22: Drawing of the Bull Ring and Nelson State, Birmingham 1845- attributed to Thomas Allom
Source: <https://www.instagram.com/stmartinsragmarket>



Figure 4.23: Bomb damage at the Market Hall 9/9/1940
Source: <https://www.instagram.com/stmartinsragmarket>



Figure 4.24: Bull Ring street market on its last day of street trading in 12/09/1959. At the back the original - reconstructed - Market Hall

Source: <https://www.instagram.com/stmartinsragmarket>



Figure 4.25: The new location of the market in the 1960's, following the Bull Ring Centre construction

Source: Author's picture of exposition in the Rag Market, November 2019

Social phenomena explained in this section's introduction converged with the suburbanisation of employment and housing, contributing for a crescent emptying of city centres in the UK, including Birmingham (Wolhuter, 2002) and their physical deterioration. Simultaneously, retail changes impacted high streets' footfall, and consequently the trading activity in markets. New businesses also established in suburban areas, with convenient parking facilities, because of government incentives and stringent

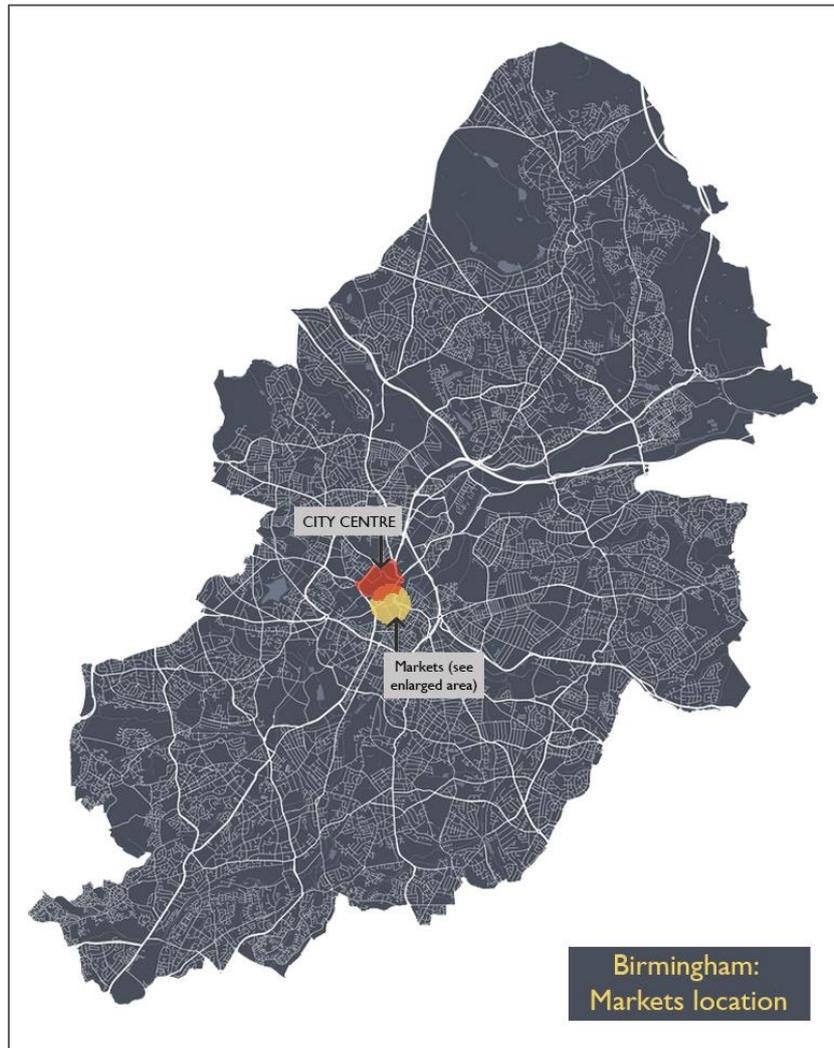
conditions (economic and spatial) in city centres. The chairman of the Indoor Market reported the phenomenon and the implications for the BRMs:

'The appearance of supermarkets affected markets. We have now so many 'discount type of businesses', you know? We have Poundland, we have B&M, we have Home Bargains. They all basically do what markets did years ago, which is sell a mass variety of products very cheap. And then we have discount supermarkets, like Aldi and Lidl, that are selling products, fresh produce, cheap. [And then] people don't have to drive or get public transport into the city centre just to go to the markets [because of their] cheap products. [On top of that], supermarkets tell all the suppliers how much they want to pay, not the other way around. And how can you compete with that?' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

Wolhuter (2002) analysed the BRMs' situation at the turn of the millennium, when the Bull Ring Shopping Centre (BRSC) was completely redeveloped, once again demanding a solution for the markets' location. The ring road was demolished, reconnecting the markets with the centre of Birmingham. But the new BRSC *'became like an invisible Iron Curtain along Edgbaston street'* (Herbert/ historian, May 2020), segregating the markets, originally apparently indivisible from the first BRSC in the sixties (see Wolhuter, 2002). Wolhuter (2002) identified that social and retail transformations, combined with physical dilapidation of markets and their surroundings, and the exclusionary rationale of BCC's regeneration agenda, had a *'compound effect resulting in trader insecurity and discontent'* (p. 195). They all contributed to trading decline, and reduction in traders. The inversely proportional increase in vacant units in markets, and the new health and sanitation European legislations demanding higher standards at markets fed a vicious circle of decline, making it harder for remaining traders to continue. Many were forced out of businesses (Wolhuter, 2002).

A key issue for the long-term sustainability of markets is the difficulty to attract the newer generations of car-borne – and now also online - shoppers. Besides, in the last relocation bus lines and stops were moved further from markets, making it harder for the longer-term, predominantly elder, customers to come. Traders constantly complained about the poor planning of routes and stops. But the accessibility issue also involves the nuisance to drivers, caused by constant road changes because of never ending regeneration projects.

After twenty years, Wolhuter's analysis (2002) continues to be accurate. The BRMs remain less convenient to access both spatially and temporally, lack support from the council in advertisement and maintenance and up-keep, and have developed a growing stigma as a place of poor environmental and products quality that even some of its traders perceive. The BRMs are once again in a poor physical condition, awaiting relocation, to become part of the Birmingham Smithfield development. Markets were significantly reduced in size, in the last move, and the numbers of vacant units keep growing. For the last twenty years they have been three distinct environments on the opposite side of the Bull Ring Shopping Centre, opened from 9 to 5, but Saturday (till 5:30pm). The Maps 4.3 and 4.4 below show their location.



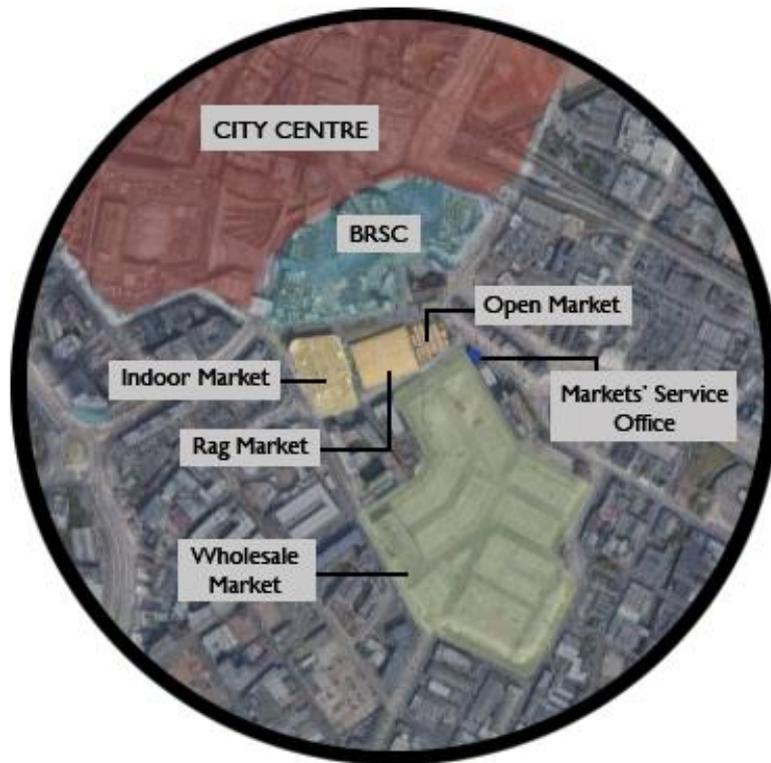
Map 4.3: Location of the Bull Ring Markets (yellow) in relation to Birmingham's city centre (red)

Source: VectorStock with author's edition

The Open Market is constituted of display tables and roofs. It sells mostly produce, and basic food items. Nowadays it also hosts traders of a foreign background, who sell a variety of houseware, bags and fabrics. It is opened five days a week, Tuesday to Saturday. The Saint Martin's Market, known as the Rag Market, is an enclosed space between the Open and the Indoor Market. It sells multiple non-food goods (fabrics, clothes, shoes, cosmetics, jewellery, stationery, haberdasheries, homeware, etc (Rag Market, 2021). It opens on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The external stores and café can open Monday to Saturday. The Indoor Market, finally, traditionally selling fish, meat and poultry, now also offers varied non-food goods and services as fabrics, stationery, clothes, sewing and shoes' repair services, beauty salon, beside a few 'trendy' businesses⁹¹ (e.g. a sushi bar) owned by young

⁹¹ The U-juice closed following the first lockdown and the growing frustration of the shop owner, extremely dissatisfied with the council's management and high service fees.

entrepreneurs that manage to attract a younger audience. Images 4.26 to 4.34 show the three markets and the space connecting/ separating it from the rest of Birmingham city centre.



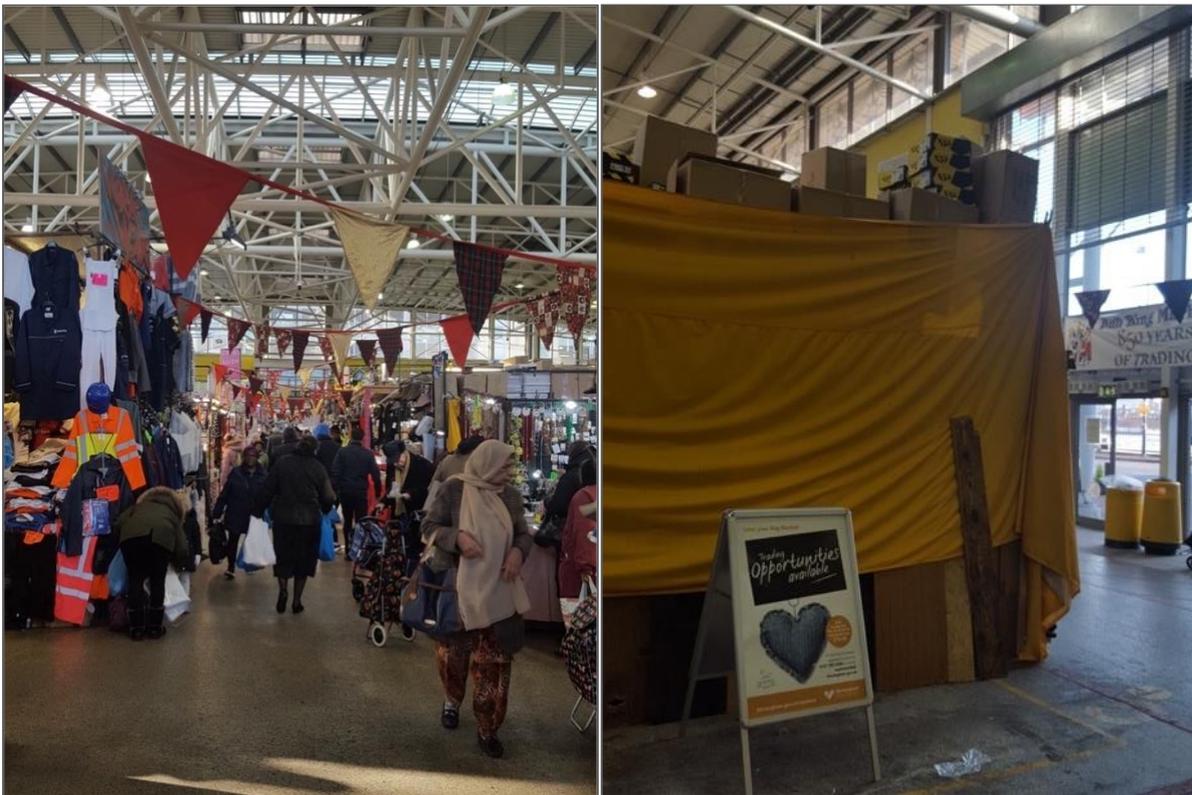
Map 4.4: Location of the Bull Ring Markets in relation to Birmingham city centre
Source: Google maps with author's edition.



Figure 4.26: The Open Market in April 2019
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.27: The Open Market on the 10th of April 2019, with good part of the stalls closer to the Rag Market empty
Source: Author's archives



Figures 4.28 and 4.29: The main corridor of the Rag Market (left) and one of the empty stalls, near a side entrance
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.30: The interior of the Indoor Market and one of its traditional family businesses
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.31: An empty corridor of the Indoor Market
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.32: Access to the Bull Ring Markets from the highstreets and Bullring Shopping Centre
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.33: Edgbaston Street between St. Martin's church and the Open Market, showing Digbeth at the back
Source: Author's archives



Figure 4.34: Edgbaston Street, showing the Rag Market external shops on the left, the Indoor Market at the back, and the Bullring Shopping Centre on the right, segregating the markets from the city centre
Source: Author's archives

The relocation dynamics, physical quality of market venues and the accusations of negligent or apathetic management of markets (discussed in Chapter Six) indicate the BCC operates in a paradox: it holds a legal duty to support markets because of the Royal Charter protection (Wolhuter, 2002), but apparently want it to be gone. More recently nevertheless, following the tendency of markets' regeneration explained in Chapter Two (2.4) (e.g. Gonzalez, 2018) the council plans to place the BRMs as the central element of the Smithfield development, apparently expecting to reinvent them as a simulacrum of traditional markets, to cater for a more affluent clientele. The details and implications of this new market governance system for markets relation with social justice will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

4.4.3 Comparing global tendencies impacts in markets' development challenges

This section presented the markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham that are the objects of this research and their recent past. The narrative accounted for the effects of social, retail and governance transformations in each city, and how these global trends impacted these markets locally. While markets are suffering with decline in both cities, the effects are stronger in Birmingham, where competition against other retail spaces established before than in Belo Horizonte. Moreover, in Belo Horizonte, markets competition is more diverse, including venues that support food security and social justice as *equity*, i.e. the own municipally-owned street markets' and the *sacolões* ABasteCer.

Another important matter not mentioned as clearly is the impact of *location* for the intensity of exclusionary pressures suffered by markets. The real estate dynamics are more acute in Birmingham not only because the council's agenda is more aggressive, but because the BRMs are pragmatically in scarce central and valuable land. In Belo Horizonte markets are in different locations, and there is a less clear narrative of 'supported' decline, by the council. Tendencies are complex and perhaps even contradictory. While suffering from public disinvestment and even pressure for privatisation, there is not such a strong representation of markets being stigmatised undesirable environments. In fact, there is a strong counter representation of fondness for markets. And while there are pressures of decline, disinvestment is not seen as 'always' a first step in a strategy for exclusionary redevelopment, which happens in the UK context (Gonzalez, 2018). Neither is redevelopment a threat felt everywhere, with peripheric markets 'forgotten' in this sense.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the research sub-question a: *what are the key contextual factors influencing markets and their governance in Belo Horizonte and in Birmingham? How do they impact markets and their relationship with local governments?* It explored the structural and institutional features impacting on markets' governance for social justice, and their degree of influence - direct or indirect (via local governments' agenda). As expected, markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham were found as

embedded, interdependent, and subordinated to the macro sphere in which they belong (Wolhuter, 2002). But different contexts' dimensions had different levels of influence in markets' functioning.

The differences in socioeconomic conditions between the two contexts identified in section 4.2, for example, does not result in such starkly contrasting market realities in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham as might be expected. Moreover, while the national planning frameworks (City Statute and NPPF) stated different levels of commitment to social justice that influenced local masterplans, their content nevertheless did not reveal any concern with public markets' planning and governance. Markets' poor development prospects are rather a result of the enforcement of the state's overarching prioritisation of mainstream strategies of economic development, which are copied at local level. These strategies marginalise the social economy, including markets. Even where a country-level civil society 'apparatus' in support of markets exists (UK), which has gathered and presented substantial evidence of their socioeconomic contributions, it was not yet possible to counteract markets' marginalisation trend and influence the development of better local markets' governance.

The discussion revealed that the local context has therefore been a predominant influence on markets. In this sense, the juxtaposing of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham reveals closer similarities than the national picture would indicate. There are common problems of deprivation, socioeconomic inequality and unemployment in both contexts, with effects felt in the ground dynamics of markets and in their non-prioritisation for investment. Nevertheless, the roots of these problems – and the weight of their negative impact – do differ, and this is better understood in terms of *equity* in Belo Horizonte and of *diversity* in Birmingham. The state apparatus has greater capacity to support social welfare in Birmingham, resulting in material different living conditions for those less well-off in Birmingham and Belo Horizonte. Yet, markets prospects are perhaps more hopeful in Belo Horizonte, revealing more awareness of markets roles and a bigger appreciation for these spaces, shielding them from exclusionary pressures inspired by international 'successful' markets. In Birmingham, the combination of an aggressive urban regeneration agenda with the central location of markets results in a more acute threat to their survival as inclusive traditional trading spaces.

Birmingham appears more subjected to entrepreneurial governance and intercity competition, global tendencies with different local impacts in each studied context. Nevertheless, the neoliberal rationale results in the economic development 'long-sighted' issue discussed above, whereby disregarding the economic relevance of the social economy – that includes markets – contributes to their marginalisation in local governance. However, the problem does not happen in isolation, converging with the obsolescence of markets' supply function, and the social changes that demand their adaptation (e.g, opening times that are outdated), which are primary causes of their decline, as discussed in section 4.4.

The diagnosis of how markets support social justice in cities and what role urban governance plays in this, which can guide policy recommendation, nevertheless cannot be complete without the discussion in the next chapters. Chapter Five discusses the actual contribution of markets in Belo Horizonte and

Birmingham for each city, where the effect of contextual elements will become more obvious, and the findings will support a realistic appraisal of the markets' potential to contribute to social justice, via an analysis of their functions and outcomes using the triadic framework developed in Chapter Two (*equity, diversity, democracy*). Chapters Six and Seven analyse markets' governance in each city, enabling a complete picture of how this affects markets' functioning (and potential for social justice), in terms of both current and future planning responses and imaginaries.

5. Public markets' contributions to social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham

'...[U]rban markets all share some things in common: they happen in local communities, they provide a source of jobs and local wealth, they provide a link to local products, they embrace the way people live and work in communities, and they are also shop windows for cities and different areas of cities in general. In short, markets breathe life into cities' (Urbact Markets, n.d.).

5.1 Introduction

Markets are recognised (in international academic and policy research such as the EU *Urbact Markets*), as public spaces with multiple contributions to cities, as discussed in Chapter Two (2.1) and evidenced in the quote above. Because of markets relevance in matters such as the access to employment and inclusion in cities, it is suggested in literature that they have the potential to promote socially just processes and outcomes. However, research has yet to fully substantiate the relationship between markets and social justice in light of markets' governance impact. Therefore, in support of the research overall aim of understanding how markets support social justice in cities and what role urban governance plays in this, this chapter addresses research question b: *What is the relationship between public markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?* In observing the everyday reality of markets and their users, this chapter analyses how markets *actually* work as sites for social justice in the two observed cities⁹², responding to perhaps idealised narratives about their potentials that do not fully consider context and governance impacts in markets' functioning (e.g. *Urbact Markets*, 2015).

Markets' potential contributions for cities were classified in Chapter Two (2.5) according to Fainstein's (2010) three axes of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy* and a summary is provided in the table in p.61. The discussion in this chapter is structured around the same three axes and the findings draw on material of questionnaires with customers and traders in FECOPE and CAM in BH, besides interviews with traders, customers, activists and local experts in both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. Secondary sources such as local media publications, official statistics, and previous research were used to complement the narrative and offer historical context.

In order to explore the social justice dimensions in empirically situated, rich and complex settings, the presentation of findings is first structured observing each city in isolation. Section 5.2 presents the case of Belo Horizonte and its public neighbourhood scale markets. The focus is on the Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (FECOPE) and the Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM), but the examples of other larger neighbourhood markets, the Mercado do Cruzeiro (Cruzeiro) and Mercado de Santa Tereza

⁹² All considerations about the current reality of markets are pre-pandemic. Some specific remarks about the situation of markets in relation to the pandemic and measures put in place will be explored in the conclusions' chapter.

(Santa Tereza)⁹³ are used in the discussion of *democracy*, to give a fuller picture of the situation in Belo Horizonte, since there is significant contrast on the level of market communities' mobilisation. Section 5.3 then discusses Birmingham and the Bull Ring Markets, composed by the Open, Rag and Indoor Markets. The further juxtaposition of the cities' findings and their comparison in section 5.4 allows for a more holistic understanding of the Belo Horizonte and Birmingham's' trends and the identification of their connection or not with aspects of social and solidarity economy. which is discussed as a point of reflection on potential alternative development paradigms for markets. Finally, section 5.5 presents the conclusions and the overall contributions of this chapter to the thesis narrative and overarching research questions.

5.2 Markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte

The markets in Belo Horizonte suffered pressures with multiple social, economic and governance changes in recent decades, discussed in Chapter Four (4.4). These contributed to the gradual reduction of the contributions of markets like FECOPE and CAM to the life of the city, since the reach of markets (in terms of variety and numbers of benefited stakeholders) reduced. Yet, part of the private economic interests that threatened the dismantling of markets also occasioned resistance in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro, with an increased role of markets in contributing to *democracy* through organised movements of traders and residents in these cases.

This section concentrates on the current reality of Belo Horizonte's markets. A basic description and general images were provided in Chapter Four. The distinctive scales, location (and corresponding demographics), and combined services (such as the presence of *sacolões* ABasteCer in CAM and FECOPE) result in different configurations of the dimensions of social justice within in each of them.

5.2.1 *Equity*: food security, employment and public space relevance in CAM and FECOPE

Belo Horizonte suffers from pronounced economic inequalities and poverty, as discussed in Chapter Four (4.3), suggesting the need to strongly address *equity*, for social justice. Equity market contributions relate to concrete elements of inclusion that support improved life quality, such as access to affordable goods, contributing to food security, and employment opportunities. At the same time, markets' materiality configures accessible public spaces which people of varied socioeconomic profiles can feel comfortable to use and appropriate.

⁹³ These two markets are not the main focus of my research. Santa Tereza is shut since 2007 and Cruzeiro, while an important market for the city, because of its location, it does not reach comparatively less well-off groups. Rent prices are not very affordable – despite better than shop prices in the vicinity of the market. And customers' profile allows for prices and products being more specific and expensive. Therefore, it does not equally contribute to *equity*. Still, it is an essential public space in its neighbourhood, used widely by the elderly as a social space, and plays a significant role in promoting culture, with furthermore a strong market community.

Food security

The institutional position under the responsibility of the Sub Secretariat of Food Security and Nutrition (SUSAN) defines markets' primary role to Belo Horizonte as that of food supply. SUSAN's key concern, especially in face of the increased poverty and deprivation in the city, is to guarantee food security for vulnerable populations. It conceives food security more holistically than the UN (see section 2.2.2), incorporating multiple dimensions of life and the potential trade-offs poor populations need to do, such as food and shelter:

'Food security consists in the realisation of the right of all to have regular and permanent access to quality food and in enough quantity, without compromising the access to other basic needs, based on eating habits that promote health and respect the cultural diversity, and that are environmentally, culturally, economically and socially sustainable' (PBH, n.d. author's translation).

Markets' relevance in this sense has diminished considerably in Belo Horizonte, due to local retail changes discussed in Chapter Four (4.4.1) that resonate with global trends explained in Chapter Two (2.2.1). Yet, in the context of limited presence of other venues, and poverty, CAM still supports food security to residents in its vicinity, through providing basic staples. Traders mentioned that their differentiated offer of goods 'in bulk' [*a granel*]⁹⁴ (see Figure 5.1), hardly seen in supermarkets, works for all ranges of budgets. Alvara, owner of a groceries store, explains below how:

'Our customers, the majority, are the people that live in the slum nearby. It is a humbler public that buys the quantity they can afford with the money they have 'in their pockets', and for what is more urgent. In the morning they come to buy beans but cannot afford the coffee. Then they come later to get it. And it goes like this. Since we have a lot of goods sold in bulk, and we sell any amounts, it is viable for them' (Alvara/ CAM July 2019)⁹⁵.

While very relevant at CAM, food supply is less significant at FECOPE, because of the market's limited food offer and the prices of goods, in a neighbourhood with plenty of supermarkets and *sacolões*. Nevertheless, the council is trying to re-enact public markets as relevant spaces of food provision, through its new governance plans, with a focus on family agriculture and agroecology. Chapter Seven will discuss this in more detail.

⁹⁴ Direct translation in this case can be slightly misleading: products sold 'a granel' in the context of markets mean that they have a price per kilo, and that customers can buy even very small amounts, which contributes for their affordability for those with limited resources.

⁹⁵ During questionnaire filling.



Figure 5.1: Goods sold in bulk in a groceries' shop at CAM

Source: Author's archives

Employment

Employment provision, although not institutionally acknowledged, is currently the key *equity* contribution of markets to Belo Horizonte. As in most cases around the world, traders in Belo Horizonte do not need specific qualifications or training to perform their work. From twenty-four survey informants at FECOPE and CAM, 16.6% did not complete primary school and the majority never reached university (87.5%). Nevertheless, the determining factor for the accessibility of trading at the markets is the affordability of rents charged by the city council for FECOPE and CAM, resonating with arguments of low economic entry barriers to markets in literature (e.g. Urbact Markets, 2015; Morales, 2009). Private units of similar size outside the markets, in the vicinity of them, can be more than twice as expensive, according to traders, (e.g. *Alice, Mara and Luana*⁹⁶/ CAM; *Bárbara, Natanael*/ FECOPE).

Trading is therefore the livelihood strategy of a lifetime for the majority of the informants in the study. It is a family business (58.3%) and the main source of income (66.7%) for the majority of the traders, most of whom have also been in the market for at least twenty years (62.5%). In both FECOPE and CAM, there were elderly traders working for more than forty years there. Despite belonging to the social economy, within the encountered businesses in the two markets, alternative provision and commercialisation practices in line with social and solidarity economy (SSE) as discussed in Chapter Two (2.5.5) were not observed in FECOPE and CAM trading. Still, besides work for traders and their families, and despite markets' decline, some more solid businesses also provide employment to non-relatives,

⁹⁶ Mentioned while answering the questionnaire.

increasing markets' economic relevance and reach. Slightly over a third (37.5%) of businesses at FECOPE and CAM have employees, with numbers varying from one to six.

The economic accessibility of markets has another crucial side, for traders whose businesses are not going so well, or even becoming a source of expenditure rather than profit, but who do not depend on their trading earnings to remain at the markets. This is the case of a third (33.3%) of traders, mostly retired from other activities, for whom the work at the markets is a way of keeping active and socially engaged. They are what Wolhuter (2002) described as 'hobby traders'. Despite their occupation meaning fewer vacant units, the commercial contribution of these traders is questioned by others who depend on their businesses for a living (*Natanael/FECOPE, August 2019*). Some believe that retired traders who take their work as a pastime do not take it seriously enough, with unappealing products or services that do not contribute to attracting footfall in markets where it is much needed (*Bárbara/FECOPE, July 2019*).

In fact, the decline of trading and consequently markets have obvious implications for markets' employment contributions to cities. Fewer businesses are opened and maintained, and for the traders who manage to keep shops open, it is hard to offer employment to others. Despite the virtual separation for analytical purposes, employment opportunities are entangled with markets' governance. The discussion in Chapter Six will explain how the conditions of the selection of traders, and the contract with them in Belo Horizonte offers low economic entry barriers, but results in unintentional indirect detrimental effects on employment opportunities, making it harder for those wanting to start a business to establish at markets.

In Belo Horizonte, the market units are offered in a bidding process: the council determines a minimum rent price for each shop unit, over which aspirant traders make a bid. As long as they meet basic requirements (mainly clear debt records with the municipality), the candidate offering the highest amount wins. However, the precarious ownership rights traders have over the shops they rent, and the short time of tenancy agreements result in a dilemma. Merchants want more businesses in markets, to increase the offer and attract more footfall. Yet, traders do not 'advertise' widely new calls, constraining the possibility of having more occupied units, for fear of losing trading locations, clientele and the investment they had put in shop spaces, in the competition with aspirant traders. The specific informal strategies adopted by traders to cope with restrictive bidding rules will also be discussed in more depth in Chapter Six, as will the response of the council.

Putting contractual conditions aside, the material environment of markets per se has benefits to traders' livelihoods. People are more attracted to commercial hubs concentrating different attractions, or with 'anchor enterprises' (e.g. the – now gone - 'Lotérica'⁹⁷ at CAM – Figure 5.2). To belong to this kind of space has, besides affective impacts (explained in the next section), economic benefits:

⁹⁷ A shop combining betting and bank functions.

'When I am inside a market (...) my clients are the clients of the butchery, of the sacolão, of the grocery store. It is all very close to each other' (Cândida/ CAM, August 2019).

'I think it is good (to be trading in a market) because sometimes they simply discover the beauty salon, because they are doing some other shopping. (...) A lot of times because there are other shops here it helps 'us' to grow. To have more clients' (Alice/ CAM, July 2019).



Figure 5.2: The previous Lotérica at CAM

Source: NDI archives/ SMASAC

Public accessible spaces

Markets' multiple functions for social justice in cities are in essence always connected to their publicness, be it official (in being owned by governments), or *de facto* (e.g. Mercado Central). In Brazil, unfortunately, limited government funds, stark economic inequality, and a widespread approach to public spaces as if they are 'nobody's' rather than 'everybody's' result in many found in a derelict state, being perceived as unsafe. This has controversial impacts regarding the extent of their use, and who appropriates them. Traders and some customers at FECOPE and CAM complained about the material qualities of the markets. Their design is unappealing and even repellent to a certain extent: the empty units, rusty and broken fences and roofs, the absence of seating areas and poorly kept bathrooms do not improve the environments. Some traders say 'It looks like a jail' (Marta/CAM). Traders mentioned that potential customers and traders have prejudice against the markets, taken as a 'ghetto' space because of their appearance, but also because of other groups encroaching on markets and their

contiguous public areas (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4). *Flanelinhas*⁹⁸, informal ‘car-watchers’, harass car owners parking in front of FECOPE, or in the streets beside CAM. People feel unsafe (e.g. Paulo/ CAM), coerced to pay for the unrequested ‘service’ of having their cars ‘cared for’ while they are away, and conscious that cars might be damaged by the *flanelinhas* themselves if they refuse to do so.

Homeless dwellers commonly work as *flanelinhas* or beg at markets. Their informal livelihood practices clash with the interests of traders and customers. Some vandalise the markets’ infrastructure, e.g. bathrooms that are consequently kept locked to avoid it, contributing to issues between traders by generating a politics of key distribution, concerning who has the duty to give them to requesting customers. Cândida provides a fuller account of other issues that market traders experience with homeless users:

‘We have a big difficulty [with the homeless]. We understand their rights. But I also think that the State could be supporting their livelihoods. Because one way or the other they end up harming. People (customers) come here exchanging money to give to them. And they [homeless] do [beg], like, coercing somehow (...) They do not offer any risk, we know. But those who shop here sometimes don’t see it this way. And sometimes they get bothered and leave (...) For us it is horrible, to need to ask for the [beggar] to stop. When they are insisting too much, we ask. It already happened many times, of [clients saying] ‘oh my, I am scared. I want to leave,’ We already did the maximum. We managed even to move this fence here, it was too near. We managed to put it a bit further, because we were annoyed by the smell⁹⁹. It bothered the clients. That besides their fights, the swear words. It is very embarrassing’ (Cândida/ CAM, August 2019, author’s emphasis).

Not all traders are as diplomatic and empathetic as Cândida, especially when it comes to informal traders encroaching areas by the entrance of markets (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6), who take advantage of markets’ magnet feature, and are more visible than the shops inside the markets. Because of this, they were accused of ‘unfair competition’ by some market traders (e.g. Zilda/ FECOPE; Tico/ CAM). In the context of economic hardship that threatens merchants’ professional prospects, animosity towards informal traders is more acute, similarly to what happens between traders themselves, fearing competition and insufficient earnings. It comes as part of the process of trying to find someone to blame for the problems (S. Watson, 2006). This conflict is nevertheless mostly non-confrontational.

⁹⁸ In Brazil there is a ‘street established informal practice’ that in public areas where there is no official parking control, men come to ‘help car owners to park and take care of the cars’ while these are away. Known as ‘flanelinhas’, they always ask some money for this unrequested service, sometimes in a rather threatening/ intimidating way, where one doesn’t really feel like having the option to deny it. The risk of denying is some sort of aggression or the partial destruction of the car (e.g. scratching surfaces, breaking mirrors).

⁹⁹ The spaces behind the market are used as open toilets by homeless deployed in the square beside CAM.



Figure 5.3: Flanelinhas in front of FECOPE
Source: Author's archives



Figure 5.4: Signs of homeless dwellers encroaching the side of FECOPE, opened to a square
Source: Author's archives



Figure 5.5: Informal trading at the entrance of FECOPE

Source: Author's archives



Figure 5.6: Informal trading at the entrance of CAM

Source: Author's archives

Homeless and informal traders, who disturb market trading and do not pay directly or indirectly (through consuming goods or services) for using markets, are deemed less legitimate to the space by

market traders. The council was approached by traders with intentions of charging for bathrooms' use and parking, defended as not only a way to eliminate or mitigate the effects of 'undesirable' groups, but also as a means to collect resources for markets' maintenance costs. Yet, the council – perhaps consistently with its aim to guarantee markets' access to all - denied these. While perhaps acutely inconvenient to some, the coexistence of groups with different interests in Belo Horizonte's social composition of markets demonstrates that FECOPE and CAM confirm Gonzalez' perception of a typical (and varied) social ecology of markets (2018). Moreover, it is an evidence of these markets' accessibility and inclusivity (Janseen and Cezer, 2013b; S. Watson, 2009), as an epitome of publicness.

5.2.2 *Diversity*: the cultural and affective space of Belo Horizonte's markets and its social relations

Markets' inclusivity involves not only the participation of groups marked by different socioeconomic profiles. Ethnicity, nationality, race, age, gender, and disability are all elements that can compose the rich range of diversity at markets (e.g. Janseens and Cezer, 2013b; Schappo and van Melik, 2016). The markets in Belo Horizonte are places of both the *global* and of the *local*. The stereotypical behaviour codes and sorts of relationship dynamics developed in markets worldwide (Reijndorp, 2009) are witnessed there. At the same time, customers mentioned that these markets are spaces of local heritage, culture, identity, where traditional products and practices are found. Typical regional goods, cheeses, sweets and freshly ground coffee (questionnaire responses), are indeed observed in the CAM and FECOPE's offer, contributing to local's fondness for them and what they represent.

Chapter Four (4.4.1) mentioned that markets' material heritage, i.e. buildings of Lagoinha, Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro are in the process of being listed. The more architecturally mundane, recent buildings of CAM and FECOPE are not included in this process. Still, their everyday practices and participants need to be incorporated in understanding markets' multiple heritage elements: the human capital, the local accent and expressions, and the long-term traders' presence, their life stories openly shared with consecutive generations of customers, and the bonds that ensue, are inseparable from the markets' identity (cf. Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019).

Despite the intrinsic link with local identity and hence culture in everyday processes, the hosting of cultural or other events is now inexistent at CAM¹⁰⁰ and FECOPE¹⁰¹. Nevertheless, even lacking other attractions, with limited items on offer and with deficient infrastructure, customers commonly summarised the markets' relevance for the neighbourhoods as being their *heart*; they fondly highlighted their historical and cultural centrality, as one of the few inclusive socialising spaces available, incorporated in the routine of many long-term residents. FECOPE and CAM are open to all, a publicness that may entail contestation, as explained above. Yet, some customers explicitly proclaimed

¹⁰⁰ The previous market chairman in CAM used to organise music events in her restaurant on Sundays, to collect funds for the market's common expenses.

¹⁰¹ FECOPE share the same roof with the neighbourhood Cultural Centre (CCPE). Yet there is no connection between the functioning of these spaces, and some traders complained that CCPE activities not only do not attract more customers to FECOPE, but also can be disruptive with e.g. loud music.

that markets should be for all, explaining that if any group is excluded it fails as a market, an understanding that converges with *equity* and *diversity* considerations of social justice. Nevertheless, the range of potential diversity is mostly limited to the residents of surrounding neighbourhoods, because of the scale of markets, and their aforementioned infrastructural and maintenance deficiencies. Within this universe, questionnaires and participant observations revealed a prevalence of the elderly among users, especially at FECOPE, and users of all ages are generally from low to middle classes. Furthermore, although survey data for CAM was not gathered relating to this issue, appearances and traders' statements suggested that market users reflected the low-income and diverse characteristics of the surrounding neighbourhood, with a larger proportion of black customers.



Figure 5.7: Customers of CAM
Source: Author's archives

Considering the limited opening times discussed in Chapter Four, markets are busier and more diverse on weekends. Young families appear, shopping and hanging out at markets, especially at CAM. In fact, some traders, adapting to the actual demand for their fresh produce, now only work on weekends.

The offer of goods and services is nevertheless not the main aspect attracting market users. Actually, the limited offer was mentioned as a weakness. For both traders and other users, the most stressed feature, converging with the PPS (2003) findings in neighbourhood markets in the United States, is *the people/ friends they meet at the market*. Regular residents of FECOPE's neighbourhood, for example, meet almost daily at Zilda's café where they debate from politics to football. For traders, the positive affective exchanges with customers are one of the most satisfying aspects of their strenuous profession:

(It is a tiring profession), but it is also rewarding, in some senses. You get to know a lot of people. The children too. (...) Today there was a guy that came for the first time. We know it is the first

time because they arrive a bit disoriented. I think he bought 7 reais¹⁰² in minced meat. And I thanked him and wished him a good lunch. Then he went to the sacolão and came back saying: 'I came here because I was recommended. And I really liked your hospitality (...) And now I will be here every day'. So, this for us is like, really good! It doesn't matter how much he comes to buy. What matters is that he will be here every day, and that he is preferring to come here. So this is the rewarding side of trading. Because financially it is not (very good)' (Cândida/ CAM, August 2019).

Almost 90% of traders stated that they have either 'friendly' or 'very friendly' relationships with customers. Some bonds survived even the moving of traders to other markets, as in the case of Renato, who at CAM still attracts customers from his time at Santa Tereza. Besides the friendliness, some exchanges between customers and traders, either short and punctual or regular, can be considered care practices as those witnessed by S. Watson (2009) in English markets. Cláudia, for example, offers a place for even unfamiliar elderly customers to sit at her clothes repair shop at FECOPE. Some longer-term trust bonds developing from continuous commercial exchanges run deeper. One case illustrates well these caring practices that support the development of senses of belonging (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019). A mute customer was buying groceries at CAM and the trader seemed quite comfortable dealing with him. Using mime and posing questions to the man, he sorted the customer's shopping. Later, this trader explained that he is used to the man's impairment, which he knew details about, including customer's regular purchases.

Other sorts of trust bonds strengthen through time. From trusting the merchants' product sourcing and their advice about the quality of items, and how to use them, which can emerge even in the first interactions, some links result in the privilege that some customers are entitled to, of buying on credit. Records of 'debts' are kept by traders in notebooks, as in old times, and customers can come later to pay. In these cases, traders and customers refer to one another as 'friends'. A survey respondent at CAM said that as a long-term acquaintance of market traders, if he showed up without money at the market, he could still 'buy it all'.

These markets' ethos contributes to strengthen collective bonds *in* markets (Wolhuter, 2002) – forming loosely defined and porous market communities – and *beyond* markets. In fact, since the majority of traders and customers live in the markets' neighbourhood, they support the sense of belonging generated between different residents' groups. Among traders, friendship and collaboration bonds result in exchanges of favours, such as indicating friend's shops when customers ask for something one does not sell, or covering for a trader and taking care of their shop while they are away. Allegiances were observed, with positive outcomes. Simultaneously, however, identified groups also showed boundaries of exclusion. Hence, while some traders stressed feelings of belonging to a 'market family', others resented colleagues, feeling isolated.

¹⁰² Roughly £1.50 at the time of the interview, a very small amount even in the Brazilian context.

Indeed, relationship issues run deep to the extent that they prevent the existence of traders' associations both at FECOPE and CAM, a matter discussed in the next section. Markets' decline and more widespread economic crisis also contribute to the problem, causing more individualism and fear of competition, fuelling animosity. The lack of traders' associations has significant impacts for these markets, and for their contribution to social justice through *democracy*. At both FECOPE and CAM, *democracy* is the weakest of the three axes when compared to two other markets in Belo Horizonte, Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro, discussed here as a counterpoint to the main focus on the two former examples. The following section discusses these four markets' contributions to social justice through *democracy*, and why there are substantial difference.

5.2.3 *Democracy*: the limits and potentials of market communities in Belo Horizonte's markets

FECOPE and CAM

Although customers often remarked about markets' maintenance needs and negligent management, both in their research responses and in conversation with traders and each other, many had no idea that they are council owned. On the traders' side, more was known in terms of markets' governance, but there was little mobilisation in relation to dealing with markets' problems. Besides being absorbed by their routine challenges and needs, traders seemed tired of the limited achievements in past dealings with the council, and were thus somewhat resigned to the status quo. Hence, despite the importance of FECOPE and CAM market communities, involving regular customers and traders, in an affective sense, they were mostly alienated from markets' planning and governance, including the current development of a new tendering process. The tendering is the new system of markets' governance, discussed in Chapter Seven, with potentially significant impacts on how the markets operate.

This state of things is problematic since the groups likely to be most affected by markets' poor planning and governance are unconscious of 'threats'. The lack of engagement of these market communities in political processes defining the future of markets appears to result from four aspects, explored below: 1) the non-existence of traders' associations; 2) the lack of links between markets and neighbourhood associations; 3) the demographics of traders and customers; 4) missing leadership to drive the interest on markets' governance and prospects. Hugo, who represented SUSAN for decades in deliberation with market traders, explained the issue of dealing with fragmented traders for markets' governance:

'I went to many meetings with them, both at CAM and FECOPE and we never reached a consensus. Everyone 'pulls the sardine to their side' [i.e. defend individual interests]. It is chaotic, a heated discussion, no one agrees with one another. So, first, and we [SUSAN officers] said this 300 times: '[traders], organise yourselves'. Get two, three representatives that can speak for you. It doesn't work, individual appointments. We won't manage to move it forward, we can't. And till now they didn't organise. And we cannot choose for them. But unfortunately, they don't trust anyone. So [Paula and Augusto] self-denominated themselves for the task, but we cannot take sides or delegate powers to who is there at the markets. (...) They just share the basic expenses. They don't have a collective budget to do small repairs... It is hard. That is why they are so dependent on the system. Then one doesn't pay: 'ah no, it is Paula. If it was someone else [collecting the money] I would pay'. This is the kind of thing we used to hear in the meetings. Thus, it is very complicated

for us to deal with it. If they don't realise that together they are stronger, to demand and have more authenticity in their representativeness towards the council, they are doomed to close. This is our fear' (Hugo/SUSAN, July 2019).

The self-appointed representatives mentioned, despite being officially illegitimate and criticised by many colleagues who, at the same time do not want their responsibilities, are helpful in markets' everyday functioning. They are the *de facto* access points at markets, to whom information coming from the council is given, e.g. through planning session invitations. Therefore, there is a gain in being a representative: a gate-keeping role, 'controlling' to whom and when meaningful information is shared in the markets. Representatives' assessment of the relevance of processes and meetings nevertheless might not be always accurate: neither they nor other traders from FECOPE nor CAM attended the public session discussing the tendering of markets (see Chapter Seven).

Hugo's rich account overall indicates how hard is to have traders overcoming the individualist tendency of '*pulling the sardine to their side*' to put 'all noses in one direction' (Schappo, 2015, p. 60), an issue also faced in The Hague Market. However, in that case the market's chairman was faced with more than 500 individuals (Schappo, 2015). In Belo Horizonte, groups of 11 (FECOPE) and 18 (CAM) traders had to rely on SUSAN, with its constrained budget and staff, to mediate even petty issues, suggesting that traders' responsibility for the current state and grim future prospects of the markets should also be accounted for, when questioning markets' governance.

The issues that prevent traders from forming associations and electing representatives result from the entanglement of *commercial competition*, *disagreements in agendas*, and something labelled by some traders as '*envy*' problems. In the context of declining demand in markets, tension between traders with similar offers may grow (Schappo, 2015), resulting in the breaching of boundaries, sometimes verbally established between traders, about products' range selection¹⁰³. Moreover, some long-term traders were accused of sabotaging the businesses of new merchants¹⁰⁴, fearing they will change 'the way of things', threatening old practices and the authority of older traders. Situations like these result in accusations of unfairness, causing distrust among colleagues, fuelling resentment and individualism in a vicious circle.

It is important nevertheless to also consider the weakness of market communities' political participation in relation to the demographics of traders and customers in these neighbourhoods. Throughout data collection there was no evidence of active neighbourhood associations in the vicinity of FECOPE or CAM, nor of strong links between markets and neighbourhood associations in these areas in the past. This suggests that residents near FECOPE and CAM are not civically engaged with other

¹⁰³A case often mentioned at CAM was the one of Paula, owner of a snack bar, who decided to 'secretly' sell full lunch-time meals despite the agreement with Janice and Lucimara, the restaurant owners in front of her shop, and her official permit, of only selling snacks. The breaching caused extreme bitterness in Janice and Lucimara, who lost the demand from the staff of the hospital besides the market. Paula argues that her 'friends' working in the hospital encouraged her to sell lunch sets.

¹⁰⁴ A case in FECOPE was the 'anonymous' denouncement by a long-term trader (Augusto was accused) of an 'illegal' stove in the unit of one of the new traders (*Vicente/FECOPE, July 2019*).

public local matters. Participant observations and questionnaires revealed features that might contribute to the issue. There are limitations caused by poverty (economic needs resulting in no time available to participate), low educational levels (potentially rendering dwellers alienated, or feeling politically disempowered to effect change) and age (health limitations, or a sense of 'resignation'). Moreover, the strenuous working patterns, and the impossibility of closing shops to join meetings that clash with their working hours, were explained as main reasons for traders missing planning sessions, when informed about them.

The influence of the neighbourhood's demographic profile becomes apparent when the cases of political (im)mobilisation of FECOPE and CAM communities is juxtaposed with the ones of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza, where market communities' action impacted governance directions at the city scale. Amélia, an activist in the context of Cruzeiro expressed her opinion about the matter:

'I think that in the regions where the markets are dying in the city, what is lacking is what we had here: leaderships that fight for them. That see them more than a place for supply, a place for the community' (Amélia/ activist Cruzeiro, August 2019).

Leadership might be more prone to emerge in neighbourhoods with higher economic and educational profiles. Nevertheless, it is not a subproduct of it. Letícia, the previous – passionate – chairman of CAM is a black woman of poor background, similar in this regard to many of the most vulnerable dwellers around CAM. Yet, her example challenges the belief that structural constraints justify alienation and apathy. Oftentimes it is the individual (or small group) willingness to take on a 'fight', as Letícia said, such as the proper governance of markets, that determines the prospects of it. Yet, the ground has to be 'fertile' – there have to be others with a similar drive. Letícia, for example used to organise a 'pagode', a popular music event at her restaurant on Sundays, to raise funds for the market's common expenses, but she would struggle with little support from her colleagues:

'I would start [with music] at 9am, to end at 2pm, and [some other traders] didn't like it. And no one wanted to take part [in organising]. I used to wash the whole market [after the pagode] for [the other traders] not to complain, on the day after. Then I said "hey everybody, let's fight to make this pagoda there in the shed? Let's fight for it?" And then we managed. [But] every time we were working, how many times I went [alone] to get the beer. And I didn't have [enough money] to buy much beer, but that you needed to buy... On the last day I said: "I will never again do anything! I will leave the market!" And then there were 5000 people [in the pagode]. And then I cried, to give you an idea...' (Letícia/CAM, July 2019, author's emphasis).

The following section discusses the activism of market communities in Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza as points of comparison for the two main cases, FECOPE and CAM, illuminating considerations about the features that determine the contributions of markets to *democracy*.

Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza

The markets of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza were created as district markets in the 1970's and are of a bigger scale than FECOPE and CAM. Although primary research was not undertaken in these contexts¹⁰⁵, their cases are discussed here because their market communities are powerful examples of how markets' existence can trigger associative bonds for political action, hence performing *democracy*. Besides being neighbourhoods with more propensity for political engagement, another distinctive – and perhaps determining - element in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro's market communities' mobilisation existed: imminent threats of displacement, closure and/ or exclusionary redevelopment of markets. Chapter Four explained how the council increasingly proposed or supported private plans for transformations in Belo Horizonte's markets since the late 1990's. Some were justified as to save markets from decline, but increasingly plans became more clearly linked with profitability interests, thus threatening markets' existence as traditional and public trading spaces.

Pro-market activism was originally led by traders in both contexts, during the 2000's. To withstand for example the threat of eviction in 2007 (Franco, 2007), they performed events (e.g. hug around the market), acts of civil disobedience, and strikes, with the coverage of the local media (e.g. Rezende, 2006; Lobato, 2007). Furthermore, they started legal actions in the Ministério Público¹⁰⁶, and sought help from local councillors. Some victories were achieved, for example the opening of procedures to list markets' buildings (Neves, 2007). Unfortunately, it was not enough to save Santa Tereza from closure.

Yet, this was not the end of market community mobilisation around that market. It gained new leadership, composed by Santa Tereza's residents who, driven by a thorough knowledge of the neighbourhood's special zoning, and the City Statute's principle of democratic governance of the city, amplified political action from the starting point of the shut market. Santa Tereza is a '*paradigmatic case*' in the understanding of Lauro, one of the local leaders. He praised the politically active neighbourhood, who created the movement '*Salve (Save) Santa Tereza*' (SST) in 2015, to stop the threat of a Fiat private school being established in the deactivated market. Ever since then, the SST worked on multiple causes related to social justice in the neighbourhood and beyond, and still fight '*for the reopening of a popular market, that provides and doesn't harm the dynamics and singularities of the neighbourhood*' (Lauro/ activist Santa Tereza, July 2019).

Cruzeiro also witnessed a stronger engagement of residents in the leadership of market communities in the last decade, converging with the heightened real estate pressures on the market. Similarly to Santa Tereza, residents' involvement gave more focus and increased the power of market communities. AMOREIRO, the neighbourhood association of Cruzeiro, was created in 2010 to resist the project of

¹⁰⁵ Except for two field visits to Cruzeiro, an interview with a market trader there (Cassio) an activist of its market community (Amélia), and an interview with a leadership in Santa Tereza (Lauro).

¹⁰⁶ Responsible for overseeing the action of the government. It has powers to prosecute it. Equivalent to the Crown Prosecution Service in the UK.

hotel towers (Ayer, 2011), explained in Chapter Four. A wider range of stakeholders, 'allies' in the cause, has been present ever since, such as the Institute of Architects of Brazil.

Although in the last decade much political activity was witnessed around these two markets, very little change actually happened on the ground. Private party plans supported by the council, or developed in bottom-up processes promoted by market communities, such as the architecture contest 'Viva o Mercado' for Cruzeiro's regeneration (Siqueira, 2011), were abandoned. High municipality officers labelled the SST a strong 'veto-player' in interviews, in reference to its strong oppositional power, in resisting plans not aligned with their vision for the neighbourhood. Leaders in Santa Tereza are known in the city to be strongly against the 'enterprise city' ideology. Cruzeiro leaders, comparatively, revealed a more nuanced stance, where some degree of gentrification was referred to as 'unavoidable' (Amélia/activist Cruzeiro, August 2019).

Yet there is a strong creative, propositional and realistic planning force in these communities, that resonate with the examples presented by Dawson and Gonzalez (2018), of groups protecting three neighbourhood markets in London in Chapter Two (2.5.3). The open air market events of the *Mercado Viva Mais Verde*, organised in the parking space of Santa Tereza's market are evidence of this:

'The Mercado Viva Mais Verde, there were some almost ten editions, plenty of nice things: circus, clowning, live music. There was a debate circle (...) Beyond being an experimental cultural appropriation of the space, the market was also a space of mobilisation' (Lauro/activist Santa Tereza, July 2019).



Figure 5.8: Leaflet of one of the 'Mercado Viva Mais Verde - A Space for All' event, listing its attractions

Source: Author's archives

It is important nevertheless to not romanticise activism or people in mobilisations. Individual or group interests are always present, between and within alliances, as discussed in Chapter Two (2.5.4) and allegiances might be temporary, enduring while a common enemy or goal exist. ACOMEC (traders' association of Cruzeiro) and AMOREIRO were partners in withholding real estate pressures in Cruzeiro

in 2010. But the carefully constructed dealings between them and the council, for the realisation of the *Mercado Verde*, winner of the contest mentioned above, collapsed because of a ‘betrayal’ driven by divergent interests. Just before the projects’ bidding notice was released, AMOREIRO discovered a parallel secret agreement between the council and ACOMEC. It suppressed the qualified open spaces the residents wanted from the final version of the project, keeping more parking space. A new mobilisation of the residents resulted in the paralysation of the process. In relation to this, it can be assumed that the strong internal cohesion in Santa Tereza’s market community might, ironically, result from the absence of the normally present traders.

Despite the frustration with interrupted processes, the activism around the markets of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza reverberated, expanding even beyond the concerns with markets’ governance. For example, the bottom-up impeachment movement ‘*Fora Lacerda*’, to remove Marcio Lacerda from the position of mayor of Belo Horizonte was born in activism sessions organised by Cruzeiro’s market community. More importantly, the legacy of activism around these two markets influenced the tendering governance plan for markets (analysed in Chapter Seven):

‘The Mercado Viva Mais Verde triggered the opening of a communication channel with the city council. Because it had as a background a popular pressure for the market to be reopened, right? And this pressure culminated in a process inside the city council, and later a Procedure of Interest Manifestation¹⁰⁷ was opened. (...) We do have a lot of critiques, right? The PMI as an urban planning instrument much more aligned with a neoliberal perspective, threatening the right to the city (...) [but] the fights here in Santa Tereza they reverberate beyond the neighbourhood, always. Because in the case of the market, it was the same thing. The PMI was not only for Santa Tereza. It was also for all other markets’ (Lauro/ activist Santa Tereza, July 2019).

The specific outcomes of the PMI and posterior tendering process regarding the community’s expectations and the ultimate consequences for social justice in Belo Horizonte will be discussed in Chapter Seven. The discussion above shows that markets in their centralising role and social nature can indeed promote *democracy*, contributing to social justice in providing a fertile ground for fruitful civic engagement in planning processes in the city, such as have been observed in the planning of the night market in Seattle (Hou, 2010) in London markets’ contexts (Dawson and Gonzalez, 2018) and in other Brazilian cities (e.g. Juazeiro do Norte (Pereira, 2017). Yet, as the two main case studies of FECOPE and CAM show, the human capital and structural factors at neighbourhoods and markets impact the extent to which mobilisation takes place.

Belo Horizonte’s public markets together contribute to a wide range of relevant aspects of social justice, fulfilling roles in *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. Yet, in each market the nature and depth of contributions differ, following their configuration, scale, offer of goods/ services and the demographics of users and traders. FECOPE and CAM, the local markets which are the focus of this research, have

¹⁰⁷ To gather proposals for the public markets. It was the first stage of the tendering development, explained in Chapter Seven.

similar roles: they function as centralising and reference places, with relevant social and meeting roles in contexts lacking other public spaces. Moreover, they do provide accessible opportunities of earning livelihoods, be it through formal trading at markets, or in other practices – such as ‘car-watching’ – that emerge from markets’ centrality. The key difference is that at CAM, the food supply role is still relevant, what happens because of its commercialisation system, but also because of the surrounding limited retail offer in the neighbourhood São Paulo.

These two small scale markets nevertheless struggle with economic sustainability and fragmented traders, aspects related to the context discussed in Chapter Four, which puts a strain in markets, limiting their potentials for *equity* and *diversity*. Moreover, markets potentials in FECOPE and CAM to foster *democracy* seem compromised, first by the lack of traders’ collective mobilisation, and second by the apparently inactive community, in terms of engagement with city planning and governance. The comparison with the cases of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza shed light in potential constraints faced at FECOPE and CAM, in the process thus confirming markets potentials for fostering civic participation and simultaneously the need to be aware of demographic and structural features that can hamper this potential.

5.3 Markets and social justice in Birmingham

Birmingham’s three Bull Ring Markets (BRMs), placed side by side in Edgbaston Street, in the periphery of the centre, are currently facing multiple exclusionary pressures, resulting from the recent socioeconomic and governance scenario discussed in Chapter Four (4.4.2). Still, while the community of traders and users has declined in the last decades, the BRMs’ disappearance could have a major impact for the lives of the less well-off urban dwellers in Birmingham that rely on markets, since the BRMs are understood to be one of the few remaining inclusionary havens in an increasingly exclusionary city (*Herbert/historian, May 2020*).

This section explores the contributions that the BRMs (Open, Rag and Indoor Markets), have for social justice in Birmingham. Each market has its own traders’ associations and presents different physical environments, product ranges, and enrolment conditions with the council, features that impact the nature and depth of their individual contributions to *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. Nevertheless, their physical proximity means they cater mostly for a similar audience or set of customers, many living in close-by neighbourhoods, which results in an external realm¹⁰⁸ (Schappo and van Melik, 2016) that is basically the same.

¹⁰⁸ Defined in Chapter Two as the actors and institutions that are connected to markets in a non-managerial way, i.e. not including municipality nor traders (Schappo and van Malik, 2016, p.322).

5.3.1 *Equity*: food security, employment and public space relevance in the Bull Ring Markets

Birmingham is one of the English cities that suffers the most with economic deprivation and social exclusion, as discussed in Chapter Four. Therefore, similarly to Belo Horizonte, *equity* is an essential element of social justice to address, to improve the material conditions of the population. However, Birmingham's markets' institutional position in the council's structure do not reveal a specific function being attributed to them, a matter that will be discussed in Chapter Six. Nevertheless, while not formally framed as a significant element for food security, as in Belo Horizonte, the BRMs contribute to the provision of healthy food and other affordable basic staples for specific communities in the city. Furthermore, they provide employment opportunities to people with limited resources and qualifications.

Food security

The Open Market offers a very wide range of produce, including items that cater for specific ethnic groups' preference (e.g. okra; cassava), for low prices. Recently the local news showed that an impressive shop can be achieved with £10 pounds (Bosley, 2021). Already affordable, the fresh items are sold with further discounts at the end of the day. Moreover, according to BCC, the '*Fruit and vegetable stalls at the market are happy to accept NHS Healthy Start Vouchers*' (BCC, n.d. c) These vouchers are offered to pregnant women, or with children under the age of 4, to buy healthy food (NHS, n.d.). The cheap goods come sometimes with a compromise although, at least in the opinion of some customers, ground BCC officers and even traders: their *quality (interviews with Oscar, Martin and Eric)*.

'The problem with the Open Market is... the products they sell are not really up to scratch like it should be. It is a supply-demand in terms of who you are supplying to ... You have got to try earning a living, so you have got to cater for your customers. And if the customers want it cheap, they are not going to get the best' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

In multiple visits to the market, it became evident that many produce stalls, especially the ones with traders of a migrant background, sell goods in a simple system of '£1 a bowl' (see Figure 5.9). Products without specifications (weight, best before date) are sold by volume, displayed in bowls of visibly questionable cleanliness. The Enforcement team is the arm of the BCC that manages the markets' functioning on the ground (explained in Chapter Six). Among their duties is the control of the quality of goods sold, a role constantly enforced in the Open Market, where officers request the removal of bad items from bowls:

'Sometimes the ones on the top are fine, but in the middle, you can see some goods starting to rot and therefore not good to be commercialised. A customer once remarked on the lack of cleanliness of the bowls... And the picture is worth a thousand words, the client won't buy it' (Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019).

This dynamic creates some friction between traders and Enforcement officers, but bad quality contributes to an issue of bad reputation, which can repel better-off potential customers.



Figure 5.9: The controversial ‘£1 a bowl’ kind of stall in the Open Market, with migrant traders
Source: Author’s archives



Figures 5.10: A stall following the requirement established by the council, owned by a British white trader
Source: Author’s archives

Employment

It is hard to imagine how traders make a living with selling the items in the Open Market so cheaply. But the BRMs still attract aspirant traders looking for working opportunities that cater for their conditions. The tolls charged by the council in the Open and Rag Markets (BCC, n.d. d) seem accessible and the following examples support this perception. In the Open Market, a stall for dry goods (smaller) would cost £121.5/week and £510.3/month. A fruit and veg stall (bigger) would be a bit more, £178.25/ week and £748.65/ month. In the Rag Market the prices per units are cheaper: either £54.3/week and £217.2/month (inner unit) or £93.43/week and £373.72/month (wall unit). In her study of the Rag Market’s role in providing employment to women at the turn of the millennium, Wolhuter (2002) stressed that the low entry requirements and costs made it attractive for women marginalised in the labour market. Their exclusion from other work environments happened through childcare responsibilities, age, limited formal post-school training and/or a lack of relevant work experience

(2002, p. 17). Importantly, the self-employment in the market accommodated their caring needs, something commonly unviable in other jobs (Wolhuter, 2002, pp. 145-146). The council's light-touch regulatory control over the market environment also allowed many women to bring children to the market during their working time (Wolhuter, 2002, pp. 184-185).

Women still find in the Rag Market a space for entrepreneurship. Hannah created her own brand and sells (blends of) spices and teas since 1986. Her display is attractive, the products good and affordable and she is well-connected with the community of traders in the market. Engaged in the traders' association, she helped to promote the Rag Market in social media platforms, while informing followers about the markets' past. Wolhuter (2002) also discovered that for those she identified as 'hobby traders' - older merchants and pension holders, the markets' accessible fees and permit conditions made it possible for them to be working in markets. More than profit, mostly lacking, what they wanted was to be socially engaged in a vibrant environment. This is a common element between the cases of retired traders in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, who seek a space that supports their self-esteem and fights their loneliness (Wolhuter, 2002). Arthur, who worked in the second-hand bookstore of his deceased girlfriend, explained that he would rather spend his time in the shop than looking at his house's walls, even though business was quite 'uncertain' and routine was sometimes boring (when no one came to the stall). Asked about the importance of the markets, he highlighted the customer-trader relationship: one that teaches people to be polite, but that also allows for a laugh and a joke.



Figure 5.11: Arthur and the second-hand bookstore in the Rag Market

Source: Young, 1st of February 2020

Besides locals of different ages and genders, immigrants are an increasing group in all the BRM markets, among both traders and customers, which shows the entanglement of diversity and equity in Birmingham market'' contributions to social justice. In terms of employment, they seem to be gradually

replacing the long-term British traders, as S. Watson observed in the context of Princess Street Market¹⁰⁹, in London (2006), including some long-established family businesses. Salesmen such as the Caribbean, Chinese, Pakistani, Eastern Europeans seem to have a more resilient work threshold, in the sense that they tolerate more less favourable working conditions (i.e. longer shifts and less profits), similarly to what I found in relation to overseas immigrant workers in Barcelona (Schappo, 2017). This perhaps justifies their interest in working in markets that British traders conversely want to leave. Similar to Belo Horizonte, both long-term family businesses and the more recently established ones form part of the social economy that markets support, which has room for innovation. For example, the young Polish trader Joseph's sushi bar in the Indoor Market. The quality of his products is recognised on a well-known virtual platform¹¹⁰ (see Figures 5.12 and 5.13), where people who may not be familiar with the markets – commonly young adults - can find him and thus discover the BRMs. While his business would fit the environment of niche and gourmet markets, criticised in academia (e.g. Arreortua and del Campo, 2018) his presence does not, isolated or together with other specialised goods sold in the Indoor Market (e.g. game, shellfish), disrupt the traditional atmosphere of the market nor exclude traditional stalls. Similarly to Belo Horizonte nevertheless, more alternative economic practices including production and consumption in line with values of social and solidarity economy were not found.



Figures 5.12 and 5.13: Joseph's well-rated restaurant
 Source: Author's archives

Belonging to a commercial centre, with other attractions in the same place, benefits merchants in the BRMs, as observed in FECOPE and CAM. But the markets' decline has an inverse effect that threatens both recent and long-term businesses, also observed in the Brazilian case. For example, the Open Market has 130 stalls but just before the pandemic (03/03/2020), it had only 52 traders (BCC, 2021b). Even with the occupation of more than one stall per business, a considerable part of the market area was observed to be vacant, even on Saturdays. In the Rag and the Indoor Markets, the issue of vacant

¹⁰⁹ The name of the street was according to the author, disguised for the sake of anonymity (S. Watson, 2006, p.44)

¹¹⁰ Trip Advisor.

units is also perceptible. The Rag Market has 350 stalls and 17 shops with external access, but only had 94 traders in March 2020 (BCC, 2021b), leaving noticeable voids even with most traders occupying more than one unit. In the Indoor Market, at the same time there were 56 traders for a total of 98 shops (BCC, 2021b). With some businesses occupying more than one unit, the result was 32 empty ones in the market. Data for the last (BCC, 2021c) reveals that in 2017 there were only 16 vacant units (BCC, 2021c). The visual impact of numbers can be seen on Figures 5.14 to 5.17.



Figure 5.14: Empty stalls in the Open Market
Source: Author's archives



Figures 5.15 and 5.16: Empty units in the Rag Market
Source: Author's archives

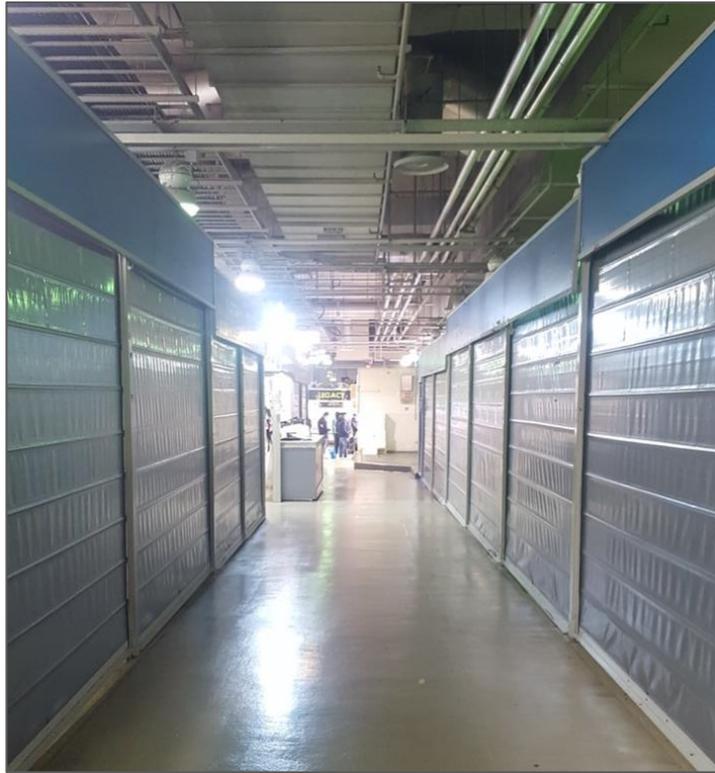


Figure 5.17: A mostly empty corridor in the Indoor Market
Source: Author's archives

Emptied out markets repel customers, causing a reduction in footfall. Council records are kept only for the Indoor Market¹¹¹, but they indicate that in the space of two years the weekly footfall decreased 40%: at the end of 2017 there were 93.000 visitors, while in the same calendar week in 2019 the registered number was only 52.000 (BCC, 2021d). The growing hardship is pushing even long-term traders out of business. But they see no other alternatives after going through a process of firing staff and incurring debt in the hope of an improvement. The pressure is more acutely felt by the Indoor Market traders. They retain more legal rights, but shop rents and (already high) annually increasing service fees are hard to cope with and discouraging for aspirant traders. The specificities of the problem will be discussed in relation to the markets' governance, in Chapter Six. Ben, the proud owner of U-Juice (Indoor Market), reported in April 2019 that in the 4.5 years of his business his sales fell 40%. He was losing money with the shop. To keep the unit, he joined food festivals on weekends (*Ben/ BRMs, April 2019*). Unfortunately, he was forced to close the shop, his own brand, in September 2020¹¹² (Young, 2020d).

¹¹¹ The reason for this was not explained, but it can be assumed that it relates to the kind of contract the Indoor Market traders have with the council. They have a lease, rather than a license of use, as in the other markets, with more obligations from the council. The contract types will be discussed in Chapter Six.

¹¹² As can be seen in the article of Young (2020d), Ben's shop was affected by the period of markets' closure in the lockdown. Nevertheless, his situation already seemed difficult in April 2019, when he was interviewed. The pandemic might have just accelerated an 'inevitable' closure.

Markets' social justice contributions relate to their publicness and accessibility, as mentioned in 5.2.1, about Belo Horizonte. But in Birmingham, differently, informal traders are not found around the markets because of the Enforcement team's surveillance. Homeless people are mostly kept out of the markets' precinct, although there is some tolerance, discussed in the next section. Yet, besides the Enforcement team there are other sorts of professionals working on markets: those collecting cardboard to be recycled in the hub by the Open Markets, and cleaning staff. These can indirectly be linked to markets' support to employment for people with little professional qualifications.

5.3.2 Diversity: the cultural and affective space of Birmingham' markets and its social relations

The BRMs' dynamics reveal a typical market environment, the kind people from multiple diverse groups can feel familiar with. Very cosmopolitan, they were recently praised as 'superdiverse' in the video *Voices of Birmingham Bullring Markets* (Hu and Blackledge, 2015), a product of a research conducted by the University of Birmingham. In the video both local and foreign traders talked about their interaction with a very international customer base, explaining the creative ways with which they bridged language barriers. For example, the image below shows the example of a banner written in both English and Chinese:



Figure 5.18: Banner that helps with attracting the foreign customer base in the Indoor Market

Source: Author's archives

The BRMs are much more diverse environments than the markets in Belo Horizonte. The interaction between customers and traders of different nationalities – but also from other ‘identity groups’ – in the BRMs develops an increased awareness of communication, including learning about other cultures (Hu and Blackledge, 2015). As discussed in Chapter Two (2.2.2) It is an exercise of developing familiarity with something previously unknown, which stretches mutual tolerance (Wolhuter, 2002), unsettles cultural codes (Valentine, 1998) and contributes to integration.

Despite the rich multicultural environment, its long history, and the accumulated intangible heritage (i.e. cultural) (see section 2.2.2), the BRMs seem to lack material elements that reveal their local ‘Brummie’ identity, contrasting with Belo Horizonte. The markets are, according to Herbert, the only common and continuous thread through the city’s entire history (in Young, 2018a) and yet they currently do not sell any ‘local’ products. Birmingham experts remarked how other than the name, the undifferentiated market venues could be ‘anywhere’ (*interviews with Herbert and Richard*). Interestingly, the markets’ multicultural nature most strongly reveals their contextual embeddedness in Birmingham, considering the city demographics explained in Chapter Four. For these communities of customers, specific stalls exist (e.g. fabrics, for Muslim ladies), and products are sourced (e.g. cassava, okra...). A young English trader working in a deli stated the following in the video *Voices of Birmingham Bullring Markets* (Hu and Blackledge, 2015):

‘I go on the internet a lot and find out the specialities of different countries, what people like. If somebody comes to me and they want something, they might say “Can you get?” and I say, “Yeah, leave it with me, I will see what I can do”. They come to the market and ask the butcher: ‘how would you cook it?’ You get that personal touch, which the supermarket just can’t give. [And] they are more used to that market mentality than we are, in some respects, which can only be good for us, because we are learning from them’ (English young trader (in Hu and Blackledge, 2015)).

The BRMs *diversity* contributions are, as with *equity*, very valuable. As Herbert puts it, in the modern Birmingham that is *‘increasingly for the rich, when there’s a real danger of working class people being forced out of the city centre, the market is the one place where Brummies from every ethnicity, colour and creed can meet’ (Herbert/historian, May 2020)*. In this sense, the BRMs are a haven of inclusion in Birmingham’s rather alienating and exclusionary urban and retail environment, something already recognised by Wolhuter in 2002.

Yet, while more relevant to the extent that segregation in Birmingham becomes more acute, the markets are increasingly ‘ghettoised’ and physically hard to access, excluded from central spatial flows/dynamics since the 1960’s (*Herbert/historian, May 2020*). In Chapter Four (4.4) the mobility issues were explained. Samantha, a street trader at the crossing of Birmingham’s main high streets, was constantly asked by visitors, *‘Where are your markets?’*, evidence of poor signposting in the physical and virtual spaces managed by BCC. On top of issues to find markets, heavy doors constrain the access of the elderly and disabled, and lack of seating areas prevent people to stay longer in the markets. Combined with issues of cleanliness and a lack of markets’ ‘magic’ (*interviews with Herbert and Richard*), the markets therefore are not a strong touristic destination in Birmingham. Responsibility for governance

in the matter of accessibility and promotion of the BRMs will be discussed in Chapter Six, but its overall implications are a reduced pool of customers:

'I have been to places like Morocco, and I saw how markets still serve the local community. [But] here the catchment has diminished. Years ago, we had an influence on a catchment of probably 20 or 30 miles' radius. I think what has happened now is that these markets, and purely because Birmingham is very culturally diverse, all the different cultures we have, the African, Eastern Asian [are found] within the immediate catchment of five miles. I think the markets serve them because [besides affordable] for a lot of those people that came to live in this country, in recent years, markets are part of their culture. They identify with markets' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

It is interesting to observe that through moving from the high street and Bull Ring Shopping Centre (BRSC) environments of the centre to the BRMs, a two-minute walk, there is a perceptible difference in the appearance of users. At least since the turn of the millennium, the profile of market customers appears to have remained mostly unaltered; in the early 2000's the markets catered for *'a lower income public such as pensioners, lone parents, young people, unemployed people, minority ethnic groups and women in general from poorer and inner-city households'* (Wolhuter, 2002, p. 111). The convergence of deprivation in the neighbourhoods around the city centre, i.e. within the limited catchment area of markets, with the markets' limited opening hours, shapes the profile of users as those who are more budget conscious:

'[Within the 9 to 5 window] only people that have part-time jobs, (with) low-income, unemployed people, people that are in education, and people that are retired, who will have some income if got pensions [are the ones available to shop in the BRMs during the week]' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

Considering the natural decrease of the 'diehard' British long-term customers (*Richard/ local journalist, January 2020*) and traders, if the BRMs are to last as traditional public markets, it will likely be because of the increasing migrant users, that identify with market environments as indicated in the quotes above.



Figure 5.19: Public of the Frankfurt Christmas Market

Source: Author's archives.



Figure 5.20: Customers of the Rag Market

Source: Author's archives



Figure 5.21: Customers of the Open Market

Source: Author's archives

Even though the BRMs have a much wider offer of goods in comparison to the neighbourhood scale markets of Belo Horizonte, for many customers, especially the mentioned long-term ‘diehards’, the markets are more important as social spaces (PPS, 2003). This confirms a tendency also observed in Belo Horizonte, including the relevance of markets for the ‘hobby traders’ (Wolhuter, 2002). Interaction at markets can also reach further than baseline friendliness in the BRMs. Caring practices and lasting allegiances were observed, contributing to a sense of belonging to a community, similarly to what was observed for example in bazaars in Iran (Zandieh and Seifpour, 2019). In contrast to Belo Horizonte, in Birmingham there is a third group considered legitimate members of what was defined as a social ecology of markets in Gonzalez (2018). The council’s Enforcement team brings more diversity to markets and officers have a close contact with traders and customers, sometimes showing friendly and caring dynamics with some of them, while conducting their job attributions (discussed in Chapter Six). Moreover, despite the surveillance that restricts homeless dwellers at the markets, they were tolerated to a certain extent, apparently based on a compassionate understanding that deprivation is an issue in areas surrounding the markets. One of the three food trucks in the Open Market would offer them tea or coffee even if they didn’t have enough to pay for it, and would let them sit down on the tables regardless of whether they were consuming something or pushing away other customers. This empathy

and solidarity were also observed to a certain extent in Belo Horizonte, and were described in the contexts of The Hague (Schappo, 2015) and in developing countries, such as Chile, from traders (Schlack, Turnbull and Sánchez, 2018) and municipalities (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019).



Figures 5.22 and 5.23: Deserted Edgbaston Street in the evening, considered unsafe (left). Homeless dwellers sleeping opposite to the Open Market, in Edgbaston Street (right)

Source: Author's archives

Some long-term traders reflected about mutual care in statements below, first from secondary research, and second, in the local media:

'If a customer come in and looks down or fed up, I try and make their day, because probably you are the only person they're gonna see. What people need is to be able to talk, touch and relate. You take that away and we've lost everything' (elder English background butcher (in Hu and Blackledge, 2015)).

'We do far more than sell goods, we are like a care in the community service too (...) We are like a big family all looking out for each other. (...) If the markets ever close, we would all lose so much. It would be horrible' (Sarah's statement in Young, 2020b).

Cooperation between traders can involve trading practices and other forms of interaction. In the guided visit (April 2019), a fish trader came asking a colleague from another similar shop if he had more seabass on stock, as his had finished. After a quick agreement on the price, he got a box and went back to his shop. On another occasion, a chatty and bold hairdresser stopped a new Enforcement officer to ask for his phone number, on behalf of her friend working in a snack bar in the other market, who was said to be romantically interested in him. Still, as in any real community, there are grounds for conflict, something identified by Wolhuter (2002) and confirmed in this research (e.g. *Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019*). As in Belo Horizonte, competition between traders is intrinsically linked to markets' decline and increasing hardship. In the Open Market, for example, competition between British and foreign traders combines fear of poor economic turnover with ethnic prejudice. Overhearing my conversation with an Enforcement officer, a British trader that follows the display rules established by the BCC

sarcastically remarked about his foreign colleagues' offer: '*ask how many in the bowl are edible*' (Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019).

In such a diverse composition of dwellers, the large-scale BRMs contain a universe of different group identities that can be framed as a large, heterogeneous and loose market community, such as the one I found in The Hague (Schappo, 2015). Yet the customers and broader society were basically disconnected from anything that relates to markets' governance. The *democracy* contributions of the BRMs will be discussed now, observing as well the existence of distinct traders' associations.

5.3.3 *Democracy*: the limits and potentials of market communities in Birmingham' markets

The configuration of markets and the superdiverse pool of users of the BRMs, while an indication of the markets' invaluable contribution to *diversity*, also reveals lines of division that indicate a fragmented community, compromising potentials for *democracy*. While levels of diversity were higher than in Belo Horizonte, both were similar in that the low-income and low-qualifications demographic profile (see Chapter Four) of most members of the BRMs' market community limited the chances of 'natural' mobilisation of them. Limitations, in the sense of political empowerment or the willingness to demand more participatory planning and governance of markets, are likely to be higher in Birmingham: Putnam (1995) defends that in diverse societies, social capital tends to be lower, due to the heterogeneity that prevents sharing common objectives and affective bonds.

Moreover, while there are traders' associations in all the markets (*Bull Ring Open Market Traders' Association*, *St Martins Rag Market Committee*, and *Bullring Indoor Market Tenants Association*), traders' mobilisation and advocacy is mostly compartmentalised. Most of the time each association/ chairman addresses the needs of their specific trading venues, but for occasions in which the common management and trading area result in common matters that put them working together (*Martin/ BRM*, November 2019). More recently, for example, the serious effects on footfall following lockdown brought the three associations together (*William/ consultant*, April 2022). The advocacy for markets at institutional level also involves at least the presence of a private consulting company¹¹³ and the National Market Traders Federation (NMTF)¹¹⁴, although it is unclear the extent of the support provided.

Despite the missing link between markets and neighbourhood associations, the presence of mobilised traders in the past had a stronger impact in steering the markets' customers and wider city residents' engagement in political action to support the markets. In 2011, following an issue with funding for the new planned venue of the wholesale markets¹¹⁵, the traders launched the *Save Our Markets* campaign, and started a petition, covered by the local media (Lloyd, 2011). A traders' leader mentioned that '*within minutes of launching the petition we've been mobbed and it just shows the public love the*

¹¹³ Quarterbridge, working with the Indoor Market.

¹¹⁴ The Open and Rag Markets are associated to it.

¹¹⁵ Which used to occupy a large plot near the markets, and which was recently relocated to a distant neighbourhood from the centre (Witton) to open space for the Birmingham Smithfield development. The matter is discussed in Chapter Seven.

markets'. Traders asked '*people to help and get behind this campaign*' (Lloyd, 2011) and in six months more than 40.000 signatures were collected (Lloyd, 2012).

Unfortunately, recent attempts to prompt supportive reactions have been apparently less powerful. Reuniting statements of traders, and other local experts, local media articles had little effect in prompting public debate about markets management and in getting helpful answers from the BCC. A petition was started by a passionate market customer following a media publication in early February 2020 (Young, 2020a). In two weeks it reached more than 800 signatures. But, two years later, the total number is very disheartening: only 1178. It seems that there is a sense of widespread powerlessness in the community, and traders' leaderships for years engaged in disputes with the council are tired with the fruitless outcomes and facing a sort of participation of tokenist nature, i.e. where less powerful stakeholders can speak, but their contribution is not taken seriously by managers (Arnstein, 1969): 'you can just do things till an extent. With the council not willing to talk about the markets, we can't go any further, and it is frustrating' (*Martin/ BRMs, November 2019*).

Findings in Birmingham are interesting because the similar outcomes to the observed in Belo Horizonte, i.e. weak *democracy* contributions of markets, happen despite traders' collective organization. Besides the fragmentation in different associations, however, there is an interesting aspect that might contribute to the limited wider society engagement with the markets' cause: most of traders' governance-related mobilisation seem constrained to formal institutional environments, such as courts, not reaching the political city-wide debate. There are plenty of legal battles between the traders, either individually or together, against the council (*William/ consultant, April 2022*), especially involving the Indoor Market, where as tenants, market traders have more rights. Yet, there was no evidence of a protest or any kind of act of civil disobedience spatialised in the city in relation to the dissatisfactions that take traders to the press and court. The examples of Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro, or even of the London markets (González and Dawson, 2018) discussed in Chapter Two (2.5.3) could be therefore insightful for mobilisation pro-markets in Birmingham,

The BRMs, the cornerstone of Birmingham's market community, contribute to the contemporary city as one of the few remaining havens of inclusion for less well-off groups of multiple identities, especially in the city centre. At the same time, compound pressures explained in Chapter Four mean they are increasingly excluded themselves, spatially, economically and politically, which threatens their survival and prospects as public and traditional trading spaces.

Although facing an uncertain future, the BRMs still function as markets with multiple social justice roles. They remain a seedbed to entrepreneurialism to aspiring traders, many of foreign origin, especially in the Open and Rag Market, which have more affordable permit costs. Moreover, they provide cheap basic staples and specialised goods that cater for the increasingly superdiverse audience of customers and their purchasing power. The market is furthermore certainly a space of invaluable social relevance, and a familiar space to belong to, sometimes in an otherwise strange new country. On the one hand,

customers, traders and even Enforcement team members develop friendship and caring bonds in the continuous interactions in markets' laidback environments. On the other hand, the BCC's presence in the markets results in more surveillance, with exclusionary effects for some groups.

In terms of *democracy*, the BRMs' large, heterogeneous and permeable market community lacks strength. Markets' changing and superdiverse demographics and continuous low economic profile can influence the extent of collaboration. Nevertheless, it would be worth enquiring about the effects of strategies of mobilisation of market communities, in achieving more participatory planning opportunities and outcomes. Traders associations' actions, confined to institutional/ legal environments which are often far from the reality of market users, could be complemented by more 'insurgent practices' such as protests, hopefully captivating more markets' users, resulting in more impact in markets' governance and future.

The following section will now discuss Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets, and their (potential) contributions to social justice, in relation to each other in more detail.

5.4 Juxtaposing Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets' contributions to social justice

The markets in Belo Horizonte (FECOPE and CAM) and Birmingham (BRMs) contribute significantly to social justice in terms of *equity* and *diversity*, but with a comparatively weak role in fostering *democracy*. Yet, *democracy* contributions are still witnessed in the Brazilian case beyond the two main case studies, through the (contrasting) examples of market communities in Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza. Contributions of the studied markets happen in different ways as findings above indicated, and they cannot be dissociated from the context in which they take place. The magnitude of contributions furthermore is different, which is to be expected, since the comparison involves two neighbourhood markets of relatively small scale in Belo Horizonte, in contrast to the relatively larger scale and centrally-located BRMs. To analyse comparatively the reality of markets in the Brazilian and English context, findings are first summarised by social justice axis in Table 5.1 following the framework developed in Chapter Two.

MARKETS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL JUSTICE			
	Equity	Diversity	Democracy
Belo Horizonte	<p>Food Security (CAM)</p> <p>Low-barriers to trading – enabling livelihoods and empowering traders (all);</p> <p>Limited professional prospects compromise the relationship with <i>contributive</i> justice (all);</p> <p>Public accessible spaces (all);</p>	<p>Both Global (supralocal familiarity) and Local (identity and culture) – but no other cultural/ leisure attractions - mostly not a touristic place (all)</p> <p>Inclusion of all surrounding markets' groups, contributing to senses of belonging (all);</p> <p>Market communities (present in all, but with slightly different demographics);</p>	<p>Weak engagement of FECOPE and CAM market communities with markets' governance.</p> <p>Strong engagement in the planning and governance of markets (and beyond) from market communities in Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza.</p>
Birmingham	<p>Food Security (Open Market) and other basic items (all)</p> <p>Low-barriers to trading – enabling livelihoods and empowering traders (Open and Rag Markets);</p> <p>Limited professional prospects compromise the relationship with <i>contributive</i> justice (all);</p> <p>Public mostly accessible spaces, but surveillance constrains the presence of homeless and informal traders (all);</p>	<p>Global (supralocal familiarity) and offer of goods that cater for the international profile;</p> <p>Weak 'local'/ historical Brummie identity; no other cultural/ leisure attractions - mostly not a touristic place (all)</p> <p>Inclusive to the superdiverse pool of customers, contributing to senses of belonging (all);</p> <p>Market communities (present as heterogeneous, large and loose);</p>	<p>Engagement in the planning and governance of markets performed by traders associations, but with strategies mostly limited to institutional/ legal ways.</p> <p>Very poor engagement of other members of market community (customers/ residents).</p>

Table 5.1: Markets' Contributions to Social Justice

Source: Author's analysis

In both cities there were *equity* contributions to food security and access to affordable goods, lower barriers to employment (in economic, skills and bureaucratic senses), and markets mostly functioned as proper public spaces. Some remarks are needed, nevertheless. First, in Belo Horizonte, considering the existence of *sacolões*, markets food supply role, despite being institutionally assigned, is rather limited. CAM is the exception, but this is also probably because the neighbourhood lacks other easily accessible venues. In Birmingham, the BRMs are conversely very important in this sense, although this

role is not formally acknowledged. The range offered caters for specific groups' preferences, although quality can be compromised. In terms of employment, in both cities the economic/ contextual pressures over markets mean they are gradually becoming an unviable livelihood alternative, with limited earnings and uncertain prospects of improvements. The recently vacated shops are not finding new tenants, although a few businesses, are still doing well (e.g. Joseph/ Birmingham and Renato/ Belo Horizonte). Yet, the most common trend experienced by traders is one of detachment between trading at markets and having positive feelings of self-development and empowerment via their profession, compromising *contributive* justice (Gomberg, 2007).

Considering markets' physical accessibility as inclusive public spaces for multiple groups (as described by Nikšič and Sezer (2017) (see section 2.5)), in Belo Horizonte the lack of control from the council results in markets also hosting other stakeholders in their social ecologies: homeless dwellers and informal traders that benefit from markets being magnets for people. In Birmingham, the presence of the council through the Enforcement team compromises the presence of other vulnerable city dwellers. Nevertheless, the matter is complex and at the same time that there is the questioning of the 'legitimacy' of these groups in markets, frictions and inconvenience for traders and customers, there is also some level of tolerance of their presence, driven by feelings of empathy and solidarity that recognise the exclusionary reality of cities and societies, as witnessed in markets in Chile (see Dankers and Pavicich, 2019; Schlack, Turnbull and Sánchez, 2018).

With significant contributions to *diversity*, this study showed markets to be inclusionary spaces. Nevertheless this, as demonstrated in the argument above, does not mean they are harmonious havens of conviviality. Groups, for instance traders, ultimately want to have their interests satisfied, converging with findings in other cultural contexts such as in Mexico (Contreras, 2020) and Ghana Lyon, 2003). These interests furthermore might then converge (perhaps just temporarily) with the wishes of other groups (e.g. customers) or not (e.g. homeless). On top of that there is internal competition between groups of traders, a heightened element in contexts where one might be afraid of not having enough economic turnover. Academic research has shown examples of other English contexts where hatred towards new international traders is a consequence of trying to find a scapegoat to a bleak situation (e.g. S. Watson, 2006). These perceptions call for the nuancing of some perhaps overly-positive research narratives in this regard (e.g. Morales, 2009; PPS, 2003; Urbact Markets, 2015).

Contributions to social justice through *diversity* in both Birmingham and Belo Horizonte relate to markets' supralocal familiarity (Ünlü-Yücesoy 2013), as traditional trading spaces with stereotypical behaviour codes that support integration in cities. Nevertheless, the 'local' identity of markets is stronger in Belo Horizonte, where the easy connection with Minas Gerais countryside culture is recognisable. It is perhaps unexpected to observe this finding in relation to Birmingham, with markets seven times older than Belo Horizonte. The 'Brummie' identity does not come through easily in the BRMs, perhaps because Birmingham is so culturally diverse. Other than its name, the history and the intangible human heritage (traders and family businesses), the BRMs could be potentially located in any

large multicultural city in Europe. Therefore, perhaps the notion of 'local identity' in Birmingham - and for its markets - needs to be 'updated' and considered exactly in relation to its cosmopolitanism.

Markets' *diversity* contributions in both cities are moreover directly linked to the cities' demographics. In fact, to the geographical area of influence of each market. Unsurprisingly, small neighbourhood markets in Belo Horizonte mostly receive the public from their surrounding areas. But so do the BRMs, due to its reduced catchment in their customers' base, argued by one of the markets' chairmen. Therefore, the BRMs do not confirm a rather basic assumption normally associated to central markets, of attracting more or less evenly a public of the whole city. Markets in both locations also struggle to attract outsiders, tourists or local younger and more capitalised customers, something that can be not only linked to lack of attractions at markets and their material state (e.g. with many empty shops), but to their opening times, as explained in Chapter Four.

When considering *democracy*, the spatial and demographic logics of social justice contributions are inversely related to the *equity* and *diversity* ones, in both cities. Where the traders and customers' group compositions show lower educational levels and lower income, the interest for, and engagement in, planning and governance appears to be lower. In Birmingham the heterogeneous nature of the BRMs' market community results in a further challenge, since the pattern of multicultural areas' lower social capital identified by Putnam (1995) elsewhere appears to be confirmed. Other than demographics, the role of traders' associations is assumed to be important in explaining why in the context of FECOPE and CAM, where they are absent, market communities are not engaged in markets' planning. However, the existence of well-organised associations in Birmingham which nevertheless fail to have the surrounding community engaged in markets' governance reveal that the relevance of traders' associations might not be that determining.

As a point of comparison, the active participation of residents in the cause of markets in Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza (BH) actually did not originate from traders' associations. It was the presence of another element that prompted their mobilisation: *a clearly defined threat to markets' survival as traditional trading spaces*. The urgency to act put in perspective priorities of the potentially affected stakeholders and bring groups with perhaps otherwise different interests (e.g. traders and customers) to fight a common threat. The action in these two neighbourhoods also suggests that for a more effective advocacy for markets, multiple mediums and strategies should be mobilised, a weakness in the case of Birmingham, where traders tend to resort to institutional spheres far from the public eye, but for some limited attempts involving the local media.

In the cases of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza, the strength of the market communities and impact in the governance of not only markets, but of the city, increased when the residents became leaders. An important point to stress is that despite the evidence of market communities' strong *oppositional* political powers, as '*veto-players*' to proposed (neoliberal) plans, their strength should be highlighted in relation to their *propositional* power. They can develop alternatives for markets' governance and operation which can converge with more socially just alternatives, something also observed elsewhere

(e.g. London (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2018)). The practices created in Santa Tereza for the *Mercado Viva Mais Verde*, for example, brought together a holistic proposal in line with agroecology, and the social and solidarity economy (SSE) ethos, and sustainability needs of the city. Therefore, it materialised a more conscious commitment to multidimensional matters of social justice. Neither FECOPE, CAM, or the BRMs showed similar connection with SSE, despite the consideration that their businesses, as small scale and commonly family-owned would be classified as part of the social economy. This gap supports findings in Chapter Four, about the governments' conventional approach to economic development in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, which fails to encourage alternative (more justice-oriented) strategies, including in the planning and governance of markets. The limitations and potentials of markets current and new governance systems will be discussed in the next two chapters. The concluding remarks will now reflect on some broad themes emerging from this chapter's findings, supporting the research overall aim stated in the introduction.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research sub-question b: *What is the relationship between public markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?* Findings demonstrated that markets' contributions are context-related, situated, and as with justice, must be observed, analysed and 'judged' (in terms of significance) in relation to the specificities of cities' injustice issues and their scale. Yet, in relation to the discussion in Chapter Four and the differences in socioeconomic conditions of countries and their impact on markets' development, it is not possible to draw a line of causality between markets' performance and the economic conditions of their national setting. As for other urban problems, city dynamics play a more significant role, alongside the localised setting in which global trends (e.g. retail transformations) materialise.

Another element highlighted is the different nature and magnitude of markets' contributions. First, it was observed that markets researched did not 'tick all boxes', in relation to the extensive list of potential social justice roles they can have for cities. The 'incompleteness' of markets' urban contributions is not always clearly acknowledged in academic literature, which might result in a sort of 'romanticisation' of traditional markets' (for example in Morales, 2009 and S. Watson, 2009), not accounting for their actual 'capacities' to support justice in real complex urban environments (as opposed to their potential). Moreover, contributions of different natures and 'magnitudes' raise questions about how to assess the significance of markets' roles for social justice, if in quantitative (e.g. size of the benefitted population) or symbolic ways. This matter will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

An emerging theme of the discussion relates to different group interests and questions about who has the legitimacy to be in markets. The complexity of customers and (especially) traders' ownership feelings over market public spaces leads to expectations of privilege over these spaces, beyond the scope institutionally recognised via e.g. contracts. In increasingly segregated and exclusionary cities such as Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, the existence of inclusive spaces such as markets is

progressively relevant, in terms of social justice. Therefore, the implications of perceived ownership and questions over legitimacy to market spaces – which can be extrapolated to the right to public space and ultimately to belong in cities - will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

This chapter also revealed the complexity of analysing markets as hubs to promote *democracy*. The cases raised questions about what determines the prospects of markets in this sense. And in the face of the findings that indicate that more multicultural and vulnerable communities tend to be less engaged, it is important to reflect about the realism of expectations of singular markets working effectively in the promotion of social justice in all the three axes.

Finally, while praising the working opportunities provided by markets, with employment being the key common contribution to *equity* in the studied cases, the problematic impact of markets' decline and suggested poor public management (discussed in Chapter Six) take their toll in the empowering and self-development element of the trading profession, hence their link with *contributive* justice. Self-development is part of the social and solidarity economy holistic framework. The connection with it could support alternative production and consumption (i.e. economic) practices at markets, besides holding the potential of tackling environmental agendas, something not substantially considered in Fainstein's framework, and not significantly seen in the researched markets, but for some recycling in the BRMs. To assess this and other possibilities to improve FECOPE, CAM and the BRMs contributions to social justice, the following chapter will now analyse markets' current governance in the studied cities.

6. Markets' governance systems and social justice implications

'... [T]he business and social environment created by public markets [can] enliven public space and help produce [urban] healthy development. Planning is at the heart of this vital synergy' (Morales, 2009 p.438).

6.1 Introduction

Cities, markets and local governments around the world flourished on a symbiotic relationship established around urban supply (Janssens and Sezer, 2013b), a dependency bond dissolved by social and economic transformations in the last century, explained in Chapter Two. Markets consequently declined in many cities, especially in developed countries. Such dynamics despite in different times and proportions took their toll in both the contexts of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, as discussed in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, it is increasingly recognised in research (e.g. Janssens and Sezer, 2013; Urbact Markets, 2015) that markets have an important role to play in supporting social justice in cities in multiple dimensions. The contributions of the studied markets in both case studies were explored in Chapter Five, in relation to *equity, diversity and democracy*.

Yet, there is a missing element in understanding why markets perform as they do in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham: the crucial role played by municipalities and planning in markets' development, as indicated in Morales' quote above. This chapter thus addresses research sub-question c: *What role does urban governance play in mediating the relationship between markets and social justice, in each case, in terms of markets' current governance systems?* It discusses how Belo Horizonte and Birmingham municipalities understand and represent markets' (multiple) functions in their institutional structure, contract systems with traders and other policy documents, and enforcement of markets' governance. The aim is ultimately to reveal how local governments in the studied cities (aim to) facilitate or hinder markets' potential and actual functions in support of social justice.

This chapter draws mainly on secondary sources (local news, recording of two public debate sessions in Belo Horizonte, and policy documents) and interviews with municipal officers, traders, and local experts. Ethnographic fieldnotes were also used based on participant observation. Similarly to Chapter Five, the structure presents first the case of Belo Horizonte (6.2) and then Birmingham (6.3). The analysis considers the implications of markets' governance for markets' (potential) contributions to *equity, diversity and democracy*. The narrative structure is underpinned by this framework, but guided by emerging elements, and as well as exploring the recent past of governance, compares the municipalities' approach to markets with their support for other sorts of traditional trading spaces/ events in the city. This is instrumental to put in perspective the qualities and limitations of the current markets' governance, clarifying structural and political elements determining specific aspects of it. Findings on both cases show that markets' governance is currently inadequate to address their

economic, infrastructural and management needs. The chapter then compares and discusses the findings from each case, highlighting the different degrees of municipalities' understanding of markets as spaces for social justice, particularly related to the extent of entrepreneurial governance influence in each city (6.4). Finally, section 6.5 reflects on findings contributions to the overall research aim (6.5).

6.2 Markets' governance in Belo Horizonte

Markets in Belo Horizonte are fondly defended by locals as important elements of the *Mineira* culture, as discussed in Chapter Four, yet public enclosed markets are under pressure. The municipality of Belo Horizonte is organised in sectors called secretariats. Markets are institutionally assigned to the Food Security and Nutrition Sub-Secretariat (SUSAN), within the Social Services Secretariat (SMASAC) because of their original role within food supply. The competition with more modern providers, explored in Chapter Four, including SUSAN's very own *Abastecer* programme, has undermined this role, and also has rendered markets quite marginal within SUSAN's structure and priorities. Without local governments' support, they have been struggling against decline over recent decades, a tendency that hampers their contribution to social justice through, for instance, the provision of livelihoods (discussed in Chapter Five). As explained in Chapter Four, from the originally seven public markets, only FECOPE, CAM and Cruzeiro remain public and operating as markets.

To discuss the extent of Belo Horizonte's markets' governance support (or not) for markets as spaces promoting social justice, the current system of bidding for trading units will be analysed. It represents an important element of the 'everyday'/ operational side of markets' governance, and includes the rules of bidding, which dictate the process of selecting traders, and the contract between traders and the municipality of Belo Horizonte (PBH), i.e. the Term of Paid Permission for Use (TPRU), stating traders and council's rights and obligations. The discussion will not engage directly with the negative effects of entrepreneurial governance agendas, already discussed in Chapters Four and Five, but that facet of governance is considered briefly as an overarching influence in the comparative analysis on section 6.4.

6.2.1 The bidding of units and TPRU terms: implications for employment and equity

Prior to the new tendering of markets in Belo Horizonte, their governance was rather stagnant. The bidding system regulated by Law 8.666 (Governo Brasileiro, 1993) is and was in recent years the only significant governance element performed by SUSAN. This system determines a minimum monthly rent price for each shop unit over which traders make a bid. As long as they meet basic requirements (like clearing their debts) with the municipality, the candidate offering the highest amount wins. Proposed amounts are then paid monthly to the council and collected by the Treasury Secretariat (SMFA), but these are not resources to be reinvested in markets. It is important to note that there are no special conditions in terms of favouring the access to stalls for more vulnerable or minority groups through the bidding.

Despite the price selection criterion, the public markets historically and to date do not function as profitable infrastructures for Belo Horizonte's city council. The baseline prices for the market units are

dictated by a Public Prices (15.508/ PBH, 2014) local decree, updated yearly¹¹⁶. Unit costs are more accessible when compared to commercial units around the markets, according to trader interviewees (*Alice/CAM and Bárbara/FECOPE*). Furthermore, Belo Horizonte is a city with a plurality of spaces of traditional trading, both open and enclosed, private and public. Within the scope of the PBH, commercial spaces are either food markets managed by SUSAN, or spaces involving mostly the commercialisation of other non-food goods; e.g. crafts' fairs, managed by the Secretariat of Urban Policies and Planning (SMPU). As shown in Table 6.1, SUSAN market units also have an entry price that is more affordable when compared to units in the Feira da Afonso Pena¹¹⁷ and the Shopping Popular Caetés¹¹⁸ managed by the SMPU, although it operates in a different charging system¹¹⁹. The variation between markets' lower and higher baseline fees per m² is due to the different branches of activity:

BELO HORIZONTE'S PUBLIC PRICE RATES 2014¹²⁰			
Public Infrastructure/ Event	Weekly Fee	Monthly Fee	Yearly Fee
Cruzeiro Market (units of different sizes)	R\$3.60 to R\$5.40/m ² (£0.87 to £1.30/ m ²)	R\$15.61 to R\$23.39/m ² (£3.77 to £5.65/ m ²)	R\$187.32 to R\$280.68/ m ² (£45.25 to £67.80/ m ²)
FECOPE (units of different sizes)	R\$2.60 to R\$3.03/m ² (£0.49 to £0.73/ m ²)	R\$8.78 to R\$13.12/m ² (£2.12 to £3.17/ m ²)	R\$105.36 to R\$157.44/ m ² (£25.45 to £38.03/ m ²)
CAM ¹²¹ (units of different sizes)	R\$1.59 to R\$2.38/m ² (£0.38 to £0.57/ m ²)	R\$6.88 to R\$10.32/m ² (£1.66 to £2.49/ m ²)	R\$82.56 to R\$123.84/ m ² (£19.94 to £29.91 p/ m ²)
Feira da Afonso Pena (approx. 4 m ²)	R\$25.58/unit; approx. R\$6.39/m ² (£6.18/unit; £1.54/ m ²)	R\$110.76/unit; approx. R\$27.69/ m ² (£26.76/ unit; £6.69/ m ²)	R\$1,330.12/ unit; approx. R\$332.53 p/ m ² (£321.28/ unit; £80.32/ m ²)
Shopping Popular Caetés ¹²² (approx. 6m ² units)	R\$76.11/unit; approx. 12.68/m ² (£18.38 per unit; approx. £3.06/ m ²)	R\$329.82/ unit; approx. 54.97/ m ² (£79.67/ unit; approx. £13.28/ m ²)	R\$ 3957.84/ unit; approx. 659.64/m ² (£956.00/unit; approx. £159.33/ m ²)

Table 6.1: Belo Horizonte's public price rates 2014

Source: produced based on data from Decree 15.508 (PBH, 2014)

¹¹⁶ The rates for 2014 were the ones provided by SUSAN, to be used in the comparison between prices of units in the markets managed by the department and those managed by SMPU.

¹¹⁷ Large crafts fair with more than 2000 stalls. Only happen on Sundays – 53 Sundays/ year used for calculation and comparison purposes.

¹¹⁸ Popular Shopping Mall with 101 units that sells a variety of non-food items (e.g. cell phone covers, cheap clothes, houseware) similar to the Rag Market in Birmingham. It contains units of approximately 6m².

¹¹⁹ Two considerations have to be made when analysing these prices, however: firstly, traders when applying for a market unit have to put a bid higher than the baseline price which does not happen in the SMPU managed infrastructure; secondly, areas located in the city centre (as both the ones under SMPU control) have more expensive fees.

¹²⁰ Prices in pounds calculated according to currency conversion rate on the 30th of December 2014 (£1.00 = R\$4.14) (https://pt.fx-exchange.com/gbp/brl-2014_12_30-exchange-rates-history.html).

¹²¹ Differences in prices per m² relate to the different types of shops (i.e. shops selling different types of goods have to pose bids considering different starting rates).

¹²² Popular Mall with units of approximately 6m².



Figure 6.1: Feira da Afonso Pena, occupying the central avenue of same name, every Sunday from 8am till 2pm
 Source: Agenda BH <http://www.agendabh.com.br/onde-ir/feira-da-afonso-pena-feira-hippie/>



Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Facade (left) and inside (right) of the Shopping Popular Caetés, managed by SMPU
 Source: <https://g1.globo.com/minas-gerais/noticia/prefeitura-de-belo-horizonte-abre-vagas-para-camelos-no-shopping-caetes.ghtml>

The social welfare role of markets as food security and nutrition infrastructures would reasonably justify lower rents on Belo Horizonte public markets, in the expectation of products being more affordable. Yet, the precise reasons behind the choice of adopting more affordable baseline prices in the markets managed by SUSAN remained unclear, after the assessment of policy documents and the interview with SUSAN managers. Nevertheless, the economic accessibility of units was one of the main attractive elements for traders to establish at markets, as discussed in Chapter Five. Some of the interviewed traders worked originally as peddlers and appreciated the increased security of formal enrolments (*Interview with Natanael/FECOPE and Mara¹²³/CAM*). Other benefits are, for example, the opportunity

¹²³ When answering questionnaire.

of counting worked years towards retirement and entitlement to the public pension. These are positive elements in markets' governance that support social justice in relation to *equity*.

Nevertheless, the bidding system has shortcomings that constrain markets contributions to social justice through employment. First of all, through the years the level of bureaucracy has increased, raising the bar of entry requirements especially for more vulnerable and less-educated traders. The fact however follows a rather widespread tendency globally, of increased regulation for trading at markets (Janssens, 2014). Some of the required paperwork, e.g. formalisation of businesses and compliance to sanitary and fire safety codes, were positive for traders. Conversely, Natanael, a trader at FECOPE, reported how on top of that, a problematic and very restrictive accountancy condition resulted in traders adopting informal/ illegal practices to falsely 'prove' compliance in order to continue trading:

'The council required us to have a CNPJ¹²⁴, to become a firm. It was good. The CNPJ [is helpful] to buy outside Minas Gerais, to buy from another company [the products sold in the shop]. (...) So, some things do help. [but] you pay more taxes. But in this last [bidding round] they invented a 'financial statement' of your heritage, and of your business. The accountant gathers your receipts, of the year, your balance sheet. And then there you see if the company is in red, or if it is everything fine. Everybody here had to make up [the numbers]... This 'guy' that put this clause in the [bidding] call terms, I don't know what his intention was. It was to end with everything! (nervous laugh). There was [a control process to see if the numbers were matching]. They already demand us to register the company, to pay the Locality Permit¹²⁵. The City Council Permit¹²⁶. The Functioning Permit¹²⁷. The Fire Safety Tax, right? There are so many things you pay for. And then the guy comes with even more! Dear mother!' (Natanael/ FECOPE, August 2019, author's emphasis).

The quote above is very insightful in terms of highlighting a conflict between complying and benefitting from formal rules and bureaucracy, and surviving as a business. Natanael did not understand the reasons behind the new requirements, but it is likely that the PBH was trying to, through the measure, contain a problem that became endemic through the years: traders' indebtedness with the council. Luana, a management staff member of SUSAN reported the likely origins of the problem:

'At some point the management decided to adopt the Competition of Highest Price, to select traders, instead of [simply applying the] Public Price reference. In the current management's opinion, this decision created a very unsustainable situation, since many permission holders made bids beyond their capacity to honour it, that in part caused the permission holders' default (...) Nowadays there is a considerable debt involving street traders and market permission holders' (Luana/ SUSAN, July 2020).

The proportion of the indebted traders in relation to their total was not available, but to understand the causes of the problem, it is necessary to analyse the terms of the TPRU and the bidding of shops rules. Selected traders in the bidding calls can occupy the units for up to five years, with contracts renewed yearly (item 11.8 P. 15 PBH Bidding Call 2012 – PBH, 2012). At the end of the TPRU, if traders

¹²⁴ Cadastro Nacional de Pessoa Jurídica. i.e. National Registry of Legal Entities.

¹²⁵ Alvará da Localidade.

¹²⁶ Alvará da Prefeitura.

¹²⁷ Alvará de Funcionamento.

want to keep their units, they have to apply for them again. The shops are included in a new public bidding call. If there are remaining vacant shops after these planned periodical bidding calls – as always happens recently in FECOPE and CAM - extraordinary bidding processes can happen again after a short period, aiming to fill only the remaining units.

Five years' TPRU contracts are rather short, discouraging investment in businesses and units' material space. Moreover, it is also legally documented that merchants have *precarious rights* in their official enrolment with the city council. First, traders have to be conscious that any improvements they do to the shop units they rent is not entitled to compensation and is automatically incorporated to the city council possessions (term 12.3, p. 15 PBH Bidding Call 2012 - PBH, 2012). Even more problematic, although very unlikely, is the fact that the city council has an overriding right to relocate traders or to request market units' back and dissolve TPRU contracts at any time, if it is in the public interest (respectively, terms 12.12 - p. 16 PBH Bidding Call 2012; and 14.1.1. item VI p. 18 PBH Bidding Call, 2012 - PBH, 2012).

Further contributing to job insecurity, established traders are given no preference in the application process for 'their' shops in new bidding rounds. In the process of interviewing traders, complaints about the system were commonly voiced, mostly about the constant fear of losing 'their' shops in each new bidding round and the impacts this has in their possibility of planning their lives:

'You start working in any [public] market (and) you don't have [job] security. God knows what will happen in like 8 years. You are unemployed. And this is the big problem (...) You have to leave. So this is another very interesting thing: you cannot plan your life. Do you understand? So for instance, I will buy a piece of land and will pay with the money I make here. And then tomorrow you are no longer here (ironic laugh). Thus, this is one thing I think that never worked. Never!' (Natanael/ FECOPE, August 2019).

Through the years traders tried to contest this term, suggesting e.g. a 'ranking system to provide at least twice the chances to pioneer businesses' (Cândida/CAM, August 2019). Yet, the condition of equal rights in applications was defended by a council manager as essential to maintain the *impartiality* and *fairness* of the selection process:

'I think there is no solution for this [matter]. I understand the perspective of the market traders – it is the same of the street traders. That they make even a financial investment, equipping a shop, "building the spot". And this takes time, right? And then right ahead there has to be a new bidding round. But these are public infrastructures, the city council cannot privilege a person at the expense of another. This is the way of dealing with what is Public, right? It has to be isonomic, giving opportunities to all. We cannot privatise the space purely and simply, right? And the traders, especially the ones that are there for longer: 10, 20 years, they tend to feel somehow the owners of those spaces and to think they have rights that go beyond to what they have. But they are public units that fulfil public and social functions...' (Silvio/SUSAN August 2019).

The impartiality criteria marks and defends the publicness of markets, where traders' private ownership feelings should be discouraged. But it has exclusionary and economic impacts to both traders, especially aspirant ones, and the council, being therefore a pivotal element in the resulting debts problem. Traders' secrecy about their bids makes it harder for those new to trading, but willing to apply for a unit

at markets, to know what a reasonable offer would be. Consequently, their bids award them the units, but these are unpayable in the longer term. Hence, newly occupied shops often become vacant again after a few months. And new traders, with debts they can hardly manage to pay, become ineligible to apply for public trading spots. Ironically, those in theory being 'benefitted' by the inexistence of seniority conditions in the allocation of units, i.e new traders, have their opportunities jeopardised. Current traders, moreover, are afraid to lose shops, but want fuller markets to ensure more footfall. They are therefore faced with a conundrum: should new bidding rounds be advertised or not? This is a controversial issue between traders. Secrecy causes friction, impacting the development and maintenance of community bonds.

6.2.2 Bidding system shortcomings: dilemmas for *diversity* and *equity*

Most traders do not reveal how much they pay, but some think that giving evidence of units' affordability is a way of promoting markets and increasing the interest of potential traders. The advertisement is nevertheless conditioned to a complex subjective ethics on informal tenure/ ownership rights over long-term rented units. Alice, a young trader reported a situation in which she encouraged her friend, a restaurant owner in a main street near CAM, to apply for a unit there. Despite the existence of many vacant units, the friend wanted an already occupied shop, because of its better location, something Alice reproached as morally wrong: '*No, Teresa's shop is Teresa's. You need to want one that is empty*' (...) *Do you think God will bless you (in this)?*'

The situation above shows that fear of competition is not unjustified. Yet, competition can happen between shop owners already working in the market. Hence, besides undermining effects to *equity*, the bidding system has impacts on traders' likelihood to trust colleagues, jeopardising *diversity* in markets' potentials to strengthen community bonds – already weak, as discussed in Chapter Five - or prompt the forming of market communities. The following example shows the conflicts between friendship bonds and personal interests that reveals the depth of allegiances, but also can compromise collaboration between traders:

'Besides the spices shop there was a man. His shop was there, a very good haberdasheries shop. (...) the old seamstress, who was his daughter's friend, she suggested, and they came. And they were all happy. Then there was the bidding for all the shops. The man's daughter tried to get the seamstress' shop, which was bigger. And she forgot to apply for her father's shop. And she lost it and didn't manage to get the one of the seamstress. The seamstress discovered last minute, she was a long-term trader here and everybody liked her... Everybody pitied the man. The staff from the city council didn't know what to do, with everybody asking for an alternative for him. Then they allowed him to get this tiny shop. In the beginning he had some nice stuff, but towards the end he would come just to spend some time... Thus, there are people here that lose the shops stupidly. Because want the others' (...) if he knew beforehand [about the daughter's plan] he would talk a lot against it. Because he liked to be here. He was elderly and had nothing else to do. It was his pastime' (Alice/ CAM, July, 2019).

Traders' secrecy, beyond affecting the group dynamics between merchants, impacts negatively SUSAN's attempt to democratise access to market units, indicating the need to revise the bidding

system, perhaps by simply applying the baseline price for units and granting seniority rights, particularly in face of low interest in markets nowadays. In fact, in terms of social justice, the impartiality in the selection of traders results in a dilemma, where no absolute ‘right’ approach can be found. It is necessary to recognise that if candidates had significantly different economic capacities, the price selection criterium would put lower-income traders at jeopardy, excluding them, with implications for *equity* and *diversity*. But considering the context of declining markets and a resulting pool of similarly capitalised (current and potential) traders, the council’s intention to defend the publicness of markets and their accessibility is legitimate. Nevertheless, in not prioritising longstanding traders, the security of employment of traders is compromised. For some, this represents the work of a lifetime, justifying the adoption of the secretive approach identified.

6.2.3 Bending the rules and inclusionary practices: Traders’ coping strategies and SUSAN officers’ support

To escape the impacts of restrictive policy terms, a range of informal arrangements were developed by traders. To avoid blacklisting through debts with the council, some current traders mobilised family members to apply on their behalf, becoming the *new* official permission holders, with no impact on the practical functioning of the shops. Others sub-rented their permissions and units: for example, a couple agreed with a former trader to pay his debts with the council in exchange for becoming the new *de facto* tenants of the shop without a new bidding round. In another case, a family business was sold to a ‘silent partner/ owner’, with the previous owners now being employed in the shop, despite them still being the official TPRU owners. It is important to note that *‘the lending or transference of part or the whole of the area within the scope of the TPRU is forbidden* (p. 16 PBH Bidding Call 2012 – PBH 2012), according to the traders’ contract, suggesting that these activities are outside of regulations.

Yet many council staff members, including higher managers, demonstrated respect for traders and empathy regarding their need to provide for themselves and families, as witnessed in other contexts e.g. Chile (Dankers and Pavivich, 2019), discussed in Chapter Two. They understand that markets’ core function nowadays is the provision of employment to the traders who are there, believing that rather than the council needing the traders, the traders depend on the city council (*Interviews with SUSAN, Hugo and Silvio*). In line with this rationale, SUSAN staff members over the last years either turned a blind eye, informally ‘consenting’ in traders ignoring or bending constraining contractual terms, or on an ad hoc basis, gradually made some rules more flexible, to defend the permanence of current traders. Some managers even went a step further to support this endeavour:

‘I really wanted to work here. I was an informal trader. And I sent the application. But it didn’t go [through] to the final stage. Then [João Avila] called me three days after and told me: “you filled all the papers incorrectly. You put the proposal on the place of the document... All wrong! And there are three people there [already] selling eggs, so it cannot be. But there is a unit that no one wanted. A unit for religious goods.” And then I said: “I want it!” Then what did he do? He couldn’t, because if a person is disqualified, it is disqualified and that’s it. In a public bidding the thing is

very correct, right? The Ministry of Public Prosecution¹²⁸ really controls it... But João Ávila, what he wanted was to put people here and see the market moving forward. This was his goal. And he was given the task to improve it here' (Natanael/FECOPE, August 2019).

The act of empathy/ support from João Ávila was crucial for Natanael's prospects as the unit mentioned became his first formal stall. In the quote, the trader mentions not only connivance with traders' informal practices, but the initiative of officers to themselves also transgress regulation they understood to be unhelpful, for defending markets and traders' best interests. In fact, the officers' posture flexibilisation and its outcomes had a sort of mitigating impact, happening simultaneously with the increase in formal requirements to trading at the markets. There was a gradual flexibilisation in rules, widening the range of branches allowed, from the original restriction of only food provision units. According to a long-term SUSAN officer, the measure was adopted to help declining markets and traders' livelihoods survive, because *'many [traders kept saying] that 'ah, if I cannot [sell this], it is not going well there. If I don't put [these items] there, I will need to close the shop' (Hugo/ SUSAN July 2019).* Despite well-intended and partially successful in containing markets' decline, there was a negative trade-off for markets, according to the new management of SUSAN. The flexibilization of products' range contributed to de-characterising of food markets, and according to the head of SUSAN, nowadays these other businesses constrain the possibility of having markets such as FECOPE and CAM as spaces promoting agroecology, family agriculture and short circuits of production and consumption.

Nevertheless, according to long-term SUSAN staff such as Hugo and Ítalo, it was the extent to which they could help, considering their limited resources to invest in markets. Furthermore, these dynamics from bonds of empathy encouraged also sympathy both ways, between traders and council officers. More than once during fieldwork, despite being frustrated, traders expressed they understand the officers working more directly with them have 'hands tied'. Yet, Hugo recognised that creative solutions to markets have not been sought, for example, linking them to other departments, such as the Secretariat of Economic Development and their centre supporting social and solidarity economy groups (CEPES/ SMDE). Small businesses linked to the centre have access to limited trading spaces in the Feira da Afonso Pena, for example, managed by the SMPU. It could be a beneficial and perhaps easy bond to build, but officers are constrained in part by the workload to keep infrastructures functioning on the current system (Ítalo/ SUSAN, August 2019), and in part by the lack of willingness to put an extra effort to push for change in the system, restricted by the burden of a rather bureaucratic institutional structure (Silvio/ SUSAN August 2019), where proposals would drag too slowly until accepted, perhaps expiring with new government getting elected.

6.2.4 The roles of advertisement: implications (of its lack) for *diversity* and *democracy*

Previous sections showed examples in which SUSAN officers revealed an open stance and willingness to support traders to have their needs met. However, as hinted in Chapter Five, there is a widespread

¹²⁸ Ministério Público.

sense of resignation and powerlessness on the side of traders, in relation to trying to influence the governance of markets. While most of the frustration does relate to attempts of improving the terms of impartiality of the bidding system, it also relates to other circumstances in which traders would have appreciated being heard. A mentioned occasion was when the council developed the architecture project to divide FECOPE's venue for the creation of the cultural centre of Padre Eustáquio (CCPE), which now occupies half of the market's building space (*Interview with Natanael and Aldir*¹²⁹/*FECOPE*). SUSAN officers nevertheless cannot be blamed for not considering traders in this situation, since they were also not substantially involved in the process. The reported situation illustrates a common problem in governments' functioning hinted above: a fragmented as well as overly bureaucratic internal structure.



Figures 6.4 and 6.5: Fence dividing FECOPE and the cultural centre placed without consultation with traders (left). One of the segregated events taking place in the cultural centre, not benefitting FECOPE with more footfall (right)

Source: Author's archives

Given that markets have increasingly lost the connection with their original food supply role, the institutional position of markets is also outdated. If markets are recognised as public spaces of employment, cultural and social relevance besides provision, their governance should involve the work of multiple departments. In the case of Belo Horizonte, the Secretariats of Economic Development (SMDE), of Culture (SMC), and of Urban Policies (SMPU), the tourism department (Belotur). Yet, intersectoral work despite being very desirable and deemed appropriate for markets is another significant challenge in the council, according to officers (*Interviews with Hugo and Silvio*). The example above, of potentially linking CEPES/SMDE to SUSAN markets easily shows that.

Economic sustainability is essential for markets, as commercial spaces. To achieve and maintain it, a key piece of advice given by the director of the Mercado Central was: 'you need to keep the "brand" in peoples' mind' (*Mateus/ market manager, July 2019*), which he and his team do competently. Interestingly, the municipality of Belo Horizonte supports them in this endeavour, through promotion done via its tourism foment department, Belotur. Recently the Mercado Central was promoted by

¹²⁹ During questionnaire filling.

Belotur as a must-go for ‘those who want to experience the diversity and plurality of the [Minas Gerais] state in a single place, (...) breath the city, buy traditional goods (...) and wander through an important part of the Mineira history and culture’ (Mercado Central, 2021). Ironically, however, the same option was never explored for PBH’s own public markets.

Amélia, marketeer and president of AMOREIRO, Cruzeiro’s neighbourhood association, complained about PBH’s inability to recognise that public markets could be supported similarly to the Mercado Central, employing the expertise of different departments. But this should be done benefiting the council alone with profits, and without private investment:

‘It is very sad that the public authorities always want to give up their responsibility of taking care of public spaces. And it always made me sad to see that the council cannot understand that a market like this could bring profit, [and without extra costs]. It could have agreed with ACOMEC, as it did back in the days with the Mercado Central, and exempt the market for paying fees for four years, so that the association could refurbish the market as it wanted, with all the functions it wanted and then start paying again fees after that. It would be an asset for the council, because for them it is so important, the favourable public opinion that can follow from a process like this. Why don’t they do it intelligently, something that is institutionally interesting? Unquestionable in terms of public value?’ (Amélia/ activist Cruzeiro, August 2019).

Governments influence the creation and mobilisation of strong collectives (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001), where the design and provision of public spaces play an important part. The promotion of public infrastructure can be argued, especially for spaces such as markets, to be an important part of ‘provision’. In the past many markets relied on the ‘word of mouth’ to encourage new customers to come. Now, with these environments increasingly empty, and poorly maintained, the word of mouth no longer exists, or works against markets, as indicated in Chapter Five.

Advertisement nevertheless is not only about economic impacts. The lack of improvements in markets’ infrastructure, and their promotion, constrains the development of affective bonds between community and markets, consequently also impacting the public participation in markets’ governance and planning. Communities that do not relate to markets or appropriate market spaces cannot develop senses of belonging and allegiance to markets, visible not only in the cases discussed in academic research (e.g. London (Dawson and Gonzalez, 2018)), where activism to support markets flourished, but also in the context of the Mercado do Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza (see Chapter Five – 5.2.3). The PBH has the tools, the needed expertise to develop much more efficient approaches to its public food markets, without resorting to privatisation. Yet, institutional paths, and their limitations, in combination with specific agendas or ‘well-established’ practices, resulted in these potential directions being ignored. Changes are nevertheless coming for Belo Horizonte’s public markets’ governance, based on intersectoral work that recognises a multiplicity of roles that markets have for cities, and attempts to solve issues reported here. The new system will be explored in Chapter Seven.

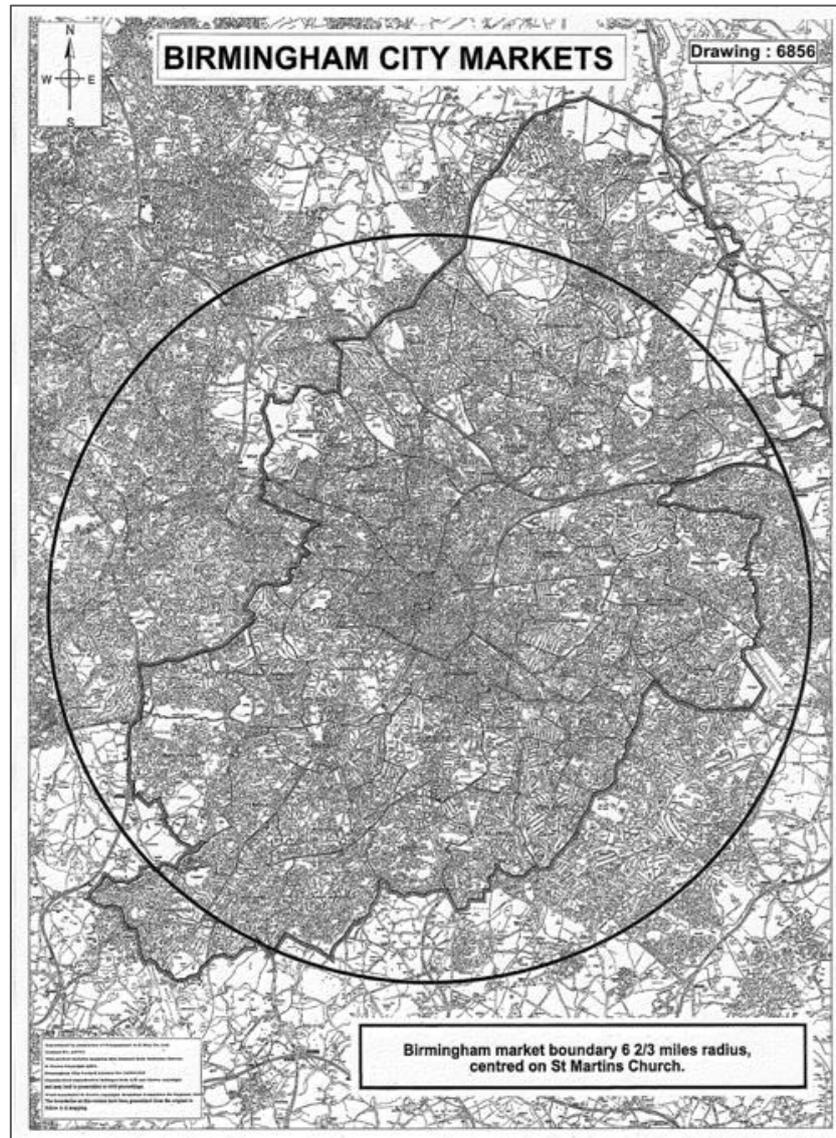
Belo Horizonte's public markets' governance is based on the terms of selection of traders via an impartial bidding system, and the rather precarious rights of traders in the TPRU contracts with the PBH. While the system provides affordable rent opportunities, enabling many to start or continue with businesses in face of commercial hardship, it has a competitive nature that unintendedly results in markets being less accessible, especially for new traders; traders becoming indebted to the council; and compromising community bonds between traders. SUSAN officers therefore try to neutralise adverse conditions of the system through bending or not applying rules in the enforcement of markets' governance. In understanding that markets' primary role nowadays is employment provision, they try to protect current traders' livelihoods. Their scope of action is unfortunately limited: these staff are not in a position of changing policies, or allocating resources, a limitation recognised by traders. This notwithstanding, it does not resolve traders' frustration, in going through failed attempts to engage with markets' governance and change markets' declining tendencies through the work of the PBH that, despite having the potential to do so, does not manage or intentionally steer the markets. The following section now discusses the case of Birmingham, which also allows reflection on the results from Belo Horizonte, in relation to markets' governance support to social justice.

6.3 Markets' governance in Birmingham

As noted in Chapter Four, the Bull Ring Markets (BRMs) were established by a royal market charter, and under this, the municipality can prevent the operation of any markets within 6 2/3 miles of the BRMs (see Map 6.1) without its express permission (BCC, n.d. a). Less acknowledged facts discussed by Wolhuter (2002) are, however, that the charter also requires the markets to be held where they were originally placed – hence they are not 'moveable feasts' (p.107) – and that it also requires the BCC to continue providing for markets' operation (p. 135).

Recent decades have witnessed negligence towards the markets within the context of austerity for local governments. In Birmingham it resulted in the merging of departments and reduction of the governing structure for markets. The BRMs were originally within the Department of Commercial Services which, although weak, produced written strategy to steer markets (see Wolhuter, 2002). They were then moved to the rather broad Neighbourhood Directorate. Without a clear institutionally assigned function for the city, both as a public infrastructure and/ or a commercial centre, the BRMs are more specifically assigned to the Markets' Service, within the Regulation and Enforcement department, which also contains Bereavement Services, City Centre, and Equalities (BCC, 2020b). The position stresses the predominant focus of regulating markets, and is strengthened by the lack of steering functions within the duties of the Markets' Service managers, who also manage street trading. Their main functions are:

- To determine markets' applications for changes and additions to 'authorised lines'¹³⁰;
- To grant Street Trading Consents;
- To hear and determine appeals against decisions taken under the Market Rules and Regulations (BCC, 2020b, p. 17).



Map 6.1: Area covered by the Bull Ring Markets' charter, with boundaries shown by the circle in black

Source: BCC, n.d. a

This section engages with the BRMs' governance in relation to its support (or not) to markets as spaces promoting social justice. Markets' governance policies are mainly composed by the contracts between traders and Birmingham City Council (BCC), with the rights and obligations on both sides. To discuss the BRMs' current governance, the two types of enrolment between traders and BCC, namely the *Lease of Shops* and *License of Use of Stalls* will be presented and discussed. After the analysis of terms, the BCC's

¹³⁰ Which sorts of businesses and products are allowed in the markets.

governance enforcement capacity and way of governing will be discussed. This includes how the BRMs' governance contrasts with the approach to street trading and the big annual event of the Frankfurt Christmas Market.

6.3.1 Bull Ring Market traders and BCC contracts: impacts for equity

The BRMs' governance documents do not state how the city understands their function and relevance for Birmingham, suggesting that markets are an unquestioned legacy from the past, poorly appreciated. Content refers exclusively to rights and duties of traders and council, bonded by service provision of trading units and markets' infrastructure. There are two different types of contracts between traders and the BCC, depending on the specific market and type of trading unit offered. For the Open and Rag Market, aspirant traders apply for a licence to use one or more (up to four) stalls. They have to provide basic documentation¹³¹, commit to sell a specifically agreed sort of product, and pay a daily fee for the licence. There are no special conditions for candidates from minority groups, neither in license fees, nor dedicated number of stalls. But the prices per week and month for units in the Open and Rag markets nevertheless reveal their affordability¹³²:

BIRMINGHAM LICENSE OF USE PRICES			
Market and type of unit	Weekly Fee	Monthly Fee	Yearly Fee
Open Market (dry goods/ small – approx. 6m ²)	£121.50/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²	£510.30/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²	£6,120.00/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²
Open Market (fruits and vegetables/ large - approx. 8.6m ²)	£178.25/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²	£748.65/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²	£8,983.80/ unit Approx. £20.25/ m ²
Rag Market (inner unit – standard size: approx. 1.64m ²)	£54.30/ unit Approx. £33.11/ m ²	£217.20/ unit Approx. £132.44/ m ²	£2,606.40/ unit Approx. £1,589.27/ m ²
Rag Market (wall unit – different sizes but bigger than standard)	£93.43/ unit	£373.72/ unit	£4,484.64/ unit

Table 6.2: Birmingham license of use prices
Source: produced based on data from BCC, n.d. d

Traders have the flexibility not to trade all the days in the week when the market is open, and casual traders can become permanent ones after working consecutively for six weeks in the same market (BCC, n.d. d). If they do not comply with the relatively straightforward rules ((e.g. not expanding the

¹³¹ 'A British or EU passport, or an approved Right to Work Document, (for migrants to work in the UK); the national insurance number, proof of address, picture and a third party public liability insurance' (BCC, n.d. d).

¹³² The intention is not to compare directly the prices in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, since it would result in inaccuracy (currency differences, purchasing powers, year of fees (most recent being 2014 for BH), but to show that in relation to their original contexts, to trade at (these) markets is an affordable opportunity to open a business.

display beyond licensed area; not leaving litter around the unit (BCC, n.d. e; Item 2f) not changing products offered without consulting the council (Item 10)), their license may be terminated (BCC, n.d. e). There is even a clause on annual holiday entitlement (two weeks of no fees charged) (Item 9). Yet, despite the endurance of the bond, the license agreement is clear: ‘nothing in this Licence shall be construed as creating the relationship of landlord and tenant’ (Item 12). Licensed traders therefore do not have any guarantees or rights in the long-term if, for example, the council decides to close the markets down. Thus, the License is an accessible entrepreneurship opportunity in terms of costs and bureaucracy, but simultaneously it entails a precarious bond resulting in employment insecurity.

The only benefit acquired through permanence in markets is the seniority preference when trading units are allocated (BCC, 2006 Item 3, p.5)¹³³. This is a meaningful difference between markets’ governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. In fact, the core difference is that there are no general calls for trading units’ applications in Birmingham. Empty units are offered on an individual basis and traders with licenses of use and leases can keep their trading locations for as long as they comply with contracts, and continuous renewal is expected. The non-direct competition system means there are no conflicts of interest for current traders to advertise empty units. This gives current traders a sense of security and might help to build more positive bonds between long-term and new traders. Nevertheless, recent changes in regulation of street trading (BCC, 2020c), also managed by the Markets’ Service, might indicate the abolition of seniority rights in the BRMs, further deteriorating the limited ‘protections’ current license holders have.

For the shops in the Indoor Market (and for the ones at the perimeter of the Rag Market), the enrolment with the council is substantially different. Martin, a representative of BIMTA (the Indoor Market Traders’ Association), was a key informant to understand the traders’ perspective in the governance of markets in Birmingham. He explained that the traders’ Lease contract is based on a more sophisticated legally binding document, the *Landlord and Tenants Act*. Contracts have as a consequence a more complex set of covenants on both sides, benefiting and protecting both BCC and the traders. The tenants are obliged to comply with best practices and payment rules, for example, maintaining the quality of units’ fixtures (BCC, 2017b). The BCC, at the other end, acts in the sole function of landlord, and has to ‘*provide or procure the provision of the services (...) provided further that [it] shall at all times use reasonable endeavours to provide such a level of services so as to enable the Centre to operate as a viable indoor marketplace*’ (BCC, 2017b, item 4.2 p.14).

The services include basic infrastructure provision (cleaning, maintenance, lighting, heating, water, refuse collection, recycling), but also advertising, discussed in more detail below. Basic services’ delivery is overseen by the Enforcement team, the arm of the council working on the ground management of markets, presented in Chapter Five. Moreover, they control the rent and service charges’ payment; keep records of footfall, and have a direct contact with customers via a Customer Centre office, where

¹³³ ‘Licences for stalls are allocated by the Department in line with seniority of attendance or priority due to minimal representation on the Retail Market’ (BCC, 2006, Item 3, p.5).

people can search for information about the markets and other services (e.g. public transportation, lost property) and give feedback/ report problems. Officers also collect traders' complaints (e.g. requesting infrastructure repair) and customers' ones (e.g. theft on the markets' premises), and liaise between these groups. Furthermore, Enforcement officers are in charge of security and dealing with homelessness and 'anti-social behaviour' (*Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019*). Ethnographic visits showed that their physical presence, in their uniforms does communicate that the markets' precinct is a space under surveillance, where the council is present to ensure compliance to rules.

Besides the aforementioned services, the BCC provides a fair range of 'communal welfare facilities' (e.g. public toilets, tenants' toilet facilities with showers, tenants' personal storage room with lockers; a refectory; ice machine), far outstripping the very deficient infrastructure of FECOPE and CAM in Belo Horizonte. However, this comes with a rather high - and yearly increasing - cost. the Indoor Market traders pay not only higher rents than their colleagues in the Open and Rag Markets, for similar unit sizes, they also pay service charges. The fast increase in service fees since 2017 became the source of a heated dispute between tenants and the authority, reaching the local news in 2019 (Jackson, 2019). Service charges are currently more expensive than the rent, which cost consistently £32.50/ sq./ft for the last decade. Since 2017 service charges escalated from £36.81 sq./ft, the same value it had for years, to £39.58/ sq./ft in 2018 and £40.77/ sq./ft in 2020 (BCC, 2021c), an increase not accompanied by more service quality, according to BIMTA members (*interviews with Martin and William*).

The BCC argues that the increase in service fees result from higher maintenance costs for the ageing building and its equipment and that the 'service charge [is] fully audited and approved by an independent surveyor' (Jackson, 2019), as demanded by contract (BCC, 2017b, item 3a), and was also considered appropriate in a court judgement in 2019 following a five-year litigation case with one former tenant (Jackson, 2019). Traders however complained about the lack of transparency in the procurement of services, criticising the fact that the council is using its own in-house cleaners at a cost of more than £250,000 a year, when provision contracts should be market tested (Jackson, 2019). Nevertheless, BCC is protected by Lease contract terms: it must hire an independent accountant, but the accountants' certified statement 'shall be conclusive as to all matters (...) subject to the Tenant's right reasonably to challenge any expenditure', which in practical terms 'shuts down' any questioning, allowing the BCC to determine providers without accountability to those paying for the services (BCC, 2017b, item 3b).

The increase in fees were nevertheless applied to all markets in recent years, and not all of them were well justified. From 2016 the charging system in the Open and Rag Markets was simplified¹³⁴, arguably to facilitate the understanding of the pricing structure by potential new traders, and to 'encourage increased occupancy and footfall within the markets, in line with traders' concerns' (BCC, 2016c). The BCC claimed the new system did not aim to increase council income, however, it raised fees for current

¹³⁴ Basically an equalised charge per square metre per day.

traders, and over the 3 years of the phased charging increase, the council had collected additional fees of £15,000 (2%) in 2017/2018; £40,000 (5,5%) in 2018/2019; and £70,000 (9,7%) in 2019/2020¹³⁵.

Traders denounced other increases that are harder to comprehend: In early 2020 Mark, owner of a clothes shop in the Rag Market complained about the rise in fees to display his products outside the store: from £100 in 2018 to £692 in early 2020. Even more substantial was the increase of fees for the restaurant owner at the Rag Market. Oscar complained about the abusive increase on fees to have external tables on a space that in his words *'could have no other use for the council'*. From £100/ month in 2018 he was paying £1500/month in 2019, and this came within a context where seating space, which research about British markets (Watson and Studdert, 2006) found is important for customers to stay longer in these environments, is scarce in the BRMs.

The high fees on markets, especially for lease holders, are undermining the employment prospects of both long-established businesses, and new ones, further threatening them with displacement, as observed in other European markets (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013). The explanation of this governance context enlightens the understanding of the phenomenon explained in Chapter Five: the gradual replacement of British traders by those of international origins. Fees are an increasingly heavier duty to cope with for traders, especially within a context in which there is lower footfall, and they are unable to increase goods' price to bridge the gap, making it harder for them to make ends meet. As way of illustration of the financial backlash, a trader reported that *'used to employ three people, now only one. And would take more on a Saturday than now across six days'* (Young, 2020a). Ironically, however, the situation has a positive impact in terms of social justice for low-budget customers, whose food security is favoured by the *'frozen'* low prices.

Traders complained that the BCC do not understand that markets need to be managed as businesses, to be economically sustainable. The elevated economic barriers to employment at the BRMs are problematic not only for traders. They are impacting the BCC's income gains. For example, despite the higher fees, the expected revenue collection over the Indoor Market for the whole of 2021¹³⁶ was less than 80% (78.20%) of what it was in 2017, because there were recently more units vacant. Yet, there is evidence of negligence even with the most basic elements of market governance. The chairman of BIMTA explained the long battle to have tenants' contracts renewed:

'We had to take the council to court to get a new lease. The original lease, granted in 2000, expired in 2005. Again, incompetence. Come 2010 and we haven't got a new lease, leaving us in a legal position known as 'holding over'. With 'holding over' you have certain rights but not all the rights that you would have with a current lease. We had basically to force the council to grant us a new lease, which fortunately we settled out of court. We were then granted a five years' lease in 2017.' (Martin/BRMs, November 2019).

¹³⁵ Predicted, based on the maintenance of the same/ current occupancy levels (BCC, 2016c).

¹³⁶ Periods of lockdown in 2021 do not have a direct impact in collection because tenants did not have their fees waived.

It is important to analyse contracts' terms and language, as they have been instrumental in protecting the council from legal responsibility in cases of governance' negligence. Commercial contracts normally include endeavour clauses to secure compliance by a party e.g. offering services (Stephenson Harwood LLP, 2020). However, when choosing a 'reasonable endeavours' commitment, instead of 'best endeavours' or a terminology of 'absolute obligation' to carry out a duty (Stephenson Harwood LLP, 2020) the BCC is *not in breach* of the contract if it fails to achieve its objective, i.e. actually provide good quality services. Reasonable endeavours, shows BCC's low level of commitment to markets, in a vague statement open to interpretation, and where the council is not bound to go through any loss or expenditure to honour its legal duties. Therefore, service delivery is unlikely to improve, even with the threat of BIMTA to take the matter to court. A practical example is the non-compliance with the responsibility of remedying the 'Latent Defects'¹³⁷ (e.g. improper food counters and inclined floor) (BCC, 2017b, item 4.11, p.16) caused by a third party in the Indoor Markets, built by Hammersons, the Bull Ring Shopping Centre (BSRC) developer, as part of the agreement with BCC.

The limited commitment clause can relate to BCC's economic hardship in recent years. The traders and local experts acknowledge that the council is stretched in funds (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*), and that it needs to provide for essential services (*Interviews with Martin and Louisa*). Nevertheless, they cannot understand why the markets are not managed to efficiently work as a source of income to the council, a version of the problem experienced in Belo Horizonte:

'Markets are different from other non-essential services. We actually create an income stream. We can pay rent and our running costs. But that relies heavily upon the council ensuring that we have customers. That we have footfall. But the council, they are quite naïve to this. They think that they just open the doors and people will walk in. They don't see this as a business. They are forever telling us that they don't have any money. But you have got 28 empty units¹³⁸ that could be bringing in money. So why aren't you doing something about it? And this is why I feel like banging my head against the wall. But from the top, from Ian Ward till people over here: nobody sees it that way. So, who do you go to? Cause if they don't want to do it, you can't make they do it. It is their market...' (*Martin/ BRMs, November 2019*).

Frustrated with the management, traders and experts argue that the Markets' Service managers do not have the proper qualifications to manage markets as commercial venues (*interviews with Herbert, Ben and Martin*). As lifelong council staff without management degrees, they lack strategic vision. Moreover, it is hypothesised that the Markets' Service officers are not 'emotionally invested in the markets' (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*). The dissatisfaction with their complete absence on the markets' precinct despite working in offices adjacent to the BRMs was noted by traders and members of the Enforcement team (*interviews with Ben and Eric*). The further low capacity to identify those

¹³⁷ '[U]se reasonable endeavours to recover the costs of remedying any Latent Defect in the Centre or any want of repair caused by any Latent Defect in the Centre from any third party with responsibility for the construction or design of the Centre' (BCC, 2017b, item 4.11, p.16).

¹³⁸ In November 2019. The number increased later.

responsible for inefficient governance strengthen the traders' belief that markets need private investment and perhaps private management:

'... [B]ecause it has become so competitive, to [manage a market] has got to be what you eat and what you breath. And it is got to be done right. Otherwise, it just doesn't work. (...) If there is any need of investment, what do they do? They push it to the service charge. And you can't run a business like that. You can't. When things start falling apart, and these big expenses are needed... You can't just suddenly start charging the tenants, who are struggling. You got to have that money set aside, as capital investment to put back into their business' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

6.3.2 Applying the council's charging policy: exclusionary implications

At this point it is valid to discuss the reasons behind BCC charging fees for the services and infrastructure provided at the markets. The Corporate Charging Policy (BCC, 2000) states that 'Fees and charges represent an important source of income, providing finance for activity that is designed to achieve the City Council's objectives (BCC, 2000, item 1). The ultimate aim of charging is 'net income maximisation to the Council, and charges should cover the full cost of providing the service' (item 3b). At the same time, the BCC acknowledges that 'there are potential conflicts between raising income by putting charges, and promoting access and usage of services, particularly by vulnerable groups on low incomes' (item 1), therefore, 'Advisory Committees should consider where other policy objectives suggest deviating from [maximising income] and whether or not to subsidise charges (item 3c).

A service could be subsidised to work as a policy instrument (item 3e) and acceptable – or desirable - circumstances in which it would be suitable to employ charges as such for the situation of the BRMs are:

1. *Use of the service by individuals benefits the whole community (item 4a).*
2. *Considerations has been given to ways of increasing service take-up to generate additional net income, through reducing, rather than increasing charges. (item 4c).*
3. *Charging a full cost would have net detrimental effect on the Council as a whole. (item 4d) (BCC, 2000).*

There are two lines for arguing for subsidising of market fees: social welfare and economic interests. According to the BRMs' social justice contributions for Birmingham, discussed in Chapter Five, the markets should be subsidised at least in part, in line with the first statement above, because lower-income communities in the markets' surroundings and across Birmingham benefit from its presence. However, while other municipalities in the UK acknowledge markets' social and cultural relevance, and subsidise loss-making markets to make social provision in areas of deprivation, according to a market consultant, the BCC is not one of them. One local expert who did not want to be identified further said that the BCC ignores markets' social welfare support and 'are prepared to see [markets] wither and die whilst they pursue reprehensible enormously expensive "vanity projects"'.

There is nevertheless an alternative interpretation to item 4a, that better aligns with BCC's urban regeneration agenda and economic interests. The BRNA report, presented in Chapter Three, revealed

the deficiency in independent shops in Birmingham City Centre, reinforcing the perceptions that the city lacks identity. The council then announced that 'other forms of retailing such as markets that encourage smaller and independent retailers will be supported and encouraged' (BCC, 2017a, p. 101) what is the perfect 'hook' to encourage BCC to develop the BRMs to address this deficiency and support town centre regeneration, as research and consultants believe councils should (*William/ consultant, April 2022*) Furthermore, it is the only way of justifying markets' presence in the centre, as an economically interesting investment:

'...[A] million pounds [for cities], is nothing. So, can you afford to put a market in the middle of a city centre? A prime retail position? A developer and council can't afford to do that. Unless the markets are again to become something else, rather than giving some developer or some council the revenue, give them something else. It has to give some enhancement' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

This lack of vision also affects street trading, managed by the Markets' Service. The Birmingham Street Traders' Association (BSTA) sought help from the local media in February 2020, following the publication of the Draft of a new Street Trading Policy, which had not been constructed through a participatory process (Young, 2020c). The new proposed policy contained some statements of support to street trading, that praised qualities linked to social justice equity promotion in cities, also valid for market stalls, such as:

'[S]treet trading encourages a vibrant and prosperous economy. It provides employment opportunities for local people as well as a seedbed of entrepreneurship, allowing new entrants to test their business skills and ideas in an environment which has a low start-up costs, minimal overheads and existing customer footfall' (BCC 2020c, section 6, pp. 5-6).

However, the new policy is more restrictive. Besides eliminating seniority for pitches' competition, as mentioned above, it demands upfront fees' payment for the whole year (previously paid in monthly instalments), and establishes the mandatory daily removal of units from pedestrianised streets now under the new Clean Air Zone regulations, which many traders' vehicles do not comply with. Evidence of BCC's apparent mindset that traditional trading is a second category of retail comes through the problematic condition that stalls have to *complement* the offer of conventional shops, a judgement of value that prioritises big franchises (see BCC 2020c). After public consultation and even a legal battle, old traders had to leave the activity – their applications to continue trading were refused (Young, 2021).

The management deficiencies lie not only in the actual lack of acknowledgement of markets' social functions that would justify a degree of subsidy. Items 4c and 4d of the charging policy raise the possibility of long-term economic benefit through strategically subsidising the BRMs. During the beginning of the pandemic, BCC reduced the fees charged from traders in the Rag Market to 50%, conscious that it was better to collect 50% of occupied stalls than having higher evasion and collecting nothing (BCC, n.d. e). More than one informant working in the markets mentioned the possibility of the council waiving fees for an initial period, to encourage potential new tenants to experiment with their businesses in the BRMs, something in line with this same rationale (*interviews with Ben and Martin*).

But the idea has been consistently ignored, something that indicates a conscious choice to let markets degrade. The local historian suggested why this might be:

'[I]n the recent decades, importantly, [the markets' users] reflected Birmingham's demographic changes. African Caribbean traders, Chinese, South Asian, lots of different peoples. (...) I think part of the problem, is that the council doesn't appreciate the markets and the diversity they support. Therefore, in my opinion, they have been allowed to decline. (...) The traders are working class and they work for the working class. Part of the problem with regard to markets, and particularly in Birmingham is that the working class is undervalued' (Herbert/ historian, May 2020).

The reported evidence begs questioning if the BCC is purely missing an opportunity of using markets in favour of economic and social agendas, or if it has a deliberate hidden agenda against it. Despite the market charter affording protection to the BRMs, considering markets' prime location in scarce central land, many traders and other informants believe the second, and that council wants to eliminate markets as they are. There is furthermore evidence that, in line with BCC's urban regeneration agenda, markets were planned to be segregated from the rest of the city centre in the last move (see Wolhuter, 2002):

'I don't think these markets are included in the retail offer of the city centre. The Bull Ring [Shopping Centre], on the way it was designed and built is creating a brick wall and blocking these markets out. It is as 'we don't want the public to see them, so we hide them behind the Bull Ring [Shopping Centre]'¹³⁹ (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

Excluded from the lively dynamics in Birmingham's high streets, five minutes away, markets' surroundings are becoming no-go places. Local historian stated that 'the stalls are grim - and there's a culture of despondency everywhere' (in Young 2020b) Customers complain to traders that they fear walking in the area, with drug addicts and homeless (Young, 2018b). Gonzalez (2018 and 2020) has explicitly argued that the *laissez faire* attitude of councils and markets 'natural' decline can be considered a first stage on a plan of markets' gentrification, which resonates with the experience in Birmingham.

6.3.3 The exclusionary impacts of poor promotion of markets

The enforcement of the BCC's markets' governance seeks an image of pragmatism and neutrality, focused on service delivery, but another example supporting the assumption of a hidden exclusionary agenda is the issue of poor advertising of markets. The promotion of markets is one of the services BCC is contracted to deliver. There is no clear information on how much of the *license of use* fees is directed to advertising in the Open and Rag Markets, but for the Indoor Market, the budget allocated is approximately 10,000/ year¹⁴⁰. Markets are however barely mentioned in the webpage of the BCC, with no pictures (BCC, n.d. c), and basic signage indicating the direction of the markets does not exist in

¹³⁹ See Map 4.4 on Chapter Four, which shows the markets' layout in relation to the rest of the city centre.

¹⁴⁰ Within the 2.5% of additional service charges paid by tenants, 60% goes for advertising the market. The remaining 40% to be held by the Landlord (BCC) in a separate designated account in the name of the Tenants' Association. They can require that money.

Birmingham's central streets. Social media platforms are rather abandoned, and no events nor campaigns to bring people to markets are organised. Promotion is limited to banners in the markets and on their facades, such as the one below. Dissatisfied with the service provided, traders resorted to the local media to promote the markets themselves: 'with 854 years of history we should be a massive tourist attraction [and] although the council isn't promoting us enough, we want people to know we are still here' (Sarah's statement in Young, 2020b).



Figure 6.6: Example of Bull Ring Markets' advertisement banner for prospective traders, placed on the facades of markets and in front of empty units in the Rag and Indoor Markets

Source: BCC, n.d. c

Informants do not understand why the council does not seize the opportunity to have something different and authentic in the retail offer of the city. Yet, combined with the tightening of terms for street traders, now excluded from high streets, it is difficult not to consider seriously the hypothesis of BCC putting a strain on trading, in a sort of 'white washing' of trading 'disorder' in preparation for events such as the Commonwealth Games in 2022, that showcase Birmingham to the world. The partial approach of BCC becomes evident when markets and street trading governance is compared to the support given to the Frankfurt Christmas Market. The event happens annually, two months before Christmas, taking place in the rather busy and narrow New Street. The BCC widely advertises it, selling the market as if it was authentic and not a simulacrum of a German Market. As such, the BCC capitalises on the Christmas' market appearance of authenticity, not only attracting a desired demographics, but also contributing to displace unwanted groups (i.e. supporting gentrification), reproducing the tendency observed by Zukin in Manhattan (2008). Added to the idea of authenticity, only the market's positives are stressed by the council's discourse: the attraction of tourists and revenue generation. Yet, the large-scale Frankfurt Christmas Market is incomparably more disruptive to mobility than street trading units: especially in the evenings and weekends when it becomes crowded and noisy, something BCC argued as problematic in the street trading policy.



Figure 6.7: Birmingham's Christmas Market on New Street in an afternoon
Source: Author's archives

The wide nearby Edgbaston Street, between the BRSC and the BRMs, is more appropriate to host the Christmas Market. BRMs traders and local experts defended the alternative, emphasising that if it was in Edgbaston Street it would benefit the BRMs as well (*Interviews with Alice, Dorothea and Young*). But the decision to keep the markets in New Street again stresses the peripheric position markets are allocated, and the undesirable space they represent, for advertising Birmingham to the world as a prime global destination. The surroundings of the Bullring Markets had not even received public Christmas decorations: they are clearly not seen as a continuation of the tourism-based retail offer in the city. In not valuing markets as environments of historical, cultural and social/ integration value, the BRMs suffer with a reduced pool of users, as discussed in Chapter Five, while becoming a sort of haven to marginalised groups in central Birmingham (Wolhuter, 2002).

6.3.4 Promised yet unrealised participation in planning: *democracy* implications

The BCC states to abide to the Equality Act, and to conduct a 'full and meaningful' consultation with traders' representatives for policy, contracts and fees' changes in the BRMs. Consultation is a seven-stage process, consisting of three meetings (1st, 3rd and 5th phases); with three draft reports published in between, incorporating feedback (2nd, 4th and 6th phases) and a notice of at least 30 days prior to enforcement of changes (7th phase) (BCC, 2016b). Traders' representations have also four meetings per year with management, but feel increasingly disillusioned at their purpose (Young, 2020a). The managers that do not visit markets communicate unidirectionally, via letters sent to traders. They are unreachable, ignoring emails sent by the merchants, who feel neglected and disempowered:

'The city council, they always perceive market traders as they would say, "trouble-makers". And we are not troublemakers. We want to be given a voice. And the council, as our landlord, to listen to us and manage the markets correctly. [But there is] very little involvement. They... Whenever

you speak to them, they refer you to go back to the management team. You walk in circles, and nothing gets resolved' (Martin/ BRMs, November 2019).

The issue is ongoing, and the lack of real participation something witnessed in the last decades. When the Rag Market was moved temporarily to a deactivated 'dodgy' bus terminal, dissatisfied traders protested – in vain (e.g. Bell, 1999). Wolhuter (2002) reported that even with the engagement of the NMTF, traders' interests were disregarded. The local historian Herbert also commented the issues on the (non) participatory governance of markets:

'The traders have tried really hard over the years, and it just been like, it's hitting your head against a brick wall. I think it's really important that the council engages meaningfully the traders and doesn't just talk to them, but actually forms a proper working party with traders of all types' (Herbert/ historian, May 2020).

Traders feeling neglected constantly resort to the local media to denounce problems at the markets to the wider society and try to force the BCC to engage. Multiple articles were published in Birmingham Mail since 2018 reporting individual claims and broader issues across the three markets (Young, 2018a and b, 2020a, b and c; Jackson, 2019). However, even with rather dramatic titles, e.g. *'Struggling Bull Ring Indoor Market could collapse in two years, warn traders'* (Young, 2020a) these had little results, both in terms of engaging the wider public in defending the markets and in 'forcing' BCC to properly communicate and collaborate with markets' communities, as discussed in Chapter Five.

When pressurised by the local media, BCC issued a bland statement of commitment to markets, repeating the same answer to two requests more than a year apart (Young 2018a and 2020a):

'The council is fully committed to the Bull Ring Markets – which have been at the heart of the city for over 850 years – and continues to support traders across the three sites, especially as we transition to the new Smithfield development, where markets will remain a vital part of the offer.'

Its evasive answers placed responsibility for markets' decline in contextual aspects:

'Reduced footfall is an issue across the retail sector, as consumers' shopping habits are changing, with more business being done online rather than on the High Street...'

And tried to demonstrate commitment, but without precision regarding the application of the mentioned support:

'Various measures have been taken in recent years to make the Bull Ring Markets more attractive to shoppers, including city dressing promoting the markets, and improved signage...'

'While there are a number of vacant stalls, there is also significant interest from potential new traders, and the Markets' Service is aiming to see those units leased as soon as possible. Officers are also keen to work closely with existing traders to identify ways to help increase stall occupancy.'

On top of deficiencies in delivering services, such evasive public statements, combined with the council's lack of willingness to engage traders in planning, and their 'defensive' approach, concerned with preventing legal responsabilisation (as shown above with their 'reasonable endeavours') provide evidence that the BCC does not support markets as sites for social justice. Neither does it manage

markets to fulfil their potential as an important local identity and cultural/ touristic destination – a true heritage of Birmingham’s ‘thousand trades’ (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*) history.

6.3.5 Governance complexities: the double positionality of the Enforcement team

The BCC’s approach to managing the BRMs is not as homogeneous as the narrative in this chapter so far may suggest. Unfortunately, a more complex and nuanced analysis was compromised by the Market’s Service managers’ refusal to participate in the research (see Chapter Three). Nevertheless, in the brief engagement with officers of the Enforcement team (in short meetings in their office by the market, and a guided visit), it became clear they had a real emotional connection with markets, traders and customers. Conscious of markets’ decline and fearing for the future of the BRMs, the officers on the ground demonstrated care for traders and customers (*Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019*), being recognised as supportive and empathetic by local experts (*Herbert/ historian, May 2020*) and traders (*Martin/ BRMs, November 2019*). This approach contrasted with that of the higher management spheres that failed to engage with the markets’ environments, according to the cited informants.

Undoubtedly there are grounds for tension and disagreement between officers, traders and potential users of markets, such as issues originating from contractual obligations and fees between the council and the traders. Chapter Five explored the issues at the Open Market, related to the control of the quality of products on offer. As demonstrated in the narrative there, in the Open and Rag Markets, the Enforcement team officers’ authority is straightforwardly accepted. The same does not happen in the Indoor Market, where Enforcement team members feel their authority is challenged by traders in more secure contractual conditions. They claim the situation worsens through the years, with long-term traders increasingly ignoring compliance with tenants’ covenants in contracts, e.g. about how to handle fresh products (*Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019*).

Enforcement team members nevertheless also feel powerless when requests are in the other direction. For example, when traders’ request for more efficient service provision, e.g. fix a faulty lamp. Empathetic to traders’ situation, of paying high fees for poor service delivery, Enforcement officers are confronted with a complex double positionality. Many disapprove of the behaviour of higher managers who, do not visit the markets despite the proximity of their offices, and appear not to care for them (*Eric/ Enforcement team, April 2019*). A senior market manager in the team stated that ‘no one can think Birmingham without the Bull Ring (*Thomas/ Enforcement team, April 2019*)’. However, he and his successor demonstrated that the situation between traders and council is tense. And with institutional allegiance to the council, they evaded any ‘political’ topics, and withdrew conversation completely, when asked for help to reach higher managers. Unfortunately, however, their powers are limited:

‘It was very difficult for the officials. Those closest to the coalface are often the ones that know the best, but are never asked for their opinions. Decisions were made much higher...’ (Herbert/ historian, May 2020).

If their or the traders' voices were listened to, a new system could be found to construct a compromise, similarly to what happened in Belo Horizonte. Unfortunately, the new plan of Birmingham Smithfield is another piece of top-down management, as Chapter Seven will explain.

The discussion of Birmingham's current system of markets' management revealed that despite being a crucial element in the city's foundation, and the council's duty to protect the BRMs, poor governance suggests they are not appreciated by the BCC. There is initially a problematic imprecision about the role(s) expected from markets, as public spaces, for the city. Moreover, the regulatory nature of markets' governance, where the council behaves as a landlord rather than as a manager of commercial spaces, has detrimental impacts for traders regardless the type of contract (Lease or License of Use). Still, issues of governance appear to be more acute for Lease holders in the Indoor Market, since their fees are much higher and the service provided similarly limited. Unsurprisingly, it is the market suffering the most with decline and traders' withdrawal of businesses.

Yet, the BRMs' governance system has some features that support – or at least do not disturb – the development of collective bonds between traders. Traders are not threatened with losing their shops: renewal of contracts for same units is expected, and in addition continuing tenants have seniority privileges. Nevertheless, the limited compliance with its contractual obligations, unreachable Market's Service managers, combined with a contradictory approach to trading spaces events – i.e. highly supportive of the Frankfurt Christmas Market while increasingly restrictive on street trading – indicates an exclusionary agenda, in line with Birmingham's urban regeneration approach and its expected 'script'.

The following section now compares the findings in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, revealing the similarities, differences and the depth of commitment to social justice in planning for and governing public markets.

6.4 Juxtaposing markets' governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham

The narratives about Belo Horizonte and Birmingham reveal that markets' governance is deficient in light of both markets' support needs and the contextual pressures they are facing (see Chapter Four). In both contexts, their governance does not address the main – and increasingly critical – problem of decline. Inadequacy starts in the municipalities' framing of markets' roles for cities. FECOPE, CAM and the BRMs are poorly positioned in their municipalities' institutional structure. Still, at least in Belo Horizonte the issue is easier to identify and perhaps solve. As places that no longer fulfil meaningful food supply roles, but mostly support traders' livelihoods and neighbourhoods as socialising spaces, an adequate approach to their governance would combine competencies of other secretariats. A multidisciplinary approach would also be appropriate to the BRMs, but the umbrella Neighbourhood Department, while combining very diverse attributions, does not seem to deliver it. The lack of focus about the institutional role of the BRMs is possibly a consequence of austerity impacts in the BCC, but

it also shows a lack of strategic thinking for markets that appear to be treated as an inconvenient legacy: the council is legally obliged to support them, but the BRMs do not fit BCC's urban regeneration agenda.

After considering the position on governments' structure, it is important to observe the effects of markets' governance (focusing on policy documents and enforcement) to specific aspects of social justice in the studied trading spaces. These are presented below in a table of same format to that adopted in Chapter Five, which corresponds to the analytical framework developed in Chapter Two:

CURRENT GOVERNANCE ROLE ON MARKETS RELATIONSHIP WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE			
Belo Horizonte	Equity	Diversity	Democracy
	<p>Bidding System has both positive as negative impacts to employment opportunities:</p> <p>Positive: low-cost units (affordable rents; potential lower prices of goods;</p> <p>Security of formal enrolment (e.g. public pension entitlement)</p> <p>Negative: precarious rights over rented units; no long-term job security;</p> <p>Impartiality in bidding selection should mean equal opportunities, but in practice it has exclusionary outcomes: e.g. indebting new traders who abandon units;</p> <p>Price selection criterium could be problematic in a context where applicants have different economic conditions; but in the real declining markets of FECOPE and CAM it is not currently a problem</p> <p>SUSAN officers' adopt 'informal practices' in relation to applying rules, supporting current traders' permanence in markets.</p>	<p>The bidding has no clauses favouring minority groups;</p> <p>Bidding system promotes competition between current and new traders; and among current traders, with detrimental effects in developing collaboration and trust bonds between traders;</p> <p>The inexistence of markets' promotion hampers the possibility of markets attracting a wider range of users</p> <p>The council tolerates the informal practices of traders, to remain in markets, and through the years developed practices and changed rules (e.g. branches of products) to help traders</p>	<p>Neither traders nor society were consulted about the planning for markets in years prior to the PMI/ tendering;</p> <p>Because of the little promotion, people do not engage with markets. Without a stake on it, communities are not prompted to participate in markets' governance in FECOPE and CAM.</p> <p>Outdated food supply role means less interest in discussing markets' governance inside the council. An interdisciplinary team should be responsible for them, in line with their current roles for neighbourhoods/ city</p> <p>Empathy from low-level council staff (SUSAN officers); but limited powers to promote governance change</p>

Birmingham	Equity	Diversity	Democracy
	<p>Different contractual conditions: Leases for shops provide more job security, but increasing fees are pushing traders strangled by decline/empty markets out of business;</p> <p>License of Use for stalls: more affordable fees, no ownership rights over units, but seniority privileges in the allocation of stalls.</p> <p>Markets not properly managed as businesses or supported – despite the Market Charter terms.</p> <p>The <i>Reasonable Endeavours</i> clause means council's little legal responsabilisation. Hence no 'Irregularity' in delaying contracts' renewal, not having money to reinvest in markets, no boundaries for the increase in fees, and little advertisement of trading opportunities.</p> <p>Reduced prospects make markets less appealing for employment, especially among British traders</p> <p>At the same time, the hardship faced by traders, in attracting customers means cheaper prices, supporting food security of lower-income groups.</p>	<p>There are no conditions favouring minority groups;</p> <p>Current Employment and revenue prospects resulting in the gradual substitution of British traders/ long-term family businesses for migrant traders;</p> <p>Markets physically excluded from the city space and retail offer. Despite the fees for advertisement, markets are limitedly promoted in the physical and online environment. As a result, there is a constrained diversity in users;</p> <p>Yet, as an excluded space, markets feature as one of the most inclusionary places in Birmingham city centre, where less well-off groups of multiple backgrounds can feel belonging</p> <p>Markets fees are applied to maximise the net income of the council, while there is scope in BCC's charging policy for it to be subsidised, as a policy instrument supporting vulnerable groups.</p>	<p>Policies state the compliance with a seven phases' consultation when e.g. increase in fees are planned;</p> <p>Yet reality shows that traders' feedback is not considered.</p> <p>Higher managers do not respond to communication attempts from traders' leaderships.</p> <p>Traders' leaderships are tired of being framed as 'trouble-makers', attempting to promote participatory discussions through denounces in the local news. Yet the council replies with vague statements and withdraws from any political topics.</p> <p>Empathy from low-level council staff (Enforcement team); but limited powers to promote governance change</p>

Table 6.3: Current governance role on markets relationship with social justice

Source: Author's analysis

Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets' governance systems are mostly of a regulatory nature, where the limited policy terms (i.e. contracts and selection of traders' rules) reproduce the status quo. An interesting insight provided by the BCC's approach to markets as a landlord is: landlords commonly

want to maximise their gains. Hence, if councils behave as ‘landlords’ of public infrastructure, in an economic order governed by neoliberalism, it is expected that they will look for the best way to capitalise on public land and infrastructures, which in markets would explain the rising fees, and possible aim of forcing traders out, to use valuable scarce land in the centre to other more profitable activities.

The position of landlords might also justify the governments’ lack of steering practices in markets’ governance, something evidenced in councils not promoting the markets as places which are part of the retail offer of the city. In Belo Horizonte, there is rather a disconnect from governance instruments to promote markets, ‘incoherently’ employed in relation to a central private market (Belotur’s promotion of the Mercado Central). In Birmingham, there is a more problematic, apparently deliberate exclusion of markets, evident when the BRMs’ governance is observed in relation to other traditional trading spaces in the city. The comparison between the BCC’s approach to street trading and to the Frankfurt Christmas Market, which mainly happen in the same physical space (i.e. high streets) strengthens the assumption mentioned by local experts and contacted traders, that the working-class traders are not welcomed in the centre; hence, they should be segregated (as in the current configuration of the BRMs) or simply ‘removed’. The lack of BRMs’ promotion seems especially reproachable because they are so closely located to other main retail venues in the centre and, at odds to Belo Horizonte’s case, advertisement is a contractual obligation of the council. Ironically, nevertheless, in terms of social justice, the laissez-faire/ negligent governance approach to markets seems to be an element enhancing markets’ accessibility to vulnerable or excluded groups in cities; thus, to some extent it supports markets’ social inclusion role. Especially in Birmingham, the BRMs’ role as a haven for these groups to appropriate and feel belonging is increasingly necessary, in face of the aggressively exclusionary redevelopment pressures suffered around it.

Despite the common limitations in the approaches, it is important to stress the differences of systems. In Belo Horizonte while markets’ governance provides affordable opportunities to (aspiring) traders, there are problematic terms (e.g. competitive nature of the bidding general calls; five years’ contracts) that constrain the well-functioning of justice-guided principles. In this sense, Birmingham’s system is more supportive of current traders, where their leases or licenses of use for specific units can in theory endure as long as they comply with contracts. Yet, findings suggest a stronger recognition of the link between public markets and social justice roles for cities in the overall approach of the PBH to traditional trading. Interview statements (e.g. *head of SUSAN, Hugo, Silvio*) reveal public managers’ actions and decisions may be driven by the wish to deliver fairer societies, as identified by Parnell and Robinson (2006) in Johannesburg, but their actions and ability to control outcomes are limited. The backfiring of the ‘impartiality’ criterium in the bidding selection in Belo Horizonte per se reveals this.

Besides, the disconnection between governing and (bureaucratic) administrative timings discourages attempts at radical change, which contributes to the inertia built up in the management of both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets. Still, in the enforcement of its governance, the informal consent of officers that turn a blind eye to irregularities and the gradual flexibilization of terms show that SUSAN

officers try to protect current traders' livelihoods. They are mostly supportive, as are the Enforcement team in Birmingham, however these staff are not in a position to change policies. Among other resource constraints and limited participation channels, many traders are tired of failed attempts to engage in markets' governance and challenge markets' declining tendencies through the work of councils that show little interest in supporting and promoting them.

In Belo Horizonte the plurality of spaces of traditional trading confirms the city's close cultural link with these – as explained in Chapter Four – and an apparent stronger valorisation of markets (by governments) than in Birmingham. Moreover, there are already available tools, departments and strategies in the municipality that could be linked to SUSAN markets, enhancing their potential in terms of social justice promotion (through *contributive* justice) even from a social and solidarity economy perspective, such as the Centre for Social and Solidarity Economy (CEPES/ SMDE). Therefore, there is a credible potential that Belo Horizonte markets could be managed in a similar way to the Mercado Bonpland, in Buenos Aires, discussed by Viderman, Rosa P. and Aigner (2014), and Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros (2018).

6.5 Conclusion

The current governance of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham were the focus of this chapter, which engaged in discussion to answer research sub-question c: *What role does urban governance play in mediating the relationship between markets and social justice, in each case, in terms of markets' current governance systems?* Municipalities' understanding of markets' plural functions shapes their support to markets and academic analyses of real examples of markets' governance do reveal councils are (to some extent) aware of markets' multiple functions. Yet, findings in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham suggest that governments have a limited understanding of markets' meaningful potential for inclusive urban development and the attainment of social justice aspirations in cities, one they could explore to tackle urban development challenges presented in Chapter Four. After comparing findings, it became clear that markets' governance systems are deficient in both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, but with different implications for social justice.

In Belo Horizonte there seems to be a level of consciousness of the links between markets and social justice and an effort, wherever possible, to strengthen the linkages, so that markets work more effectively supporting it. There are nevertheless substantial shortcomings in the application of the bidding system, and some significant lost opportunities in not linking through intersectoral work within the PBH, the markets of SUSAN to Belotur and the Centre of support to Social and Solidarity Economy (CEPES/SMDE); and thus, to resources/ strategies in the council that could be mobilised in-house to manage FECOPE and CAM better. Consequently, there are negative social justice related impacts especially in terms of job insecurity, in the economic sustainability of markets and in the diversity and number of market users. The possibility of exploring markets development in accordance with a social and solidarity economy lens will be further explored in Chapter Eight.

In Birmingham the current governance, although more structured, suggests the existence of a veiled 'managed decline agenda' that seems to converge with the governance rationale observed by Gonzalez (2018 and 2020) in many cities: markets are allowed to degrade as a first step of exclusionary regeneration. Differently to Belo Horizonte, the BCC (through the Markets' Service) does not acknowledge markets' governance limitations and while mostly fulfilling its contracted duties as a landlord – and *solely as a landlord* – elements such as the *reasonable endeavours'* clause indicate its low commitment to markets. The position contradicts the council's market charter duties of supporting markets (Wolhuter, 2002), but it perhaps explains the strategy adopted, because even if the council no longer wants the markets, it cannot openly act in the direction of having them eliminated. Nevertheless, in terms of social justice impacts of the governance approach, marginalised markets are increasingly seen as 'no-go' spaces in the centre, and employment at markets is becoming not only unappealing, but hard to maintain.

While these are reasonable considerations in relation to the findings, it is important to keep in mind that critiques oftentimes fail to account for the complex contexts resulting in decisions taken by public managers, as discussed in Chapter Two. Cities' governance realities resist simplified interpretations. Besides municipalities' dilemmas about what agendas to prioritise, pragmatic constraints in enforcement capacity (Maricato, 2011) such as limited time, staff and budgets need to be factored into planning for policies' enforcement. In both cities the managers are, as in other metropolises of both North and South, constantly pressured by tight budgets, and the often contradictory aims to simultaneously promote economic growth, update or build infrastructure and provide basic services to vulnerable populations (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). In face of other social welfare priorities, and the perception of markets as with outdated functions, the underinvestment suffered by these trading spaces and their marginalisation appears less intentional.

This chapter supported the constructed understanding of Chapters Four and Five that urban governance, through the approach of councils to markets' governance, influence drastically markets' prospects in cities. In the reality of declining markets, municipalities that want to support markets as spaces for social justice promotion in cities need to intervene and work towards new alternatives that are economically viable, but not exclusionary. It is a hard balance to achieve, but the 'only' way to keep markets from becoming simulacrum spaces. Where municipalities recognise the social justice contribution of markets and have the means to support this, the alternative of subsidising markets could be explored (such as the Mercado Bonpland, in Buenos Aires (Habermehl, 2021)). Unfortunately, governance of markets in many cases around the world cannot or does not look for ways of reaching a middle path and try to promote both growth and equity, as discussed in section 2.5. The cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham showed that the PBH and BCC are continuing an outdated and inefficient approach that does not (fully) recognise the social value of markets and their potential to sustainable urban development and social justice. Nevertheless, they are both to undergo significant transformations, through new venues and management strategies that involve the participation of

private capital and stakeholders. Chapter Seven now explores these new systems, shedding light on the PBH and BCC agendas for their public markets.

7. New systems of markets' governance: planning imaginaries and social justice

'[Markets] marginality pushes them to the frontier of real estate investment cycles which leads to redevelopment and associated threats of displacement and gentrification' (Gonzalez, 2020, p. 890).

7.1 Introduction

Public markets throughout the world have been experiencing marginalisation and negligence in their governance ever since social and retail transformations displaced them as essential spaces of provision for cities. Chapter Four accounted for the contextual aspects and broad global tendencies influencing Belo Horizonte and Birmingham markets' functioning, especially their decline. Nevertheless, Chapter Two (2.2 and 2.5) brought attention to a more recent trend of renewed interest in markets (e.g. Urbact Markets, 2015), and linked to it, their mobilisation in policy-making to contribute to wider urban governance agendas. With the support of private investment, justified to society through a representation of weak municipalities with limited resources (Pereira, 2017), markets are, as defined by Gonzalez (2020, p. 880):

'[I]ncreasingly becoming spaces for the extraction of profit, their exchange value sometimes outweighing their use value as collective consumption spaces. This process is particularly taking place through the redevelopment of the physical infrastructure of marketplaces and the gentrification of their customer base and traders' (Gonzalez, 2020, p.880).

Despite their binary presentation, the trends of negligence and lack of support to markets, and of exclusionary redevelopment are not mutually exclusive. In fact, as the opening quote argues, markets' disinvestment may be a precursor - or even a planned first phase - of gentrifying projects involving markets (Gonzalez, 2020). The previous three chapters discussed the *current* reality of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, where their marginality in local governance agendas, lack of support and decline converge with the disinvestment trend mentioned. This chapter however shows a shift in this situation: the existence of new proposed governance 'systems' for markets in both case cities suggests a change of mentality in municipalities, which result in new challenges and potentials for markets to develop in support of social justice.

To explore the motivations behind this change in governance approaches to markets, and the impacts of it in the relationship between markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, this chapter addresses sub-question d: *How do the future imaginaries projected for markets and their supporting systems of governance affect their (potential for) social justice?* The discussion focuses on the tendering of markets in Belo Horizonte, and the new development Birmingham Smithfield, with a new venue for the Bull Ring Markets, in Birmingham. By clarifying the municipalities' agenda in relation

to governing public markets, the analysis supports the overall aim of this research to understand how public markets enable social justice processes and outcomes in cities (both actual and potential), and what role urban governance plays in this.

Chapters Four to Six dealt with processes and strategies already put in place, with concrete results. This chapter is different in the sense that it analyses how socially just were (so far) the *processes* of development of (future) plans and their *potential outcomes*. The analysis is grounded in the extensive consultation and assessment of secondary sources, mainly policy documents (e.g. the two tendering contracts in Belo Horizonte; Birmingham Smithfield masterplan), and interviews with municipal officers, traders, and local experts. Considering the continued focus on urban governance, and to facilitate comparison, the structure is similar to that in Chapter Six. The case of Belo Horizonte is presented first (7.2) followed by Birmingham (7.3). The analysis considers the implications of new systems for markets in terms of their potential/ planned contributions to *equity, diversity* and *democracy*, with the narrative structure underpinned by this framework, guided by emerging findings. Section 7.4 then compares the findings of both cases highlighting similar public-private strategies to realise redevelopment projects, but different pathways and (social justice) likely outcomes, which suggest different underpinning agendas for markets. Finally, the conclusion (7.5) explores the contributions of this chapter for this research's aim.

7.2 Belo Horizonte's tendering of markets to the private sector

Markets in Belo Horizonte are fondly defended by locals as important elements of the *Mineira* culture, as discussed in Chapter Four. Yet, analysis of current markets' governance in Chapter Six showed they are institutionally misplaced in the structure of the municipality of Belo Horizonte (PBH). It was argued that they should no longer be solely attributed to the food security and nutrition subsecretariat (SUSAN), since they do not play a substantial role in food provision for the city, but rather contribute to it as social spaces in neighbourhoods and in providing employment for traders (see Chapter Five). In recognition of this dysfunctional arrangement, along with popular pressure and the PBH capital resources' limitations, a new system to govern markets was developed. This section discusses the motivations behind this change, the strategy adopted - a tendering process for the private sector - and the terms of its realisation. The analysis of the tendering envisions, in combination with the findings about the current system (Chapter Six), a better understanding of PBH's agenda for its public markets, and the extent to which it links markets' functioning with the promotion of social justice in the city.

To this end, this section explains the origins of the tendering and examines the extent to which the government's representation of markets is (consciously) aligned with social justice promotion in the city, and its further impact in their planning. Rather than simply addressing whether or not the municipality (intends to) support the markets for social justice in this new governance system and why, it analyses *how* it decided to operationalise this support. The tendering rationale, phases and contractual conditions reveal the governments' vision for the newly managed markets and provide

answers to concerns related to which stakeholders will benefit from or be burdened by this governance change; which social groups will be able to access the markets as legitimate users; what functions markets will fulfil; and what priorities drive tendering decisions.

7.2.1 Markets' roles official framings: connections with social justice

After years of poor municipal engagement with marketplaces' governance, the new mayor, Alexandre Kalil (2017 to date) brought this to a higher sphere of decision making, following the activism around the markets of Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza, discussed in Chapter Five. An interdisciplinary working group (WG) reuniting eight heads of secretariats was created in September 2017 (Municipal Decree nº 16.726/2017 in DOM, 2017), to discuss alternatives for the markets' management and renovation, 'while keeping them as spaces of conviviality for the community' (DOM, 2017, author's translation). Besides the indicated concern with markets' social role in the policy statement, the range of WG secretariats includes, besides the core SMFA (Treasury) and SMPOG (Planning, Management and Budgeting), mainly Urban Policies (SMPU), Culture (SMC), and Social Services (SMASAC - which SUSAN is part of)¹⁴¹. Thus, it indicates an understanding of markets' plural nature and functions, in line with academic discussions (e.g. Jansen and Sezer, 2013; Morales, 2009).

Nevertheless, following the entrepreneurial governance tendency of recent years and the powerful influence of SMFA and SMPOG (explained in Chapter Four), the treasury, to whom PBH Ativos reports to, was established as the working group leader. In 2018 the group determined that the markets should be tendered, with the outsourcing process organised by the PBH Ativos (according to its attributions explained in Chapter Four), a process continuing until 2021. The aim was to transfer the direct responsibility and costs of managing and refurbishing the markets to aspirant 'concession holders' (the private partners selected through the tendering). These chosen partners, in exchange, can economically exploit markets for 25 years. In terms of ownership, the markets remain public and institutionally under SUSAN's direction, which now *monitors* the concession holders' compliance with the mandatory tendering terms.

The rationale for adopting this strategy, rather than direct investment and management by the local government, was based on two pragmatic arguments, repeated by different WG participants (*interviews with SMPOG, SMFA, SMPU; SMASAC*¹⁴²), including SUSAN members (*Interviews with head of SUSAN, Hugo and Silvio*). They represent the council's understanding of markets' present situation and contribution to the city in the following terms. First, markets are emptied out of public functions: poor in supply relevance, de-characterised as food markets due to the widened range of goods on offer.

¹⁴¹ The secretariat of economic development (SMDE) was also part of the WG composition. I could not access SMDE for an interview – there was no response despite my multiple attempts. Nevertheless, it was never mentioned as a meaningful stakeholder in the discussion of the tendering plan, confirming that, ironically, although in charge of the centre for social and solidarity economy (CEPES), alternative approaches to economic development lack attention in the council.

¹⁴² Statements during discussion in the public session organised by a local councillor on the 29th of July 2019.

They lack cultural identity, and even socialising significance, and are therefore ‘only’ serving traders’ individual economic interests:

‘[The market] is a private activity. The council can articulate the actors, but it is not going to put any public money in it. It makes no sense’ (SMPOG, July, 2019).

Second, the municipality has more pressing social agendas to cover with public funds, in face of poverty pressures of recent years (discussed in Chapter Four):

‘Because we need to invest in schools, health, etc... With the urban occupations, the areas of favelas, the market is an infrastructure that we [WG] would really like that would “stand on its feet”, financially’ (SMPU, July 2019).

‘Since the beginning the mayor has emphasised the financial investment issue¹⁴³. (...) It was [an obstacle] from the outset. From the standpoint of investing the public authority’s own resources, we have priorities to be [addressed]. When I consider the SMASAC, for instance, we have social services, food security and citizenship [subsecretariats]. So if I have to make a choice between investing in the increase of support to social welfare and to people in homelessness situation, or to invest in a market, I will choose the social welfare support. Because the [council’s] resource is the same. [And about markets:] we are talking about an economic activity. Which obviously has multiple matters related to its economic role, but even when we talk about family agriculture, or social and solidarity economy, it has an economic purpose’ (SMASAC, July 2019, author’s emphasis).

The quotes above highlight the working group’s internal cohesion in terms of the economic approach to markets. Nevertheless, the final comments of SMASAC while ratifying why other social agendas are to be prioritised, considering markets primary economic role, also indicate a vision that sees markets’ economic relevance as something with a social justice potential. In fact, the group members agree that markets should ideally act beyond being commercial spaces, providing holistic spaces of employment, socialisation, culture and traditions, supporting the claims of market communities in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro (*Interviews with PBH Ativos, SMPOG, SMFA, SMPU; SMASAC, SUSAN, Hugo and Silvio*). Moreover, SUSAN staff declared their belief that markets can be improved, through the tendering, and gain back supply functions; however, with the emphasis on agroecological and organic goods from producers of Belo Horizonte’s metropolitan region, in line with SUSAN’s strategic goals (*Interviews with head of SUSAN and Silvio*).

Before examining the final conditions of the tendering, the *process* of its construction is discussed. This includes opportunities for public participation in its planning, and the actual depth of this participation, considering that it did not only affect the sense of collective ownership of proposals, but also because consultation sessions impacted the shaping of conditions for concession holders.

¹⁴³ SMASAC mentioned a needed investment of R\$40 million (Approximately £8.66 million, considering the conversion rate of £1 = R\$ 4.62 on the date of the statement - 29th of July 2019) (<https://www.exchangerates.org.uk/GBP-BRL-spot-exchange-rates-history-2019.html>) just to recover markets’ infrastructure and keep them functioning, with no changes in their management system or their roles for the city.

7.2.2 Invited participation in the tendering development: challenges and opportunities for *democracy*

The activity of market communities in Cruzeiro and Santa Tereza were crucial for prompting the new government action in relation to public markets. Besides the historical construction of disputes, a specific meeting with representatives of the Salve Santa Tereza movement in early 2017 was the tipping point for action. Kalil declared that the council was willing to transfer the Mercado de Santa Tereza's management responsibilities to the neighbourhood association, but no public funds would be further invested in the market (*interviews with Lauro and SMPU*). Lauro, a leader in Santa Tereza's market community expressed his impressions about the meeting and the mayor's key concern with markets' economic sustainability:

'We wanted to make Santa Tereza a reference market. But the municipality doesn't recognise this dimension of public policy. Markets fomenting other dimensions of life, be it culture, food security, family agriculture production. Kalil bluntly said to us: "will you manage to sustain and to refurbish it? It needs to make money. The city council won't give anything! I want to know if you will take it and make it economically sustainable". That was his standpoint: limited. What we wanted from Kalil was not even the money to refurbish it, it was time for the association to achieve a partnership, which was by the way being organised with the Banco do Brasil association. But it was run over by the [Procedure of Interest Manifestation]. Because obviously, the self-management, its time is not the market time, neither the public authority's time' (Lauro/activist Santa Tereza, July 2019).

Lauro critically made reference to the *Procedure of Interest Manifestation* (PMI), a mandatory stage of tendering developments in Belo Horizonte (DOM, 2010b), and the first of the three institutionally marked opportunities to engage in the planning of markets' new governance. In fact, the PMI was *the* first step of the tendering. According to the head of SMASAC, considering that it is illegal to elaborate tendering calls in a direct participatory way, the PMI was the instrument to collect stakeholders' insights and visions for the new markets (*Public Session, 29th of July 2019*).

Following a diagnosis of each market, delivered by the urban planning secretariat, the PMI was organised by the PBH Ativos, which invited interested stakeholders to submit proposals for the markets. The expected contributions could be made to any, a few or all of the public marketspaces offered in the tendering, and had to contain 1) an architecture proposal; 2) an economic sustainability plan; 3) a judicial planning; and 4) a detailed account of the costs for the proposal elaboration (PBH Ativos, 2018). Representatives of Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro market communities criticised the decision, interpreting that new plans 'buried' the legacy of recent bottom-up constructs for markets, (*interviews with Lauro and Amélia*). However, government officers involved in the development of the PMI and its conditions argued that rather than disregarding this legacy of activism, the values shaping the call were based in it. For example, in defining obligatory guidelines in the PMI call including the 'preservation of markets' typical activities', and the need to 'consider the socioeconomic and urbanistic conditions of the markets and surrounding neighbourhoods' (PBH Ativos, 2018).

Still, for neighbourhood associations and civil society actors, the PMI, institutionalising and shaping the conditions of participation to a specific – very technical – format, came as a barrier to wider society actors' contributions to markets' governance:

'The problem is that the modus operandi of the public administration is much closer to the Enterprise City, than of a citizenship logic fomenting autonomous initiatives. And we lament it a lot. It is extremely hard [for] communitarian entities of the third sector, to adequate to the formatting and bureaucracy [of calls like the PMI]. The association of Santa Tereza discussed a lot: "are we going to present a proposal?" It was an extremely hard application. But we decided after the meeting with the mayor, that we would enter the call... We dedicated so much energy to elaborate the PMI proposal, to make the plan, economic viability and all the extremely complex shit, that I feel we got worn out. We got demobilised. And after we sent the proposal, we never again organised the Mercado Viva Mais Verde, for you to see the contradiction!' (Lauro/ activist Santa Tereza, July 2019).

The participation in the PMI undoubtedly signalled who would be interested in becoming concession holders. However, the submission of proposals did not guarantee any preference in the future tendering selection, and submitted material became the property of the city council (*interview with Treasury and PBH Ativos*). Proponents were advised to 'keep communication with the public bodies responsible for the management of each market, with the local traders as well as with the neighbourhood associations of the markets' surrounding neighbourhoods, as a way to properly shape the proposals, aligning them with the vision and interests of [these stakeholders]' (PBH Ativos, 2018, p.3). However, in communication with traders in FECOPE and CAM, and with a leader in Cruzeiro's market community, informants stated to be mostly alienated from the proposals which were developed/led by big companies.

The second participation opportunity happened because approval was being sought for a law to allow the tendering in the aldermen's chamber (CMBH). It was a Public Session (see Figure 7.1) promoted by the president of the *Human Rights Commission*, a left-wing alderman who, from an ideological position 'radically against any type of concession of public goods to the private sphere (...) believ[ing] in the strength and the competence of the State' (*Patrus/ Councillor, July 2019*), wanted to clarify tendering terms and intentions. Besides WG members, traders' representatives were invited to this session, which was open to anyone. The head of the social services was the only officer representing the working group, in the absence of PBH Ativos members. Additionally, some traders of Cruzeiro, including the president of the traders' association (ACOMECA), and the president of the Cruzeiro neighbourhood association (AMOREIRO) joined the meeting. No one from FECOPE or CAM attended, once again suggesting that there were issues in designing the participation process, considering the need to bridge power imbalances in participatory planning arenas, defended by Fischer (2006).

Following the session, the *Law Nº 11.219/2020* (DOM, 2020) permitting the tendering was approved, with the incorporation of PMI call terms (see below), as discussed in the public session, transforming these into legal requirements for concession holders. The approval happened in a contested session in the councillors' chamber, since other local councillors echoing Patrus tried to stall this, believing the tendering of markets would result in gentrification and the expulsion of the social economy (Bella

Gonçalves – PSOL in CMBH, 2019). This situation illustrates Gonzalez (2020) argument that markets are sites of urban contestation and political mobilisation, even at the level of policy design. Some of the incorporated terms in the *Law Nº 11.219/2020* nevertheless do appear to be shields protecting (to an extent) markets from exclusionary redevelopment, while promoting some social justice agendas – especially item one:

‘The use of the public assets (...) will be conditioned to the guidelines defined in the tendering call (...) which will, at the least impose the following demands to concession holders:

1. *To guarantee the preservation of the markets’ typical activities; prioritizing the family agriculture, the agroecological and organic products from the creative and solidarity economies;*
2. *To consider the sociocultural and urbanistic aspects of the region of the enterprise and its surroundings;*
3. *Create conditions of sustainability for the enterprise;*
4. *Create conditions for the expansion of the economic activity;*
5. *Respect the public policies defined for each place;’ (Law Nº 11.219/2020 (DOM, 2020)).*



Figure 7.1: Public session to discuss the project of tendering of public markets in Belo Horizonte, on the 29th of July 2019
Source: <https://www.otempo.com.br/cidades/audiencia-publica-na-camara-discute-concessao-de-mercados-municipais-em-bh-1.22>

The last legally demanded participatory element within the tendering (*Law Nº 9038/2005 Section III, Art. 8* (PBH, 2005)) was the consultation phases about the two released tendering calls. The proposals were constructed by the PBH Ativos based partially on PMI submitted material, and they incorporated matters discussed in the public session. Below some 3D visuals¹⁴⁴ included in the documents. The floor plans¹⁴⁵ proposed for the tendered markets can be found in Annex Five. Each consultation was open for a month, inviting feedback from any interested citizens. The municipality provided answers to all submitted feedback and some input was incorporated into the final calls.

¹⁴⁴ There are 3D visuals only of Cruzeiro, since they were already part of the PMI collected material.

¹⁴⁵ Out of scale.



Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4: 3D images of the proposal for the Mercado do Cruzeiro
Source: PBH, 2021b

it is important to reflect on how public and widely advertised the opportunities to participation were. As way of illustration, only four stakeholders engaged in the first consultation process (Santa Tereza and FECOPE), while fourteen stakeholders engaged in the second one (Cruzeiro and CAM), according to the published list of replies from the council¹⁴⁶. This highlights a meaningful issue of disconnection between the stakeholders to-be-directly-impacted by the tendering and the whole tendering process. Traders at FECOPE and CAM were poorly informed about how the process was unfolding, the deliberation and consultation phases and the outcomes impacting their trading future. Through this communication gap, traders did not manage to have their opinions voiced, a meaningful expertise that only who experience the daily reality of the markets have:

‘We had only one meeting to which I was invited, and I informed everybody. And another one had already happened¹⁴⁷, and nobody told me. The message came through Marta¹⁴⁸, but no one here received, to be honest with you. (...) In this case Marta could not go, I couldn’t either, I am not sure about Simá, but there is Ms. Nem, who always volunteers to look for this type of information. And it would be very good, we to be there (...) expressing our opinions, which are

¹⁴⁶ Having engaged in both the consultation processes, I also forwarded the documents’ links to some previous research informants, traders from both FECOPE and CAM. Despite it, none of them forwarded feedback through the consultation.

¹⁴⁷ The Public Session organised by Patrus.

¹⁴⁸ The de facto representative of CAM – see Chapter Five.

valid, right? Especially who is inside the markets; know a lot of what is needed... And then we went to this [other] meeting, about what they were wanting, their purpose. And there were even three councillors/ aldermen fighting a lot to preserve our rights. (...) Then I don't know what is happening. (...) The only thing I came to know, through third parties, is that a group of investors, the same one of the Mercado de Origem. (...) I read news about it (...) We saw, some men looking and taking pictures... Verifying the market, inside, outside. But without saying nothing, asking nothing, you know?' (Cândida/ CAM, January 2020).

In interviews traders revealed different views about the tendering. While agreeing that the markets needed investment, they voiced concerns were about the identity of new markets (e.g. becoming 'shopping centres'), and mainly about traders' permanence rights, and the potential to be excluded by new managers seeking profit (*Interviews with Alice and Letícia*). At the same time, private management was welcomed, because of its potential to bring more flexible occupation terms/ less bureaucracy, e.g. in putting tables just outside one's shop entrance without being fined (*Renato/ Cruzeiro, August 2019*). Disillusioned about the public management and its capacity, some traders looked at the private management prospect with hope:

'I am at FECOPE for 21 years. Something has to be done to once again attract the customers. It cannot continue as it is. We [FECOPE traders] are in favour of the tendering. It is even fair that they raise the rent prices, if we get a trading payback' (Natanael, in Lobato, 2020).

'The [council] indeed has way more important things, like for instance, the homeless dwellers, that are dying there in the cold. (...) So I am not against this 'privatisation' because it is a very good chance of having an improvement. Of course, they would be seeking profit. But I will also try the maximum to improve, to be in accordance with this profit, to match its need. And to grow together' (Cândida/ CAM, August 2019).

In terms of *democracy*, despite opportunities for public participation in the tendering, engagement in those demanded availability, a certain level of technical expertise and even economic resources. Consequently, the active participation of less-educated and less mobilised stakeholders – such as the traders of FECOPE and CAM - was not feasible, highlighting issues in the design of participatory processes, in relation to having all interests voiced, as discussed in Chapter Two (2.4.2). At the same time, traders and other deemed more 'vulnerable groups' in this context should not be fully victimised and completely exempted of responsibility in not taking part in invited opportunities of participation. For example, although notified about the consultation phases¹⁴⁹, none of the traders of FECOPE or CAM engaged in them. This might nevertheless relate to the demographic profile discussed in Chapter Five, and limited time resources or even apathy, and senses of powerlessness. The absence of traders' official representation, coming from a Traders' Association is also a factor hampering communication fluidity between the council and FECOPE and CAM traders, as also explained in Chapter Five.

Conversely, Fainstein (2014) stresses that in cities' uneven fields of power, the most important is not participation per se, but to have interests fairly represented. The results of public policies are therefore more important than the circumstances under which they were created. The WG members expressed

¹⁴⁹ If not by the council, individually, but by me.

responsibility towards traders' main concern: secure tenure within the markets, as explained in the following section. Moreover, communities' fears of having markets becoming fancy shopping destinations detached from their local reality are shared by WG members. The PBH Ativos representative explained the priorities when analysing the PMI proposals:

'When we released the PMI call there was a basic condition: the maintenance of the public marketplaces' nature. The [potential private partner] can give a wonderful solution there: "a building that will bring a billion of Reais per month to the city council" – it is out. And the WG of secretaries was really clear about this. "In this project we are not prioritising the payment of the outorga¹⁵⁰ fee". Of course, if we can make an interesting model for the city council, and that brings a (good) financial payback, it is better. But this is not, differently than other projects, to collect revenue. So the main condition is that it has to keep the municipal market conditions. And we are even studying judicial models, including the legal aspects, to protect this, because naturally there is a real state attack, a commercial attack in this type of markets' (PBH Ativos, July 2019).

The head of SUSAN further explained the WG's vision for the new markets and their management:

'...[W]e [WG] constructed a proposal for the occupation of these market spaces, where everything came to the table. It had to be a sustainability proposal, and that innovated in these spaces, respecting the guideline of being Markets. But it had to be someone that would have the conditions of investing in maintenance, caring for the public infrastructure. It had to be a proposal that respected the people that are there for a determined period of time, but also one that innovated, bringing the food security and nutrition guidelines, agroecology; the circular economy and solidarity economy guidelines inside these spaces. And it had to be a monitored proposal. The PMI is an open call, [for businessmen, Coops, OSCs or stakeholders partnering], as long as they can demonstrate they can invest, care for markets and follow the guidelines' (SUSAN, July 2019).

Considering the expressed care in the development of the tendering project and calls, the sub-section below discusses the resulting conditions of the new proposed system, and their impacts for *equity* and *diversity*.

7.2.3 Employment safeguarding and anti-gentrification terms: Prospects for *equity* and *diversity*

Belo Horizonte has pronounced economic inequalities, thus the need to strongly address equity, for justice, as demonstrated in Chapter Four. Therefore, at the same time that WG members condemned the fact that markets '*only serve traders' private interests*', they showed concern for people relying on markets for their livelihood generation. The head of the Treasury declared:

'...Belo Horizonte City Council does not have any interest in taking out a person that is there working for 10, 20, 30 years, out. So in the PMI we put some conditions. And one of them is that the permission holders are allowed to stay in the markets paying the same rent fees they do now for five years - the longest allowed by law' (SMFA, July 2019).

The mentioned right for current traders to remain in the markets was posed as a primary core condition, in the tendering contract:

¹⁵⁰ Annual fee paid for the right to explore economically the public infrastructure; a compensation.

'Art. 3°: It constitutes the loss of the new manager [concession holder] the continuity of the functioning of the permission holder activities, of the ones formally constituted at the time, in the conceded public spaces, for sixty months, counting from the order of the beginning of the refurbishing, having to respect the values of the monthly financial transfer and the predictions of readjustment, in the terms of the instrument of Paid Use Permission Term (TPRU) currently in effect, call and bidding contract' (Law Nº 11.219/2020, p.2 (DOM, 2020)).

Further imposed tendering conditions in line with equity concerns and economic inclusion are:

1. The joint tendering, coupling potentially profitable markets with less economically interesting ones. FECOPE and CAM were not considered viable investments by PMI proponents, and their future was enquired about in the public session. Influenced or not by these event discussions, the WG grouped together 1) FECOPE and the Mercado de Santa Tereza, and 2) CAM and the Mercado do Cruzeiro. The strategy clearly imposes a trade-off to concession holders, who need to be up for the 'social responsibility' of embracing the social agenda side of the tendering. In the first group, the inclusion of FECOPE imposes a further trade-off. Concession holders will have to build a new venue for the CCPE, in a plot allocated by the council.
2. To provide 25% of each market's units for half of the normal rent fees. The subsidising of units supports the maintenance of markets as spaces of social economy opportunities.
3. To destine at least 30m², also at subsidised prices, for an 'agroecology store' aimed at promoting healthy food intake, sold at competitive prices by small producers linked to urban and family agriculture programmes (DOM, 2020).

The literature defends markets' relevance for employment due to low entry barriers (e.g. Morales, 2009). While the above listed measures do safeguard opportunities to current and other 'lower income' traders, promoting *equity* in cities (Fainstein, 2010), the tendering of markets is not a social service project. The economic viability of the markets is a basic premise of the tendering. WG members stated that 'the selling of oranges won't sustain the markets' (SMPU, July 2019), hence the importance of businesses like restaurants working as 'anchor enterprises', and the increase of the rentable area/ units (SMFA, July 2019). Still, the listed requirements can serve as partial shields to gentrification. Although not designed specifically to contain it, the conditions provide evidence that the council '*don't want shopping malls*' as the tendering result (SMPOG, July 2019), in line with the quotes discussed above. The incorporation of social agendas also indicates the WG's tendering employment as a rather neutral management strategy, instead of an instrument to commodify public assets. According to SMASAC's vision, it is the most viable way of enabling public policies in relation to the markets, giving livelihood opportunities to groups such as small agriculture family businesses. As such, private capital would be at the service of the public authority's agenda (Barber and Hall, 2008) rather than the social conditions serving as a rhetoric discourse covering profitability priorities.

Notwithstanding, when assessing what is the priority in the tendering process, one must remember that the city council gains three times in the new arrangement: it is no longer responsible for employing public funds to support markets; it can allocate fewer personnel to monitor markets' management and,

importantly, it collects revenue through the tendering. The selection of concession holders happens in a similar fashion to the bidding of shops, although at a much grander scale: annual basic fees are established and the candidates offering the highest bid win (PBH, 2020 and 2021b). The price criteria as determining selection, together with the need to prove experience managing commercial spaces of large scale (like shopping malls of at least 2000m² ref. specific tendering term) (PBH, 2020 and 2021b) constrains the possibility of neighbourhood associations, OCS, etc of becoming concession holders.

At the same time, it cannot be said that money is a strong motivation for the council. The revenue to be earned with the annual fees paid by concession holders has to be observed in relation to the city council's annual budget. While the complete contract values for the twenty-five years of markets concession correspond to millions, the annual fees on both tendering contracts (i.e. four marketplaces) put together would generate an earning of at least around R\$1.3 million.¹⁵¹ The annual budget of Belo Horizonte for 2020 is over R\$13 billion¹⁵². The markets' tendering would be then equivalent to a 0.01% portion of the annual revenue of the council, an apparently 'meaningless' amount in comparison to the one the city council manages.

In response to enquiries in the consultation phase about the adopted price criterium, the municipality argued that the choice does not mean privileging earning over preserving markets' typical nature and functions. The Law N° 8.987/1995 also states the technical quality of the proposal as the criteria defining winners. But it was argued that since the tendering contracts are clear about mandatory terms, revenue collection is a secondary reasonable advantage which the city council will retain (PBH, 2020). Further supporting the importance of the price criterion, a SUSAN staff member explained that it is the most pragmatic one for the public authority, since it is less subject to contestation about favouring specific candidates (*Silvio/SUSAN, August 2019*). This example calls attention to the reality of working in municipalities and the compromises that need to be made between what is the *ideally just*, and what is *feasible*.

Nevertheless, despite the concern in ensuring that income generation at markets will be protected, the process of development of the tendering and the unclear starting time of the new system, in itself had detrimental impacts to it. It put on hold the current markets' governance. New bidding calls for vacant units were therefore suspended, and annual contract renewals with current traders were not enforced, contributing to a sense of job insecurity and uncertainty about the future for current traders in markets facing decline.

7.2.4 Diverse markets, but what kind of *diversity*?

The vision for the new markets expects lively, diverse and culturally rich places, with an increase in numbers and plurality of traders and customers. The investment options and branches cover

¹⁵¹ Approximately £282.000, considering the conversion rate of £1 = R\$ 4.62 on the 29th of July 2019 (<https://www.exchangerates.org.uk/GBP-BRL-spot-exchange-rates-history-2019.html>)

¹⁵² Approximately £2.8 billion, considering the same conversion rate.

opportunities targeting from small agricultural producers needing subsidised spaces, to highly capitalised entrepreneurs. The expected wider catchment area of markets, moreover, together with the different types of activities hosted, aims to attract users with varying social and economic profiles. The establishment of gastronomic and cultural activities also aims to attract tourists, a type of public not currently seen in the public markets.

In an economic investment dependent on commercial activity, growth and profit, concession holders will, as in other contexts, be catering for more capitalised users (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013) with sanitised and closely controlled markets (Freire, 2018), where customers' expenditure is expected to increase. It is rather unlikely that the shops and products on offer will keep prices and contribute to markets inclusivity. An expected consequence, also observed in cases around the globe, is the risk of creating exclusionary spaces (Zukin, 2008) leading to markets retail gentrification (Gonzalez, 2020) that can also impact costs in surrounding neighbourhoods (Filipi, 2013). Yet, the risk was downplayed by WG members:

'Look, whenever private investment is involved, we have this concern... I think [gentrification] will also depend a lot on the community dynamics of the surroundings, you know?... I cannot see it, for example, in Santa Tereza. No way! The community wouldn't allow it. I don't believe this will happen in Belo Horizonte, due to the dynamics of the population itself. But there is a concern from us, of monitoring, also about this' (SUSAN, July 2019).

The head of SUSAN's reference to the 'dynamics of the population itself' can be connected to the local fondness for markets, as well as to the disposition for civic mobilisation observed in the city in recent years, covered in Chapter Four. The representative of SMPU further drew attention to the specificities of each market, where the equilibrium between economic, social and cultural needs has to be found in their development process, based on their uniqueness:

'(...) So this equilibrium. Not gentrifying, but also reaching varied scales, because big markets won't survive only with the neighbourhood catchment, you understand? You need an attraction potential. So, there is no 'cake recipe' for all markets, but a balance. It is an 'anchor' [enterprise] that sustains the market, something local, respecting the place's identity, and something cultural, helping us disseminate the culture infrastructure that we have in the city, which are few. So we have to match all of these things for each market, what we tried someway in the PMI call' (SMPU, July 2019).

An important requirement within the tendering conditions supporting these aspirations is the creation of a *Social Committee*. Formed by representatives of the city council, who will preside over it; the concession holder; the *Municipal Council of Food Security and Nutrition (COMUSAN)*; the traders; and the neighbourhoods' associations, the group has to meet at least bimonthly and '*...elaborate exclusively social guidelines, for the fulfilling of the intrinsic matters related to the tendering'* (PBH, 2020 – Annex II, p.37). While the *Social Committee* will have limited functions and powers, the forming of such networks of stakeholders will potentially be instrumental in the construction of social capital resources associated with the markets. This requirement indicates the municipality's effort in create and mobilise strong collectives (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001) in its intention to support a plural (social) organisational

level (Schappo and van Melik, 2016) for markets. Moreover, to promote a broader, more diverse and sustained civic participation in the process of monitoring the markets' future functioning, such as the social impacts that the new management system will generate for market traders and users. Among the concerns, the *Social Committee* can help addressing the mentioned risk of expulsion of specific vulnerable groups from new markets' environments. Still, the existing encroachment of market spaces by informal traders and homeless dwellers in the context of FECOPE and CAM, is very unlikely to be permitted. Thus, markets' public space functions are to be partially compromised, and the council has to find ways of neutralising the further exclusion of these vulnerable groups in the sphere of the city.

The discussion in this section revealed that the changes in the governance of Belo Horizonte's public markets include a common contemporary situation faced by marketplaces around the world, with the (partial) transfer of management responsibilities to the private sector. However, Belo Horizonte's example is *sui generis*, worth studying in more detail, regarding policy insights in light of social justice intentions. Beyond the reasons for choosing a tendering process, the implementation of the tendering process, since the creation of the PMI, reveals the municipality's effort to reasonably equate markets' indispensable economic sustainability conditions and the desired social results. Therefore, social (justice) interests are perceived in the secure tenure of current traders; the creation of a plural social committee; the trade-off of coupling a profitable market and one more likely to be subsidised; and the percentage of units to be rented at lower prices, with the obligation to sell sustainable agroecological goods.

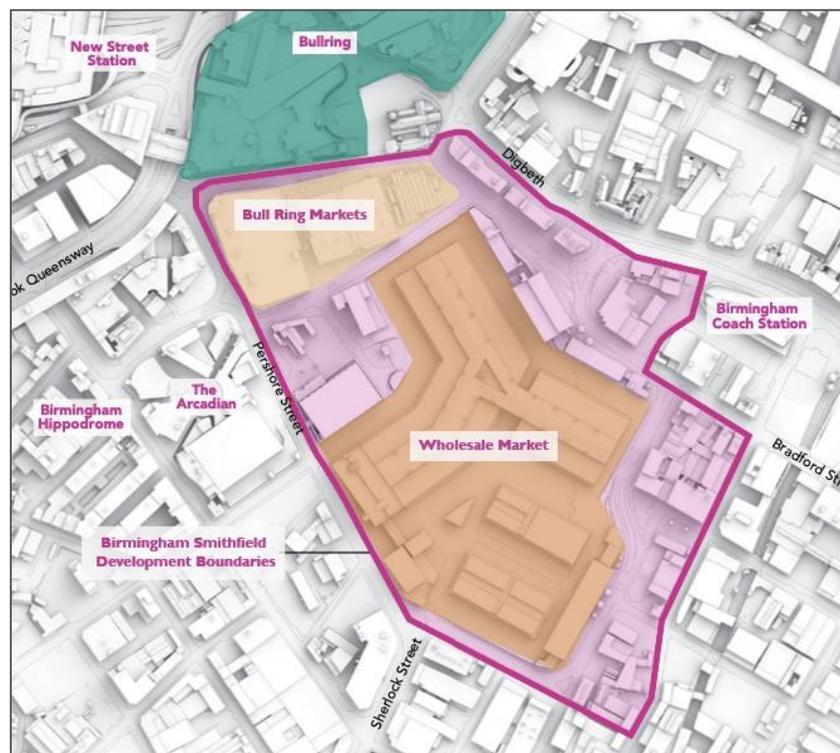
Yet, the analysis above showed that there are limits to the extent to which the new management and the vision for the new markets coincide with social justice aspirations. Participation was limited, despite the opportunities offered, and the sort of diversity to be expected in the reinvented markets' environments appears to concentrate around middle- or upper-class user groups, that could expel current users of markets deemed 'less legitimate', but also lower-income traders and customers. Still, each of the four tendered markets will develop its own dynamics and gentrification will occur (or not) in undoubtedly different ways, depending on markets' size and specific neighbourhood. Despite the weaknesses, the tendering has praise-worthy qualities that will likely improve the management of markets in the city, potentially rescuing FECOPE and CAM from a path of extinction.

7.3 Birmingham Smithfield: Markets' new venue and uncertain governance future

In 2016 BCC announced the *Birmingham Smithfield* development, a large-scale multipurpose project which will deliver a new venue for the BRMs, to be renamed the Smithfield Market. This section analyses the BCC's motivations for the project, what is known about the realisation of the strategy, and its current and expected impacts for traders and community.

Smithfield is part of the overarching scope of the Big City Plan, explained in Chapter Four, and covers 17 hectares of land in the Southeast part of Birmingham's city centre, with the aim of expanding the

centre. As with other policy documents of BCC urban regeneration plans (e.g. BCC, 2011 and 2017a), the language employed in Smithfield stresses the successful profile of Birmingham and how crucial the ambitious multipurpose project is for the future prosperity of the city. Smithfield is described by its developer as ‘pivotal to unlocking Birmingham’s growth and economic potential’ (Landlease, 2021a) and it was defined by BCC as ‘a once in a generation opportunity’ in its masterplan (BCC, 2016a), a statement consistently repeated by the council leader Ian Ward in the local media, where he added: ‘I believe [Smithfield] is the largest mixed use regeneration opportunity in the whole of Europe’ (Cardwell, 2020).



Map 7.1: The boundaries of Birmingham Smithfield development (pink). In yellow, the area of the current markets. In orange the area of the wholesale market, now demolished and in green, the Bullring Shopping Centre

Source: BCC, 2016a with author’s edition

The ambitious project, for which an Enterprise Zone¹⁵³ was created, is conceived as ‘a carbon-free multipurpose development, to strengthen the international reputation of the city’ (Birmingham City Council, 2016). It will deliver ‘over 3,000 sustainable and modern homes in a green setting, supported by a range of community facilities and Smithfield Park, improving wellbeing and biodiversity’

¹⁵³ Enterprise Zones are designated areas across England that provide tax breaks and Government support (HM Government, n.d. in <https://enterprisezones.communities.gov.uk/about-enterprise-zones/#:~:text=Enterprise%20Zones%20are%20designated%20areas,and%20enable%20local%20economic%20growth>).

(Landlease, 2021a). With the establishment of hotels, shops, cafes, restaurants, and a new market venue, it expects to create around 8000 jobs, and deliver new walking and cycling routes, beside better public transport links (BCC, 2016a). The development, with a cost of £1.9bn is expected ‘to add £470 million GVA to the local economy and attract millions more visitors to the region’ (Visit Birmingham, 2015), becoming ‘a shining example of inclusive economic growth, [creating] a real legacy in the heart of Birmingham.’ (Landlease, 2021b).



Figure 7.5: Visualisation of Birmingham Smithfield development, with the new Smithfield Market location indicated (in red)
Source: BCC, 2016a with author’s edition

7.3.1 A change in discourse: *Diversity* implications of the new valuing of markets

Inspired by other cities’ examples where recently public markets became important elements in the development of an attractive international profile (e.g. Barcelona – Urbact Markets, 2015; Cordeiro, 2017), the discursive approach of BCC to markets has changed. Although underpinned by the independent retail deficiency in Birmingham’s city centre (BCC 2017), the council and the chosen

development partner, Landlease,¹⁵⁴ have been issuing statements that seem inconsistent with the somewhat unsupportive and exclusionary management tendencies of the BRMs, discussed in previous chapters. In contrast, they praise the ‘rich legacy of the iconic Indoor, Open and Rag markets, central to the plans to create a new vibrant market, celebrating the history of Birmingham and its roots as the ‘city of a thousand trades’ (Landlease, 2022, author’s emphasis). Smithfield will incorporate a ‘new home for the city’s valued historical Bull Ring markets’ (Landlease, 2022 author’s emphasis). The Smithfield Market will reunite the three current separated environments in a smaller area, relocating them:

‘... [A]t the heart of Birmingham Smithfield [with] fantastic market shopping attracting new and existing customers and a range of leisure uses supported by cafes, independent shops, restaurants and hotels. The new home for the markets, a multi-layered building capturing the markets’ distinct character and reflecting the rich history of its location, will have a mix of activities across day and night’ (BCC, 2016a p.18, author’s emphasis).

The aim is to transform the new market in an ‘iconic new centrepiece for the city centre’; ‘an international experience destination, (...) a creative and cultural hub, serving local needs and drawing people together’ (BCC, 2016a p.32). It will also contain ‘business space for start-ups and small enterprises, offering real opportunities for growing independent businesses’ (BCC, 2016a, p.32). The plan ultimately seeks to establish Smithfield ‘as a prestigious and globally recognised market district’ (Landlease, 2022) while fostering a ‘strong sense of place [and] pride for the area’ (BCC, 2016a, p.43) and continuing ‘to be a [market of] good value and easily accessible source of fresh food and goods for residents’ (BCC, 2016 p.32), the ‘vibrant communities clustered within walking distance of the site’ (BCC, 2016 p.12). However, it is important to explain that the current markets’ infrastructure will be demolished to give room to other leisure venues part of Smithfield (BCC, 2016a, p.33).



Figure 7.6: The envisioned type of design for the new Smithfield Market, for reference
Source: Birmingham Smithfield Masterplan (BCC, 2016a)

¹⁵⁴ which led the refurbishment of Leicester Markets, taken as a reference of ‘successful market’ in the UK (*interviews with William and Martin*).

The brief acknowledgement of local communities and their provision needs, could be a sign of a genuine attempt to provide new more quality public infrastructure, while raising the profile of the markets in the sense of shifting the BRMs position within the socioeconomic context of the city, from excluded to included, legitimately located in the centre. However, considering past academic research on similar cases (see Gonzalez, 2018), the transformation of markets, within the entrepreneurial governance context it exists, and the BCC's need to recover the investment done in the development, suggests a probable retail gentrification of the area, and the transformation of markets in simulacrum spaces, co-opted to support the extraction of profit (Gonzalez, 2020), (as reported by Freire (2018) in relation to Brazilian markets). Strengthening this assumption is the identified discourse and representations done by the council about the whole Smithfield development and especially of the planned new markets. It contains statements 'romanticising' the BRMs, its history in the city and its relationship with BCC, which can be an instrumental narrative, as the explained in Chapter Two (2.5.2) to encourage investors and convince Birmingham traders and residents that Smithfield and the markets' move is something the city cannot do without.

7.3.2 Employment uncertainties and the impacts on *equity*

What might restrain the tendency of gentrification is the enduring presence of the BRMs' current traders and users in the new markets. But trading opportunities in the Smithfield Market, to be included in it, are uncertain. During the research process, BCC's provided answers in 2021 (to the FOI request)¹⁵⁵ were very brief and unprecise, when it was enquired about the Smithfield Market's management system (i.e. if will be public or private), terms of traders' selection, number of units and fees to be charged. BCC declared they were not yet defined. Additionally, the lack of precision through mentioning that a calendar '[was] not yet available' (BCC, 2021b) or the withholding of information that should already been released, considering the promised 'extensive consultation with locals and traders' (Landlease, 2022) results in no clarity, as yet, about the schedule for the construction of the new market and when the move to the new venue will happen. Recently, however, an outline of the different phases of the Smithfield development was finally released, in the rather late first consultation phase in April 2022, (considering the stated aim of starting the construction of Smithfield in 2022 (Landlease, 2019)). The markets, to be designed by David Kohn architects, winners of an international contest in 2019 (Colander, 2019), are planned to be delivered in the first stage of the development (BCC, 2016a p.50), with construction to be concluded in 2027.

The commitments from BCC to merchants so far were, first, that 'all existing traders will have an opportunity to apply for a space in the new market which will be subject to selection criteria. This is to be communicated as part of the consultation process with traders' (BCC, 2021b). And second, that until the move the BRMs will continue to operate in their current locations (*Thomas/ Enforcement team,*

¹⁵⁵ As explained in Chapter Three, I needed to open a Freedom of Information request to access information from the council. In it I posed questions about the future of the markets as part of the Smithfield development.

April 2019), meaning traders will not be temporarily out of business. Undoubtedly there were delays in the original development plans for Smithfield, some perhaps beyond BCC's responsibility¹⁵⁶, but traders have been suffering from the impact of the move since May 2018, when the wholesale market was relocated from the city centre to an outer neighbourhood (Witton). Previously, Birmingham's wholesale market was located just across the street of the BRMs. The relocation resulted in increased journeys and transportation costs (since much of the BRM's raw materials come from the wholesale market) (Young, 2018b), another financial pressure on top of increasing fees (discussed in Chapter Six).

The apparently imminent (but as yet uncertain) move leaves traders and their businesses in a sort of limbo. Considering the economic pressures explained in previous chapters, the pending question for all the BRMs currently is: will businesses survive until the (potential) move to the Smithfield Market? The unclear deadlines and conditions of admission to the new venue, and frozen investment in the current markets, has resulted in BRMs traders' anxiety about what the future holds. The situation of Oscar, a market stall holder in the Rag Market, is helpful in exemplifying the problem. His lease expired in 2016 and was not renewed (see similar cases in 6.3.1) meaning that even if he wants to leave, he cannot sell his restaurant business. Moreover, the place needs a revamp, but the impending move discourages him from making a likely investment of around £20,000. Frustrated and critical about markets' 'filthy' state, Oscar has lost interest in his business.



Figure 7.7: Initial construction works on the plot of the previous wholesale market

Source: Author's archives

The lack of certainty about the situation – or the lack of released information - is more evidence, in the eyes of traders, of the council's hidden agenda. It was suggested – in vain - that BCC could impose a requirement to Landlease to invest in the current markets, to help maintain them until the Smithfield Market is ready (*Martin/ BRMs, November 2019*), taking the economic 'burden' off the council's shoulders. Meanwhile, disillusioned traders including Ben, previous owner of a juice bar, one of the few

¹⁵⁶ Such as the Covid-19 pandemic and its effects.

who fit the likely 'hipster' profile of the new Smithfield Market, already quit the markets since in 2020, after going through stages of firing staff and getting indebted to remain in the BRMs (Young, 2020a and c).

7.3.3 (Promises of) consultation and *democracy* prospects

The council claims to have completed 'an extensive public consultation' prior to Smithfield masterplan delivery (BCC, 2016a, p.8) and that 'strong partnerships and the participation of stakeholders and the community will be key to the long-term success of the site'. (BCC, 2016a p.50). Moreover, BCC, Landlease and architect partners state in press releases and local media to be planning a robust 'consultation commencing in March 2022, providing an opportunity for people across Birmingham to directly engage and shape the future of the site' (Bourke, 2022; Landlease, 2021a and b). Special attention is promised to market traders and customers, with whom Landlease is planning to 'co-design' markets and consult through 'many opportunities [in] direct engagements with the design team and help shape the future of Smithfield' (Landlease 2021a and b). The contracts between the council and Landlease have already been signed, and traders are aware of the new venue plans' existence, and yet the actual engagement with traders and customers, apparently started in March 2022 seems so far limited. According to traders, the few meetings between Landlease and traders' representatives since 2019 have been so far of little help, rather informational sessions than participatory planning ones.

An initial consultation round predicted in the Smithfield development plan was finally organised by Landlease for the end of March and beginning of April 2022, as reported above. Its aim was to present the long overdue masterplan of Birmingham Smithfield. Combining the work of five architecture firms, evolution is apparently slow. In relation to the markets, specifically, there was only an initial zoning plan, revealing a silhouette and approximate location of the markets, that while clustered, will remain distinct environments. Simultaneously, *Eastside Projects*, an artist-run multiverse based in a public gallery in Digbeth, partnering with David Kohn architects, are in charge of conducting long-term consultation with traders and community. Figures 7.7 and 7.8 show evidence of their work.

Considering the level of development of the Smithfield Markets' project, it is not yet possible to analyse how the – still to be collected – contributions of the markets' community via participation channels will be incorporated in the design of the new venue and, even less, how it might impact the governance of the Smithfield Market. Moreover, it is worth questioning what the consultation for the market will include – i.e. will it be 'only' about the design of building and units, or will it be also about the chances of engagement given to traders (to apply; have a place), or the nature of businesses sought. Representatives of Landlease, David Kohn and other involved offices in the development of Smithfield expressed in the consultation session their commitment to creating something 'truly Birmingham.' Yet, this promise, while perhaps truly meant by some, is questionable against the backdrop of past experiences, some of it covered in the following section. The history of markets' governance in Birmingham reinforces the perception that the 'extensive consultation' will more likely be another rhetoric element, of a tokenist function in the sense explained by Arnstein (1969): where less powerful

stakeholders have a space to expose their views, but do not have them seriously considered by more influential groups. Therefore, participation is adopted by the council as a normative need in policy (Durose and Lowndes, 2010), but which proper compliance with is unlikely and, perhaps conveniently for BCC, hard to trace.



Figure 7.8: Banner explaining the purpose of the participation stage for the new Smithfield Market development
Source: Author's archives



Figure 7.9: Material of the consultation with customers and traders in the Indoor Market. The contrast of a promised good future against the backdrop of a declining market, where material is exposed over the facade of one of the many empty trading units
Source: Author's archives

7.3.4 Past redevelopment experiences that enlighten markets' prospects

It is hard to judge BCC's intentions with its higher management officers' voice missing in this study. But considering the unchanged urban regeneration strategy since Wolhuter's study (2002), the analysis of the similar process of the move twenty years ago, because of the redevelopment of the Bull Ring Shopping Centre (BRSC) (see Chapter Four), can inform the assessment of the likely impacts of Smithfield move for market traders and users. Back then, there were also promises from the council and the developer (Hammersons) of a brighter future for markets already confronted with decline:

'This [redevelopment] will bring the historic trading area into the new millennium (...)[F]ollowing market relocation they will have potential to be a major visitor attraction in their own right (...) a complementary shopping and visitor attraction as well as serving their primary role for residents of the City and Inner City in particular' (BCC, 2001b, p 370 in Wolhuter, 2002, p. 136).

However, during the redevelopment, markets went through significant disruption, first temporarily relocated to an unpleasant venue, with some put out of business (Refs); then, spatially excluded from the rest of the centre in their new premises. Wolhuter (2002) explained that the redevelopment of the BRSC:

'...[D]isplaced a large number of discount shops and associated meeting and eating places, which served the less affluent from a variety of neighbourhoods around the city centre' (Wolhuter, 2002, pp. 137-138).

She also highlights that:

'...[T]he BCC [had] a direct interest in the future of the markets, but one that [remained] framed by the larger urban renaissance that they have planned and marketed for Birmingham City Centre...' (Wolhuter, 2002, p. 137).

This evidence contradicts the hopeful promise stated above, of markets being supported as an accessible shopping and *major visitor attraction*. Based on this memory, Herbert expressed his first impressions about Smithfield:

'My feel would be that, based on previous developments, that once again, the space for the traders would shrink and once again, they would be marginalised' (Herbert/ historian, May 2020).

The combination of the current economic pressures over markets and traders and the romanticised Smithfield discourse presented above, informed by the historical evidence presented, suggests that the BCC intends indeed to attract a different group of traders and customers. In this sense, the representations in policy documents work as a twofold instrument that on the one hand masks BCC's and developer economic intentions of capitalising in the valuable land and location, and on the other helps to fabricate an idea of authentic identity to be consumed by tourists and more affluent users, excluding current traders and customers, pushed away by the cost of rent of units, and goods and services on offer. According to the local journalist that has been covering the markets' issues recently, a new market without the long-term traders and family businesses would be very problematic. It could be a 'gleaming fantastic new venue [but] a numb place without identity, if those who have the passion for a real market are gone' (Richard/ local journalist, January 2020). The resulting market would thus

be indeed a caricature of a real Brummie market, with less possibility of contributing to social justice in terms of *equity* and *diversity* than the BRMs nowadays.

7.4 Juxtaposing new systems of markets' governance in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham

One of the main similarities between Belo Horizonte and Birmingham public markets' governance, (underpinning case study selection, see Chapter Three) is the imminent change in the system, where new governance strategies rely on the (partial) transfer of management and investment responsibilities to the private sector, in response to market decline and redevelopment imperatives. The decision appears to be linked to the need to 'lift' markets from their current problematic economic situation of increasing decline, and find economic sustainability options. Nevertheless, the nature of the path taken in both cities raises concerns about how exclusionary the new system will be for populations that currently make use of – and even depend on - markets today. Following the format adopted in Chapters Five and Six, the comparison of findings starts with a systematic summary of the policy elements of the tendering of markets in Belo Horizonte (7.2) and of the Birmingham Smithfield development (7.3), representative of market governance in both cities, and their expected effects for the specific axis of social justice, based on the analytical framework presented in Chapter Two.

NEW GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS: IMPACTS ON MARKETS RELATIONSHIP WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE

Belo Horizonte	Equity	Diversity	Democracy
	<p>The tendering of markets frames markets as profitable businesses, which entails a risk of gentrification;</p> <p>Price selection criterium and proved experience in managing commercial spaces excludes social-led alternative initiatives (e.g. Salve Santa Tereza movement);</p> <p>Trading conditions that try to protect (and enhance) markets' social justice potentials:</p> <p>The right for current traders to remain for five years in new markets, paying the current rent fees;</p> <p>25% of shops offered at half rent price;</p> <p>30m² for agroecology shop</p> <p>The joint tendering of a profitable market and one that will likely need subsidising;</p> <p>Some disruption already caused by the imminence of the new system (e.g. frozen bidding calls for vacant units);</p>	<p>Markets are expected to attract a wider range of users, including tourists, which will increase their users' diversity. But it can also push away current less well-off users;</p> <p>Gentrification will happen (or not) differently in each market;</p> <p>Informal traders and homeless will probably not to be tolerated in securitised environments, hence less inclusionary markets;</p>	<p>New plan influenced by the advocacy around markets in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro;</p> <p>Three official opportunities for participation in the planning of the tendering:</p> <p>PMI;</p> <p>Public Session;</p> <p>Consultation about the two joint tendering calls</p> <p>To participate however, at least a certain level of expertise and time needed to be invested – 'inaccessible' opportunities for those stakeholders to be most affected by changes;</p>

Birmingham	Equity	Diversity	Democracy
	<p>Markets planned to respond to deficiency in independent retail offer in Birmingham City Centre, but within a format that is compatible with BCC's urban regeneration agenda and its high ambitions;</p> <p>Profile of markets presented in plans indicate potential gentrification; even though the council states markets will remain affordable for current users;</p> <p>Smithfield development is already having an impact:</p> <p>Move of wholesale market – making provision to markets harder/ more expensive;</p> <p>Limbo situation of current markets and a move predicted for 2027 pressurises current traders;</p> <p>No definition of terms of admission, number of units nor costs of fees in the new venue;</p> <p>Current traders were promised they will be allowed to apply, but no guarantees or preferences in being selected.</p>	<p>Narrative about the BRMs' importance for Birmingham inconsistent with BCC's current management approach;</p> <p>It indicates that the representation of BRMs as an authentic space of local identity and pride is used as a rhetoric element to brand the Smithfield and its new market venue to investors and tourists;</p> <p>Smithfield Market likely to become a simulacrum of a traditional market;</p> <p>Inventing an identity for a selected diversity of users – likely exclusion of the less well-off diasporas of areas around the centre of Birmingham.</p>	<p>Both the BCC in plans published in 2016, as Landlease promised 'co-production' and consultation with traders and locals. Yet, so far, there were only some initial unhelpful meetings between traders and Landlease (unidirectional communication – information session), and a long overdue first consultation meeting about Smithfield masterplan.</p>

Table 7.1: New governance systems: Impacts on markets relationship with social justice

Source: Author's analysis

Regarding the results, despite the presence of private investment in the new system in both cases, the proposals of changes in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham appear to consider different aspects, and envision different results. There are some limitations for the analysis, nevertheless: the Smithfield development is at an earlier stage compared with the tendering in Belo Horizonte, and many crucial decisions were allegedly not yet made, for example, about the conditions to have a business in the new venue. Nevertheless, the BCC's ambitious narrative about Smithfield, the complete disconnection with the current way the BRMs are treated/ framed in BCC's governance, combined with the argued urgency of Smithfield for the city's economic development, and the pivotal role to be performed by markets in it, are concerning rather than encouraging. The BCC's acknowledgement of the BRMs' social value appears to be rather shallow. The sobering comment of Lees et al (2007) in Chapter Two indicates that

probably it will be, as other examples increasingly common where markets are being redeveloped, a project that 'pay[s] lip service to social mixing [but is] accompanied by the displacement of the poor, and diminishing levels of social mix, ethnic diversity, and immigrant concentration' (Lees et al., 2007, p. 293).

The findings about Birmingham Smithfield converge with other academic findings (and criticism) about Birmingham's consistent urban regeneration strategy (Barber and Hall, 2008; Sandercock, 2003) and with the trends identified in the process of the markets' move in the turn of the millennium (Wolhuter, 2002). In relation to it, Wolhuter (2002) raises key questions: who is [Birmingham's] 'urban renaissance' for? Who benefits from the twin goals of economic development and urban regeneration?' (p. 137). It is hard to imagine how an Enterprise Zone high investment development will embrace a market catering for low-income users. Hence, the likelihood is that current traders and users will be displaced, and that the Smithfield Market will be a simulacrum space selling the *idea of authenticity* (Zukin, 2008) and pride in Birmingham roots. As such, urban regeneration serves more capitalised groups, prioritising economic growth and the extraction of profit (Gonzalez, 2020) to the expense of *equity*/ social justice.

According to entrepreneurial governance approaches to managing cities, to represent markets as 'authentic shopping venues' is extremely instrumental and Birmingham Smithfield's example follows on the footsteps of other cities that 'successfully' reinvented their markets such as Barcelona (see Cordeiro, 2017). Similarly useful is the rhetoric promise of participation in the planning, with strong commitments as 'co-production' in designing markets. While the positive narrative can be convincing for investors and Birmingham wider public, the BRMs are already agonizing in the wait for definitions about a move in five years' time, coping with frozen investment. A situation perhaps aggravated by the pandemic, but nevertheless already present before (*interviews with Herbert and Martin*).

Belo Horizonte's case appears more complex, perhaps because all terms are already defined and information accessible. Nevertheless, the tendering is a hybrid construction developed by a diverse pool of departments that tries to reconcile economic pragmatism and social justice in promoting both growth and *equity* agendas. In the process of developing the alternative, the PBH recognised multiple roles that markets fulfil for cities, converging with many of the aspects discussed in Chapter Two (2.2.2) of social justice promotion, revealing a more systemic understanding of markets that led to some interesting solutions, including convergences with some social and solidarity economy practices and principles (e.g. support to the social economy and cooperatives). And, although the entrepreneurial logic is a strong element, since the creation of the PMI, the municipality showed an effort to reasonably equate markets' indispensable economic sustainability conditions and the desired social results. Moreover, the advocacy performed by the heads of SUSAN and SMASAC, with the credibility invoked by their institutional position, aligned with social agendas, strengthened the idea that the tendering is applied as a reasonable and neutral, rather than political, governance strategy: the viable solution to stream private resources to support markets, while still directing the outcomes through the determination of contractual terms with private managers.

The chosen solution in Belo Horizonte is not immune to criticism, and it is important to note that representations within entrepreneurial governance approaches/ plans often conceal their political values through stressing the 'pragmatic' efficiency reasons behind decisions, as explained by Raco, (2009) in relation to urban governance contemporary tendencies. The tendering is a conservative strategy that reveals the influence of the 'economic rationale' in its development, and it remains to be seen whether the carefully constructed policy 'social justice shields' will be applied in practice. But the multiple contributors are visible in its results, and the tendering holds a credible potential of delivering better markets that do not expel current users, with the possible exception of those commonly taken as less desirable – the homeless and informal traders.

The likelihood of seeing a democratic process of markets' governance and markets supporting social justice in Birmingham is comparatively lower. It is important however to make some considerations before condemning the work of the BCC. The BRMs are under significant real estate pressure, more so than FECOPE and CAM in Belo Horizonte; and their current configuration and rather low economic return to the BCC is challenging to maintain, both because of their location and size of plot. An informant – who asked not to be identified - remarked that the BCC is almost bankrupt, with an immense pressure to make ends meet for the provision of essential services. It might therefore be sacrificing the possibility of having a bottom-up market, managed as a social enterprise, for a solution that more quickly deliver the capital the BCC needs. It is easier to understand the choice from this perspective, although the social losses will potentially be greater than the economic gains, in the longer term.

The main criticism to Birmingham's approach is nevertheless BCC's *insistence* on a model of urban regeneration that fails to address the city's main social and economic problems (see Chapter Four). The path of the urban regeneration agenda has proven since its beginning to be inadequate to improving the deprivation situation in the city. It has in fact *accentuated* the inequality gap (Wolhuter, 2002; Barber and Hall, 2010), and been incapable of tackling efficiently Birmingham's unemployment problems (Fenton *et al.*, 2011). Perhaps at the heart of why the strategy is misconceived and unhelpful temporarily is that, as stated in Chapter Four, BCC fails to recognise – or to enforce governance as if recognising - that the city is 'already global (...) due to its diversity, a meeting place of global diaspora(s) where the real distinctiveness is based less on prestige projects and more on the transnational roots of the city's residents' (Henry, McEwan and Pollard, 2002, p. 124), something that could breathe the 'authenticity' the Smithfield Market is promising to deliver into the city. The conclusions now reflect on this chapters' findings and their contributions to the research aim stated in the introduction.

7.5 Conclusion

The governance of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham is at the edge of transformation, as part of attempts to redevelop markets which increasingly characterise governance responses to them.

Therefore, as part of the analysis of how urban governance influences the relationship between public markets and social justice, this chapter discussed the new system of governance for markets in both cities, answering the research sub-question d: *How do the future imaginaries projected for markets and their resulting governance systems affect their (potential for) social justice?* Findings revealed different imaginaries for new markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, with the application of tools showing agendas influenced differently by entrepreneurial governance trends.

The physical and economic state of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham and their limited governance, explained in Chapter Six, validate the need for a change in the system in both contexts. In Belo Horizonte the WG members and SUSAN staff showed a level of consciousness of the links between markets and social justice, and the resulting tendering policy showed the effort, to the extent possible, to strengthen linkages, supporting markets to more effectively work supporting social justice. The potential is then enabled - and conversely perhaps compromised - by the employment of private capital and management in the governance of markets.

In Birmingham the drives for a change towards more 'effective' governance of the markets, involving the construction of a new venue, do not seem to be driven by the recognition of the BRMs' contributions to social justice in the city. The positive narrative about the new Smithfield Market, in its romanticisation that is detached from markets reality, seems rather guided by an interest in attracting economic investment and tourists to a space that will likely place Birmingham markets further from social justice, excluding current users. Hence, Birmingham's case appears to work as a perfect example where markets become sites for the *extraction of profit* (Gonzalez, 2020), and exclusion, with detrimental effects to all of Fainstein's (2010 and 2014) axes of social justice.

There is a genuine need in Birmingham to 'rescue' the city's identity. As mentioned by Herbert Birmingham became a *clone city* (Herbert/ historian, May 2020), a fact that in terms of retail materialises in the lack of independent small local businesses (BRNA, 2013) and an excess of franchises in Birmingham's city centre. The BRMs, pressured by commercial competition, have also lost track of their history and roots. The redevelopment of the markets in Birmingham Smithfield could be an opportunity to tackle town centre regeneration, reconnecting with the city's trading past, and bringing markets back to a central position in the city.

However, as highlighted by Polyak (2014), what determines the inclusivity or exclusivity performed by a market lies in the convergence of multiple factors, where the task of designing, organising, and managing a market gains its ultimate significance. The problem in Birmingham is not about having a new market venue and governance system or not, but *how* this result will be achieved. With its misconceived regeneration agenda, BCC might be wasting the opportunity to support markets in the direction of addressing the needs of the city's most vulnerable groups (hence supporting social justice), while also missing an opportunity of fulfilling its market charter duty of protecting its historical markets.

The reflection of findings in Chapter Six contended that academic critique oftentimes fails to account for the complex contexts resulting in decisions taken by public managers (Parnell and Robinson, 2006).

In light of resource limitations, the inertia of bureaucratic regimes in convergence with short government cycles, and the findings in Chapter Six which confirmed the crucial role of municipalities in the development prospects of markets in cities, argued by Nikšič and Sezer (2017), creative governance solutions are needed and fast. Considering this situation, the employment of private management and capital in the revitalization of markets, while economically driven, may be indeed (as argued by the head of the social services' secretariat) the only viable alternative to bring life back to markets condemned to abandonment (as concluded by Freire (2018) after studying four Brazilian cases), and to maintain - or even promote new - social agendas.

Therefore, in Birmingham and in many other big cities confronted by controversial growth and social justice pressures (Parnell and Robinson, 2006), the perhaps *sui generis* approach taken by Belo Horizonte can serve as an inspiration. Far from an ideal solution to be replicated in content everywhere, the process of intersectoral construction can guide the development of context-adequate governance solutions for public markets. The research conclusions will explore this possibility.

8. Conclusions

“We need to have public markets for those who need them {...}. The market has to be a place to generate livelihoods, and the products sold there need to have quality for those who will consume them. When this circle is closed, when the market’s architecture is attractive, when the trader is happy to work there, people will certainly want to go there (...). When the market has legitimacy in the city, has tradition and culture, it works harmoniously, in a more holistic way. And this is a huge challenge [to achieve]” (Silvio/SUSAN, August 2019, author’s emphasis).

‘We [local government] need to say what we want [to the private sector]. And we want it to be a market’ (SUSAN, July 2019, author’s emphasis).

8.1 Introduction: research rationale and motivations

Public markets are important spaces within cities, where social, cultural and economic practices take place. As explained in Chapter Two, markets were crucial elements in the origins of urban settlements and were entangled in the forming and consolidation of local governments (Urbact Markets, 2015; Janssens, 2014). Nowadays markets (still) contribute to a multiplicity of objectives in cities (Janseens and Sezer, 2013a; Morales, 2009), which can be framed in relation to social justice, a potential that could be further explored by municipalities dealing with contemporary urban injustice issues, such as unemployment, poverty and inequality. Considering this understanding, this thesis has explored the question *How do public markets support social justice in cities, and what role does urban governance play in this, considering the insights from Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?* This final chapter responds to this main research question, based on the findings of Chapters Four to Seven and discusses the implications of results for academic research and policy-making. Nevertheless, first it restates the research rationale and analytical framework adopted in this study.

8.1.1 Research motivations, design and analytical framework

The relevance of the research is multifold and connected to theoretical and empirical considerations presented in Chapter One. First, literature on markets from human geography and planning orientation (such as the collections edited by Janssen and Sezer (2013) and Gonzalez (2018)) has increasingly provided evidence of the critical state in which markets around the world are found, marginalised or threatened by exclusionary redevelopment trends. Despite markets being identified as playing multiple roles for cities, social and retail transformations in recent decades caused markets’ obsolescence as essential spaces for cities’ goods provision in both North (Janssens, 2014) and South (Pintaudi, 2006). Combined with the existence of what are considered more pressing agendas by local governments (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013; Watson 2009), and entrepreneurial governance tendencies (Van Eck, 2021), markets suffering with economic sustainability issues are threatened by either disappearance (Polyak, 2014) or gentrification (Filipi, 2013), jeopardising their potential to support social justice. Contemporary public markets are therefore spaces of contestation in cities (Gonzalez, 2020) where

different understandings about '*what are the roles of markets for cities*' emerge, revealing the conflictive agendas of social justice and economic pragmatism in the planning and governance of cities (Parnell and Robinson, 2006). Markets' precarious situation calls for the revision of policies and governance strategies carried out by city councils, to protect them from economic/ real estate exclusionary pressures and ensure their economic sustainability (Gonzalez, 2020). This research contributes to this aim by highlighting specific aspects of markets' governance that can be problematic, besides providing insights in terms of how interdisciplinary planning can be developed within municipalities, for creating realistic governance strategies for markets, in the context of complex urban realities and limited public funds.

Second, through focusing on markets' reality in different parts of the world with an 'ordinary cities' (Robinson, 2006) lens, this research engaged with comparative urbanism debates (e.g. McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2006, 2014 and 2016); supporting a more plural urban theory. Related to it, it converges with gaps in knowledge in the field of markets, identified by Gonzalez (2018), which invited comparative work: there is a lack of studies of formal markets in the global South; and of comparative studies of cases across different regions of the world (global North and South) from a planning perspective (see Chapter One). My comparative study involving cases from the global North and South helps to address a key issue of fragmented understandings of markets' reality. Localised knowledge can result in markets in countries from different regions appearing in stark contrast in the literature, while in reality there are more commonalities than may be assumed, as shown by this research. Findings therefore support the need to study cities without pre-assumed conclusions, (i.e. as 'ordinary'), for more accurate contemporary urban theory.

A relational comparison of two cases was considered the best research design to address the stated matters of policy-making and theoretical relevance, in relation to (studying) public markets. Moreover, it is situated within an epistemological commitment to epistemic justice (Fricker, 2007), understood to be another sphere of social justice, especially relevant for knowledge production. The research questions (see Chapter Three) enable the comparative critical study of the relationship between public markets, social justice and urban governance in the chosen cases. With the aim of revealing the complexities and nuances that show parallels and differences between case studies, a qualitative methodology was chosen, in line with Ward's (2010) recommendation for relational comparisons. I therefore conducted secondary source analysis, participant observation, questionnaires and interviews (see Chapter three).

My research findings were analysed with the support of a social justice conceptual framework, taking Fainstein's (2010) work on 'the just city' as the basis for this. Hence, understanding social justice aspects of different natures in relation to *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy*. With her planning inspired and pragmatic approach, Fainstein's work is comprehensive in addressing multiple urban and policy-making related social justice matters. Yet, considering epistemic justice and Robinson's (2006) ordinary cities' approach, it shall be acknowledged that Fainstein's theory is strongly rooted in the author's global North context, with a hegemonic way of conceiving knowledge. To address the limits of her framework,

I engaged with some more holistic ideas of social justice rooted in epistemologies of the South (Santos, 2014 and 2018). Because of the timing of my engagement with these sources¹⁵⁷, these references were not directly employed in the analysis of findings in Chapters Four to Seven, with the exception being the observation of practices aligned with social and solidarity economy in the researched markets. Nevertheless, they also informed the discussion in response to the main research question, and the further critical reflection on research results, below.

The remaining scope of this chapter is divided in the following way: I first discuss the answers to my research sub-questions, in order to answer the overarching research question (8.2). The second part of the chapter then presents more clearly the empirical, theoretical, methodological and policy contributions of this research (8.3). I analyse emerging themes in relation to the broader epistemic justice commitment of this research and provide some policy recommendations (8.4) and suggest some areas for further research, while acknowledging the limitations of my work (8.5).

8.2 Markets' contributions to social justice in cities and the influence of urban governance: Findings from Belo Horizonte and Birmingham

a) What are the key contextual factors influencing markets and their governance in Belo Horizonte and in Birmingham? How do they impact those and the relationship between markets and local governments?

Chapter Four, the first of the analytical chapters, investigated the dynamic settings where markets exist, and the context-based injustices that markets can help to address. Contextual potentials and constraints for markets to effectively work as social justice instruments were classified here as either *structural* (how dynamics unfold in the specific setting/ scale observed – e.g. national, local – beyond governments' control) or *institutional*, in relation to governance frameworks (how policies support social justice in countries and cities or not, and present – clearly or not -avenues where markets can be engaged as instruments for its promotion). Other than the direct impact of contextual elements, the indirect influence of context through its impact on setting overarching governance agendas/ plans was also considered.

As expected, markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham were found to be embedded, interdependent, and subordinated to the macro sphere in which they belong. But different contexts' dimensions had different levels of influence in markets' functioning. Within the structural components of context which were anticipated to exist in countries considered to be either part of the global South or North, the

¹⁵⁷ Similarly to my engagement with epistemic justice, I came across Southern ideas of social justice in early 2021, after reading Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1961). At this stage I had already completed my fieldwork and had a solid narrative and comparison of cases using Fainstein's framework. Considering the deadline to complete the PhD, I had to find other ways to engage with these Southern ideas.

differences in socioeconomic and political dynamics between Brazil and the United Kingdom did not result in equally contrasting markets' realities in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham. In fact, findings supported the understanding that the national context is not very influential on markets' dynamics, not only in a structural sense, but in relation to national level policies promoting social justice. This was also the case where national level mobilisation, research and policy for public markets was identified, namely in Britain, where the presence of national networks and resources nevertheless did not influence Birmingham local dynamics.

The local context, with its particular urban challenges and governance tendencies, had more impact on markets' functioning and prospects. Belo Horizonte and Birmingham revealed more similarities than their differing national contexts would suggest. Both cities struggle with substantial structural issues of inequality and deprivation, although the roots differ in each city and *are* linked to their national histories. In Belo Horizonte core causes are long-term, established in relation to national historically uneven distribution of material assets and economic welfare (Maricato, 2009), hence related to *equity* matters. In Birmingham, conversely, deprivation is strongly linked to deindustrialisation (Wolhuter, 2002), and vulnerability is felt specially by migrants and ethnic minorities (Fenton et al, 2011); thus, *diversity* injustices seem to cause *equity* issues in a vicious circle. In relation to this, markets' development strategies (e.g. to support accessible employment) and emphasis on specific aspects need to be determined in relation to the nature and depth of challenges identified locally.

Entangled with local contexts, the local impact of globally-felt tendencies of retail modernisation, social changes and entrepreneurial governance were the most influential on markets' dynamics, with findings confirming evidence from other contexts (e.g. Amsterdam (Janseens, 2014) and Madrid (Arreortua and Campo, 2018)). These common tendencies favour the comparison of cases of markets in contexts with substantially different socioeconomic and political dynamics, since markets' struggles have much in common everywhere, although with different intensities. The longer retail transformations are consolidated (in this research, Birmingham), the more markets are found in a peripheral position in terms of retail and provision relevance. The situation becomes a vicious cycle because younger generations are less likely to want to work as traders, and as potential customers youngsters are more prone to be emotionally detached from 'forgotten' markets, accentuating their economic decline.

Exclusionary pressures were also stronger in Birmingham because the BRMs' 'obsolescence' in terms of services provided was combined with their central location. Occupying more valuable scarce land, they faced a more aggressive urban governance agenda influenced by entrepreneurial tendencies. The economic efficiency rationale not only indicated that markets' existing social welfare contributions and historical/ cultural legacy were disregarded, but they also involved a more intense penetration of imaginaries of profitable markets inspired by international 'successful' examples, such as the markets in Barcelona (see Cordeiro, 2017 and Urbact Markets, 2015 for different interpretations of the case). Related to all these elements, there seems to be an intention of letting the BRMs decline in order to later gentrify them and/ or use the land for something more profitable, confirming governance tendencies observed by Dawson and Gonzalez (2018), in London markets.

In Belo Horizonte findings revealed equally complex and even contradictory tendencies. Markets do suffer from retail competition, resulting in the closure of half of the public markets since late 1990's. But competition is more diverse, including venues that support food security i.e. the municipally-owned street markets and the 'sacolões' ABasteCer. Moreover, the local fondness for traditional trading spaces, taken to be a strong feature of the Mineira culture, seems to protect markets to a certain extent from the threat of gentrification or their dismantling, although pressures were identified in cases where particular markets (or their plots of land) were expected to be profitable.

Finally, there is a direct connection between entrepreneurial urban governance, and how national and local economic policies misconceive the profile of the workforce, their resources, needs and possibilities. The overarching prioritisation of mainstream strategies of economic growth disregards small and family businesses which constitute the social economy. This trend, identified in both case studies confirms the influence of the neoliberal and global 'context of contexts' (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2010) in dictating governance priorities and discourse. I will return to this discussion in section 8.4.

Market traders' livelihoods, part of the social economy, are deemed irrelevant within such an economic growth model, which contributes to their marginalisation in urban governance policies. The problem is aggravated by the absence of a concern with the generation of livelihoods in planning frameworks, even when they focus on social justice promotion. These findings suggest that the social economy, as a substantial share of employment in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, should be more appreciated and considered in policy-making. The social and solidarity economy approach may provide a more appropriate response to this situation, favouring a positive view and engagement with small businesses, which can favour a stronger relationship between employment and justice in contributive terms (this is explored further below (section 8.4)).

b) What is the relationship between public markets and social justice in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?

In Chapter Five the focus was on identifying and analysing the actual contributions of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham's markets to social justice as described in academic literature. Following the understanding that markets are embedded in their contexts, and the identification of different features impacting in their functioning, markets' decline result in them having a more limited catchment area. Therefore, the volume and diversity of people engaging with markets is reduced. Yet, research in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham revealed how markets facing economic decline (still) contribute to social justice at the scale of neighbourhoods and the whole city (particularly central markets). The contributions of FECOPE and CAM in Belo Horizonte and the Bull Ring Markets in Birmingham were significant in terms of *equity* and *diversity*, but were comparatively weak in fostering *democracy*.

Despite claims of their obsolescence in terms of providing food and other basic items, the BRMs and CAM still played a significant role in offering affordable items that are consumed by less well-off customers, supporting *equity* and confirming findings in other contexts such as Mexico (Contreras, 2020a) and the United States (Morales, 2009). Employment was also identified as a key dimension of

social justice in both cities, confirming the trend of markets generally presenting low economic entry barriers to trading found in Chile (Dankers and Pavicich, 2019), Argentina (Habermehl, et al 2018), South Africa (Maharaj, 2020) and multiple European cities (Urbact Markets, 2015). Yet, the progressive decline of markets has been forcing traders out of businesses in both contexts, also causing a gradual replacement of white British traders by merchants of a foreign background in Birmingham (similarly to S. Watson 's (2006) findings in London).

The economic accessibility of markets nevertheless also results in them being a place of professional activity for what Wolhuter (2002) called 'hobby traders': retired individuals who decide to work as traders searching for a space that supports their self-esteem and counters their loneliness. The presence of hobby traders emphasises the relevance of markets as spaces of social interaction, inclusion and caring practices. Literature about markets has not yet paid careful attention to hobby traders and their motivations to seek social participation through being in market spaces (but for some insights in Wolhuter, 2002). Through confirming the substantial presence of hobby traders among merchants in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, this research supports the further deepening of investigation about this specific group of stakeholders, perhaps through a more holistic (perhaps decolonial/ Southern theory) lens.

Still focusing on diversity contributions, caring practices and friendship bonds were identified in the dynamics between traders themselves and between traders and customers in all researched markets. confirming findings in Brazil (Costa, 2007) and Britain (S. Watson, 2009). The welcoming feature of markets and their global common behaviour practices (such as the friendly chatting between traders and customers) were observed in FECOPE, CAM and the BRMs. Still, the connection of markets with local culture was revealed in different ways: it was strongly rooted in Belo Horizonte and apparently more limited in Birmingham. In fact, the current diversity of traders' backgrounds is the closest link between the BRMs and their local context, suggesting the need to revisit the idea of how culture and local embeddedness is expressed and understood in contemporary markets.

Nevertheless, markets while diverse and inclusive were not always peaceful havens of conviviality. Conflicts of interest simultaneously existed in the use of public space. There was some evidence of xenophobia in relation to migrant traders in the BRMs, similarly to what I observed in The Hague (Schappo, 2015), and animosity between long-term and new/ aspiring traders was also identified, confirming findings in Mexico (Contreras, 2020a) and Ghana (Lyon, 2003). Moreover, merchants and some customers in Belo Horizonte complained about the presence of 'undesirable' groups deemed less legitimate: homeless dwellers and informal traders, who benefit from the magnet nature of markets to generate income. While considered a nuisance, the presence of multiple groups highlights the publicness of market spaces, and their inclusionary nature is in fact increasingly significant in progressively exclusionary cities.

This chapter also revealed the complexity of analysing markets as hubs to promote *democracy*. The low levels of political engagement or strength of market communities of FECOPE, CAM and the BRMs raised

questions about what determines the prospects of markets to contribute to *democracy*: what features prompt the appearance of strong/ active market communities, and furthermore, what is needed for them to be 'successful' in achieving their objectives? The cases of Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro in Belo Horizonte showed that markets can work as catalysts in neighbourhoods where social capital is strong and communities already politically active. In these communities, I identified both *oppositional* and *propositional* potentials (respectively relating to the capacity to resist plans deemed exclusionary/ improper; and to propose alternative plans). Furthermore, market communities' political mobilisation reverberated, involving the population of Belo Horizonte and reaching other urban agendas, confirming Gonzalez's understanding of markets' role 'for mobilisation, contestation and debate over public space and the city' (2020, p.883). Other observed features in both these cases were the presence of an imminent threat to markets, and the engagement of residents that widened the agendas of market communities beyond simply having markets' economic prospects guaranteed, which was the key concern of traders.

The non-existence of traders' associations in CAM and FECOPE was considered a significant obstacle for market communities' development, suggesting that traders cannot work together to defend common agendas. Nevertheless, the demographics of markets' neighbourhoods and the absence of clear threats indicated that maybe the lack of associative bonds between traders was not the main factor for poor political participation of markets' communities. In fact, when analysed in relation to the case of the Bull Ring Markets, where institutional associative bonds between traders do exist but have not resulted in better market governance, one might question why results of governance and planning benefitting markets are so limited. An emerging consideration is then about the strategies employed by market traders and other engaged market community members to mobilise society (at neighbourhood and city level) to support markets.

Finally, there are some interesting findings in relation to the overall range of potential contributions of markets to cities, and the interplay of contributions placed within different axes. First markets' contributions are not the same everywhere, even within the same city. They are of different natures and magnitudes relating to contextual aspects, markets' management, and the internal features and dynamics of/ at markets. Second, it was observed that researched markets did not 'tick all boxes', in relation to the extensive list of potential roles they can have for cities. For example, FECOPE did not contribute significantly to customers' access to healthy food for an accessible cost. The 'incompleteness' of markets urban contributions raise questions about how realistic high expectations in the literature on markets are (e.g. PPS, 2003; Urbact Markets, 2015); in particular, whether it is possible for markets to be spaces that can promote social justice, given that they are embedded in cities with complex injustice issues and governance limitations. Furthermore, the mismatch between markets with significant contributions to the urban poor, on one side, and markets with strong market communities, on the other, suggests that there are trade-offs between contributions placed in different social justice axes. I will discuss this in more detail in section 8.3. since this finding can guide more accurate analyses about markets, for their better planning and governance.

c) What role does urban governance play in mediating the relationship between markets and social justice in each case, in terms of the current system of markets' governance?

Chapter Six engaged with the current systems of governance of markets in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, with the analysis of the institutional position of markets in the local governments' management structure, the policy documents of markets' governance and their enforcement. Overall, the current governance of markets is deficient in both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, with different implications for social justice. A primary issue is the misattribution of markets' management within the structure of both municipalities. In relation to markets' expected roles, either an outdated framing (food provision infrastructure, in Belo Horizonte) or an entirely absent one (Birmingham), compromised the possibility of markets receiving appropriate technical support and resources to have their potential to contribute to social justice explored/ enacted.

This chapter confirmed that the approach of municipal councils to markets' governance significantly influenced markets' prospects in cities, especially where the 'natural' tendency is one of decline and disappearance. Yet current systems in both studied contexts have failed to prioritise and tackle the economic sustainability issue through ensuring footfall, revealing an inefficient governance system, similarly to that found in Amsterdam (Janseens and Sezer (2013b) and Leeds (Gonzalez and Waley (2013). The governance of markets does provide affordable rents¹⁵⁸, but other than that it is purely regulatory, The policies and enforcement of markets' governance mainly relate to contractual bonds between the councils and traders, and terms for the selection of merchants; it is basically a landlord-tenant relationship that grants precarious rights for traders.

The provision of seniority rights was a key difference between the systems in Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, and it is worth mentioning in more detail, since it is debatable, in justice terms. The case of Belo Horizonte showed that the principle of impartiality in the allocation of stalls through the bidding system, designed as an element of equality and justice, backfired in practice. The effects of the competitive system were the opposite of those intended, excluding especially aspirant traders, while also causing friction and distrust among current merchants. In adopting seniority rights in Birmingham, the livelihoods currently depending on markets are protected, and relationships among current traders, and between them and new merchants are not hampered by fears of displacement. The recognition of this matter in contexts where vacant stalls are increasing can guide the development of better policy strategies to avoid exclusionary effects and result in more social justice. I will return to this matter in section 8.3. The discussion on subsidising stalls/ markets follows from this too, and it is also further explored in sections 8.3 and 8.5.

The economic sustainability of markets depends on customers, and in this sense the lack of council's promotion of markets as part of the retail offer of both cities is a key condemnable issue. Furthermore, it could be sorted in-house, as in both cases the councils support other traditional retail events/ markets

¹⁵⁸ Apart from in Birmingham's Indoor Market.

that they expected to be more profitable. There are also lost opportunities in connecting markets to, for instance, departments supporting small businesses and the social economy (e.g. the Centre of Support to Social and Solidarity Economy in Belo Horizonte/ CEPES). While the 'touristification' of markets holds an exclusionary/ gentrifying potential, the lack of promotion or utilisation of markets' public space to host other public events, for example of a cultural nature, results in markets being forgotten by the large part of the cities' population. Communities that do not relate to markets or appropriate market spaces cannot develop emotional bonds, senses of belonging and allegiance to them. The debatable matter of promoting markets will be returned to in section 8.3.

On top of steering deficiencies, the opportunities for traders to participate in the shaping of markets' governance are mentioned in policy, but are rather limited in practical terms. This frustrates long-term traders disheartened by the limited achievements of years of trying to influence policies for markets. Nevertheless, the (discursive) approach from the municipalities demonstrated different levels of understanding of markets' (potential) multiple roles in each city, and an awareness of these was higher in Belo Horizonte. SUSAN officers, over the years, stretched some contractual terms and bent some rules to help markets and their individual businesses to survive. The limits of their action, and that of Enforcement officers in Birmingham, is a demonstration of how hard it is, especially for those not in a position of power within local authorities, to change the governing status quo/ institutional inertia and improve an inefficient and outdated system. Yet, prospects are worse in Birmingham where in contrast to legal obligations in the city's Markets Charter, there seems to exist a veiled 'managed decline agenda', since the council consistently undermines the BRMs' prospects through its *laissez faire* approach, which was identified in Wolhuter's research (2002) twenty years ago. Many locals argue that this is an intentional attempt to eliminate one of the few remaining inclusionary spaces of Birmingham's city centre and convert the markets and their site into infrastructure for the *extraction of profit* (Gonzalez, 2020). Ironically, this negligent approach towards markets' economic and physical decline in both contexts makes markets more inclusionary to vulnerable/ undesirable/ excluded urban groups, due to markets marginalisation and stigmatisation, which renders them less attractive to other more capitalised potential customers.

d) How do the future imaginaries projected for markets and their supporting systems of governance affect their (potential for) social justice?

In Belo Horizonte the members of the intersectoral working group (WG) of heads of departments, established with the objective of reshaping markets' governance in the city, showed a higher level of consciousness of the links between markets and social justice. The implementation of the tendering process, since the creation of the Procedure of Interest Manifestation (PMI), revealed the municipality's effort to reasonably equate markets' economic sustainability with desired social results including, among others, accessible employment opportunities, stronger communities and agroecology. The tendering in some senses illustrates the compromise between an ideally just and a feasible strategy. With a council facing arguably more urgent social agendas, markets depend on private investment. The

neoliberal inspired solution nevertheless is expected to deliver economic gains to both the municipality and private managers, raising questions about to what extent financial interests featured in the council's choice for a tendering process. Therefore, the potential for social justice is then simultaneously enabled and compromised by the employment of private capital and management in the governance of markets.

Other criticisms of Belo Horizonte's market governance relate to the design of the three participatory phases in the tendering development, which were neither very democratic nor accessible for less expert/ capitalised groups, thus structurally excluded, reproducing trends observed by Wachhaus, (2014) in other participatory planning setups. As a consequence, voices of traders from FECOPE and CAM were mostly absent. Furthermore, the presence of private capital and partners suggests that gentrification is likely to happen in Belo Horizonte markets, with potential exclusionary effects to current users. Yet each market's gentrification will happen (or not) in different ways, and communities – with the aid of the new social committee instituted by the tendering terms - can be instrumental in resisting exclusionary pressures. The social committee resembles the creation of different chambers of stakeholders in the planning of The Hague Market (see Schappo and van Melik, 2016), revealing another case in which the council attempted to strengthen civic participation and affective connection with markets, It is, however, unlikely that informal traders and homeless dwellers will be seen in privately managed markets, possibly criminalised by private managers as happened in the Feirinha da Madrugada, in São Paulo (Rangel, 2019).

In Birmingham, the drive for a change in the governance of the markets, involving the construction of a new venue, do not seem driven by the recognition of the BRMs' contributions to social justice in the city. The significant change in the BCC's discursive approach to the BRMs, now overly positive compared to years of a purely regulatory approach is alarming. It indicates the influence of strategies to use markets as important flagship elements in the development of an attractive international profile, at the expense of current vulnerable users. In reproducing one-sided discourses also employed by councils in other contexts (such as São Paulo (Rangel, 2019), Juazeiro do Norte (Pereira, 2017) and Mexico City (Delgadillo, 2018)), the council conceals Birmingham Smithfield's exclusionary effects. The Smithfield project moreover presents very ambitious goals and promises markets that will be 'authentic shopping experiences', a term used among other attractive buzzwords within a discourse of urban regeneration that reproduces the same rationale observed by Zukin (2008) in Manhattan.

Another alarming fact is that so far opportunities for current traders to be included in the new markets are still uncertain, but the negative impacts of this 'imminent' move (in just five years' time) have been affecting markets since 2018. Thus, a key matter is: will businesses survive until their (potential) move to the Smithfield Market? Given the recent history of markets in Birmingham, including their previous relocation (see Wolhuter, 2002), their management struggles, and the missing voice of the BCC in this research, the findings about Smithfield reinforce the assumption that Birmingham provides a perfect example of markets becoming sites for the *extraction of profit* (Gonzalez, 2020) for the council and private sector. Nevertheless, this situation also reflects the governance and budget struggles

Birmingham is facing, where the BCC might be sacrificing the possibility of having a bottom-up market managed as a social enterprise, for a solution that more quickly delivers the capital the BCC needs. However, there is a risk that social justice losses might result in more expenditure on social support in the longer term than the economic gains with retail gentrification will provide. In this sense, my findings echo Barber and Hall (2008), Sandercock (2003) and Wolhuter (2002), arguing that the main criticism of Birmingham's governance approach is its insistence in an urban regeneration governance model that fails to address the city's main social and economic problems, instead deepening them.

The findings of previous research questions in relation to markets' governance indicated the need for creative solutions, to balance markets and local governments' needs and capacities within the context of complex urban realities. Therefore, in Birmingham and in many other big cities confronted by controversial growth and social justice pressures (Parnell and Robinson, 2006), the *sui generis* approach taken by Belo Horizonte could serve as an inspiration. Rather than an ideal solution to be replicated in content everywhere, the process of intersectoral coordination could guide the development of context-adequate governance solutions for public markets. In particular, this case indicated the importance of *how* a chosen strategy is operationalised. While tendering is assumed to be exclusionary, supportive contractual terms (see details in Chapter Seven), if applied properly, can guarantee markets can still be spaces that promote social justice. Monitoring the compliance of private managers is therefore also essential, which calls attention to the commitment of public managers to social justice.

Overarching research question: How do public markets support social justice in cities, and what role does urban governance play in this, considering the insights from Belo Horizonte and Birmingham?

The findings of research sub-questions A to D confirmed that markets do hold potential for supporting social justice in cities, as explained in Chapter Two. There are nevertheless some important findings, indicating new insights for research. Firstly, in relation to markets multiple contributions, the comparison revealed that although the potential exists, individually markets do not contribute in the same ways to social justice and may make more substantial contributions to some elements of social justice than others. This therefore contributes a pragmatic perspective to existing narratives (e.g. Janseens and Sezer, 2013a; Urbact Markets, 2015) that expect perhaps unachievable results from markets, even when they are intentionally employed as policy instruments for more justice in cities. More specifically, some of the case study markets' contributions to *equity* (accessibility to products and employment opportunities) and *diversity* (inclusion of more vulnerable groups) seemed inversely proportional to their potential to contribute to *democracy* (active political and governance participation of market communities). Hence, it suggests the importance of exploring the interplay between different markets' potential contributions to social justice, and trade-offs between different elements of this. In particular, relating to the *democracy* axis, the limited engagement and achievements of FECOPE, CAM and the BRMs' market communities, especially when contrasted with the cases of communities in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro, recommends further exploration of factors influencing (lack of) civic mobilisation and engagement with market governance, and outcomes (explored further below).

Secondly, focusing on which elements influence the range and depth of markets' contributions to social justice, research findings confirmed the original assumption (based on my previous experience in The Hague and the work of e.g. Gonzalez (2018 and 2020)) that contributions are a result of different factors. There are: 1) the internal dynamics of markets, their people and their agency; 2) the contextual features (effects of retail modernisation, social change and economic crisis), which push markets towards obsolescence as sites of provision; and 3) a deficient approach to markets' governance. Findings suggest a stronger influence of external dynamics, which threaten markets' existence: contextual pressures in tandem with unhelpful governance is resulting in emptied out markets with reduced catchment areas and less diverse/ less capitalised customers. Therefore, markets are progressively becoming less appealing sites for the generation of livelihoods, a finding that converges with recent studies about the markets' sector in the United Kingdom (e.g. Mission for Markets' survey, 2018; Bua, Taylor and Gonzalez, 2018).

Thirdly, focusing more specifically on the role played by urban governance, the comparison between cases and their current and new governance systems showed how different municipalities understand the markets' social justice potential for cities, and how this understanding, revealed in representations of markets and their institutional positions shapes the support given by local authorities to their markets. This research confirmed the diversity of governance approaches to markets, recognised in literature (e.g. supportive, in La quebradilla/ Chile (Dankers and Pavivich, 2019); and in The Hague/ Netherlands (Schappo and van Melik, 2016); but exclusionary in e.g. Budapest/ Hungary (Polyák, 2014), and Durban/ South Africa). Yet there is another important finding that demonstrates the complexity of urban realities and local governments, and adds not only to debates about markets' governance, but urban governance more broadly: the simple discursive acknowledgement of social justice potentials of markets is not easily converted into more *actual, enforced* support for markets to develop in specific just directions. Even when there is the recognition that systems are outdated, the institutional features of bureaucracy, limited power, resources, and time converge to maintain the status quo.

Little investment and limited technical support appeared to be common challenges in both Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, resonating previous research findings (S. Watson, 2006; Gonzalez and Waley, 2006). Still, a key contribution of this research to discussions about markets' governance limitations is a focus on markets' inadequate institutional position in municipalities' governance structure. This mismatch not only constrains markets' contributions to social justice, but hampers councils addressing markets' pressing survival needs (i.e. reverse decline and promote economic sustainability). One of the few qualities of markets' current governance in both contexts was the existence of affordable trading opportunities, also confirming previous research findings (e.g. Janseens and Sezer, 2013a and b; Morales, 2009). Yet, without customers, these are pointless in the longer term. A key deficiency of markets' current governance related to it is the municipality's 'landlords' approach'. Councils do not steer or promote markets as part of the retail offer of cities, nor as social and cultural spaces, a situation that calls for a shift.

Markets need an interdisciplinary management approach (discussed in section 8.4), considering their confirmed multiple social justice potentials for cities. In light of municipalities' resource constraints and the harm of markets' redevelopment exclusionary tendencies, creative approaches to markets' governance are much needed, to balance economic and social needs and interests. In this sense this research argues that the case of Belo Horizonte should be recognised in terms of the council's effort to bring together different powerful actors from multiple departments to discuss the markets' agenda, an initial crucial step towards more efficient (and socially just) policies for markets. It also suggests that strategies of an entrepreneurial nature shall not be assumed from the outset to be incompatible with social justice promotion. The hybrid case of Belo Horizonte, although not immune to criticism, suggests that there are ways to deal with multidimensional issues and conflictive agendas where there is empathy and the willingness to try a path of dialogue, trust and collaboration among traders, governments, and other implicated stakeholders in the planning and realisation of markets. Where this willingness is underpinned by a commitment to markets contributing to social justice within cities, the potential of governments (temporarily) subsidising markets' operational costs as a policy instrument to tackle inequality and social segregation, with or without the participation of the private sector, could be explored. The possibility is further discussed in sections 8.3 and 8.4.

Finally, using Southern ideas of social justice to reflect on research findings about markets' contributions, Belo Horizonte and Birmingham studied markets, despite deficiencies, still provide spaces for a comprehensive self-development and participation in society (as defined by Bordenave, 1989), both individually and collectively. Markets encourage individuals to stretch themselves in the face of diversity and to be more inclusionary. This involves empathy and tolerance towards groups with behaviours and interests that can clash (e.g. traders, customers and homeless dwellers). Furthermore, commercial practices in the studied markets are not purely driven by profit intentions. Interviewed traders mentioned how to be part of a market not only benefits their businesses (by the accumulation of diverse options of shops and products), but also makes them feel part of a community, where collaboration, caring practices and friendship bonds are developed with other merchants and customers. The presence of hobby traders in markets also supports the understanding that markets provide opportunities for individuals to contribute to society through work, in line with *contributive* justice, and to feel valued because of their knowledge and personal history, what converges with epistemic justice aspirations. Sections 8.3.4 and 8.4 will discuss how markets could be governed according to a social and solidarity economy framework, to explore these holistic potentials.

8.3 Unfolding and connecting key findings and reflections

Building on the findings summarised above, this section highlights and further discusses the empirical, theoretical, methodological and policy contributions of this research, relevant for the fields of comparative urbanism, urban and markets' development and governance, and social justice.

8.3.1 Empirical Contributions

This section engages with urban planning debates about the relevance of public markets for cities, providing new insights about variation in the nature and magnitude of contributions from different markets, and how to assess their significance in relation to social justice.

Identifying and valuing markets' contribution

Research findings revealed an incompleteness of contributions in each markets and trade-offs between different natures of contributions, discussed above. The comparative work also allowed for the identification of different magnitudes of contributions to social justice within markets of different sizes and locations. It therefore prompted questions with theoretical, empirical and policy implication: How should we value markets' contributions? How can their complexity be explained, compared and judged? Should it be in relation to the scale of quantitative impact, for example how many people are benefitted by employment opportunities? Or should it be rather considered by their symbolic relevance and impact, for instance in the case of the rather small Mercado Bonpland (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018; Habermehl, 2021; Viderman, Rosa and Aigner, 2014), governed from a social and solidarity economy framing? Considering Fainstein's social justice categories, should assessment criteria be distinct, regarding each axis' nature? Can one single value assessing criterion be defined? Should criteria be defined according to different aims (e.g. scientific theory generation; local policy-making)? Or should criteria be combined, for a comprehensive analysis? If so, would a holistic complex account based on Southern social justice ideas be helpful for policy enforcement? Importantly: how can contributions be measured and valued in relation to markets' size and location, and in relation to the scale (and population) of their cities? And, crucially: is it epistemologically and even morally just, from an epistemic justice perspective, to try measuring and comparing markets' contributions? Would it not lead to a 'ranking' reproducing developmentalist approaches that perpetuate binaries, excluding less 'well-performing' markets, potentially with detrimental policy implications?

This is not an exhaustive list of questions, and rather than trying to provide answers, I would like to encourage a relevant discussion, especially for comparative work. This research findings contribute to both academic and policy discussions that highlight markets multiple relevance for cities, inviting for more attention to complexity. Markets in a same city should be considered to form a system, allowing for a better understanding of potentials and limitations of single markets in relation to the whole of markets contributions to social justice in a given city.

8.3.2. Theoretical Contributions

This section explores first the insights for social sciences and planning theory about social justice, how to conceive it and analyse it, complementing Fainstein's Northern planning perspective with ideas rooted in epistemologies of the South. It then explains the new concepts coined in this research, helpful for further urban theory analyses of markets, both for individual case works and comparative studies.

Critically engaging with Fainstein's social justice framework: suggestions for a more holistic approach

The adoption of Fainstein's (2010) social justice framework was very instrumental for a systematic and clear comparative study, with reasons for its choice explained before (see section 2.4). Yet, through an understanding of social justice that includes epistemic justice, it is possible to identify limitations on Fainstein's Northern situated theory. Considering this research's design and findings, suggestions of key areas where her framework could be complemented – or advanced - include:

1. Acknowledging the regional historical and cultural development of injustices, as a way of better developing responses. For example, a deeper engagement with Southern cities' issues and planning responses would benefit her approach, adding complexity and variation in suggested policy approaches to different injustices.
2. Exploring a more systemic view of social justice, which goes beyond separate categories. While Fainstein (2010) does indicate that justice involves a complex interrelation of *equity*, *diversity* and *democracy* matters, with specific challenges potentially fitting more than a single axis, her framework would benefit from the engagement with Southern understandings of justice which include other sources of knowledge and wisdom (i.e. beyond rooted in scientific reason), as well as consideration to the moral development of individuals and groups (for instance, developing more empathy). This would strengthen a focus on collective impacts of injustices, as well as accounting for the responsibility towards for example future generations and nature (as stakeholders whose interests shall also be accounted for).

New concepts to studying markets

This research proposed some new concepts and analytical structures that support comparative research of markets and other public infrastructures, and the impact of governance approaches for their development.

There is a growing body of comparative work in markets' literature, from different fields. It includes studies about markets within a same country (e.g. in the United States (PPS, 2003) and in Brazil (Freire, 2018)); a same continent (e.g. European markets (Urbact Markets, n.d. and 2015)); and even about markets in different ones (e.g. Mexico City and Madrid (Arreortua and Campo, 2018) and Barcelona, Paris and São Paulo (Pintaudi, 2006)). Simultaneously, there are studies considering the local impacts of global contextual dynamics (mainly retail modernisation and entrepreneurial governance in markets - e.g. Gonzalez, 2018 and 2020; Wolhuter, 2002). Yet, there is no evidence of studies comparing how different scales of context (i.e. global, national, local) impact the functioning and development of markets, neither in researches about single markets, nor in comparative work. In considering the *structural* and *institutional* elements of national, local and global processes and policy agendas, besides the direct and indirect impact of these in markets (see more details in Chapter Four), my research delivers a useful framework to analyse the multiscalar contextual influence in markets and their

governance development in cities, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of how markets are affected by their settings.

Other helpful contribution of my work to future (comparative) research on markets is the focus and concepts I developed to analyse markets' contributions to *democracy*. Literature demonstrates 'spontaneous' collective mobilisation around markets (e.g. Gonzalez 2018 and 2020; Polyak, 2014), resisting to threats to markets and their associated demographics. Yet, a detailed consideration in literature about *which factors* are involved in the mobilisation of these groups and their success in affecting governance, both endogenous (e.g. demographic composition) and exogenous (e.g. threats of dismantling or gentrifying markets) features was not identified. To support my investigation, I coined the term 'market communities', to define groups generated (or identified) because of the presence of markets. Then, inspired by findings in Santa Tereza and Cruzeiro, I have considered market communities' actions as part of either the *oppositional* or *propositional* power of these groups, respectively the capacity to resist plans deemed exclusionary/ improper; and to propose alternative plans. I have further considered that such powers are mobilised within invited or invented spaces of participation, as defined by Miraftab, F. (2004). My findings show the complexity of elements potentially implicated in determining the appearance of politically engaged and strong collectives, and their prospects of effecting change in governance approaches. With the explained framework, I suggest a new direction – and format - for investigating markets' contributions to cities in relation to *democracy*.

Finally, my research contributes to the analysis of markets' governance through showing the relevance of including the *institutional position* of markets within municipalities' structures. This feature shows how currently – or in the past – markets were framed by local governments, i.e. which functions they are/ were understood to deliver to cities. Hence, it indicates the potential rationale substantiating current governance, as well as suggesting the internal resources and alternatives for new strategies to govern markets within local authorities, a knowledge useful both for policy makers as for engaged market communities, to better substantiate both opposition to plans as alternative governance strategies.

8.3.3 Methodological Contributions

This section engages with comparative urbanism debates, supporting Robinsons' (2006) and other Southern urban theory authors' (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012) claims for pluralising urban theory and learning 'from the South'.

Relational comparison as a way of 'thinking with' different markets in diverse urban contexts

This study confirmed that markets and their governance should be analytically studied through Robinson's (2006) ordinary city approach. Findings showed how cities and markets in the global South and North can be more similar than what would be suggested by framings of national realities based on binary ideas of different 'development' levels. Hence, they should not be considered from the outset

as a subproduct of their countries' conditions, but should be explored locally, allowing for causal relations to be rather traced back from results of collected data and analysis.

Furthermore, defeating expectations of hegemonic/ colonial knowledge and dominant governance tendencies, the comparison of governments' approaches in Birmingham and Belo Horizonte, especially to markets, revealed a more nuanced, sophisticated and perhaps progressive one in the Brazilian city. The council in Belo Horizonte was more transparent about its limitations, was open for research participation and academic collaboration, and seemed more genuinely concerned in promoting more social justice, perhaps in acknowledgement of the gravity of urban challenges. In fact, the influence of entrepreneurial governance in the urban regeneration agenda in Birmingham and its obsession with being a global leading city showed the harmful effect of being situated within a global North national context where intercity competition for external investment became a policy priority.

These findings and the potential for social justice of the tendering approach developed in Belo Horizonte (explored in section 8.4) are evidence of the richness of knowledge produced in the South, with different and creative epistemologies which can illuminate research and policy development approaches also in the global North. This research therefore supports claims defended in contemporary post/decolonial debates that advocate for pluralising urban theory, (e.g. Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012; McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2006; V. Watson, 2009) and for paying attention to (and being inspired by) urban dynamics and the creative governance practices adopted in response to challenges in non-paradigmatic cities (McFarlane, 2010).

8.3.4 Policy Contributions

This section finally discusses the multiple insights for the planning, development and governance of public markets for more socially just outcomes. It presents encountered social justice conundrums for planning, as well as analyse the limitations of the studied governance cases, and potential solutions. Importantly, it also highlights the especial relevance of this research for policy-makers and other planning stakeholders in the context of markets.

Legitimacy and ownership in contexts of diversity

An emerging theme of this research relates to different group interests, perceptions of ownership over public spaces, and questions about *who has the legitimacy to be in markets*. The contestation in the use of markets, and what determines legitimacy, not only questions who can appropriate their physical space, but also who can have a stake in their planning and governance. Therefore, this research confirms the validity of Gonzalez's (2018 and 2020) argument for multiple contexts, that disputes around markets (i.e. as dynamic and multipurpose public spaces) can be extrapolated to the right to public space and ultimately to belonging in cities. Furthermore, the questioning of legitimacy draws attention to the fact that not only governments and private partners can adopt exclusionary practices, but also other groups benefited by markets' inclusivity, in this case traders and low-income customers.

This supports the claim that ultimately stakeholders, regardless of social justice implications, want to have their agendas satisfied, as demonstrated in the work of Contreras (2020a) and Lyon (2003).

Yet there is no single 'right' answer to the question *who has the legitimacy to be in markets*, especially from a policy-making lens. Traders believe they have a right because they pay for a permit, but their feelings of ownership, at least in Belo Horizonte, are discouraged by the council because while at 'small scale', it nevertheless implies the privatisation of public space. In a pragmatic sense however, the presence of homeless dwellers, and to a certain extent of informal traders, while revealing their publicness and accessible nature, also stigmatises markets, contributing to their marginalisation. Thus, it can have significant effects on markets' economic sustainability. Therefore, the legitimacy of those considered to be undesirable, while unquestionable from a lens of *diversity* and inclusion, is a trade-off to economic needs of other groups. The matter should be seriously considered regarding the new systems of markets' governance covered in this research, and markets' current redevelopment tendencies elsewhere, with the participation of the private sector. Councils should reflect on how to mitigate exclusion in safeguarding these groups' rights of presence, if not in privately managed markets, in other public spaces in the city, not abandoning marginalised groups to fend for themselves in increasingly exclusionary cities.

Allocating (seniority-based) trading rights in pursuit of equity

Traders' sense of ownership of stalls and markets are a natural development of a long engagement with marketplaces. The matter of granting seniority rights or not in the allocation of stalls and contracts' renewal is another social justice conundrum related to perceived ownership rights. The situation illustrates the clash between governance principles prioritising inclusion, defending the livelihoods of those already at markets, against the aim of democratising access. The reasons to enforce an impartial system in Belo Horizonte are justified in relation to promoting equality and fairness, but in light of the unintended exclusionary effects of the bidding system, the emptying out of markets, and the volume of vacant stalls, perhaps the bidding policy terms should be revised to provide more secure bonds between traders and council. As argued above, lack of job security is an element hindering contributions to social justice through employment at markets. Beyond its economic impacts, it has a negative effect in relation to *contributive* justice and a more holistic positive relationship with employment that favours empowerment and self-development of traders. Belo Horizonte merchants revealed strong feelings in relation to seniority (absent) rights, reproducing a pattern that I encountered in The Hague (Schappo, 2015). Yet, its relevance in debates about employment and *equity* in markets, but also about its influence in the relationship between long-term traders and new ones, is understudied in markets' literature. This research's findings therefore suggest the need to engage with this governance feature more thoroughly, as policy approaches to seniority might need to be different from place to place, in addressing specific context-related injustices.

The changing role of local authorities and effects of markets' promotion

Local authorities limited or inappropriate approach to governing markets regarding social justice, consistently found in literature (Gonzalez, 2018 and 2020; Filipi, 2013; Pereira, 2017), was confirmed by this study. Nevertheless, when council's role in relation to markets is defined as that of landlords, many analogies are possible, some unfolded in the following paragraphs. The framing of governments as landlords of markets is a policy analysis' contribution of this study, which can be instrumental in the analysis of markets' (and other public infrastructure) governance elsewhere.

First, landlords' primary objective is commonly to maximise their gains. Hence, if councils behave as 'landlords of public infrastructure', in an economic order governed by neoliberalism, it is expected that they will look for the best way to capitalise on public land and infrastructures. The unexplained or poorly justified reasons to increase trading permit fees in Birmingham could be assumed to be linked to this mentality, which literature discussed (e.g. Gonzalez, 2018) can aim to force traders out of business, to shut down markets and use valuable scarce central land plots for other more profitable activities.

Second, landlords do not commonly take on directly the task to promote their infrastructure to be rented. There is not a direct acknowledgement that if tenants cannot earn enough, the rents will be compromised. Simultaneously, where evidence of governments promoting markets as part of the commercial offer of cities is found in literature about markets, this action is commonly criticised and associated with touristification and gentrification intentions (e.g. Cordero, 2017; Zukin, 2008). Yet, findings in this study revealed that advertisement has a multiple nature, and it can be associated with supporting social justice intentions. The lack of promotion of markets resulted in lower commercial activity and economic loss in both studied contexts. Moreover, it was observed that the lack of markets' promotion in the cities resulted in an increased sense of detachment of a local population that does not 'know' about markets' existence. This perception might help explaining why to engage younger generations, both as traders and customers, is one of the key challenges for the future of markets, as evidence in the UK (Mission for Markets survey 2018) recently showed. The issue has further implications: without affective bonds with markets, and not understanding or appreciating their contribution to cities, it is less likely that city dwellers will engage in markets' governance.

Considering the argued dual nature of (commercial) promotion, this research invites reflecting whether making markets known, probably increasing their touristic potential, would always cause gentrification, and to what extent. Essentially, what is the link between retail – and cultural – promotion and exclusion? This is another hard balance to strike, implying a likely trade-off between improving economic prospects of markets (so that they are sustainable and support livelihoods) and increasing a local sense of attachment with markets, while keeping markets as inclusionary public spaces. Therefore, providing an environment where tourists and local groups (and their interests) coexist well with the current (vulnerable) demographics of traders and customers.

The challenge of governing markets in rapidly changing contexts

Where local authorities understand markets' (potential) contributions to social justice, different policy responses may result, since the way municipalities conceive markets' roles for cities shape their approach to governing them. In a context of declining markets, municipalities need to intervene and work towards new alternatives that are economically viable, but not exclusionary. This research contributes to debates about realistic ways of governing markets for more social justice through suggesting that councils agreeing with a social justice agenda should be considering the opposite approach to that of landlords: investing funds and subsidising markets as policy instruments that support the social economy and promote social welfare, such as in the case of the Mercado Bonpland (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018; Habermehl, 2021; Viderman, Rosa and Aigner, 2014).

However, the governance of markets in many cases around the world does not look for ways of reaching a middle path and trying to promote both growth and equity (see discussion in section 2.5.2. Influenced by a focus on mainstream strategies to promote economic growth that disregards the demographics of those most needing employment, governments fail to recognise the relevance of the social economy businesses that markets host. Still, cities' realities and their governance, as also argued throughout this research, resist simplified interpretations and existing structural and institutional constraints really jeopardise novel planning approaches, as discussed by Maricato (2009) (Brazil) and Parnell and Robinson (2006) (South Africa). Limitations of time, resources and staff/ technical capacity result in cases where managers' intentionality is not enough to either produce 'good' policies, or to guarantee that these have the expected positive outcomes. In light of that, maybe the subsidising of markets can only be temporary (until businesses recover from the critical decline faced or take off), limited to specific parts/ uses in markets, or even not possible at all within council's budgets. Hence subsidising might only be possible through the participation of private partners, perhaps sponsors, something that this research conceives as acceptable recognising, as did Freire (2018), that in some cases it might be the only alternative to markets' disappearance.

My findings also confirmed Pintaudi's argument (2006) that markets need to transform to accompany social changes, maintaining the relevance for cities and their inhabitants. Therefore, it is not transformation per se that should be resisted, but careful attention should be paid to *how* transformation is realised and *what it aims*. This research also confirmed Van Eck's argument (2021), that markets governance has been reshaped by entrepreneurial governance. Nevertheless, comparative findings encourage more openness - though careful - towards it, since it revealed that within an entrepreneurial governance frame there can be substantial variation. Hence, researchers, policy-makers, and active civil society members should not be disheartened from the outset by the presence of private partners and capital in markets' governance strategies. Rescuing the understanding that stakeholders' motivations shall not be taken as a given because of stereotypes (see section 2.5.4), planning can be the organisation of hope that accepts hybrid formats and creative solutions, keeping with the arguments of Campbell, Tait and Watkins (2014). Consequently, hope can be placed in the (individual or collective) agency of those involved in the governance of markets, which can be an

element of not only variation, but transformative capacity in markets' governance for social justice prospects. The next section now provides policy recommendations informed by the complexity of policy and governance findings of this research, presented above.

8.4 Policy recommendations

Departing from the understanding that city councils have an essential role as owners and managers of public markets, they need first of all to recognise the relevance of the social economy in cities, and of markets as spaces where small businesses can thrive. Based on that, local governments need to support markets' economic sustainability, since it is a primordial condition for their long-term existence. Therefore, councils need to go beyond a purely regulatory approach and steer markets, promoting them as cultural, social and commercial spaces through more positive representations in policy and media discourses. Simultaneously, markets should ideally be planned and governed in an intersectoral way, or involving different types of expertise that can support the development of their multiple potentials. Depending on the specific configurations of local authorities, this need could be addressed if markets were managed by more comprehensive departments, such as sectors supporting the social and solidarity economy (SSE). In fact, as suggested previously, if markets were governed through a focus on SSE, the much prioritised 'economic development' could happen in a more socially and environmentally sustainable way, fostering self-development (individually and collectively), in line with markets actual demographics/ workers' profiles and their needs. According to this perspective, accessibility of markets should be promoted not only on its *ground level*, but in its *organisational level* too, i.e. with policies co-constructed in a participatory way involving besides the council, the traders, customers and wider civil society.

Markets should furthermore be framed not simply as public infrastructures/ spaces, but as *policy instruments* to promote social justice, remaining accessible and inclusive. With this understanding, Wolhuter's suggestion (2002) could be explored: '[G]iven that many markets are centrally located on (potentially) very valuable land, conservation orders may be required to protect markets and their functioning from speculative investment development under urban renaissance strategies' (Wolhuter, 2002, p. 233). Furthermore, a policy instrument framing would allow for the possibility (and desirability) of markets being subsidised, such as the cases of Mercado Bonpland, in Argentina (Habermehl, Araya and Arqueros, 2018; Habermehl, 2021; Viderman, Rosa and Aigner, 2014) and La Quebradilla, in Chile (Dankers and Pavivich, 2019). Councils should consider alternatives to allocate – or generate – resources to support markets. Considering the reality of cities and their governance tendencies, private management and investment should not be rejected out of hand. Viable and necessary governance solutions will likely be hybrid and built on partnerships with multiple stakeholders, such as in the case of Barcelona (Urbact Markets, 2015). Nevertheless, a clear focus of social justice as the priority should remain. Municipalities can 'take advantage' of private partners' economic profitability interests in markets to stream their economic resources for social justice outcomes, in line with the understanding of SMASAC, about tendering for markets' management in Belo Horizonte. In sum, it could be a win-win

situation in which priorities are inverted, with powerful economic development tools subjected to social justice promotion, rather than a social inclusion rhetoric being employed to cover individual economic interests, such as in São Paulo (Rangel, 2019)

Therefore, in Birmingham and in many other big cities confronted by controversial growth and social justice pressures (Parnell and Robinson, 2006), the perhaps *sui generis* approach taken by Belo Horizonte can serve as an inspiration. Some strategies such as the joint tendering of markets, and the creation of a social committee (see Chapter Seven) could be perhaps easily adapted to other contextual realities. Nevertheless, Belo Horizonte's markets tendering is suggested rather because of its *process* of intersectoral construction, which can guide the development of *context-adequate* governance solutions for public markets elsewhere. For example, if central markets' potential for town centre regeneration is recognised in line with social justice, municipalities could consider engaging private businesses that would benefit from busier high streets to pool financial resources for markets in exchange for some planning concessions. Or central businesses stakeholders could come together to develop strategies involving cultural/ gastronomic events to be hosted in markets, being benefitted by the public attracted to markets because of the geographical proximity.

Meanwhile, considering the deficiencies in the approach of Belo Horizonte relating to conditions for who would qualify as a concession holder in the tendering, partnering conditions imposed by councils should be designed to be more accessible, so that cooperatives of traders, for example, and other civil society organisations (CSOs) would be able to take over markets' management if appropriate. Yet, an important point is that, regardless of the adopted strategy, social justice policy terms should be clearly stated and safeguarded in contracts and policy documents, legally binding partners so that compliance is demanded. Finally, it is important to stress again that, as stated earlier, what determines the inclusivity or exclusivity performed by markets and their governance lies in the 'details' (Polyak, 2014). The (properly documented) policy terms might be very progressive. Yet, without enforcement they are fruitless. Moreover, the continuous monitoring and evaluation of policy is necessary to ensure that unanticipated challenges or undesirable outcomes are tackled as soon as possible. The enforcement of conditions, monitoring and evaluation are all crucial aspects of governance, sometimes not given equal attention than to planning phases. Therefore, funding and personnel for such functions need to be guaranteed.

8.5 Viable directions for further research

It is widely recognised that every research project has its limitations. Considering the research design and cases chosen for this project, the time constraints meant it was impossible to assess the outcomes of the new markets' governance systems, which are still to be enforced. Therefore, a first suggestion for further research would involve continued engagement with the cases of Belo Horizonte and Birmingham, permitting the monitoring and evaluation of policy application, which would reveal the appropriateness of the newer governance strategies adopted, in the light of social justice objectives. Furthermore, considering the unexpected occurrence of the Covid-19 pandemic during the

development of this doctoral research, it is important to consider its impacts for markets and their governance in the two case cities. This was beyond the scope of this investigation, but it is known that the pandemic caused economic shocks in the markets and delayed the development/ application of the new governance systems, meriting further exploration.

Furthermore, in pursuit of a decolonial research agenda underpinned by concerns for epistemic justice, it is important to keep advancing knowledge generation through expanded comparative work on markets in different regions. A decolonial lens could greatly contribute to research advancements, if at the heart of the research design and the definition of the conceptual framework for comparative analysis. It would help to further challenge deeply rooted theoretical assumptions about cities in different global regions, as well as provide novel methodological insights and analytical resources. Within this frame, and considering the interesting policy insights provided by the case of Belo Horizonte, the exploration of other 'hybrid' governance solutions not yet covered by academia should be considered, informed by the social and solidarity economy framework, which seems to offer potential for imagining alternative forms of market development. It should include further investigation of markets' governance in non-paradigmatic cities, especially those in the South, because they tend to be under researched. This in turn suggests further extending theorisations of social justice, including Southern conceptions and a stronger focus on e.g. sustainability and gender matters, in pursuit of more holistic understandings for the analysis of marketplaces (and beyond).

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Annexes

Annex One: Main secondary Sources

POLICY DOCUMENTS		
Belo Horizonte	Document (source year ref. list)	Content/ Relevance
	PBH Bidding Call Decree/ Selection (2012)	An example of call for traders for trading spaces in SUSAN markets, stating the bidding and TPRU terms.
	Public Prices Decree (2014)	Decree establishing the rationale and basic prices of different public trading spaces in BH.
	Tendering calls 1 and 2 (2020 and 2021a)	Documents containing the tendering call and terms for the two sets of markets (FECOPE and Santa Tereza; and CAM and Cruzeiro).
	Law N° 11.219 (DOM, 2020) allowing for the tendering	Law that approved the tendering of markets and institutionalised the private partners' obligations.
	City Statute (2004)	Main Planning document at national level, revealing the level commitment to social justice.
Birmingham	The Corporate Charging Policy (BCC, 2000)	Document stating the rationale and terms behind charging for services provided by BCC.
	Birmingham Development Plan 2030 (2017a)	Document stating the BCC government agenda till 2030
	Birmingham Smithfield plan (2016a)	Masterplan for the development including a new venue and system to manage the BRMs
	National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) (2021)	Main Planning document at national level, revealing the level commitment to social justice.
	Market Failure?: Can the traditional market survive?' (2009)	One of the government reports about the Traditional Markets' prospects and challenges, according to the national government
	Deprivation in Birmingham Analysis of the 2019 Indices of Deprivation (2019)	Document showing the struggles of Birmingham population with deprivation.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH OUTPUTS		
Birmignham	Document (source year ref. list)	Content/ Relevance
	PhD Thesis Wolhuter (2002): 'Women, Work and the Sociality Of Everyday City Building: The Case of St Martins Rag Market, Birmingham'	Author studied the context of the Rag market and its relevance for women's employment and their social inclusion, with many parallels with my study.
	Hu and Blackledge (2015) 'Voices of Birmingham Bullring Markes' research output	Video shows the superdiverse nature of the Bull Ring Markets, with traders reflecting on how they appreciate it and navigate language and cultural differences.
	Markets as sites for social interaction: Spaces for diversity (2006)	Research exploring the importance of markets as social spaces in cities of the UK.
	Measuring the Value of Tradtitional Retail Markets (2018)	Report exploring recent tendencies on British traditional markets and ways of measuring markets 'social value'.

MEDIA PUBLICATIONS		
Belo Horizonte	Document (source year ref. list)	Content/ Relevance
	Tinha um Mercado no Meio do Caminho (2006)	News covering markets' development issues in BH and policy dilemmas.
	Soluções Sustentáveis (2011)	News covering the alternative proposals for the development of the Mercado do Cruzeiro.
	Comissão Aprova Tombamento de Distritais (2007)	News reporting the legal protection given to markets as part of the architectural heritage of BH.
	Feiras prontas para concessão: iniciativa privada deve assumir gestão em dois mercados tradicionais (2020)	News reporting the approval of the tendering of markets and the opinions of traders about the change.
Birmingham	This is why Bullring market traders say they're going out of business' (2018a)	News covering the BRM traders struggles with economic sustainability and governance.
	Concern over 'condemned' 20-year-old meat counters at Bull Ring Indoor Market (2019)	News covering the BRM traders struggles with infrastructure issues, economic sustainability and governance.
	Empty stalls spark fears over future of Bull Ring Market after 850 years' (2020a)	News covering the BRM traders struggles with economic sustainability and governance.
	Meet the inspirational traders at Bull Ring Rag Market and why they are fighting back (2020b)	News covering examples of passionate traders highlighting the importance of the market for Birmingham.

Annex Two: Questionnaires

A: Questionnaire with market traders of FECOPE and CAM (translated version)

This questionnaire has two purposes: 1) collect data for a doctoral research on the function of (public) markets for cities; 2) assist in the development of a diagnosis of the public markets Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (FECOPE) and Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM). Therefore, the Secretaria de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional (SUSAN) will be able to respond more effectively to the current needs of the spaces, neighbourhoods, merchants and (potential) customers. For more information, click on the following link, which contains a more detailed description of the research and what your participation entails:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uv0lpi8qUaz9iYH6ETxDDTH7pMAyKVor/view?usp=sharing>

The questionnaire takes around 15 minutes to be answered. Thank you very much for your cooperation!

***Required**

1. **Name:** * _____

Demographic info

2. **Gender:**

F

M

Other

3. **Age:** * _____

4. **Place of Birth:** * _____

5. **Neighbourhood and city where you live:** * _____

6. Education: *

- Incomplete Primary Education
- Complete Primary Education
- Incomplete Secondary Education
- Complete Secondary Education
- Incomplete University Degree
- Complete University Degree
- Post-Graduation

8. Do you have any handicap?

- No
- Yes - please specify
- Prefer not to say

9. Do you have any chronic diseases?

- No
- Yes - please specify
- Prefer not to say

10. Are you a recipient of any government program of income transfer? *

- No
- Yes - please specify
- Prefer not to say

Your activity in the market

11. In which of the markets do you trade? *

- Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio - FECOPE

Central de Abastecimento Municipal - CAM

12. Is the market enterprise your main source of income?

Yes

No

13. Do you have any other paid jobs, source of income or receive a pension?

Yes - another paid job

Yes – pension

Yes – another source of income

No

14. How long have you been working in this market? Did you know it before starting trading in it?

* _____

15. Had you ever worked or work in another market or street market/ fair? * _____

16. Why did you choose this market to open a business/ work at? * _____

17. Do you participate or ever participated in a training project?

No

Yes - please specify

18. Do you feel the need of training in any area(s) to manage your enterprise?

No

Yes - please specify

19. Where do you buy/ get most of the products sold in your shop? *

- In the neighbourhood
- In Belo Horizonte
- In Minas Gerais
- Varied places in Brazil
- Web pages, including other places in the world
- Yes - please specify

20. Is your enterprise a family business? *

- Yes
- No

21. Do you have any employees? *

- Yes - how many?
- No

22. How do you assess your business nowadays? *

- Great
- Good, but could be better
- Satisfactory, I can still pay the bills
- Bad, it is becoming hard to continue
- Very bad, like this I cannot keep it

23. How do you feel about your business nowadays? * _____

24. Considering the time that you have known/ worked at this market, how do you evaluate it (in terms of functioning, goods/ services on offer, prices, variety) *

- It was better before
- Everything is the same
- It is better nowadays

25. How would you like this market to be (if any different than what it actually is)? * _____

26. What are the main issues affecting the market nowadays * *Tick all that apply.*

- Lack of customers
- Lack of diversity in the type of customers
- The type and variety of goods and services on offer
- The costs of goods and services on offer
- Lack of maintenance of the market's infrastructure
- Lack of resources to invest
- Lack of advertisement
- Excess of bureaucracy
- Bad management
- Taxes to be a permission-holder
- Other - please specify

27. What do you think is needed for the market to function better (more people, more profitability...)?

* _____

28. Is there any activities/ shops that you think are lacking in the market? If yes, which ones? * _____

29. Considering the idea of an 'anchor enterprise' to attract people and improve the activity in the market, what would you suggest? * _____

30. Do the activities and shops near the market affect the market functioning/ profitability? In which way(s)?

* _____

31. How do you assess, in general, your relationship with the other traders?

- Very Friendly
- Friendly
- Polite, but indifferent
- Hostile
- Very Hostile

32. Only for the FECOPE traders: are there differences in the market's footfall when there are activities happening in the Cultural Centre? _____

Relationship with the City Council

33. How easy is it to communicate with the city council/ SUSAN when you have any suggestions, doubts or complaints? *

- Very Easy
- Easy
- Satisfactory, but not ideal
- Hard
- Very Hard

34. Briefly, how is the relationship with the city council/ SUSAN, as the market manager? *

The market visitors and customers

35. What is the day and time of more footfall in the market *

36. Do you notice any patterns in the market visitors/ customers? If yes, which one(s)?* _____

37. **What social group(s) do you think make most use of the market? *** *(tick all that you consider relevant, in order)*

- The teens and young adults
- The middle-aged adults
- The elderly
- Low-income people
- Medium-income people
- High-income people
- Migrants
- Other -- please specify

38. **How do you assess, in general, your relationship with the customers?**

- Very Friendly
- Friendly
- Polite, but indifferent
- Hostile
- Very Hostile

Markets and the city

39. **In your opinion, what is the importance of this market for the neighbourhood? *** _____

40. **Do you visit/ go to other markets or street markets/ fairs in the city? If yes, which one(s) ***

- Yes - please specify
- No

41. In your opinion, what is the importance of markets (in general) for the city? * _____

42. Among the possible users, who do you think uses/ benefits the most from the existence of the markets? (regarding purchasing power, age...)? * _____

43. Why? * _____

44. Do you believe that the market you work at contributes to the city in the way you mentioned? Why?* _____

Next steps of this research

45. Would you be willing to be interviewed to contribute to this research more in depth?

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

46. If you answered "Yes" or "Maybe", please inform your telephone or email (according to the way you prefer to be contacted): _____

*Extra: Is there anybody (customers/ city council) you think it is important for me to talk to? _____

Thank you very much for your time and attention!

B: Questionnaire with market customers (FECOPE and CAM) (translated version)

This questionnaire has two purposes: 1) collect data for a doctoral research on the function of (public) markets for cities; 2) assist in the development of a diagnosis of the public markets Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (FECOPE) and Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM). Therefore, the Secretaria de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional (SUSAN) will be able to respond more effectively to the current needs of the spaces, neighbourhoods, merchants and (potential) customers. For more information, click on the following link, which contains a more detailed description of the research and what your participation entails:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1uv0lpi8qUaz9iYH6ETxDDTH7pMAyKVor/view?usp=sharing>

The questionnaire takes around 10 minutes to be answered. Thank you very much for your cooperation!

*Required

1. **Name: *** _____

Demographic info

2. **Gender:**

- F
- M
- Other

3. **Age range: ***

- Till 15 y. o.
- Between 15 and 24 y. o.
- Between 25 and 34 y. o.

- Between 35 and 44 y. o.
- Between 45 and 59 y. o.
- 60 y.o. Or more

4. **Place of Birth: *** _____

5. **Neighbourhood and city where you live: *** _____

6. **Education: ***

- Incomplete Primary Education
- Complete Primary Education
- Incomplete Secondary Education
- Complete Secondary Education
- Incomplete University Degree
- Complete University Degree
- Post-Graduation

7. **Family income – monthly (Brazilian system) ***

- Up to a minimum salary
- Between 1 and 2 minimum salaries
- Between 2 and 3 minimum salaries
- Between 3 and 5 minimum salaries
- Between 5 and 10 minimum salaries
- More than 10 minimum salaries
- Prefer not to declare

The market and you

8. **How many times do you visit the market each month? ***

- 1 or less
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- More than 5

9. **What is/ are your main reason(s) to come to the market? ***

- The presence of the sacolão ABasteCer
- The prices of the goods and services offered
- The quality of the goods and services offered
- The variety of the goods and services offered
- The traders' friendliness and willingness to assist with shopping
- The people you meet in the market
- The market location
- The place in itself (design, spatial qualities)
- Other -- please specify

10. **Do you always consume something when visiting the market? ***

- Yes
- No -- but usually
- No -- seldomly
- Never

11. **Why? *** _____

In a scale from 1 to 10, what grade would you give to the following aspects:

12. *Merchants' treatment (courtesy with the client): **

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = Awful

10 = Excellent

13. ***b) Hygiene and maintenance of the market ****

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = Awful

10 = Excellent

14. ***c) Variety and quality of the products and services ****

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = Awful

10 = Excellent

15. ***d) Price of the products and services ****

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = Awful

10 = Excellent

16. ***e) Days and times of opening ****

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = Awful

10 = Excellent

17. **Would you like to comment on any of your answers to the Questions above (12 to 16)?**

18. **Which products and/ or services do you consume the most in the market? *** _____

19. **Which products and/ or services would you like to find in the market? *** _____

20. **Considering the idea of an 'anchor enterprise' to attract people and improve the activity in the market, what would you suggest? *** _____

21. Would you mind if this market closed down? *

Yes

No

22. Why? *

23. Considering the time that you have known this market, how do you evaluate it (in terms of functioning, goods/ services on offer, prices, variety) *

It was better before

Everything is the same

It is better nowadays

24. How would you like this market to be (if any different than what it actually is)? *

25. About the management and the physical space of the market, what would you suggest to be done to improve it? (in case you believe it needs improvements) * _____

Markets and the city

26. In your opinion, what is the importance of this market for the neighbourhood? * _____

27. Do you visit/ go to other markets or street markets/ fairs in the city? If yes, which one(s) *

Yes - please specify

No

28. In your opinion, what is the importance of markets (in general) for the city? * _____

29. Among the possible users, who do you think uses/ benefits the most from the existence of the markets? (regarding purchasing power, age...)? * _____

30. Why? * _____

Next steps of this research

31. Would you be willing to be interviewed to contribute to this research more in depth?

- Yes
- No
- Maybe

32. If you answered “Yes” or “Maybe”, please inform your telephone or email (according to the way you prefer to be contacted): _____

Thank you very much for your time and attention!

Annex Three: Information about the Interviewees

MUNICIPALITY OFFICERS' INFORMATION			
Belo Horizonte			
Pseudonyms/ Reference name	Role	Place of Interview	Date
Sílvio	Managing staff SUSAN	Local informal restaurant	3 rd of August 2019 & 18 th of March 2020
Hugo	Long-term staff SUSAN	SUSAN's office	12 th of July 2019
Ítalo	Long-term staff SUSAN	SUSAN's office	1 st of August 2019
Luana	Managing staff SUSAN	Phone messages and email	20 th of July 2020
Patrus	Councillor Belo Horizonte (PT party)	CMBH Public session (not direct interview)	29 th of July 2019
SMASAC	Head of SMASAC	CMBH Public session (not direct interview)	29 th of July 2019
SMPOG	Head of SMPOG	Jorge's office	16 th of July 2019
SMFA	Head of SMFA and Director of PBH Ativos	Carlos' office	24 th of July 2019
SUSAN	Head of SUSAN	Edna's office	17 th of July 2019
PBH Ativos (officers)	Representatives PBH Ativos	PBH Ativos' meeting room	18 th of July 2019
SMPU	Representative SMPU	SMPU meeting room	26 th July 2019
Birmingham			
Pseudonyms/ Reference name	Role	Place of Interview	Date
Eric	BCC Enforcement Team member	BRMs (guided tour)	18 th of April 2019 & 30 th of April 2019
Thomas	BCC Enforcement Team member	Office in Moat Lane	3 rd of April 2019 (?)

TRADERS' INFORMATION			
Belo Horizonte			
Pseudonyms	Place of work	Place of Interview	Date
Alice	CAM	CAM	29 th of July 2019
Candida	CAM	CAM	2 nd of August 2019 & 27 th of January 2020
Renato	CAM	CAM	20 th of July 2019
Letícia	CAM (previously)	Letícia's new restaurant	20 th of July 2019
Vicente	FECOPE	FECOPE	27 th of July 2019
Zilda	FECOPE	FECOPE	21 st of July 2019
Bárbara	FECOPE	Restaurant near FECOPE	21 st of July 2019
Natanael	FECOPE	FECOPE	3 rd of August 2019
Ricardo	Cruzeiro (supporting broader perceptions about the markets in BH)	Restaurant near Cruzeiro	29 th of August 2019
Birmingham			
Pseudonyms	Place of work	Place of Interview	Date
Martin	Indoor Market	Indoor Market	20 th of November 2019 & 28 th of January 2020
Joseph	Indoor Market	Indoor Market	20 th of November 2019
Ben	Indoor Market	Indoor Market	30 th of April 2019
Oscar	Indoor Market	Indoor Market	30 th of April 2019
Alice and Dorothea	Indoor Market	Indoor Market	5 th of November 2019
Arthur	Rag Market	Rag Market	4 th February 2020
Simon	Rag Market	Rag Market	28 th January 2020
Elsa	Rag Market	Rag Market	28 th January 2020
Hannah	Rag Market	Rag Market	19 th of November 2021

MARKET CUSTOMERS' INFORMATION			
Belo Horizonte			
Pseudonyms	Connection with what market?	Place of Interview	Date
Carlos	FECOPE	Café near FECOPE	14 th of July 2019
Leonardo	FECOPE	Café near FECOPE	14 th of July 2019
Eduardo	FECOPE	Café near FECOPE	19 th of July 2019
Márcia	FECOPE	Marcia's home	31 st of July 2019
Elaine	FECOPE	Online/ email	July 2019
Hugo	CAM	FECOPE	1 st of August 2019
Lauro	Activist Mercado de Santa Tereza	Square in Santa Tereza	31 st of July 2019
Amélia	Activist Mercado do Cruzeiro	Café at the Mercado do Cruzeiro	30 rd of August 2019
Birmingham			
Pseudonyms	Connection with what market?	Place of Interview	Date
Anam	Rag Market	Rag Market	4 th February 2020
Mohammad	Rag Market	Rag Market	4 th February 2020

LOCAL EXPERTS' INFORMATION			
Belo Horizonte			
Pseudonyms	Role	Place of Interview	Date
Marcos	Lecturer Economy/ UFMG	Department of Ecoomy	17 th of July 2019
Flávio	Lecturer Geography/ UFMG	Department of Geography	10 th of July 2019
Simara	Lecturer Economy /UFMG	Department of Ecoomy	16 th July 2019
Zenilda	Lecturer Architecture and Planning/ UFMG	Department of Architecture	31 st July 2019
Alberto	Lecturer Architecture and Planning/ UFMG	Department of Architecture	17 th of July 2019
Ana	Researcher from Belo Horizonte based in Birbeck University of London	Café Mercado Central	5 st of July 2019
Mauro	Journalist Radio Itatiaia and previous	Mercado Central	25 st of July 2019
Birmingham			
Pseudonyms	Role	Place of Interview	Date
Louisa	Local practitioner and researcher	Phone call	20 th of November 2019 & 28 th of February 2020
Herbert	Local Expert – Historian	Video call	11 th of November 2019
Richard	Local Journalist	28 th January 2020	28 th of January 2020
William	Consultant markets	Café near the BRMs	4 th of April 2022

PRIVATE MARKET MANAGER'S INFORMATION			
Belo Horizonte			
Pseudonyms	Role	Place of Interview	Date
Mateus	Manager Mercado Central	Mercado Central	25 th of July 2019

Annex Four: Example of code book

(Belo Horizonte municipality officers)

The following table contains the deductive and inductive codes used to analyse the interviews with municipality officers in Belo Horizonte. Extracts of interviews can be linked to more than one code.

NAME CODE	DESCRIPTION
Contexto/ Broad City-Country Context	Information about the city/ country where the markets are located. Can be about structural or institutional matters.
Comerciantes/ Traders	Extracts talking about the traders, their features, their needs, their connection/ relationship with the council.
Competicao com Mercados/ Competition with markets	Extracts about provision venues and systems that compete with the markets (normally related as well to the three categories below).
Feiras/ street markets	Quotes about the street markets, either movable (those selling food goods that happen in different locations of the city in different days of the week) or other street markets (the crafts' market called Feira Hippie).
Sacolão (buy in bulk shops selling cheap fruits and vegetables in Brazil)	Quotes about the 'sacolões' and the SUSAN food supply programme called "Abastecer". Aspects related to the important food supply function they have and their competition with markets. Also quotes about the sacolões in FECOPE and CAM.
Supermercado/ Supermarkets	Extracts mentioning supermarkets, the evolution in food provision, the competition of markets with supermarkets, and the differences between e.g. interaction levels in markets and supermarkets.
Cultura Local/ Local Culture	Extracts about the local culture and the cultural significance of markets
Justica Social/ Social Justice	<p>Main category with extracts about aspects related to Social Justice (normally involving the markets), equity (issues), economic opportunities/ constraints, political participation in deliberation processes (or lack of it).</p> <p>Also extracts talking about possibilities of generating more social justice, not only in markets, but for the whole city (through e.g. 'feiras' 'shopping popular' in Belo Horizonte).</p> <p>The following six categories are included in this one.</p>
Social e Comunidade/ <i>Social and Community</i>	Quotes about the social relevance of the markets. The positive creation of communities/ a sense of community around the markets; as well as related to (a sense of) competition between traders/ internal disputes.

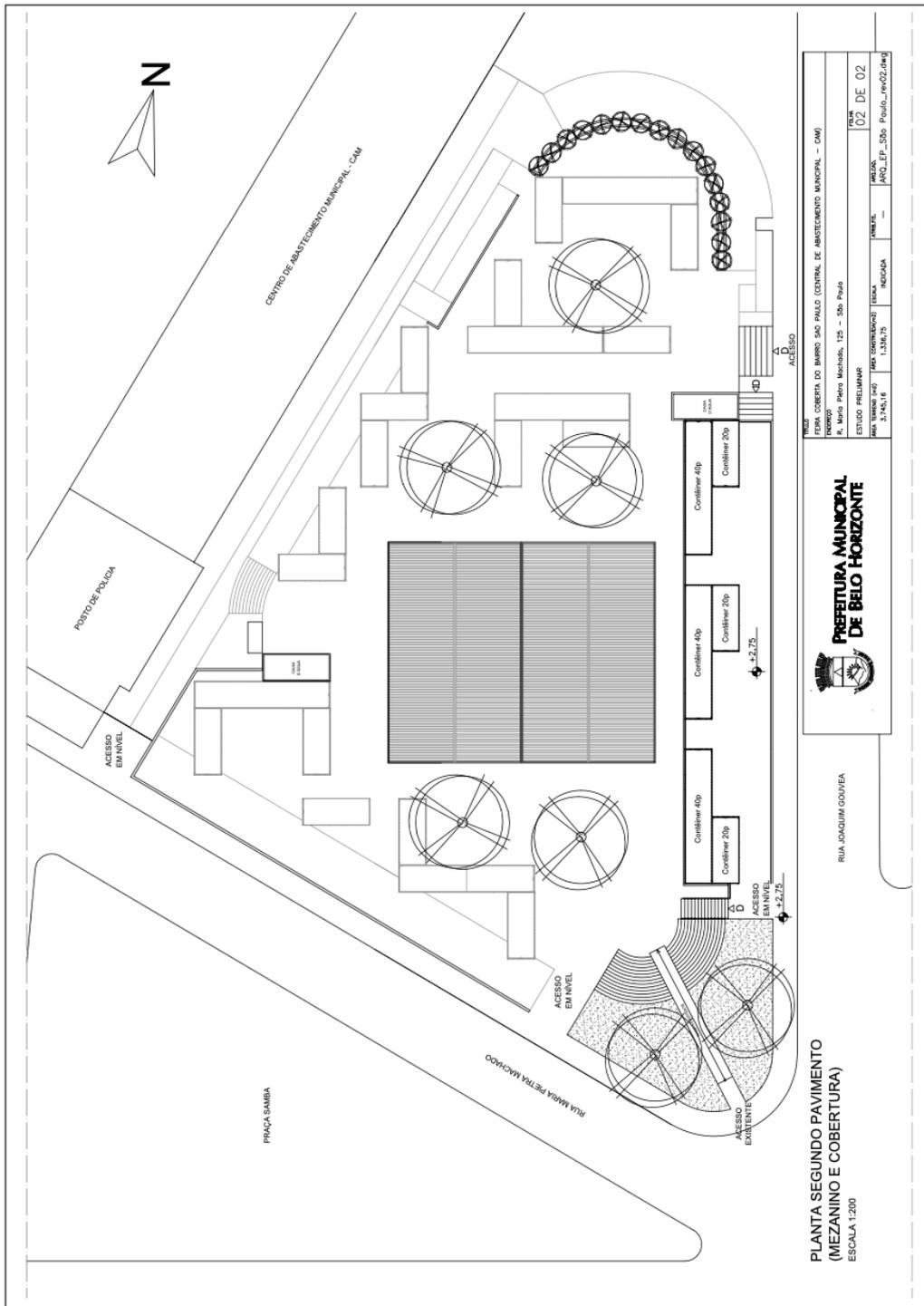
NAME CODE	DESCRIPTION
(Crise) Economica; <i>Economic (Crisis),</i>	Aspects related to the economy and economic crisis and hardship, normally connected to the decline/ impact on the marketplaces and the consumption patterns of the population. Impacts on generating fear of commercial competition.
Gentrificacao/ <i>Gentrification</i>	Extracts talking about the risk of gentrification in markets and similar traditional trading sites.
Inclusao, Pobreza e Desigualdade/ <i>Inclusion, poverty and Inequality</i>	<p>Extracts about the social and economic inclusion (or exclusion) in the city, and related to the markets' presence/ existence.</p> <p>Quotes about poverty in Belo Horizonte, near/ around and in relation to the markets/ and in broader terms (structural inequality/ related to economic crisis, informality)</p> <p>Homelessness/ homeless groups in the vicinity of markets.</p>
Participação/ <i>Participation</i>	Extracts about political participation in deliberation and planning processes – mostly related to the traders but also aspects related to the institutionally provided opportunities for public participation in the tendering (PMI call, public session and the consultation process of the two final tendering calls)
Trabalho e renda/ <i>Work and income</i>	<p>Formal and Informal trading activities near the studied marketplaces or in the city centre – information related to those;</p> <p>Social Economy and Social and Solidarity Economy.</p>
Mercado Central (market)	<p>Any quotes mentioning the Mercado Central, its history, why it is an interesting example of market; what people like/ dislike in it/ people's fondness and personal history with it.</p> <p>The markets' features, social and economic.</p>
Outros Mercados do Brasil e Mundo/ <i>Other markets of Brasil and the world</i>	Extracts talking about other marketplaces in the world, taken as an example of interesting markets/ gentrified spaces...
MERCADOS PUBLICOS BH/ <i>Public Markets of Belo Horizonte</i>	<p>Extracts about the public markets in Belo Horizonte: it can contain information about their history, physical features, current function(s) for the city/ institutional position within the council, trends in their development and governance (e.g.decline/ bidding of shops' system; tendering new system)</p> <p>Do not include quotes about specific markets.</p>
CAM/ <i>Central de Abastecimento Municipal (market)</i>	Extracts about CAM – It's profile, opinions about the market, its economic (un)sustainability, its physical structure, its past/ history, its social relevance (community/ neighbourhood/ supply), people's personal memories/ history with it (in connection to codes within the social justice 'umbrella'/ traders' code). Specific aspects of this

NAME CODE	DESCRIPTION
	market in relation to the bidding of shops. CAM surroundings/ neighbourhood too. Participation in the tendering.
FECOPE/ <i>Feira Coberta do Padre Eustáquio (market)</i>	<p>Extracts about FECOPE – It’s profile, opinions about the market, its economic (un)sustainability, its physical structure, its past/ history, its social relevance (community/ neighbourhood/ supply), people’s personal memories/ history with it (in connection to codes within the social justice ‘umbrella’/ traders’ code). Specific aspects of this market in relation to the bidding of shops. FECOPE surroundings/ neighbourhood too. Participation in the tendering</p> <p>*Also quotes about the relationship between the market/ market users or ‘only’/ mainly users of the CCPE (Cultural Centre).</p>
LICITACAO/ <i>Bidding of shops</i>	Extracts about the markets’ shops bidding process – how often, the selection criteria, the prices, the advertisement. Specific traders’ histories/ cases related to the bidding. The history of the process, its implications (<u>in relation to other codes social justice too</u>).
Mercado da Lagoinha (market)	Aspects related to the Mercado da Lagoinha, its history, surroundings, current function (SUSAN’s training centre)
Mercado do Cruzeiro (market)	<p>Quotes related to the Mercado do Cruzeiro - It’s profile, opinions about the market, its economic sustainability, its physical structure, its past/ history, its social relevance (community/ neighbourhood/ supply), people’s personal memories/ history with it (in connection to codes within the social justice ‘umbrella’/ traders’ code). Specific aspects of this market in relation to the bidding of shops. Mercado do Cruzeiro’ surroundings/ neighbourhood too. Participation in the Tendering.</p> <p>*Also – the existence of the traders’ association (ACOMECE) and its features; The activity of the Neighbourhood Association (AMOREIRO) in relation to the market (mobilisation).</p>
Mercado Novo (market)	<p>Quotes related to the Mercado Novo and its features/ participation in the Tendering. New tendencies in the 3rd floor – gentrification (?)</p> <p>The fact that it is not fully public (just the 4th slab/ roof).</p>
Mercado Santa Tereza (market)	<p>Quotes related to the Mercado de Santa Tereza, its closure (in 2007) and why.</p> <p>It’s profile, opinions about the market, its past/ history, its relevance (community/ neighbourhood/ supply), people’s personal memories/ history with it (in connection to codes within the social justice ‘umbrella’/ traders’ code). Specific aspects of this market in (the past) relation to the bidding of shops. Mercado de Santa Tereza’s surroundings/ neighbourhood too. Participation in the Tendering.</p>

NAME CODE	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Mercado Viva Mais Verde</p> <p>*Also – The engaged activity of the neighbourhood association in relation to the market (mobilisation); participation in the Tendering (Lauro’s interview).</p>
<p>PREFEITURA- GOVERNANCE/ <i>Belo Horizonte’s City Council and Governance</i></p>	<p>Quotes about the City Council of Belo Horizonte and its activity related to the markets’ governance.</p> <p>Also quotes about governance in general, city council’s internal structure and perhaps other departments beyond SUSAN. Other City Council priorities/ projects (from other departments rather than SUSAN’s).</p>
<p>CMBH (Camara vereadores)/ <i>aldermen (councilor) chamber in Belo Horizonte</i></p>	<p>Quotes Involving the local councillors of Belo Horizonte’s chamber. Also quotes mentioning important aldermen/ the action taken by aldermen in relation to the markets.</p>
<p>Investimento Publico/ <i>Public Investment</i></p>	<p>Aspects related to public investment (or not) in the markets; and why there is or there is not any investment</p> <p>Also other urban issues, lack of markets’ relevance in supply; lack of maintenance in the spaces...</p> <p>Issues with council’s lack of investment in general – or specific investment projects/ lines.</p>
<p>Grupo de Trabalho (GT)/ <i>Work Group (WG)</i></p>	<p>Quotes about the Working Group constituted by eight secretariats from the city council of Belo Horizonte, to decide about markets’ new governance system. Quotes about their actions/ discussions; rationale for decision making. Also about the power relationships within it.</p>
<p>PBH ATIVOS (<i>state company</i>)</p>	<p>Quotes involving the PBH Ativos – its creation and evolution, the CPI (investigation of the PBH Ativos’ activities). The participation of the company in the elaboration of the PMI and the Tendering process. Its connection to other city council departments</p>
<p>PMI (Procedimento de Manifestação de Interesse)/ <i>Procedure of Interest Manifestation</i></p>	<p>Quotes about the PMI – how it was created, how it happened through time, who was involved, the connection to the WG of Secretariats, and the results (the proposals). The criteria to participate in it. Which markets were involved...Critical comments about it</p>
<p>Concessão dos mercados/ <i>Tendering of Markets</i></p>	<p>Extracts talking about the tendering of markets’ process. Practical aspects of it, historical development, selection criteria, interested companies. Selected marketplaces. Critical comments about it.</p>
<p>Doimo (fundacao)/ <i>Doimo Foundation - Company</i></p>	<p>Quotes mentioning the Doimo Foundation/ Grupo UAI (it is the “main” company engaged in the tendering process).</p>

NAME CODE	DESCRIPTION
SUSAN (<i>Subsecretariat of Food Security and Nutrition</i>)	Extracts involving the Subsecretariat of Food Security and Nutrition (SUSAN), as well as the actions/ programmes they have. The current management of the markets related to SUSAN. The institutional position of marketplaces within SUSAN. Other programmes (e.g. <i>feiras/ Abastecer Programme</i>) managed by SUSAN.
SAN (Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional)/ <i>Food Security and Nutrition</i>	Broader concerns about food security and nutrition in Belo Horizonte. In relation to social justice; In relation to marketplaces. (other council priorities/ projects within “prefeitura”)

Central de Abastecimento Municipal (CAM): First floor (PBH, 2021b)



Mercado de Santa Tereza: Ground floor (PBH, 2020)

