



Authenticity and New Trends in Markets in Aarhus, Paris and London

Most people connect bazaars and markets with experiences that are a bit out of the ordinary; a place with a diversity of people and a variety of exotic or everyday products. But markets can also be seen as a way to enhance integration, promote economic growth and develop the surrounding neighbourhood

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During spring 2004, students from European Studies took part in a bridge building project with Rambøll Management and the Kaospilots called *Innovating European Cities*. The students formed groups to investigate this subject. One of these groups was the Bazaar Group. Its intention was to investigate bazaars and markets in terms of their role in integration, the experience economy, and developing city space. Another aim was to develop ideas for creating new bazaars in Denmark. A bazaar is a shopping area consisting of small shops, with its origins in the Middle East. A bazaar has exotic connotations and seems to be a relatively new phenomenon in Europe. The market, on the other hand, has a more traditional meaning and has existed in Europe for centuries. Both bazaar and market are defined as areas of commerce, typically consisting of stalls and non-standard goods either brought in by merchants or hand-made.

The aim of this article is to analyse the market's influence on integration, experience economy and city space in three European cities: Aarhus, Paris, and London. Integration, experience economy, and city space can be defined as follows; "Integration" is, "the bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal association, as in society or an organisation". Experience Economy is the idea that an experience can be sold as a product (Pine and Gilmore 1998) and City Space is defined as a certain area within the city where people live, work, interact etc. On the basis of the analysis of the cases we will experiment with the idea of a hybrid market in Denmark and how this could work in relation to the three concepts defined above.

The overall working hypothesis was 1) The market place helps integrate people from foreign cultures into society, 2) the experience of the market has come to play an important role in new ideas about how to create economic growth, and 3) this in turn will attract the so called creative class (Florida 2002) and create a lively foundation for the development of a neighbourhood, which in certain cases may lead to a process of gentrification. In this context, development is therefore taken to mean re-development, re-interpretation or simply change. Hence, the three concepts: integration, experience economy, and city space are connected. By focus-

ing on these elements of development and change we found that a balanced picture of city area progress could be obtained.

The article is based on empirical material from field studies in markets in Aarhus, Paris, and London. The methods used were participant observation and semi-structured interviews with city officials, market managers, shopkeepers, and customers. Furthermore, we developed our own statistical material on the basis of questionnaires handed out at the markets which we used to support the qualitative data.

The four markets represented in this paper are *Bazar Vest* in Aarhus, *Marché d'Aligre* in Paris, and *Old Spitalfields Market* and *Camden Lock Market* in London. Each of the four markets represent very different trends: Aarhus is an entrepreneurial project to help foreigners acquire jobs and shop, the Paris market reflects the long market tradition in the city where the markets resemble old fashioned village markets, and finally, the London markets are far more trendy in their expression and attract predominantly the trendy youth and business people.

Aarhus

Bazar Vest is located in Brabrand in the Western part of Aarhus next to the Gellerup area. This part of Aarhus houses many of the immigrants living in the city, and the original intention was that they alone use bazaar since there was a need for a place for purchasing special



Mainentrance to the bazaar.



products. However, many non-immigrants are also attracted to the place. Bazar Vest is the result of a private initiative by the local businessman Olav de Linde who realised his plans in December 1996. The local government cooperated in the venture as it saw the bazaar as an opportunity to economically integrate immigrants and refugees, and relieve them from social funding. A large variety of products are sold at the bazaar: clothes, shoes, vegetables, plates and cutlery. There is a barber, an internet-cafe and restaurants. The customers are mainly immigrants from the area, students living nearby and some Danes from other parts of the city. All but one of the shopkeepers have an immigrant background.



A look inside the Bazar Vest.

since 1973. Since an individual's place in Danish society is based on Danish ethnicity and ancestry, integration is a long process. The last change of government brought a more restrictive immigration policy (Hedetoft).

Aarhus is Denmark's second largest city and therefore attracts a high percentage of immigrants. While the national statistics show that immigration to the country has tripled, Aarhus' figures show that the amount of immigrants to the city has risen seven times. Today 90 per cent of these immigrants come from less developed countries. Approximately 27,000 immigrants live in Aarhus, which accounts for 9,2 per cent of the city's population. The city has a large group of Somalis and other African immigrants as well as a large group of Palestinians. These groups are considered poorly educated and potentially difficult to integrate. There seems to be a preponderance of young immigrants from less developed countries, whereas the age distribution of immigrants from developed countries is almost equivalent to the Danish age distribution.



A separate part of Bazar Vest is concentrated on vegetables and fruits.



A lot of Arabic and Turkish music can be bought at the Bazar Vest.

Immigration

Denmark's immigration is considered a late phenomenon when compared to the rest of Europe. In the past 20 years, immigration has almost tripled but is still low if compared to the neighbouring countries. According to Ulf Hedetoft, Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark, the explanation rests on the fact that Denmark has maintained an exclusionary immigration policy

Integration or marginalisation

The increasing numbers and varied ethnicity of immigrants to Aarhus has made the task of integration a difficult one. It is an issue which has to be tackled with an open-minded perspective. The local government in Aarhus sees the bazaar as a potential site for integration and a protected location to start a business. A prosperous business can move from the bazaar to more commercially diverse areas in the city thereby stimulating economic integration. However, the majority of the shops are still at the bazaar after eight years. The present enlargement of the bazaar and the waiting list to become a shopkeeper show that Bazar Vest is a popular and probably profitable place to own a shop. On a negative note, the bazaar might contribute to the marginalisation of the shopkeepers and workers. Contact between shopkeeper and customer tends to occur within rather than between social and cultural groups. On the other hand, the bazaar provides employment for some immigrants, and relieves the burden of the welfare system, and it provides a sense of pride and a feeling of belonging to a group of people. It also gives personal satisfaction to the shopkeepers and workers while



facilitating the interaction of people from similar backgrounds.

Several shopkeepers express their concern and lament that some groups of Danes avoid going to the bazaar as a result of a fear of immigrants generated by the press. Shopkeepers admit that problems with immigrants in the area give it a bad reputation, which affects all residents. Gellerup's reputation as a ghetto influences its image in the public eye negatively. Nevertheless, many shopkeepers reported a high percentage of Danish customers. Thus, some integration of cultures does occur.

Two groups of refugees and immigrants exist within the bazaar area. There are the shopkeepers who are proud to have their own business and earn their own money in order to support their families and climb the social ladder. For them it is important to be a positive role model for their children and to contribute to society. The other group consists of people, mainly men, without jobs who speak poor Danish. These people spend their time at the bazaar meeting friends and relatives. During research at the bazaar, we occasionally had to abandon attempts at communication with shopkeepers and customers due to language problems.

Experience economy

Most bazaar customers are immigrants who live in the nearby Gellerup estate, but Danes from other parts of Aarhus and even from other parts of the country visit and shop at the bazaar. Shopkeepers talk proudly of buses that come from places around the whole country just to experience the bazaar and to do their shopping there. Danes seem to combine their shopping with the experience the bazaar affords, which often includes eating at the multiple available restaurants that offer a wide variety of authentically foreign cuisine. Advertising for the bazaar is limited to a few billboards around the city, and the local authorities do not mention it in the official tourist guide; this is a missed opportunity to benefit from visitors interested in foreign products and multiculturalism. Danes do come to the bazaar, but not as a result of tourist promotion. The visitors seemingly get information about the bazaar by word-of-mouth.

At the bazaar, you meet friendly people everywhere and you are treated with politeness. Part of the experience when visiting the bazaar includes the noise, dirty floors, bad ventilation and the large crowd of people, which all contribute to the authenticity of the experience. The only Danish shopkeeper calls Bazar Vest "The Wild West" - a reference to the bullet hole on the facade of his shop and the presence of the black market. From Olav de Linde's point of view, the bazaar was not conceived as an integration project. The bazaar was meant to be a market place for immigrants, a place to strike commercial deals and find products that are difficult to find in traditional shops. This probably gives the place its authenticity. For many Danish visitors, the experience begins as they approach the place. This experience

is enhanced as the visitor enters the building, and finds crowds of foreign looking people gathered, talking loudly, in unrecognisable languages. Once inside, the surprises continue and one is met with a blend of unusual smells, noise and activity. The sensory experience gives many Danish customers the impression that they are entering a foreign, and maybe, a Middle Eastern country. The place was not intended or created for Danes, and maybe that is one of the reasons why Danes come in big numbers to experience the authentic atmosphere. Bazar Vest has become trendy and a place to experience something foreign and authentic.

City Space

After a difficult start, the bazaar has become a popular shopping place for immigrants and more adventurous Danes. Over the years the place has become a local landmark and is referred to as the "largest bazaar in Scandinavia". Still the location, next to the infamous Gellerup, known as a ghetto for immigrants, might cause problems attracting Danish customers. The area has a bad reputation, connected with crime, poverty and unemployment. This reputation and bad publicity in the media might keep some Danes away. The bad reputation of the area has contributed to the property devaluation suffered by homeowners and landlords, thereby the area is not attractive for Danes to live in either.

Placed away from the city centre and traditional shopping areas, the bazaar is easily accessible via bus, bike and car. However, many Danish customers would like a location closer to the centre of Aarhus, claiming that they would then visit the bazaar more often. A few shopkeepers also mentioned that a location near the centre of town would probably mean more Danish customers. The target group for a bazaar is an important consideration in all this. If an authentic bazaar is the goal, placing the bazaar outside the immigration area could mean losing the immigrants as customers and thereby some authenticity. Consequently, the special atmosphere that appeals to Danes could also disappear. The Aarhus bazaar is thus situated in an immigrant area in the outskirts of the city and aims to meet the needs of the immigrants in that area. The Paris market demonstrates an entirely different case.

Paris

The Marche d'Aligre lies in the St. Antoine neighbourhood in central Paris. The area is an old working class and immigrant area. The market has existed for centuries and is a traditional Parisian market. It consists of a covered section and an open air section. The indoor market sells French and Italian specialties: cheese, fish, meat, flowers, fruit etc. The outside market mainly sells fruit and vegetables. In one area of the outside market, second hand goods and handicrafts are sold. At the indoor market both customers and shopkeepers are mainly French, elderly and with Jewish or Christian backgrounds. At the outdoor market customers have various cultural and religious backgrounds. However,



Muslims seem to be predominant among both customers and shopkeepers.



Marché d'Aligre, March 2004.

The republican way of integration

The political concept of the French nation-state has had enormous significance for the habitus (Bourdieu 2003) of the ethnic French people. The republican traditions have had more than 200 years to establish themselves as part of the French mentality. Effectively immigrants were received with the expectation that they be fully integrated into French society. They were expected to adopt the country's political ideals according to a conception of citizenship that relegated the importance of ethnic and cultural identity. If one asks people on Marché d'Aligre, which is characterized by a multicultural composition, what they would consider essential to integration, they would reply: A) to have work or at least to be looking for work and B) to learn the French language. These two elements imply the adoption of French republican ideals and not French culture *per se*.

The notion 'patrie' stands in opposition to the political idea of integration. The 'patrie' is based on ideas of common history, traditions, language, culture, and religion. The political concept of the Nation-State holds this vision of the French nation in check, so that 'patrie' does not take precedence over the political republican ideal of embracing all difference.

Integration at Marché d'Aligre

Marché d'Aligre consists of an indoor and an outdoor section. There are a great variety of people of different nationalities, religions, young and old people intermingling in an atmosphere that would be best described as relaxed. The neighbourhood is characterised by its history of immigration. The Portuguese and the Italians arrived in the 1960's, and in the 1970's the Maghrebis came. These groups now live side by side with the ethnic French and the level of tolerance is high, making encounters possible between people of different origins.

However, at the market, differences exist between the outside and inside areas which are poor and rich respectively. There were no Muslim people at the inside market, only Christians and Jews, which leads to the conclusion that the Muslim group is the poorest, and

moreover, that there is a difference in both economic and cultural integration into French society.



The covered market where inter alia French and 'Italian delicatesses are offered.

It seems that integration into society has two sides; firstly, acceptance is gained through the participation of the individual in everyday life – through working and speaking the language; the other side involves socio-cultural integration, which entails the adoption of French culture. One can distinguish between integration into society on the political level, and on the cultural level.



The variety of fruits and vegetables is astonishing.

Social and cultural segregation therefore seem to be a reality; the social differences between rich and poor are the most relevant for people at the market. A comment from one of the outside shopkeepers might express another point of view: when asked about the indoor market, he lowered his voice and said that he saw it as an isolated "ethnic group". The shopkeepers from the outside market are friends, and are far more relaxed.

People seem to avoid discussing integration; however, in some cases, it does not seem to be of any interest for people at the market. Republicanism does not leave room for the discussion of cultural differences. Despite this separation, Marché d'Aligre does function as a site of integration for immigrants. The important thing here is that the level of tolerance is quite high.

The market place as an experience

Besides being a place where people shop for fruit and vegetables, the market is also a meeting place. People in the neighbourhood meet friends and neighbours, and



socialise with the shopkeepers, which many of the customers know personally. The market also provides aesthetic pleasures to its visitors. Customers revel in the convivial atmosphere and the company of amiable shopkeepers. It provides human contact in contrast to impersonal supermarkets. The variety and the freshness of the products, their high quality and the cheap prices combined with the availability of special products are important reasons for visiting and using the market. The liveliness of the market, the colours and the smells amount to a special experience for visitors.



A view down one of the sideroads at the Marché d'Aligre.

Tradition is a reason for going to the market, and Marché d'Aligre evokes the atmosphere of a country market. It provides a contrast to the stressful life in metropolitan Paris, and contributes to a better quality of life – it may even generate some nostalgia about the good old days. There is no strategy for advertising Marché d'Aligre as an experience. It does not promote itself.

Redeveloping city spaces

The local government of St. Antoine has overall control of the market. They implement policies on city area development. The "green city"-policy aims at reducing smog in the city by reducing cars and encouraging the use of public transportation. A nearby street is under construction to give pedestrians more space. This will take away parking space, which is important for the shopkeepers on Marché d'Aligre but in this case the city environment has been granted priority over the commercial interests of the shopkeepers. As a result, the area will become more family-friendly. At the same time, more up-market shops are emerging in the street that is under construction.

The nearby Marais-neighbourhood has been transformed into a very fashionable neighbourhood following an influx of bohemians, homosexuals, and artists. There are signs that this process of gentrification is underway in the St. Antoine-neighbourhood. The street under construction and the changing nature of the shops on that street are indicators of social change. The locals say that the borders of the Marais are moving closer.

Keeping the authenticity at St Antoine/Marché d'Aligre

The local government aims to raise the standards of the area, and contributes to the social life of the community by donating money to a local foundation that organises different kinds of events. A woman selling Italian delicacies explained that the area is a melting pot, attracting all sorts of people, and that it was of crucial importance to maintain this popular, lively character. At St. Antoine the streets are buzzing with activity. Wealthy areas of Paris are far more tranquil. For the people in St Antoine maintaining the broad appeal of the neighbourhood is vital in preserving the character of the place as a melting pot. It is a question of keeping a balance, and preserving the diversity, while developing the neighbourhood. The market might otherwise lose what makes it attractive to the local people today. The gentrification process emerging at St Antoine is already evident around two markets in London.

London

Camden Lock Market is placed in Camden, which has for 30 years been a creative and dynamic part of London. Both Camden Lock and Old Spitalfields market in the East End have been strategically planned and managed. The East End is traditionally an immigrant neighbourhood, poor and generally worn out. Paradoxically The East End/Spitalfields neighbours are the financial centre of London, the City.



*A tranquil corner at the Camden Lock Market.
The shops are placed in the old warehouses.*

Both markets can be described as life-style markets. The products sold are clothes, jewellery, soaps and, at Old Spitalfields, organic bread, various foods and flowers. The stallholders are of mixed ages, ethnicity etc. The customers also vary in age, ethnic belonging and profession – there are however more students at Camden



and more families with children and elderly people at Old Spitalfields.



The contrast between East End and the city is striking. Old Spitalfields represents the change in the East End.

Diversity rather than integration

Immigration to Britain has for a large part consisted of people from the former British Empire. After the decline of the Empire, Britain became an ethnic nation defined by birth and ancestry. The Immigrant Act of 1971 tied the rights of residency to the existence of at least one British grandparent and the British Nationality Act of 1981 changed British citizenship from being based on a civic idea to an ethnic idea. Britain's official policy towards immigrants is based on equal rights and opportunities. This way most immigrants keep their cultural identity, many of them living in ethnic communities in London. Over 300 languages are spoken, and 29 percent of London's population belongs to an ethnic minority.

The ethnic groups are not present at either of the markets. The big Bangladeshi community living at nearby Brick Lane is completely absent at Spitalfields. Camden does not promote integration, but in terms of generating employment for locals in the area it has a positive effect. Camden is a community for sub-cultures rather than ethnic groups. It seems that already well-integrated people were using the market whereas more poorly integrated persons or parts of strong ethnic communities tend to stay away. The markets do not integrate larger ethnic groups, but attract individuals of various nationalities and ethnic groups. When talking to people at Spitalfields and Camden, the diversity of the markets and the people were frequently mentioned. The level of tolerance towards subcultures and ethnic groups is high among stallholders and customers. As Will Fulford, assistant manager at Camden said: "it is

impossible not to be tolerant, because of all the nationalities, religions, sexualities and subcultures present".

Experience economy

The firm Urban Space Management created Camden Lock and Spitalfields. This is a company that intentionally tries to make an area creative and diverse. Creativity was the goal for both markets. Both markets foster a creative environment by encouraging special market features – e.g. fashion fairs. Neither Camden Lock nor Spitalfields have any strategies for attracting tourists because they are not their main target group. The diversity of the products attracts both local people and tourists. The history of the markets plays a major role in attracting people. The historic Spitalfields has existed since the 1600s and Camden Lock is situated at the old lock and the canal-area in Camden.

Shopping is secondary to most people visiting the markets. They have kept their function as meeting places. The costumers come for the atmosphere, to meet friends, to have a meal or simply to wander around looking at shops and new trends.

A variety of products is a sure thing. Two principles have become very significant and are the reasons for the markets present success: High quality of products and NO chain store products. At Camden people in the market live up to this image, many customers are between 15-25 years old. The look of the young people varies, some have red and green hair, braids in many colours, and some wear more casual batik and dreadlocks.



The Camden Lock.

On weekdays, city people eat their lunch at the exotic food stalls in Spitalfields market. On Sundays, they bring their families to the market, which is crowded with people. The stalls offer designer-clothing, organic food etc. The big attraction, says the market manager at Spitalfields Eric Graham, expressing an opinion shared by most customers, is the organic food. People are drawn to the stalls to taste and to buy vegetables, homemade bread, and delicacies. Trend spotters come to explore new upcoming names and the designers hope to get in contact with them in order to get their products in the shops.



Markets have become trendy in London. The trend comes from a change in the customers' wishes. They want something else other than the big chain stores downtown. They want a shopping place where things happen, and a different attitude to the posh and hands-off atmosphere in the big stores, says Graham. Furthermore, he points to a connection between the growing creative environment in the East End and Spitalfields market. By using the market as a launch-pad for a career, designers can be seen as the back-bone of the creative environment. This environment attracts people with very different backgrounds. It is creativity and trend setting experiences that London offers.

City space

Exclusive, small and trendy shops are spreading all the way into the East End and the Brick Lane area. The East End is the place where many immigrants first meet London - the cheapest place in town. Now there is a large Bangladeshi community on Brick Lane. But don't be mistaken: the East End is the next big thing! Old Spitalfields market contributes to this new trend because of the market's products and location. It attracts many creative people; many designers, architects and artists now live in the East End. Not entirely a positive development argues Eric Graham: the house prices are rising rapidly and many of the original inhabitants have to move out because they can no longer afford the rent. The same process of gentrification happened in Camden with the increasing success of the market. Most customers agree that the markets are beneficial for the local area.



The products at Old Spitalfields Market are organic and tasty.

There are strict rules for the stallholders' behaviour: no shouting, no loud music – and they are told to eschew their own egos, politics and religion. This adds to the good atmosphere. Both markets strictly control the quality and the quantity of the products.

Camden is situated in the North Western part of London. The location by the canal and the lock, complete with old warehouses give the market a touch of originality and authenticity. In 1971 British Waterways leased some of the unused warehouses to three young men with new visions and ideas. Their ideas turned into the Camden Markets, which today attracts more than 150.000 visitors a week.



A lot of people visit Camden Lock Market each week.

In Camden Lock market the management has discovered that local people tend to stay away from the market. Fashion shows starring local designers have become an annual event in an attempt to attract the locals and to support local creativity. The heart of Camden Lock Market is the local community and its diverse and creative mixture. There is a gap between the two and it is quite essential that they get reunited in order for the success story to continue. Today the market cooperates with local government concerning issues affecting the area, e.g. drugs, crime etc.

Spitalfields market also cooperates with the local government, but principally about the future development of the area. Spitalfields market is the buffer zone between the City and the East End. In the same white and green buildings that house the market, the Bangladeshi community celebrates New Year and various festivals. All sorts of cultural and artistic events take place here. The local community participates actively in the market's everyday life and, combined with the influence of the expanding City, it lends an exciting vibrancy to Spitalfields.

The revitalisation of the city areas

The mixture of products and arts was the strategy behind the revitalisation of both areas. Camden Lock kick-started the revitalisation of the whole Camden Town area. Eric Reynolds and more of the old crowd from Camden Lock Market were assigned by the Corporation of London – the local government - to revitalise the old Spitalfields market that was once the wholesale vegetable market. The whole area around Spitalfields is being revitalised. This includes the development of the old Bishopsgate Goodsyards for a variety of creative and commercial uses. The City is expanding and the East End is changing.



The Market is that way.

The following section will compare and analyse the market's influence on integration, experience economy and city space.

Integration

The immigration of recent years has set new challenges for nation states and cities in Europe. The traditional ideas of nation states and citizenship need a rethink. One approach to this is the multiculturalist approach which is traditionally based on political rights and the borders between national and ethnic cultures and rights. Multiculturalism has in this regard a negative side because of the need to define the ethnic group in comparison to other groups in the society. In this way ethnic groups easily become essentialized since culture is seen as static and not processual. Gerd Baumann argues that culture is processual (but does accept the need for people to essentialize) and that a multicultural society can develop from below on an everyday basis. People themselves will develop this multicultural society via dialogues and interaction between groups. Interaction on an everyday level can be seen at the bazaars. Interaction on an everyday level might resist essentialization (Baumann 1999).

Denmark, France and the UK all embrace several cultures and this gives the cities responsibilities towards these cultures. The bazaars are places where people meet and this provides the perfect opportunity for the development of multiculturalism from below. None of the shopkeepers seem to think that by selling their products they share some of their culture – they are just products. Both people in Aarhus and Paris seem to be more aware of their cultural background than in London. Even though differences in the history of immigration do exist between the countries, France and Britain share a colonial past but do not show quite the same approach to immigrants and the immigrants themselves do not express similar ideas about their cultural background. Common to all three markets is the variety of people representing various ethnic groups and the

everyday interaction between them. Integration at the markets differs. Bazar Vest was created as a direct response to the immigrants' shopping needs which were not fulfilled by traditional Danish supermarkets and products. There seems to be a differentiation between immigrants and "ethnic" Danes. The development of the bazaar gives immigrants a place to meet their own ethnic group and other nationalities. It also gives Danes and immigrants the possibility to meet each other on an equal basis – encounters between cultures are generated through the banal activity of shopping. This possibility is highly valuable because of the need to integrate these groups of recent immigrants.

The same encounter is possible at the Marché d'Aligre – though here the division of the market might lead to a separation of the customers as well. Talking about integration makes no sense here, since the French civic society considers cultural differences irrelevant. The *patrie* is held in check by political assimilation. The immigrants must learn French and get a job – this makes them French citizens. Cultural and religious differences do not matter, however the division at the market between Muslims and Jews/Christians might express more than simple economic division between poor and wealthy. If this is the case, the French standard for being a citizen does not quite correspond with reality. Even though interviewees mention language and employment as the standards of belonging, a sense of cultural difference seems to sneak into the debate no matter how unwilling the shopkeepers and others are to talk about it. Those inside might be perceived as an ethnic group apart from the outside shopkeepers as one shopkeeper remarked.

The London markets are not constructed for the benefit of immigrants. They live in the society as citizens but can easily stay in their own ethnic group. The ideals for citizenship are increasingly based on ethnicity, the family ties to the English nation-state and not to the more civic ideas in the British Empire. The various people at the market are there as individuals, not as members of any group, and the markets do not function as meeting places for ethnic groups, only for groups of friends etc. The Bangladeshi community nearby Spitalfields uses the buildings for festivals and not for shopping; this might be because neither products nor environment appeal to them.

Experience Economy

According to Pine and Gilmore, recent thinking about creating economic growth focuses on making money of experiences. The idea is to generate economic growth by adding experience to the process of consumption. The experience has to be staged and personalised and will some day be a product in itself – people will pay to enter a shopping mall because of the experiences it provides. The experience has to be based on a strategy which involves thematizing the experience, giving it a positive profile, it has to engage all the senses and create some sort of merchandise for the customers to re-



member the experience – selling the memory of it (Pine and Gilmore 1998). In all three cases we found the markets to be sources of extraordinary experiences. Authenticity seems to be a buzz-word here. While it is the exotic and Middle Eastern atmosphere that attracts people at Bazar Vest, the peaceful and nostalgic village-like atmosphere draws customers to Marché d'Aligre. The old warehouses, the canal and old market buildings make people come to Camden and old Spitalfields markets. The markets provide an experience that is out of the ordinary whether it is a ride to the exotic Middle East or back to the good old days. This is a kind of escapism, giving the visitor an impression of visiting somewhere other than "home". The issue of authenticity is important since this reflects the basis of the market and its function. Learning seems to be another focus – all three bazaars provide opportunities for the visitor to learn something new about Middle Eastern cooking, the history of the city etc. In this way the location of the market is important for its development – what would happen if Bazar Vest was placed away from the Gellerup?

The unique experience of going to the market underlines important issues about spotting new trends for instance new exotic cuisines, designer clothes, or exotic clothes. Indeed shopping at the market instead of at the supermarket is considered trendy in itself. In this way the markets accentuate a trend and give the visitor the experience of being "in fashion". The basis for developing markets into profitable experiences – in addition to the profit the shopkeepers and bazaar owners already make – seems to be present. The only commercials for Bazar Vest tell us to turn shopping into an experience, and the London market manager is fully aware of the customer's appetite for experiences. However the strategy developed by Pine and Gilmore has not yet been applied and it does not seem to be a strategy the market managers have considered. Furthermore, Pine and Gilmore's experience economy seems to invite "disneyfication", where for instance Bazar Vest could end up being essentialized into the total oriental(ist) experience. Making markets into theme parks is not the way to go.

City Space

Richard Florida claims that new economic growth will come from a new class of creative people. These people work as scientists, architects, designers, university professors, actors etc. *Technology, Talent, and Tolerance*, is the three most important factors that have to be fulfilled in order to: 'attract creative people, generate innovation and stimulate economic growth' (Florida 2002: 249). This attraction should create an innovative environment and thereby stimulate economic growth. All three factors are needed, but here we will concentrate on tolerance and the local community. We concluded that the creative class is attracted to areas which mirror a high level of authenticity and tolerance. The creative class carries with it the 'Talent' which together with 'Tolerance' will create economic growth. Along with

economic growth goes a process of integration from below.

The location of Bazar Vest near the ghetto area of Gellerup creates some problems for the market. Gellerup is associated with crime and violence, a high concentration of immigrants and social problems. This is the portrayal generated by the media. However, the relationship between the market and the ghetto is ambivalent, because it is here that most of the market's customers live. And the large number of immigrant customers is partly what imbues the Bazar Vest with its authentic atmosphere. There are initiatives to encourage the participation of inhabitants in the neighbourhood and stop crime – the housing association tries to ban families whose children are criminals. Customers from outside the area still come to the market in spite of these problems. This might suggest that the customers have a certain level of tolerance and open-mindedness.

Marché d'Aligre is also an immigrant area, though crime and social problems do not seem to be major problems here. The neighbourhood is changing. The local government's plans for the area might hinder the delivery of products and the changes taking place in the nearby Marais neighbourhood might affect St. Antoine and the composition of the population. This might prove problematic for the shopkeepers and customers that now use the market – especially if gentrification is the result. However, the high numbers of tourists visiting the market and the high level of experiences provided by it prove that the market can survive. It seems that it is not only a question of how the market affects the neighbourhood, but also how the neighbourhood and local politics affect the market. The markets have a high degree of private entrepreneurship and commercialism, but are still part of a neighbourhood. Likewise, the local community and the local authorities are important for the development of the markets.

The close relationship with the local community is also an issue in London – here it deals with creativity and entrepreneurship and, mostly in Spitalfields, encourages the settlement of a creative community in the East End. The same connection between market and creative community was present in the early days of the Camden Markets. Again one of the consequences is gentrification – the original inhabitants move out as the prices rise and more resourceful people move in.

All four markets need the local community just as the local community, to a certain degree, needs the market. Marché d'Aligre might be on the verge of the same process that the neighbourhoods around the London markets have already gone or are going through. The difference is that the London markets were created with this kind of community in mind, whereas the Paris market might find itself in a similar situation by accident rather than design – a strategy for keeping customers, shopkeepers and preserving the atmosphere might be needed. The creative class, as Florida would



have it, will be attracted by the tolerance and entrepreneurship that is present at the market. However the presence of these people in the neighbourhood, the innovative environment and economic growth this gives, might provoke a lasting change. The more resourceful inhabitants will attract other members of the creative class, and as the house prices are rising the original inhabitants will move out. This potential for gentrification must be taken into consideration. However the positive effect of the innovation generated by creative people is highly valuable. It seems that the neighbourhoods described in London and Paris do now and will continue to attract creative people, while this does not happen in Aarhus. This process will involve gentrification and economic and cultural development.

Perspectives for Denmark

The analysis made in the above sections leads to the question of why people are attracted to particular markets and neighbourhoods. The answer to this question might be helpful in forming a strategy for creating a new market in Denmark.

Bazar Vest as a market was not established to improve integration, but if a market was established for instance at a central location in the city's commercial centre and a high number of shopkeepers were from different ethnic groups, the market might become a permanent part of the commercial life and thereby create more contact between Danes and immigrants than is currently the case. In Paris, the markets are actually centrally located, and there is more contact between the different groups. This gives better opportunities for the kind of integration from below that Baumann talks about. It is difficult to say whether immigrant customers will stay away from centrally located markets. There is a lack of experience of this in a Danish context. Divisions will remain between certain groups at the market because it is easier to keep to the group that you already know, and markets do function as a meeting place for friends. Although as time passes, there could be more and more contact between the groups. A relationship between two groups will never be static, and if the right conditions for interaction are created, there is reason to believe that this will result in the integration of immigrants via markets into the rest of the society.

A number of elements are needed in order to achieve interaction between Danes and immigrants at the market: a central location of the market, (or a strategy to attract more Danes to the market), a guarantee that shopkeepers and products are of foreign origin because traditional Danish market days do not attract many immigrants. It is important to create a programme of activities that would enhance discussion and interaction amongst locals – activities for children, the youth, women, and special interests etc. These initiatives establish a meaningful local environment in both Marché d'Aligre and Old Spitalfields.

As described above, creative people are attracted to

areas with a market. But it is not only the market that attracts these people; it is also the people in these neighbourhoods. The creative people are attracted by the authentic environment which has developed in London and Paris. In London the authenticity lies in the location of the market. The buildings that house the market are historic and the focus is on quality products which cannot be found in supermarkets and shopping centres. The trendy and the alternative that does not reflect mainstream culture, is what makes London markets popular. In Paris it is a little different, there the authentic environment attracts the creative people because the authenticity reflects a sort of innocence, an idyll and a tradition that other neighbourhoods do not have. Marché d'Aligre guarantees cheap fruits and vegetables, a living environment with diverse people and impressions. It seems authentic and exciting. While the London markets represent new thinking and trends, Paris represents the authentic old fashioned village life. Both represent authenticity and attract the young and creative. Bazar Vest also represents the authentic and attracts the creative class, though the creative class has not had the opportunity to influence this market. The difference is that the creative class moves into the neighbourhoods in Paris and London, this has not happened in Aarhus. The neighbourhood might not be stimulating enough for the creative class.

In Aarhus there is an opportunity to attract both immigrant entrepreneurs and the creative class by establishing a market in a different setting which is more easily accessible. It must be possible here to create the same sort of authenticity – or a branding of the market as authentic – which has been created in London and in Bazar Vest. The Parisian market tradition is difficult to recreate but can act as an object for research and inspiration. The goal could be to establish a market in a Danish context; a market which reflects an environment that is perceived as authentic. The experience of interaction between diverse groups in society, of the stalls in the market displaying fruits, vegetables, designer clothing, of the smells and the people - that is the goal. From a cold point of view it is an economic venture – the creation of an experience economy. But it also generates human interaction, meetings between different groups in society and it involves a reinterpretation of city space.

The analysis shows that a market can have a positive effect on an area. At Old Spitalfields and Camden Lock Market the whole area has undergone a change and is still changing. The areas have become trendy, creative people and entrepreneurs have been attracted to the area and with them new capital has been "induced" into the area. Thereby social changes take place as well. The development is partly the same in St. Antoine where the Marais neighbourhood and the trendy shops are moving closer and urban renewal projects are carried out by the local authority to enhance a smog-free and family-friendly neighbourhood.



As shown in Paris and London, a market can be a factor in making an area interesting and lively, and can provide an area with an opportunity to be re-interpreted by both the people attracted by the changing neighbourhood and the people already living there. As a part of reinterpreting city spaces, a market could be placed in a specific neighbourhood thereby making the market and the neighbourhood develop and influence each other. This could generate positive developments in integration, economic growth and create alternative city spaces. A market in Denmark which can positively influence integration, create economic growth, and develop city space, must have certain characteristics; one of these is authenticity. The authenticity is dependent on the location and appearance of the market, and it is important to attract customers - among these are the creative class. However, the location must also be attractive in itself in order for the creative class to settle. This mix of authenticity, an attractive location and innovative ideas might form a market that could be the centre for more integration, a place for developing economic growth, and reinterpreting the surrounding neighbourhood.

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