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**RESISTING RETAIL GENTRIFICATION IN  
TRADITIONAL PUBLIC MARKETS IN LONDON**

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## **Resisting retail gentrification in traditional public markets in London**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper uncovers the mobilisation and resistance of citizens in the UK against retail gentrification. It focuses on existing and past campaigns that have emerged to save, promote and sustain traditional retail markets in particular in London. By traditional markets we refer to covered and uncovered licensed markets which sell all kinds of produce and services. In this paper we look at traditional retail markets not merely as spaces for consumption but as spaces for socialising, identity building and also for contestation and resistance. The aims of the paper are: 1. To explain how and why traditional markets are under threat 2. To critically analyse processes of gentrification in traditional retail markets 3. To discuss existing campaigns and resistance practices against the gentrification of traditional retail markets in London. The paper is based on research conducted thanks to a scholar-activist award by the Antipode Foundation in 2015. We used a mixed methodology of desk-based research to provide a picture of the state of markets in the UK and uncover existing and past market campaigns. We identified 10 past and present campaigns across the UK and in this paper we focus on 3 campaigns in London. We find that although campaigns not always use the language of gentrification as discussed by academics, the markets are mobilised as spaces for political discussion about the city and urban justice.

**KEYWORDS:** traditional retail markets, gentrification, resistance, London

## 1. INTRODUCTION: STRUGGLES AROUND TRADITIONAL RETAIL MARKETS

This paper provides evidence on traditional retail markets in London as political spaces where trader and citizens mobilise for wider urban and political issues. By traditional retail markets we refer to indoor or outdoor concentrations of traders where food and other goods and services are sold. In London, and more widely in the UK, several campaigns have emerged in the last years to defend, promote and save these traditional markets from various threats: privatisation, gentrification, closure, demolition, displacement of traders, rent hikes or abandonment and disinvestment (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2015). In these struggles, the market, as we will see, becomes a sort of metaphor of the city where issues of urban justice/injustice take shape. In particular, in this paper, we will interpret these “market struggles” as forms of anti-gentrification mobilisations.

This paper has several aims:

- To report on existing campaigns, activism, resistance and contestation around traditional retail markets in London, a phenomenon completely invisible in academic publication and British public media.
- To expand the research on anti-gentrification beyond residential struggles to incorporate retail gentrification.
- To begin to discuss the relevance of traditional retail markets as political spaces for mobilisation about citizenship and the right to the city

Gentrification is a concept often used to describe and criticise changes in the social make-up of a neighbourhood. Simply put, it can be seen as the replacement of a working class and/or low income population by middle class as dwellers, consumers, or both. It is a complex process involving changes in the built environment, services (such as education) and the retail mix which shift to accommodate a wealthier population.

There has been less focus on the impact of gentrification in the retail mix of a neighbourhood. We suggest that retail gentrification is

“the process whereby the commerce that serves (amongst others) a population of low income is transformed/replaced into/by a type of retail targeted at wealthier people. From a different angle, we can also see it as the increase in commercial rents that pushes traders to increase price of their products, change products or change location” (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2015: 19).

At first sight gentrification can appear as a positive change; underinvested, untidy or “grotty” markets are replaced with new stalls selling new products perhaps to a new clientele. There is often a commentary of ‘cleaning up’ or making an area more ‘vibrant’. For example, the transition in an inner London street market, which is located in a gentrifying neighbourhood, was described in an industry magazine as ‘From Sex and Sleaze to Gourmet Cheese’, thus making explicit the replacement of sex-workers with quality food. However, behind this positive gloss there can often be a process of exclusion and displacement of previous traders and customers because of higher rents and/or higher prices. The gentrification of markets can take many different forms. Sometimes it can be part of the wider residential neighbourhood gentrification process where the retail offer is “upgraded” to fit the new residents with the other older ones being priced out. Other times markets can be part of “retail-led” regeneration strategies, where the market itself could

become a flagship for the redevelopment of an area. Often conflict arises in these transformation because of the lack of involvement of traders, customers and the public and threats to the livelihoods of traders or because customers and residents feel that there is going to be a loss of a public space. This paper studies these kinds of mobilisations which as we will see below we interpret as anti-gentrification practices.

This particular paper focuses on London but as explained above these market campaigns have been emerging across the UK in the last few decades (for an account of 10 such campaigns see Gonzalez and Dawson, 2015). In Leeds, in northern England, there has been a very active campaign from 2010 to around 2015 (Gonzalez and Waley, 2013), in Peterborough, to the North of London, there has also been a community group working with traders. In Birmingham traders have been campaigning against the closure of the centrally located Wholesale Market. Beyond these relatively established groups there have also been many campaigns and communities that have mobilised to “save their markets” gathering support from thousands of people. A quick look in the media in the last 10 years shows reports of petitions of 12,000 signatures to save Queens Market and 54,000 for Borough Market for in London, 10,000 for Northampton Market, 30,000 in Bolton, 20,000 in Milton Keynes, 9,000 in Stockton, and 8,000 in Oxford.

In this paper we are focusing on 3 case studies of markets and campaigns to protect or save markets: Queens Markets, Seven Sisters Markets and Shepherds Bush, all markets at the edge of central and inner London (See Figure 1).

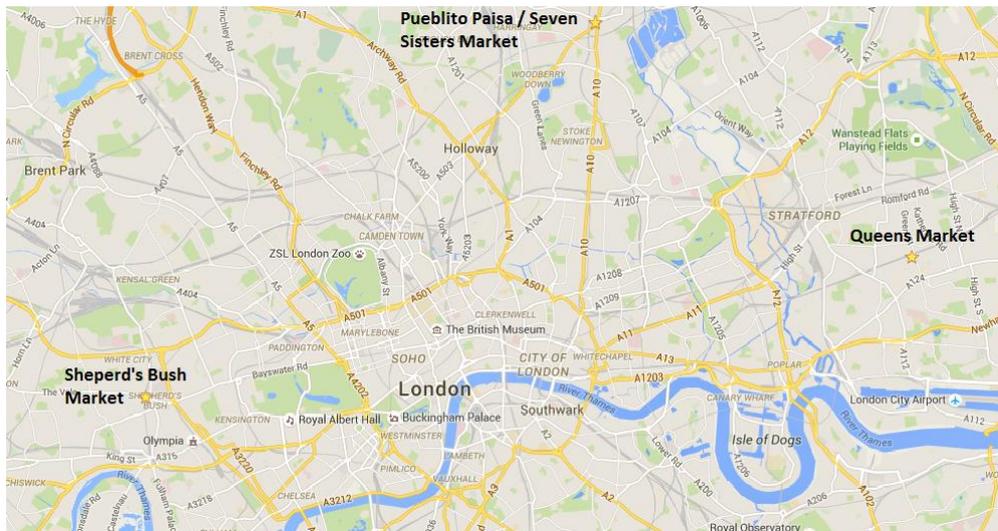


Figure 1: From Google maps

## 2. THE EBB AND FLOW OF MARKETS IN LONDON THROUGHOUT HISTORY TO PRESENT TIMES

Markets in London have a very long history. In the second half of 17<sup>th</sup> c there was a rise in formal, officially recognised markets (Smith, 2002) and by late 18<sup>th</sup> century London had over 30 of such markets. However by the 19<sup>th</sup> c formal markets struggled to expand at the same rate as the population and demand for food. Unlike in other cities such as Barcelona

or Paris, in London for various reasons there was not a centrally organised plan for the expansion of municipal markets (Jones, 2015 and Fava et al, 2015). Through the 19<sup>th</sup> c. few wholesale markets dominated the retail environments but retail markets to sell directly to people declined (though not disappeared) (Smith, 2002). To cover that gap, street unregulated markets organically emerged as the alternative. Initially, costermongers, itinerant traders, bought goods from wholesale markets and moved around selling in mobile stalls. Later these itinerant traders started to trade in fixed locations (Kelley, 2015). Both Kelley (2015) and Jones (2015) explain how repression and persecution from local authorities partly shaped street trading in London. Costermongers in Victorian London acquired almost the status of criminals and were increasingly displaced from central locations but they were also tolerated, especially when they congregated in fixed locations, as it was recognised that they provided an essential service for the poor. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were around 8,000 stalls of street markets in London, the majority in the poorest neighbourhoods (Kelley, 2015). Jones (2015: 17) explains clearly the social value of street markets in London:

“Costermongers’ flexibility, sustainability and efficiency meant that they could rapidly find buyers for produce that had been designated as wastage by others. Traders had low overheads and were able to sell smaller amounts of inexpensive goods to customers who could not afford to buy larger amounts of higher quality produce elsewhere.” (p, 71)”

Fast-forward 100 years and in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century London still has many markets which still play a vital role in the life of Londoners particularly the poorest ones. A recent report from 2015 counts 99 markets for central and inner London (Cross River Partnership, 2014) and a previous report from 2010 on the whole London reported 162 markets (Regeneris, 2010). In inner and central London, the turnover of markets in 2014 is estimated at £360m per annum (Cross River Partnership, 2014). What emerges from various recent policy reports is that markets in London (street and indoor) are in a moment in transition. There has been a growth in the number and turnover of markets but this is mainly amongst privately run and owned markets (not municipal) and the more niche and type of markets catering for a wealthier clientele: farmers markets, speciality markets, street food, craft markets, etc. There is also a trend of municipal markets to switch to private operators. From 2008 - 2014 there has been an increase of 9% in private markets in London (from 30 to 39) (Cross River Partnership, 2014) and a decline of local authority run markets from 70% to 54%. The model markets that are often signalled in the policy literature and media as successful are Spitafield, Borough, Candel, Portobello, all either tourist destinations or redeveloped markets. The more traditional kind of markets, generally run by local authorities seem to do less well and these are also the ones more likely to be located in deprived communities (Regeneris, 2010: p.28). To explain the decline of the traditional type of London market, reports highlight changing consumption patterns (the raise of internet, the power of the big supermarkets) but also the lack of investment by local authorities (Cross River Partnership, 2015; Regeneris, 2010). Additionally, in London many markets are in key central locations and suffer pressure from local authorities and developers to be displaced to realise the high land values to build something else instead (Gonzalez and Dawson, 2015).

As in the past, these reports also show clearly that markets continue to play a very important function for the poorest and most vulnerable communities. First, there is a clear relationship between the spatial distribution of markets and areas of deprivation in inner and central London –there are more markets in the poorest areas of London. And there is also a correlation between the location of markets and those areas with a highest number of Black and ethnic minorities (Cross River Partnership, 2014) (See Map 2). Markets in

London have a particularly important role of providing access to fresh food locally at affordable prices. They also provide “social capital” “They act as meeting places and locations for social exchanges, for learning about food and for engaging in the community. The benefits appear to be particularly important for the elderly.” (NEF, 2005: 54).

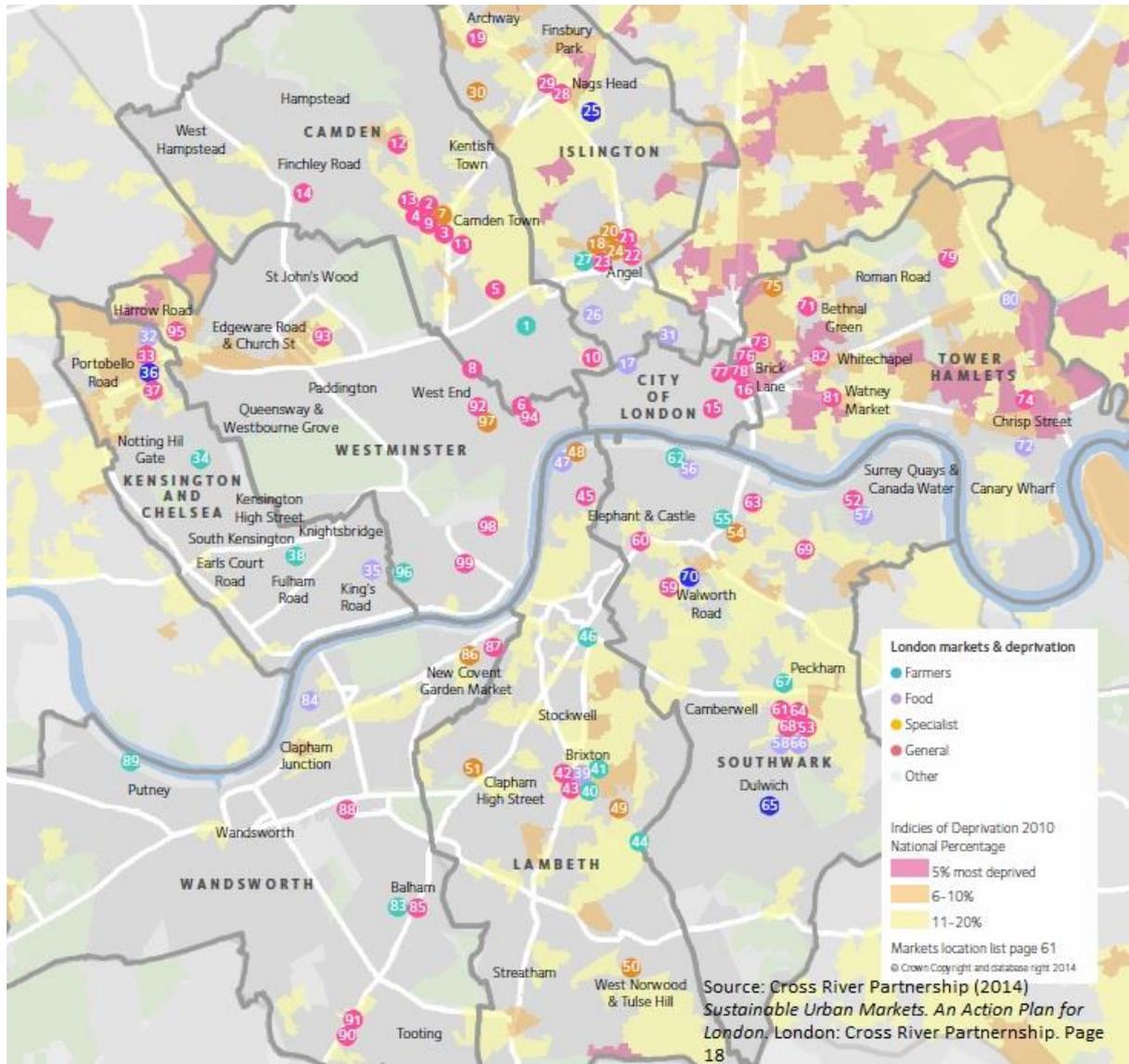


Figure 2: London inner markets and indices of deprivation

Markets in London showcase the ethnic and cultural diversity of the city and there has been some research exploring this from an ethnographic perspective (Watson, 2009)

Our paper focuses on several of these markets, where traders and customers have mobilised against the abandonment, disinvestment, threat of demolition or displacement of their market. Currently there are many markets in London which are under threat from gentrification. London is a city experiencing many forms and levels of gentrification with low income residents struggling to afford to work and live in central spaces. Most of the attention on gentrification has been on housing. Because of the global positioning in London, some parts of London’s housing stock have become speculative investment tools

(Gluckbers, 2015). Financialisation of the economy has particularly affected housing in the UK and in London in particular, as property is increasingly seen as an investment not only for individuals but also for the State with social housing (Watt and Minton, 2015 – Edwards, 2015). Interestingly in London where gentrification pressures are building up most strongly at the moment are around social housing. In London 13% of households live in publicly owned housing at relatively low rents in secured tenancies and although this figure has been decreasing due to various forms of privatisation in the last decades it is still high comparatively speaking in relation to other big cities (Watt and Minton, 2015). In some inner city neighbourhoods, where our case study markets are based, the population living in social housing peaked at 82% or 65% in the 1980s (Watt and Minton, 2015). But many of the social housing complexes (housing estates) that were built in the postwar era until the 1970s are now undergoing massive processes of regeneration with large scale demolition, privatisation and rebuilding on new housing aimed at middle class residents. The result is the displacement of many low income residents from these central areas (London Tenants Federation, 2014). There are several forms of resistance to these processes of displacement (Lees and Ferreri, 2016) and in London a housing movement is beginning to emerge.

This context of “regeneration, state-led gentrification and austerity urbanism” (Watt and Minons, 2015:X) is where we need to situate the trends of decline and renaissance that markets in London are experiencing. Similar to social housing, public markets have become a frontier for potential gentrification. They are regarded by public authorities and real estate investors as under-realised opportunities, where a higher profit uses could be developed. There is therefore a big pressure from a real estate point of view to redevelop and transform traditional markets which are located in valuable locations. Therefore, to understand the public discourse of “decline” of traditional Markets in the London and to analyse the campaigns and mobilisations around them we need to put it in the context of wider changes in global retail and also urban development and urban policies.

### **3. STRUGGLES FOR MARKETS AND RESISTING GENTRIFICATION**

In this context of regeneration and gentrification described above, there have emerged a multitude of campaigns to save or protect public markets in London and around all the UK. This paper focuses on three established campaign groups and initiatives in London which struggle for the permanence and valorisation of three markets. First, we will provide a quick description of the emergence and configuration of these groups and then in the next section, we will analyse the tactics and campaign tools that they have used as well as how they have mobilised the idea of markets.

Friends of Queens Market (FoQM) was born when long terms traders and customers learnt in 2003 from a newspaper advert that their Market was up for sale. Queens Market is owned and managed by Newham London borough council, part of the Greater London Authority. This is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in London, situated in the North East and only 5 kms from the rich City of London. It is an ex manufacturing district with a long tradition of migrant workers from around the world. It has the highest unemployment rate in London and high rates of ill health (<http://www.londonpovertyprofile.org.uk/indicators/boroughs/newham/>). Queens Market is a key resource for the community in Newham because of the affordability and variety of foods. Today, Queens Market has a simple architectural design and although it has a long history it was rebuilt in 1968 and has around 150 stalls (Percival, 2009). In 2004

Newham council revealed that it had partnered with a private company – St Mowden – for a regeneration plan that involved the demolition of the existing market, the construction of a residential tower block, an ASDA supermarket and a much smaller market. According to the council and the developers this regeneration was needed because the market had “reached the end of its useful life” and “traders are working in the dark ages” given the lack of hygiene facilities (interview, developer Quoted in Percival, 2009: 31). These plans attracted much opposition from the local community with Friends of Queens Market acquiring an organising role of this opposition. A petition was submitted against the St Mowden plans in 2006 with 12,000 signatures and over 2,500 individually signed objection letters and only 3 letters of support were sent (FoQM website and Percival 2009). A revised scheme received 115 objections and 2 letters of support (Percival, 2009). However the planning application for the private development was approved by the council although later revoked by the London Mayor Boris Johnson in 2009 after much lobbying from campaigners. Queens Market was therefore saved from demolition and a redevelopment that would have put in danger its affordability and inclusiveness. Friends of Queens Market however carried on campaigning as they believe the market is in permanent threat as the council did in 2011 earmark the market site as “strategic site” for a “mixed used development” (FoQM website). This was contested by FoQM and eventually the threat removed by an independent planning inspector. However the struggle has continued as the neighbourhood is suffering from creeping gentrification, private housing developments and a general state of disrepair and disinvestment.

In North London, the Latin American ‘Seven Sisters’ indoor market, also called Pueblo Paisa, has been under threat for demolition and relocation since 2007 and the traders and the wider local community have been fighting through various legal challenges and very hard campaigning. The Market is located in the London Borough of Haringey. Like Newham described above, this is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in London and in the UK with a very diverse population and over 100 languages spoken in the borough (<http://www.haringey.gov.uk/social-care-and-health/health/joint-strategic-needs-assessment/figures-about-haringey>). In 2004, the local authority entered into an agreement with a private developer called Grainger to re-develop the whole area named Wards Corner with the market at its heart. The proposals, crafted without proper consultation with residents and local businesses, involved the demolition of the indoor market, with around 40 shops which mainly serve the Latin America community (Roman-Velazquez, 2013). The proposals also included the building of private flats in a gated style (<http://wardscorner.wikispaces.com/31st+March+Deputation+to+the+Full+Council>) and demolition of what was considered local architectural heritage. The private developer planning application was submitted in March 2008. The same month the Wards Corner Community Coalition was launched presenting an alternative plan for the area which retained the market. It was a coalition with support from resident associations, market trader association, the local branch of Friends of the earth and heritage and local cultural associations (<http://wardscorner.wikispaces.com/-+Who+We+Are>). As a result of this mobilisation the private developer plan received strong community rejection in the form of around 400 objection letters (<http://wardscorner.wikispaces.com/31st+March+Deputation+to+the+Full+Council>) but the plan was anyway approved by the local authority. However, the WCC challenged this planning application in the courts on the basis that it did not consider the negative impact on the Latin American ethnic minority community using the market resulting in the planning application being quashed in 2010. In June 2012 the developer Grainer resubmitted a new planning application which WCC again campaigned against and took to

court for similar reasons of ignoring local heritage, the lack of affordable housing and negative impact on ethnic minorities (<http://wardscorner.wikispaces.com/file/view/Letter%20before%20claim%202012.PDF/381685600/Letter%20before%20claim%202012.PDF>). WCCC lost this second appeal but have recently had an alternative plan for the area approved by the council. WCCC has been linking up with other organisations in the Tottenham area to campaign regenerating plans concerning various projects for the area which are seen as a gentrification process (demolition of council housing, private development). This has come together in a network called “Out Tottenham” (<http://ourtottenham.org.uk/>). In parallel, campaigners and traders are developing an alternative community plan, via a development trust, with the ultimate objective to take over the market but they lack the funding. Meanwhile the private developer Grainger still has a viable planning application over the market building and little investment and maintenance is taking place making life in the market very difficult.

In the West of London, the Shepherd’s Bush Market Tenants’ Association is fighting a regeneration process which will completely transform the area where their 100 year old market is situated. The proposed private development will create 194 new flats none of which will be ‘affordable’ which in the context of London means that they can be regarded as luxury flats. The redevelopment will also include upgrading the market. Traders are concerned that although in theory the new development would keep the market, it will totally transform the area and bring new residents with very different consumption preferences unlikely to fit their existing businesses. The local authority and the private developers both had suggested the need to “enhanc[e] the Market’s offer with a more diverse mix, complemented by new retail, café and restaurant uses.” (<http://democracy.lbhf.gov.uk/documents/s6725/07.4%20Shepherds%20Bush%20Market%20-%20appendix%204.pdf>). At the moment, Shepherd’s Bush Market is a partly street and partly covered market stretching along a train track and there are around 140 businesses. Similarly to the two cases described above, the market is situated in a highly diverse neighbourhood, higher than the average in London for non-white residents and with 47% of the ward’s residents being foreign born ([https://www.lbhf.gov.uk/sites/default/files/section\\_attachments/2011\\_census\\_shepherds\\_bush\\_green\\_ward\\_profile.pdf](https://www.lbhf.gov.uk/sites/default/files/section_attachments/2011_census_shepherds_bush_green_ward_profile.pdf)). It is also one of the most deprived areas in a highly polarised borough of Hammersmith and Fulham with lower than average household incomes and academic qualifications (<http://democracy.lbhf.gov.uk/documents/s6725/07.4%20Shepherds%20Bush%20Market%20-%20appendix%204.pdf>). A survey conducted in 2008 showed that the market relied heavily on low income population groups and the report recommended “extend[ing] the mix and range of goods to draw in and retain expenditure from higher disposable income groups” (GVA Grimley, 2008: 12). The report also showed the strong presence of ethnic minorities.

The current development threatening this particular social and ethnic mix in the market has been on the cards for many years now. Traders, organised in the independent Shepherd’s Bush Market Tenants’ Association (SBMTA) have been very active challenging legally the various planning decisions needed to carry out the development. Even before this proposed development traders had already denounced the lack of investment in the market by the previous owner of the site, Transport for London (TfL), a significant London landlord, which decayed as a result. In 2011 a private developer, Orion, in partnership with Development Securities PLC (now renamed U+I) bought a large part of the market and other adjacent plots to enable their proposed mixed use development. This developer considered the area of the market as “underutilised” (page 7

<https://www.concreteaction.net/wp-content/Documents/Viability/Shepherds-bush-market-viability-assessment.pdf>). Their initial planning application was not approved by the London Mayor as it did not justify clearly the lack of affordable housing and the uncertainty over how the “unique character” of the market be maintained<sup>1</sup> ([https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/PAWS/media\\_id\\_186560/shepherd's\\_bush\\_market\\_uxbridge\\_road\\_report.pdf](https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/PAWS/media_id_186560/shepherd's_bush_market_uxbridge_road_report.pdf)). Eventually however the scheme was given the go ahead by the local authority the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham in March 2012. The next step was that in order for development to go ahead, Orion must be granted permission to compulsorily purchase some of the shops. However traders and independent business owners challenged this decision and in a public inquiry held in 2013 the government independent inspector, judged that this Compulsory Purchase Order (CPO) should not be granted. Then, in an unprecedented move for a small street market related development, a central government decision by a Secretary of State overruled this recommendation and put the private development back on track. The traders however did not give up and challenged this ruling and appealed against the CPO decision in the high court which in March 2016 they heard had won. Now the whole development is in limbo again.

The Shepherd's Bush Market Tenants' Association (SBMTA) is a non-profit association representing the vast majority of the Shepherd's Bush Market businesses. They have been trying to work with the Orion to ensure that Orion's scheme will enhance the market's assets and benefit the livelihoods of the traders. However, according to SBMTA, the redeveloper's failure to honour and respect agreements and heed the words of the businesses has forced businesses to take legal steps to “damage control” and protect their own businesses. Traders have experienced many problems since the development project began. Despite the planning permission being granted, there is still very little detail about the ‘market offer’ by developers which they legally have to provide as part of the development. This dispute and uncertainty has had a real impact on the market – around 10% of traders have left the market since February 2014, many fed up with uncertainty and lack of transparency.

In this section we have given an account of three market struggles in London, where long terms campaigns by market traders and customers are challenging a variety of threats to their markets. In the next section we provide a more detailed analysis of how traders and campaigners are mobilising the markets as much more than work or retail spaces but as a community resources.

#### **4. MARKETS AS SPACES FOR RESISTANCE OF GENTRIFICATION**

Even though gentrification is the object of many academic discussions and expanding debates, resistance to it by residents and community groups is understudied (Lees et al, 2010 and 2016). Lees and Ferreri (2016) provide a short history of academic research on resistance to gentrification. They refer to work in the US, particularly San Francisco and New York where citizens fought against state-led gentrification of public housing and residential displacement due to gentrification in 1970s and 1980s. Neil Smith's work on the anti-gentrification riots in Tompkins Square was paradigmatic. Work coming from the Global South has also highlighted the various struggles against the displacement of the

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<sup>1</sup> Note here that “unique character” of markets here is a fuzzy concept – does it mean in terms of its appearance or social characteristics (ethnically mixed and low income customers?). It's impossible to measure.

poor from central areas and in particular the newer forms of slum gentrification (Lees et al, 2016). In Latin America, citizens' mobilisation and resistance is considered by academics as an important process limiting the full advance of gentrification (Betancurt, 2014; Gonzalez, 2015; Janoschka et al, 2014). And more recently in southern European countries hit by the financial crisis there has been strong resistance towards the privatisation of public assets in cities and in particular housing evictions of those who cannot afford paying mortgages in a context of economic decline (REFS needed). Lees and Ferreri (2016) and Watt's (refs) work in London also shows residents of public housing mobilising against the privatisation of their homes and eviction, displacement often resulting from the regeneration of public housing complexes.

However despite a more recent interest in resistance to gentrification in the academic circles, there is still little work on how people resist retail gentrification in its various forms. In the global south, again, there is a lot of work discussing the displacement of street and informal traders from central urban areas and their resistance and organisational techniques. In Latin America the work of Bromley and Mackie (2009) reports on mass mobilisation in the face of displacement of informal traders from the centre of Cusco in Peru. Apart from planned demonstration traders also simply occupied or re-occupied the streets they were being displaced from or nearby less vigilated areas. Reporting from Puebla in Mexico, Milián and Flores (2016) also document the mobilisation of traders when they were displaced from a city centre indoor market into more peripheral purpose built markets and in Mexico City, Crossa's (2009) work has shown street traders strategies to remain in central areas of the historic centre. Street and informal traders' struggles are often discussed in terms of contestation over public space and the right to work but this work has also often touched on gentrification and on the revanchist policies that regard street and informal traders as not in line with strategies to touristify and securitise city centres.

In London, the three campaigns that we have described in the previous section in detail and few others that are also active currently, can also be interpreted as fighting against the gentrification of these spaces. Market campaigns in the UK are mobilising the traditional retail market as a political space in different ways. At a general level markets are often mobilised as a symbol of an alternative to the consumerist, corporate and homogenised city and urban economy. Markets are generally run by independent traders who have got small businesses often family businesses. This contrasts against the developments that most of these campaigns are fighting which would see markets replaced by supermarkets or shopping centres run by single and large corporations. Markets are also mobilised as diverse spaces, where often people from a diverse cultural, social and ethnic mix come together as traders and customers and where a variety of produce is sold. Again this is counter to the trend of homogenisation of retail that we see in most UK high streets shopping centres with similar chain stores. Markets are still in a majority owned by local authorities and therefore still cling on to some values of "public service" as opposed to most other retail spaces, particularly those chain and large stores, which are run with a profit motive. Most market campaigns use the market as a symbol of resistance against the corporatisation of society and cities. This is sometimes simplified as a "David vs Goliath" story particularly by the media or a "market vs Mall" (See various characterisation of this "narrative")<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.questia.com/newspaper/1G1-184821984/the-mall-versus-the-market-david-and-goliath-traders>; <http://wardscorner.wikispaces.com/Press+-+Haringey+Independent+-+David+and+Goliath+battle+over+Wards+Corner+heads+to+justice+courts>;

However we find that generally speaking gentrification has not been mobilised by market campaigns as a discourse to defend their markets. Wards Corner Coalition have engaged with the issue of gentrification mainly through their wider campaigning in the neighbourhood. In the case of Queens Market, academic work and analysis has cast this struggle as gentrification but the campaign itself has been shy of using it. In an interview with one of the campaigners<sup>3</sup> she admitted that they were reluctant to use the term because they saw themselves as mixed campaign with “middle class members” and therefore saw the term as unhelpful. In Leeds, using the “gentrification” card has not been very useful in reaching out to a broad audience and/or legally resisting the proposed developments. Because gentrification is a dynamic process and one that is often resisted before it happens it is very difficult to “predict” or “prove”.

However traders and customers are using a language of gentrification even if the term is not being explicitly mentioned. Traders and customers often will openly talk about “social cleansing” or the fact that they are being neglected and displaced as local authorities and private developers are more interested in realising the high land values where their markets are located.

## **5. REFERENCES (TO BE COMPLETED)**

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<http://www.nmtf.co.uk/mt/MarketTimesApril2013/index.html#/38/> (Milton Keynes);

<http://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/9686091.print/> (Skipton)

<sup>3</sup> phone interview with campaigner in 2011