

THE HAMILTON CENTRAL MARKET:

AN

ECONOMIC ANTHOLOGICAL

STUDY

BY

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This is a descriptive study of the Hamilton Central Market. Chapter I describes the objectives of the study. Chapter 2 describes the content of previous market legislation and the manner in which it has influenced market events. Chapter 3 outlines the pertinent features of the present market place's organization. Chapter 4 describes the socio-economic characteristics of the market clientele. Chapter 5 describes the interrelationship of these factors and the clientele's subsequent market activity. Chapter 6 describes the marketing techniques employed by the vendors and the outcome of their efforts—in terms of cash flow. Chapter 7 presents a summary of the previous chapters.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There has been considerable interest in the development of the market principle in and its applicability to market-places in non-market economies.¹ In these instances the site is a place where the producer sells directly to the consumer, the non agricultural elements of the economy and where the producer is interested primarily in dispensing with his produce and not in its marketing.² Paul Bohannon and George Dalton, in their typology of market-places, describe those sites in nationally integrated economies as being places of final sale rather than "where buyers and sellers meet"³, and as being economically and socially unimportant. This study concerns a market-place in Hamilton--an urban centre in a nationally integrated economy; Canada. I am particularly interested in the impact of local bureaucracy's control of market place operations

1

For a recent discussion of market-places, see H.C. Brookfield, Pacific Market-Places, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969; P. Bohannon and G. Dalton (eds.), Markets In Africa, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1962.

2

C.S. Belshaw, Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965, pp. 58-60.

3

Op. Cit., Bohannon and Dalton, P. 32.

as pertaining to site activities,⁴ and the marketers manipulation of them in making their "final sale".

The Hamilton Central Market, as it is called, was brought under local political control in 1840⁵ when Canada was as yet a British Colonial territory. Hamilton, like other urban centres at that time was an enclave in a rural society. This market place which initially was a place where buyers and sellers could meet, where performing bears were not a novelty, where medicine men sold cure-alls, and where friendships began with the sale of a dozen eggs,⁶ has been maintained by City Council since 1840, despite critic's intermittent complaints about it. Undoubtably local officials have played an important part in the City's efforts to maintain what has become one of Hamilton's oldest institutions--The Central Market.⁷ At one time the Hamilton market was one of

4 C.S. Belshaw comments on the scarcity of research pertaining to their role as an instrument of control. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

5 The earliest market legislation is dated September 19, 1840. The contents of this chapter are reproduced in Appendix A.

6 Hamilton Spectator, January 27, 1927.

7 One member of the market committee so championed the market that at one time other council members referred to it as "Herbies".

the largest open air market sites in Canada. And as Helen Lumsden writes in the 1959 edition of the Hamilton Spectator,

"Hamiltonians are justifiably proud of their market. Its fame is practically world wide and for many years pictures of its great wealth of fruit and flowers have been used by steamship companies to impress immigrants with the area's bountiful harvests.

Hamilton Market is the heritage of every citizen..."⁸

Objectives of Study

The objectives of this study are to describe the organization of the Hamilton Central Market, impact of local bureaucratic bodies regulation of it, and socio-economic characteristics of its participants and their subsequent interaction. In Chapter Two I describe the degree to which past and present market committees⁹ have regulated site activities. Information as to early market by-laws provide the background to an evaluation of current market site events in addition to its giving a clearer perspective on the long

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Helen Lumsden, "Central Market, Glimpses of A Landmark Through the Years", July 10, 1959.

9

According to the 1967 By-law No. 10390, section 2, sub-section (e), "market committee" means "the Property and License Committee of the City Council..." City Council refers to the corporation of the City of Hamilton.

term effects of such political control. These effects are far reaching in that the continued existence of the site, its arrangement of buildings, the conditions for selling in it, and its membership is dictated by City Council to a greater or lesser extent with each market by-law. Chapter Three outlines in greater detail the pertinent features of the site's organization--its arrangement, market membership and the members strategies in using the site. Chapters Four and Five describes those socio-economic characteristics of shoppers and the manner in which they influence their market activity in terms of money spent and purchase preferences. Chapter Six describes the vendor's marketing practices and the outcome of their efforts in persuading buyers to purchase their goods rather than those of their competitors. As Clifford Geertz comments, the vendor in a market economy¹⁰

"...tends to regard his primary task as one of creating or stimulating buyers, through advertising, aggressive

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C.F. Geertz, Peddlers and Princes, Social Development and Economic Change in Two Indonesian Towns, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 35.

salesmanship, choosing a strategic location, building a reputation, providing a better service, or offering "greater" value in the sense of a lower over-all price level."

In summary, the main questions we are asking in the subsequent discussion are: to what extent are the events in the market site constrained or controlled by local political bodies? How does market legislation influence the vendor as he carries out his primary task of making a final sale? How do producers who bring their own produce to market differ from non-producers in the task of marketing goods? What is and how does the composition of the clientele influence their use of the site as a source of fresh foods?

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

In this section I describe the sources of data, discuss sampling techniques, data analysis and the study's limitations. As I collected both qualitative and quantitative data I will describe the data base of each chapter in a topical fashion. The Market Place. Market by-laws and miscellaneous records and newspaper clippings dating from 1840 to the present provided me with the information relevant to an understanding of market legislation and to a lesser extent, of

the city official's and citizen's attitude towards the market place. Interviews with the market manager supplemented this data with information pertinent to the present site's organization.

The Vendors. I derived information about them using a variety of data gathering techniques. For example, I kept daily maps of each vendor's location, participated with them in marketing their goods, administered a life-history type of schedule to 18 vendors¹¹ and I provided all winter vendors with a questionnaire requesting facts about themselves and their attitudes towards certain marketing practices.¹² In addition to this, during a week in February and in March, I, along with some first year Anthropology students observed the vendors and their customers during a one hour period. At each time period my sample size depended on the number of available assistants, number of vendors present, and their

11

I am distinguishing between schedules and questionnaires in the manner recommended by J.C. Mitchell in his article, "On Quantification in Social Anthropology", in A.L. Epstein's collection of papers The Craft of Social Anthropology, London, England: Social Science Paperbacks, in association with Tavistock Publications, 1969, p. 27.

12

The questionnaire was comparable to the schedule I used in interviewing the 18 vendors first selected, in that the same information was requested with respect to their backgrounds. See Appendix B.

willingness to permit such observation. This sample was by necessity, purposively rather than randomly selected. The schedule we used is provided in Appendix C. Prior to each period of observation we counted the customers circulating through the major exits and along the aisles. Then we recorded the vendor's range of produce and its prices, counted the number of actual and potential customers who approached the stand during the next half-hour, recorded each customer's purchase and its cash value, and finally we recorded the conversations which transpired between the vendor and his customers during the remaining 15 minutes.

The Buyers. We administered questionnaires to 279 market-goers randomly selected as they left the site.¹³ The questionnaire's format is outlined in Appendix D. The bulk of my analysis in Chapters Four and Five is based on this data, although I did obtain additional information about them

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Of the 279 shoppers who consented to the interview 159 or 59.1 percent were female. We sampled them during the busy market hours, ten o'clock to four o'clock, as they left the site with their groceries from each of the two major exits. The majority of them (239) were interviewed on Saturday, the busiest market day of the week.

from my own and from the vendor's observations.

I gathered the bulk of this data during the months January 1st to April 30th, 1972. During this time I frequented the site on all three market days each week and remained in the market site until its closing. In the months to follow I continued to visit it, but on a much lesser regular basis.

Method of Analysis. Statistical measures are used here in two ways--to estimate the comparability of the sample and a population, with respect to certain characteristics and to make explicit relationships among the data within the sample. In those situations when a random sample has not been obtained, my statements are confined to the data handled.

I used quantitative data in two ways--to indicate the general features of the site and its events, and to reveal any underlying relationships between these events. The sequence is as follows: after summarizing the data in an appropriate manner I determined the typicality of its distribution, which involved the computation of the mean, median, mode, its degree of dispersion,¹⁴ and whenever necessary, its degree of representativeness. Then, in assessing the nature

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See Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics, New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1960, pp. 32-62, and 67-73.

of one variable's relationship with another one I used one of the significance tests of association or correlation.¹⁵

Generally speaking, I used Pearson's chi-square, which tests for independence between variables and the Pearson-Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, which describes the strength of an association between variables. On the basis of the correlation coefficients step-wise regression analysis is performed. This statistic measures the linear relationship between a set of independent variables and a number of dependent variables, while taking into account the interrelationships among the independent variables.

Except for the analysis of data in Chapters Two and Six, I performed all statistical manipulations indicated above, with the use of the computer and SPSS--Statistical Package For the Social Sciences--a programmed computer language prepared by Norman Nie, Daleh Bent and C. Hadlai Hull.¹⁶

15

Ibid., Blalock, pp. 140-149 and pp. 170-176.

16

The manual was published by the McGraw Hill Company, 1970.

CHAPTER 2

MARKET LEGISLATION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the efforts of the Corporation of the City of Hamilton to regulate market activities.¹⁷ It influenced them in the following ways: it reduced the range of items considered acceptable market fare, standardized the marketing of such goods, controlled the emergence of a competing interest group-- the non-producer, encouraged producers to make long term commitments to marketing and to specializing in one kind of produce, and it maintained the existence of an institution which might otherwise have disappeared as it became less and less economically important as a major distributor of food.

Regulation of the Site

The most important aspect of its control of the site are the following: it is able to designate what locale shall constitute the public market and whether or

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That is to say, as pertaining to those specifications enacted in market by-laws, generally titled "Regulation of the Central Markets and the Sale of Fresh Meats".

not the market shall indeed continue to function. With each by-law City Council renews these privileges necessary to the site's continuance.

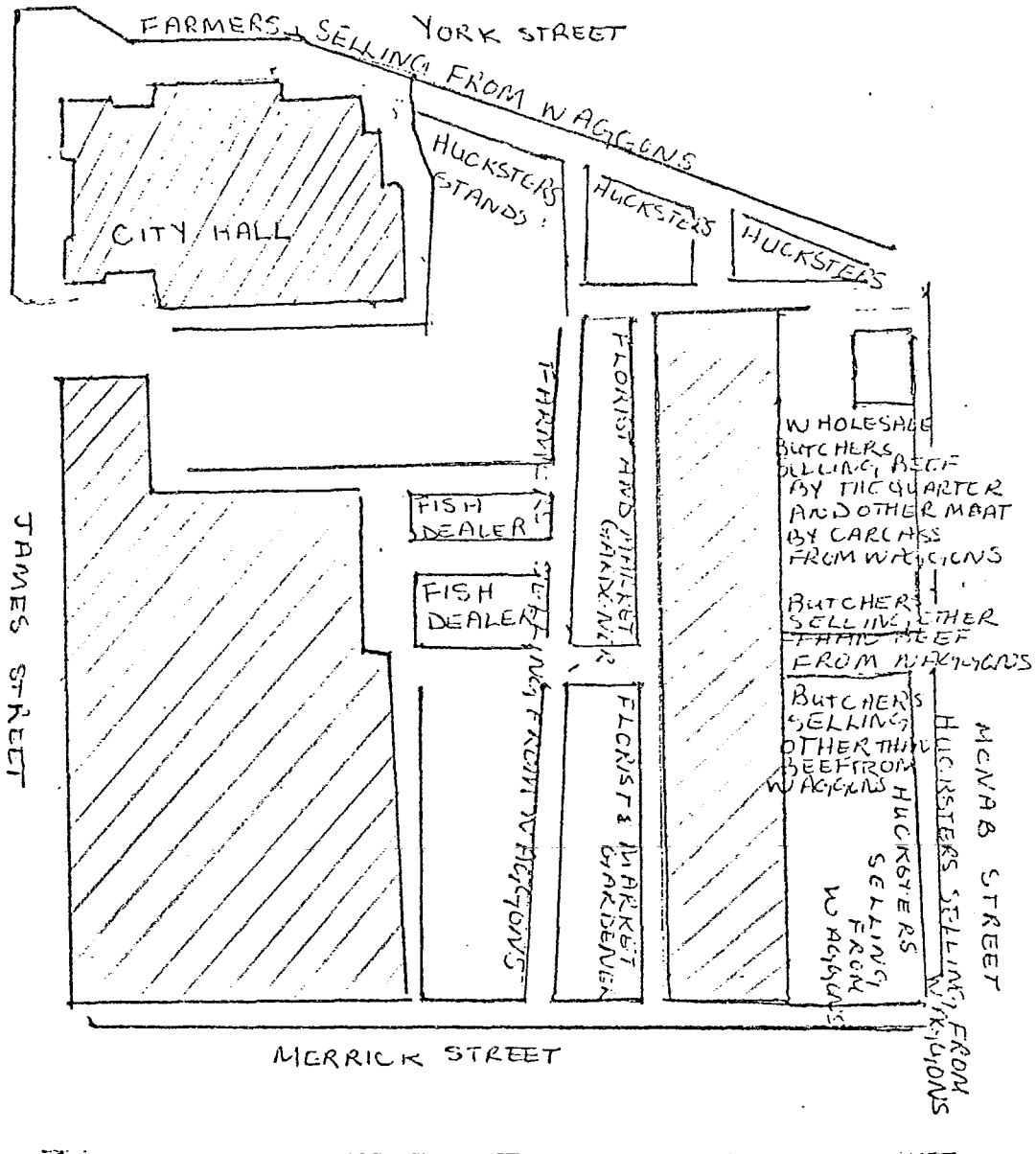
In the late 1800's the market site was closely associated with that of local town hall, in that the original building apparently housed the meat and dairy market on the first floor, with the town hall and city office on the second floor.¹⁸ Since 1899 the site has changed in that its area, number of buildings, and its membership has been reduced. For example, by 1938 there were 1500 vendors registered with the market clerk;¹⁹ today there are less than 200 vendors so registered. Some of the alterations which occurred in the site's arrangements of stands and in its location vis-a-vis other institutions are illustrated in figures 1 and 2.

The City Council also designates the days and hours considered appropriate for market business. Since the late 1800's the market has continued on a yearly basis, although

¹⁸ Hamilton Spectator, October 24, 1957.

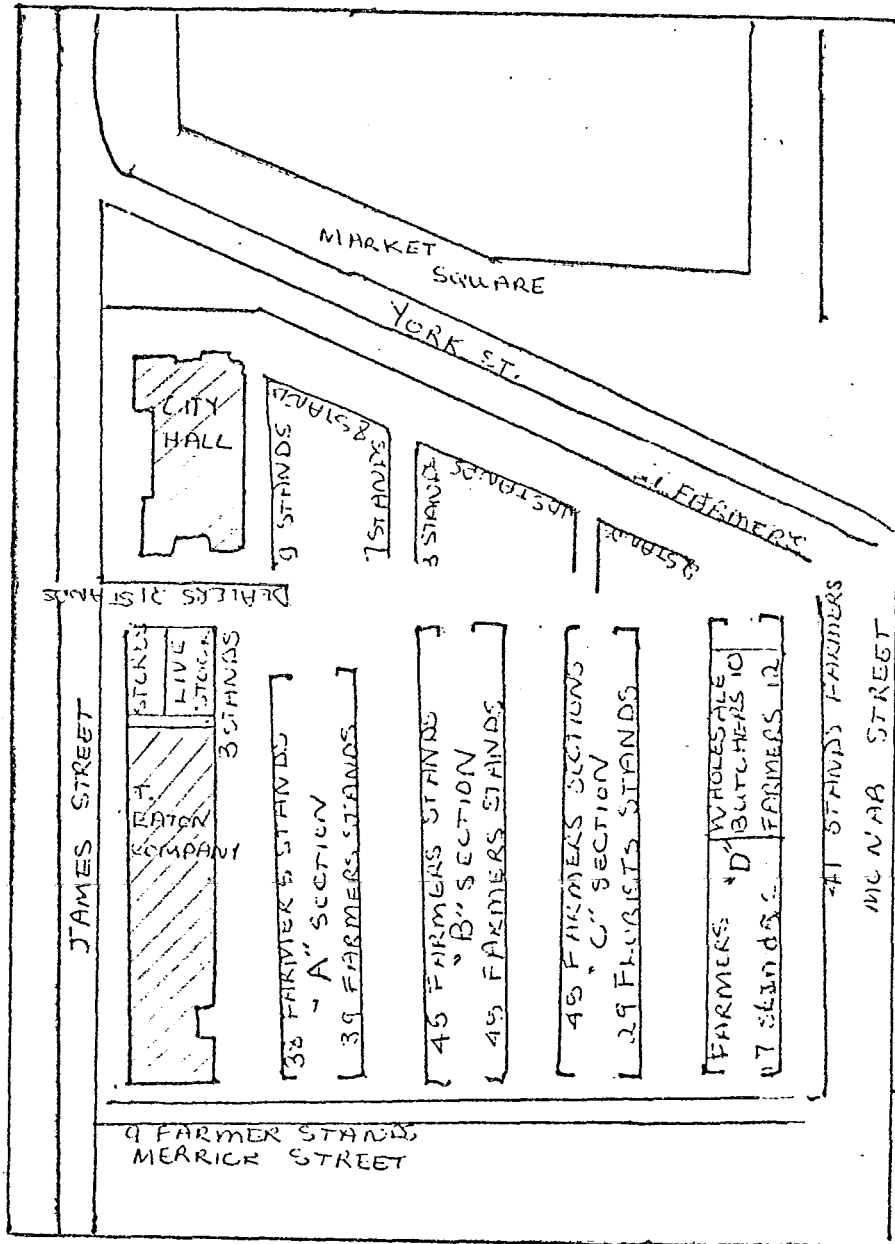
¹⁹ Buffalo Evening News, May 16, 1938.

Figure 1.. Location and Organization of Market place in 1899



Source: By-law No. 26, p.9, 1899

Figure 2. Location and Organization of Market place in 1944



Source: By-law No. 5516, p.23 (1944)

the frequency of market days per month and the market hours have varied over the years. The present by-law No. 10390, in section 2, sub-section (f) and (g) states that market day means:

"any Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday which is not a holiday, and when any Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday is a holiday then the day before it, and includes any other day which may from time to time be designated by the city council as a market day."

and market hours mean:

"from 2:30 o'clock of the forenoon of a market day until 6:00 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day."

Regulation of Market Goods

In September of 1840 city officials adopted the following clauses related to the regulation of the Public Markets: produce could only be sold in the Public Markets (after payment of the appropriate fees); persons could not purchase produce for the purpose of reselling it before a specified hour; market fees varied in amount, depending on the type of transport used by the supplier; the condition of the produce had to be deemed acceptable by city officials; and any transgression of this legislation was countered with the levying of a fine by the market clerk. The contents of this 1840 charter, which constitute the earliest market legislation are reproduced in Appendix A.

Throughout the late 1800's and early 1900's restrictions on the quality, appearance and quantity of produce offered for sale were reinstated by the city with each by-law. For example, the 1886 market by-law No. 328, section 14 stated that:

"No butcher or other person shall, without being duly licensed under this by-law, sell or expose for sale any fresh meat in less quantities than by the quarter..."

In 1922, by-law No. 2648, section 21 declared that:

"No person shall sell fresh meat in the City of Hamilton in quantities of one-half of a quarter of a carcass...without it has been Canada Government Inspected..."

The emphasis on restricting the appropriate unit of meat available for sale in the market has continued up to and including the present, just as has the City's demand for a certain quality and type of meat. As one meat vendor observed recently--if the local authorities would guarantee him that the present health regulations would be effective for the next few years, he would make further improvements on his stand. Without this assurance the vendor is reluctant to invest further capital in equipment which could be classed as "unacceptable" by health officials at some point in the future.

Their restrictions on the conditions of fresh meat in the market parallels the City's demands about the quality of fresh fruit and vegetables sold there. For example, in 1932, sub-section (2) of section 49, by-law No. 4377 declared that:

"A large basket shall contain not less than 11 quarts of fruit and a small basket...not less than six quarts of fruit....No fruit shall be sold or offered...for sale in any covered basket or other covered receptacle."

The numerous specifications which focused on the acceptable quantities and quality of fruit, vegetables or meat, also covered other market goods such as poultry, eggs and butter. Today, when the goods inspected are considered inferior, the local health official can forbid their sale by placing tags on all the offending goods.

Today, as in the past, vendors must comply with the local health authorities and market officials regarding the condition and marketing of their goods. The authority of the municipal and provincial health authorities has increasingly overlapped--as a clause in by-law No. 68-79 of 1968 demonstrates. The correspondence of the municipal health regulations with those of Ontario were such that dressed poultry could no longer

be stored at 45 degrees Fahrenheit by the vendor--but at 40 degrees Fahrenheit. As this ammendment reads:

"...The Corporation of the City of Hamilton shall not be inconsistent with the said Ontario Regulation 397/67."

The bulk of the regulations regarding quality, acceptable quantities or appearance of market goods are no longer incorporated item by item in the market by-law. Instead at the end of section 11, of the 1967 by-law No. 10390, there are two "Notes" which refer the reader to the Public Health Act and other federal and provincial regulations.

The multiplicity of restrictions regarding fruit and vegetables are contained in the Farm Products Grades and Sales Act.²⁰

Appendix E presents in summary form some of these restrictions, by way of illustration.

In addition to legislating the conditions under which produce is acceptable fare, the city specifies

20

The Farm Products Grades and Sales Act, which contains the revised statutes of Ontario, 1960, Chapter 136 as ammended in 1964, and Chapter 30, is administered by the Farm Products Inspection Branch, Ontario Department of Agriculture and Food.

in each by-law the type of produce considered appropriate.

For example in 1899, by-law No. 26, section 2 specified that:

"...livestock, meat, fish, poultry, butter, eggs, fruit, vegetables, and other farm, garden or dairy produce, except grain, cordwood, hay and straw, and other fodder..."

were acceptable market goods. Today as by-law No. 10390, section 6 (1964) indicates--

"honey, fruit, flowers, vegetables, dairy products, top quality fresh eggs and home baked products...dressed poultry, dressed rabbits, home processed meat products, fresh fish and fresh meat..."

as acceptable for display in the site. A brief comparison of the two lists shows that certain types of goods--such as fruit, vegetables, fish, meat, poultry and eggs have remained throughout the past 130 years as market fare.

Other items such as dressed rabbits and poultry, home processed sausages, and flowers are recent additions; and grain, live stock and fodder are previous deletions. It is difficult to assess whether or not the kinds of food items sold on the market has increased or decreased during the last 130 years. However, another addition not mentioned in the recent by-law is that of

imported fruit, vegetables and nuts. In 1922, imported items were instituted as appropriate market fare by the city, only to be removed from the list in 1934, and not to be reinstated by it until 1964. Because of the addition of imported foods on the list of acceptable market fare I opine that the range of market items has increased rather than decreased in number.²¹

Regulation of Market Vendors

Reference to various newspaper clippings suggests that the presence of hucksters²² in the market place was disruptive for both producers and city officials alike. On August 16, 1889 for example, the Hamilton Spectator reported that an alderman requested a by-law be passed to prevent the presence of hucksters in the market since they apparently deprived the producers of available stands; then in 1919 the producers complained that the hucksters were over-running the site; later in 1938, an alderman declared that the hucksters were taking away the producer's livelihood; and in 1950, a controller requested that hucksters be banned from the

²¹

See Appendix F, which provides a list of most market items displayed today.

²²

Hucksters were those persons who purchased farm produce within the city limits.

site.²³

The attitude of the city towards market suppliers is best illustrated in the types of privileges granted or withheld from producers and non producers.²⁴ A review of the market by-laws indicates that the city has continually restrained the privileges granted non-producers. It differentiated between producers and non-producers activities as early as 1840 in that persons caught regrating, engrossing or forestalling²⁵ were fined and generally hindered in their efforts to purchase farm produce within city limits. Then in 1886, by-law No. 328, section 20 granted producers the right to lease market stands yearly, in advance--a privilege denied the hucksters. As section 20 declared:

"Hucksters, dealers and all persons frequenting the market and not being lessees of market

23

Clippings from the August 16, June 6, August 13 and June 30th editions of the 1889, 1919, 1938 and 1950 Hamilton Spectator.

24

It differentiated between two types of non-producers--hucksters and dealers. Dealers were persons who purchased goods, other than fruits and vegetables, from outside city limits.

25

That is persons caught in--the act of buying up goods in order to profit by enhanced price; the act of buying up goods for retailing; the act of buying whole stock of commodity in order to retail it at a monopoly price.

stalls...shall have places assigned to them
by the market clerk..."

In addition, producers were taxed 2 to 15 cents per load of produce, depending on its size, whereas hucksters were charged a fixed fee of 25 cents per load. By 1899 hucksters were still without the right to lease market stands yearly, although they were granted the right to lease stands one week in advance. However, the by-law (No. 26) that granted hucksters this right, restricted their stands location and the type of produce which they could sell on it.²⁶ As Figure 1 illustrates, they were placed on the periphery of the market area--occupying a smaller portion of the site than did the producers. In short, the city denied the hucksters the right to hold yearly contracts, to pay a sliding tax regulated to their size of load, to sell the same items as the producers, and to locate their stand alongside producers.

By 1921, by-law No. 2073 repealed section 24 of by-law No. 26 and in its place substituted the following regulations:

26

That is, they were denied the right to sell meat, butter, eggs or cheese. See by-law No. 26, 1899.

"24. (1) Hucksters selling on the Central Market shall do so from stalls...assigned to them by the market clerk...and all such hucksters refusing to remain in the places... shall be liable to the penalties imposed by By-law No. 68.

(2) The Property Committee shall fix the rental to be charged for such stalls...

(3) Every huckster before selling on the Central Market shall register with the market clerk...and shall pay a registration fee of \$1.00 per annum. The market clerk shall issue to such huckster a certificate entitling him to sell on the Central Market...

(4) For the purpose of this By-law a huckster is...defined as a person who purchases within the City, farm or garden produce, including butter, eggs and poultry, for the purpose of selling the same on the Central Market.

(5) No person, unless he has... registered...shall purchase on the said market anything to be resold on the said market, or sell on the said market to any person anything purchased on said market. This sub-section shall not apply to the purchase and sale of meat."

As the above passage suggests, the city attempted to bring the hucksters activities under partial control by requiring that they register with the city before purchasing goods on the market for resale, or retailing goods purchased elsewhere. This same by-law locates them in an area designated as the 'Hucksters Section' and in stands so specified by the market

clerk. By 1921, although the site was organized in such a way that butchers and dealers of fresh meat, florists and market gardeners, and fish dealers, were also located in specific regions of the site, farmers or producers of farm, dairy or garden produce could appropriate grounds not specifically so designated. Hucksters were situated together not on the basis of their produce specialty, as were the butchers or fish dealers, but according to their classification as huckster.

By-law No. 2537, again an amendment to No. 26 in 1921 declared the area known as 'Producers Shelters' as being for their use only--non-producers were to be excluded. This same area, had in 1899 been declared an appropriate location for hucksters. In addition, these stands could be rented on a yearly basis by the producer and maintained by his immediate family--"father, mother, sister, brother, wife or children". Thus the city extended the privilege of leasing a stand yearly to the producer's immediate family.

Two months later in October of 1921, by-law No. 2562, section 10, gave hucksters to the right to occupy stands in the "northern half of the Farmers Eastern Shelter" with these exceptions:

"(10) Hucksters...shall be permitted to occupy such stands under the northern

half...and such other stands as may be available, under the direction of the market clerk, with the exception of Thursdays and Saturdays during the months of August, September and October..."

Thus their expansion into producers stall-numbers was prohibited only during the prime months of August to October, when the producers would be bringing in their own goods.

The city's attempt to limit their expansion as a class of vendors is apparent in the 1922 by-law No. 2648, section 47, sub-sections (5) and (9). At the same time however, that the city placed a limit on the number of stands which they could use, it expanded the definition of hucksters to include marginal producers. This passage reads:

"(4)...Hucksters is hereby defined as a person who purchases farm or garden produce...for the purpose of selling the same on the Central Market and who does not grow farm or garden produce on land cultivated by him to the extent of at least 5 acres...

(5) Hucksters...shall be placed upon the eastern shelter which shall be reserved exclusively for hucksters, except in the case of dealers of live poultry...and such shelter shall be known as the Hucksters' Section and so placarded; and the Market Clerk shall not issue or cause to be issued more certificates in any one year than there is space available under the Eastern Shelter.

(9) No huckster's stands...shall be allowed on any part of the Market grounds, except as defined in this By-law..."

In keeping with the above restrictions on hucksters expansion was section 50, sub-section (1) of the same by-law which excluded hucksters or dealers in the use of the Farmers' Butter Hall.

By 1932, by-law No. 4377 made no direct reference to hucksters. It did specify however, that the market would be used only by "producers, farmers and growers"; that fresh meat, poultry, sausages, butter, eggs, fruit and vegetables and other farm produce was acceptable fare; that reserved stands be granted butchers and dealers selling fresh meat in the Butcher's Pavilion; that Fish Dealers sell from a specific location; and that dealers selling live poultry be charged an annual rent. These specifications suggest that dealers, unlike hucksters, were allowed in the market, to sell alongside producers, and in some instances, to lease a stand on a yearly basis. Similarly, later by-law Nos. 4618, 4712, and 5021, which were amendments to this by-law made no reference to hucksters. Indeed, the December 10th edition of the Hamilton Spectator, 1938, stated that hucksters had finally been banned from the market and that the facilities were for the sole use of producers. The absence of amendments relating to their activity and the statement of the 1938 newspaper clipping suggests that the city had effectively eliminated hucksters from the site while making allowances for the presence of dealers of fresh meat, poultry or livestock.

In 1944, by-law No. 5516 stated that the market

would be used only by producers, farmers and florists, for the sale of farm produce, flowers, and shrubs, but not for imported fruits, vegetables or nuts. In addition, hucksters were prohibited from selling any goods other than farm, garden or dairy produce, and anywhere than in a specified area. As Figure 2 illustrates, they were situated on the periphery, segregated from the producers and florists stands, and they occupied comparatively fewer stands than did the producers. More important, hucksters were granted the right to lease stands on a weekly or yearly basis on payment of their Hucksters Fee. The city denied them the right to accumulate seniority on the basis of continuous leasing for themselves and immediate family, however, until 1960--thirty-eight years after it had given producers this right. I discuss the importance of a vendor having seniority in Chapter Three.

In short, the city has since 1840 tried to control hucksters activities by withholding privileges it had granted to producers. However, it could not completely eliminate all non-producers, so its efforts were directed towards circumscribing their growth, vis-a-vis the producers. In addition it distinguished between those non-producers who were in direct competition with the producers of fruits and vegetables, and those who were not. Thus dealers of poultry and meat were granted comparable rights as were the producers and butchers selling these same items. For the producer having the status as stallholder, the by-laws acted to protect them from

unfair competitors who might sell different quantities, or kinds of foods; or the same quantities and types of food at lower prices. For those stallholders who could meet the changing specifications of the local health and city authorities, they provided the city with a yearly guarantee that they would use certain stands in the public market--with the understanding that suppliers deviating from the market regulations would not be allowed to flourish to their detriment.

Regulation of the Market Peace²⁷

Keeping the "market peace" remains the responsibility of the market clerk as the representative of the city. By-law No. 10390, enacted in 1964, summarizes his duties as follows:

"...the administration and enforcement of the provisions of this by-law is primarily the duty and responsibility of the market manager, with such assistance from the chief constable and members of the police force as may from time to time be required...

(2) The market manager shall be responsible for the assignment of stands to vendors, the closing of the market at closing time and the clearing and cleaning of the same--the collection of fees...the regular payment of the same to the city treasurer...and generally to manage and supervise the market in accordance with the provisions of this by-law."²⁸

²⁷ This is a very apt term in my opinion. See Belshaw's discussion of it in Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall Inc. 1965.

²⁸ By-law No. 10390, section 5, sub-sections (1) and (2), 1964).

The market manager relies considerably on his ability to persuade vendors to conform with the existing regulations. Much of his activities involve his giving admonishments to offenders that their stands are blocking the passageway, their refuse is excessive and disorderly, their weighing of a customers purchase is inaccurate, their produce is not being marketed in an acceptable manner or that their produce does not fall within the acceptable definition of "market items". In most situations the vendor complies with the market manager's request that such offenses be rectified.

Where personal intervention on the manager's part does not end the offending behavior, the matter can be, referred to city officials. For example, the vendor was notified by him on more than one occasion that his behavior was unsuitable. The vendor had left a mess in the market, had failed to keep his produce within the limits of his own stand, and had not heeded the market manager's request that he refrain from shouting out the prices and nature of his market goods. With the approval of the vendors (a petition was signed by 60 of them regarding the individual's disorderly conduct) the city took him to By-law court and charged him with breaking sub-section (c), section 12, of by-law No. 10390. It declares that a vendor will not:

"...solicit customers by shouting or allow
any of his employees or agents to do so."

Future disorderly conduct in the site following the trial prompted

the market committee, with the manager's approval, to revoke the offender's license and status as a stallholder.

In another situation the market manager resolved the issue of maintaining "market peace" quite differently in that he defined ad hoc, what behavior was appropriate for market events. A vendor came to the site during the summer attired in a manner which he considered inappropriate. The offending vendor was duly made aware of the market manager's opinion. However, in order to prevent the reoccurrence of such behavior the market manager encouraged the inclusion of the following regulation in amendment, No. 70-271. Section 4, sub-section (3) reads:

"Every person who offers for sale or exposes for sale anything at the market shall be properly attired."²⁹

As this incident illustrates, the market manager alters ad hoc, market activities by encouraging the creation of amendments which include the desired restrictions. The miscellaneous regulations of by-law No. 10390 clearly attest to this inter-relationship of the by-law's content and the market manager's duty of maintaining "peace". It reads:

"14. No person shall on the market on any market day
(a) sell...anything by auction, or
(b) drive any vehicle at a rate of more than three miles per hour, or

- (c) enter or leave with a vehicle, otherwise than by the entrance and exit...
- (d) obstruct any passageway or other access, or
- (e) park...any vehicle...but within the limits of a stand assigned to him...
- (f) distribute any handbills...
- (g) make or cause any unnecessary noise...
- (h) obstruct the market manager in the performance of his duties
- (i) after 10 o'clock in the forenoon unload any produce for the replenishment of any stand, except at the south side of the market or at the entrance or exit...then only in such a way as not to create any obstruction to traffic."³⁰

In all probability the impetus for many of these regulations was the result of both the manager's and vendor's decision that such behavior was disruptive in the present site. For example, in one incident a stallholder went to the market manager to complain about his competitor's infraction and thus to prompt him to negatively sanction the offender's behavior. In resolving such situations it is up to the market manager to do so in such a way as to avoid any unnecessary friction between himself and the vendors and between himself and the market committee.

Concluding Comments

The probable effects of market legislation were fourfold: it encouraged producers to specialize, to increase their output

30

By-law No. 10390, section 14, sub-sections (a) to (i), (1964).

rather than its quality in order to maintain their yearly contract, to make a long term committment to marketing their goods at the site; and it discouraged hucksters and dealers to a lesser extent, from doing any of the above. The uncertainty which a huckster would experience, lacking a yearly contract and seniority, was compounded by the manner in which legislation was enforced. As its interpretation was the prime responsibility of the market manager, his attitude towards them could aggravate or alleviate some of the risk associated with their participation.

CHAPTER 3

THE MARKET TODAY

In this chapter I describe those features of the site which are pertinent to an understanding of the vendor's participation therein. Thus I discuss the site's organization in terms of its physical arrangement of stalls, its rental fees, its membership and its organizing principle--seniority. In doing this I demonstrate the manner in which each of these factors, when applicable, inhibit the vendors subsequent involvement.

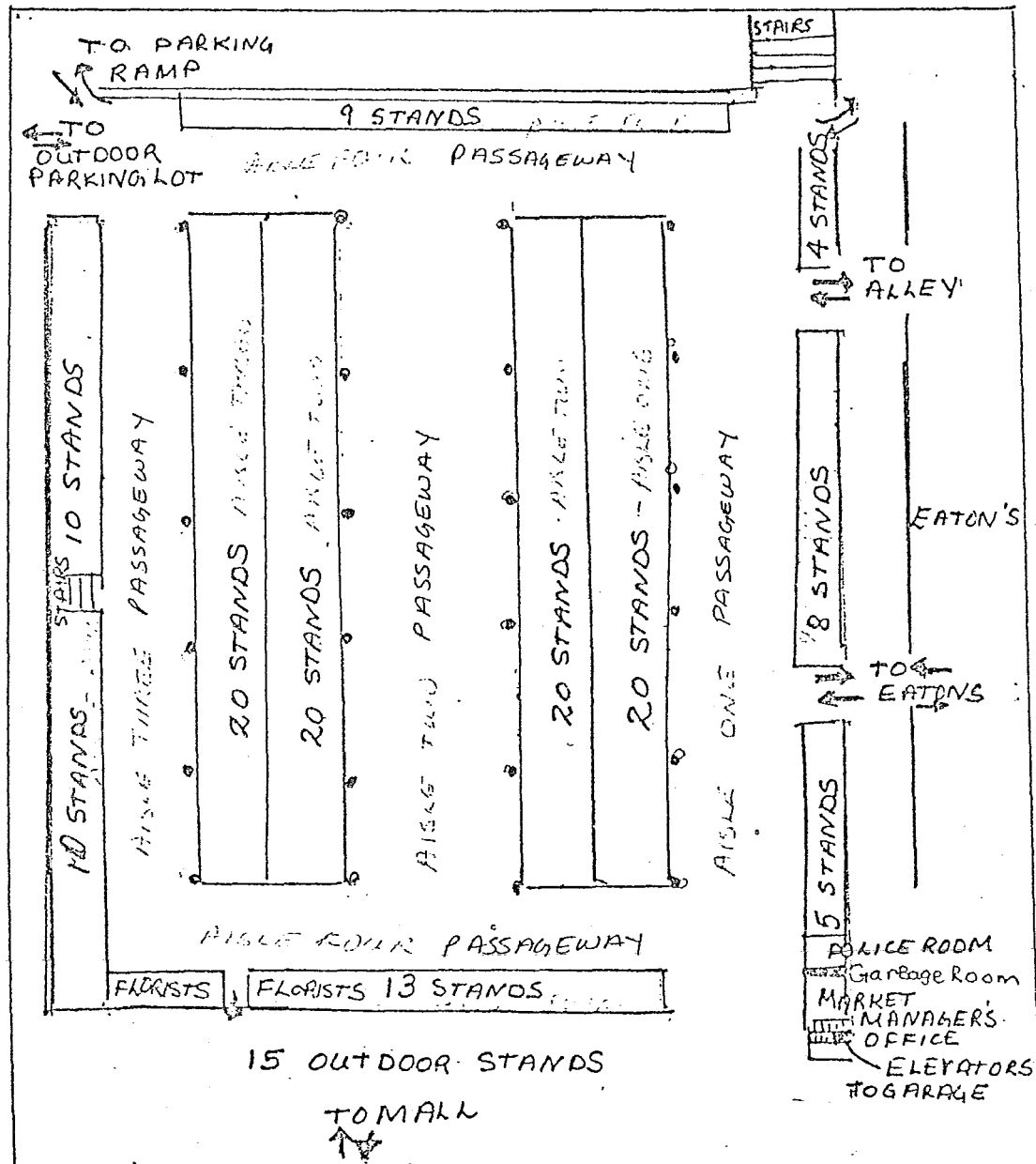
Following this in section II, I outline the manner in which the vendors manipulate their attendance, produce specialization, inventory size, location and stand size. I begin section II with a general passage on the vendor's backgrounds--their occupational skills, and their nativity, for example. The purpose of section II is to demonstrate what differences if any, there are between non-producers and producers in such manipulations. Later in Chapter Five I outline the manner in which ethnic identity aids the vendor in completing his transactions with foreign-born customers.

The Site

The municipal parking garage which houses the market place on its ground floor was erected in 1952 at its present location, by the main thoroughfares--James and Merrick Streets. The concrete and steel building is partially open and large--some 200 feet by 100 feet with parking spaces on each floor. On the ground floor, cement pillars separate every three parking spaces which during market hours are shared by four market vendors. As the majority of them bring their trucks inside to their stall during the winter, there is very little room left between stands. There are five main avenues separating six clusters of their stands. Two main passageways direct the customers through the market area and out into an alleyway adjoining T. Eaton's Company and out to another public parking area. A third entrance provides access to the market square and a shopping mall. See Figure 3.

There are 140 stalls available for rent on the ground floor in addition to another 27 stands situated outside on the periphery of the market site. Each of the 140 stalls is generally allotted 6 feet 8 inches of frontage on an aisle, although corner stands have display space along the length of the stand

FIGURE 3. The Hamilton Public Market, 1972.



as well. As I have illustrated in Figure 3 most stands are adjacent to 3 other stands--one stall being on either side of them and the third stall being adjacent to the rear of each stand.

The actual stand on which a vendor's produce is displayed is generally erected before 8 o'clock a.m. each market day. The type of stand varies--from a 6 feet 8 inch table to a self-contained, well-lit trailer. As the city specifies that the market stands must be removed by the vendors at the end of each day, the stands are portable and easy to reconstruct at the site. Usual accessories of a winter stall include--a space heater, over-head lights, paper bags and other necessary equipment such as scales, cutting boards, knives or refrigeration units. Generally producers have a sign prominently displayed with their name, place of residence and type of produce specialization indicated thereon. Of the non-producers, only a few fruit and vegetable vendors and most of the cheese and egg sellers have signs advertising their names or type of produce specialty. This privilege of advertising their name was granted the producers as early as 1922 with the enactment of By-law No. 2648, section 48, sub-section (1).

Rental Fees

Each year the market manager assigns a rental fee to each stand and then submits his proposal to the market committee for their consideration and approval. The fee varies with the season--

during the "non-contract" months of January to April 15th of each year, fees are 2 to 10 dollars less than the rates charged the vendors during the remainder of the year. Table 1 presents in summary form the rental rates which the stallholders paid to the city during the "contract" months of April 15th to December 31 of 1971. As the table shows, 70.9 percent of them paid rental fees of 30 dollars or less during this period in 1971. The remaining 30.1 percent of them paid rental fees ranging from 35 to 66 dollars.

There are two factors which the market manager takes into consideration in assessing the rental rate of any stand--the location and size. As the data demonstrates in table 2, single stands can cost a vendor anywhere from 27.50 to 38.00 dollars --depending on the aisle on which the stand is situated. Corner stands rent from 35 (on aisles 2 or 3) to 66 dollars.

Table 1. Summary of Rental Rates For the Months
April to December of 1971^a

Monthly Rental Rate in Dollars	f	%
27.50.....	63	44.7
30.00.....	37	26.2
35.00.....	15	10.6
38.00.....	13	9.2
40.00.....	4	2.8
44.00.....	2	1.4
45.00.....	2	1.4
55.00.....	4	2.8
66.00.....	1	0.07
	<u>141</u>	<u>100.0</u>

a

The rental rates for those stands situated on the periphery of the market which do not rent all year round are not included in this table.

Table 2. Rental Rate By Aisle And Stand Size For
the Months April to December of 1971^a

Monthly Rental Rate in Dollars	Single Stands				Corner Stands			
		Aisle			Aisle			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
27.50-30.00.....	27	36	18	18	0	0	0	1
35.00-38.00.....	2	0	0	20	0	2	1	1
40.00-45.00.....	2	0	0	1	4	0	0	1
55.00-66.00.....	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1
	31	36	18	39	6	4	2	4

a

This grouping of stands by Aisle follows that used by the City. I have previously indicated which stands are in aisle one, etc. in Figure 3.

A single stand is defined as any stand having frontage on one aisle only, regardless of its width. A corner stand has frontage on two aisles or passageways.

During the survey we kept traffic counts of customers moving along the passageways. We observed that aisles one and the northern portion of four experience a steady flow of customers unlike aisles two and three. The passageways with the greatest traffic flows are those which provided access to T. Eaton's Company, the parking facilities outside and the parking garage.

I conjectured that the location of a vendor's stand--his proximity to the customer traffic flow was correlated with the market manager's decision to reduce the monthly rental rates during the winter. As the data in table 3 shows, vendors on aisle one are not given a reduction in rental fees whereas those persons on aisles 2 or 3 do receive a reduction.

Table 3. Reduction in Rental Rate by Location

Aisles, as so Designated by the Market Committee	Reduction in Rental Rate?		Total f
	Yes f	No f	
One ^a	7 (26.49)	30 (10.51)	37
Two-Three	60 (42.91)	0 (17.04)	60
Four	34 (31.50)	10 (12.50)	44
	<u>101</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>141</u>

a

This category includes a stand designated by the city as on aisle five--which I regard as a corner stand on aisle one.

Chi-square: 74.980

Df: 4

Level of Significance: < .001

Market Membership

The prospective stallholder obtains the privilege of using a stand on other than a transient basis in the following ways: he can inherit the stand of a close family member who is retiring from the market, or he can apply to the market manager for the use of any stall-number becoming vacant in the succeeding nine month contract period. When a person applies for a stand previously maintained by a family member the job of the market manager is to ascertain whether or not the applicant's claim is

valid and then whether or not the applicant's produce will be acceptable to the city. To ensure that the transfer of a stand does occur as the stallholder wants it, he usually signs the contract in his own and another family member's name--such as Mr. and Mrs... or Mr. and son... But if the son for example, wants to establish his own stand elsewhere before his father retires, then he must make an application to the city.

Any person making an application to the city for a stand previously vacant must satisfy city officials that his produce and the way in which it is processed or presented to the public meets their requirements. Once their application is accepted by the city they must then sign the contract indicating their willingness to assume responsibility for a particular stall-number. Their status of stallholder is maintained throughout the nine month period April to December with their regular payments to the market manager's office of the specified monthly rental rate. Failure to maintain the regularity of such payments can result in the city revoking the vendor's status as stallholder.

During the non contract months--January 1st to March 31st, their payment is made to the city on a daily or weekly basis as theoretically all vendors are regarded as transient users. Stallholders can cease to attend the market without lose of status or seniority; transients can attend without accumulating any seniority or attaining the status of stallholder. Previous

stallholders have an advantage over the transient or novice vendor in that they have the first opportunity to lease their stallnumber during these months--even if they intend to come less than once a month. If a stallholder decides to attend the market for one day he will usurp any other vendor who had intended to use that stallnumber. In turn the stallholder using a spot other than his own on a regular basis will during these months supercede other vendors.

For example: Mr. A a stallholder with considerable seniority decided not to attend the winter market regularly thus leaving his stallnumber vacant much of the time. Mr. B, a stallholder also, but with less seniority and a stallnumber located outside, rented Mr. A's spot on a regular basis. Mr. C, a transient vendor jokingly tried to establish his right to use Mr. A's stallnumber before Mr. B had the opportunity to do so. For as By-law No. 10390, section 10, sub-section (1) states:

"...wholesalers, dealers and producers shall be assigned by the market manager to stands of their preference...on the basis of first-come, first-served..."

Thus Mr. C was correct in assuming that he had as much right to use that stallnumber as did Mr. B. However, the market manager's assistant resolved the issue by supporting Mr. B's claim to the stand. Much later in the winter, however, when Mr. A decided to visit the market, Mr. B was asked to move elsewhere by the market manager's assistant. In order to avoid any confusion which might

arise over the use of stands, the market manager's office generally reallocates them prior to the day in question.

The above incidents highlight the difficulties facing the transient vendor who lacks the status of stallholder in maintaining any stand even on a temporary basis during the winter. Even when the number of stallholders is less than the number of stands available the uncertainty of where and whether they will find a stand discourages the transient vendor--particularly on busier market days. Thus two transient vendors attending this market did so only on Tuesdays and Thursdays when they knew that particular stands would be vacant. Fewer than ten transient vendors regularly rented stands. In short, the transient vendor faces the same problem which once confronted the hucksters--that without the status of stallholder it is difficult to remain in the marketplace on a regular basis.

Seniority

In holding continuous contract from one nine month period to the next of each year the stallholder accumulates seniority. Thus an individual can increase his seniority by attending the market each year without any lapses. However, there is another way of acquiring seniority and that is through taking over the stand of a close family member. There are obvious advantages in doing this--the seniority, location and market clientele

are transferred to the successor. Approximately 12 to 20 percent of the stallholders had inherited the seniority of their parents, or in some instances that of their grandparents.

Some of the stallholders tried to circumvent their lack of "inherited seniority" by purchasing the businesses of retiring stallholders and then not disclosing the nature of their transaction to the city. Although the vendor can not inherit the seniority of the retiring individual he can retain the clientele and perhaps stallnumber.

Seniority functions not only as a means of obtaining a desired stall-number but, as well, as a means of protecting a stall-number previously assigned to the vendor. In a recent situation, for example, a vendor with considerable seniority challenged the right of another vendor to a certain spot, with the end result that the challenger was granted use of that stall-number -- much to the dismay of the loser. Generally speaking when two stallholders compete for the same stall-number, the market manager bases his decision as to who should rent the stand on the basis of their respective seniority. The success of the market manager in regulating the acquisition of stands depends on his knowledge of each vendor's activities in the marketplace.

The importance of such information is underscored by the complaints and their resolution which were brought forth by the vendors before the market committee in 1960. At that time

construction of the parking ramp necessitated the elimination of some stands and the relocation of the vendors. The substance of their complaints and the city's decisions are as follows:

Case One:

Complaint: Mr. A only had 7 years seniority although his father and grandfather had sold in the market prior to the 1900's. His stand was relocated with no advance warning. His complaint--that his seniority rating was inaccurate and that his new re-locating was unfair.

Decision: During the interim period of the 1900's Mr. A's father had held a stand for 2 years and then cancelled. Mr. A's father's brother had been a cotenant on a stand with another partner. No alteration was made by the committee in Mr. A's seniority rating or the location assigned to him.

Case Two:

Complaint: Mr. B did not have a stall, although he as well as his mother-in-law at one time had stood on the market--but on two different stands and on stands registered in names other than their own. He had also held a contract for a stand. Thus he thought the committee should alter his seniority rating.

Decision: Because Mr. B's contract in his own name had been discontinued, no alteration in his status was recommended. Neither the attendance of his mother-in-law nor himself on other person's stands, affected his status.

Case Three:

Complaint: Mr. C. had held a stand jointly with another vendor. In his opinion, his seniority rating was less than it should be--4 years instead of 11 years.

Decision: Although Mr. C had stood on the market longer than 4 years, he was previously licensed as a huckster--and consequently had had no right to accumulate seniority. His rating remained unaltered.

Case Four:

Complaint: Mr. D had been on the market 11 years and so he thought his seniority rating should be altered accordingly.

Decision: Mr. D had started on the market as a huckster and had continued as such during his first five years-- only later altering his status to that of producer. Thus seniority rating remained unaltered and dated from his change in status to that of producer.

As these four cases demonstrate seniority is an important feature of market organization in that both the city and stallholders can rank other stallholders according to their rating. Whether or not the stallholder was reallocated to stand in the above situations was dependent on his seniority rating vis-a-vis other stallholders. Persons with a rating of less than 12 years were superseded by stallholders with seniority in excess of 12 years in the allocation of stands.

In short, in identifying continuous nine month contracts from one year to the next as a criterion for allocating stallnumbers, the city discourages haphazard attendance on the part of stallholders. A lapse in their attendance destroys the stallholders' previous seniority rating. The uncertainty of vendor's attendance and their market behavior decreases accordingly with the city's commitment to use seniority rating as a basis for allocating stallnumbers. In turn, any aggressive competition between vendors for particular stallnumbers is reduced as the stallholders are able to rank their competitors as either having more or less

seniority than themselves.

Attendance

That vendors tend to maintain continuous contracts with the city is demonstrated in table 4 which summarizes their distribution by seniority. Columns 2 and 3 show the number and percentage of producers and non-producers by each seniority rating (column 1). Column 4 depicts the total number of stallholders. As this table illustrates stallholders have attended the market an average of 20.9 years. Although 60.5 percent of the producers have a seniority rating in excess of 19 years, considerably fewer (47.6 percent) non-producers have a comparable rating. Because of the non-producers inability to accumulate seniority as did the producers prior to 1964, the scarcity of non-producers with seniority in excess of 19 years is understandable. Those non-producers with such seniority either succeeded a producer--thus inheriting his seniority rating, or altered their own status from producer to non-producer after 1964.

Table 4. Seniority Rating of Stallholders

(1) Seniority in Years	(2) Producers f % (N=114)		(3) Non-Producers f % (N=54)		(4) Total f % (N=168)	
0 to 9	29	25.5	28	28.8	57	33.9
10 to 19	16	14.0	15	27.8	31	18.5
20 to 29	21	18.4	3	5.6	24	14.3
30 to 39	22	19.3	5	9.2	27	16.1
40 to 50	26	22.8	3	5.6	29	17.2
	114	100.0	54	100.0	168	100.0

Mean Number of Years Attendance: 20.9

Modal Number of Years Attendance: 0 to 9

Of these 168 stallholders, 79 to 89 of them visit the market on a regular basis during the winter. Generally speaking, each vendor establishes his own pattern of attendance--that is, each Tuesday and Thursday or each Thursday and Saturday, on a weekly or monthly basis. Knowledge of each other's pattern allows vendors desirous of moving their stands to take advantage of a vendor's vacant stand. However, the majority of them come to market two or three times weekly. And, as table 5 shows; producers are likely to come to market less often each week than are the non-producers.

Table 5. Winter Stallholders By Weekly Attendance^a

Class of Vendor	Weekly Attendance			Total
	<u>Once</u>	<u>Twice</u>	<u>Thrice</u>	
Producer	22.5 (17.72)	8.5 (6.12)	12.5 (20.17)	44
Non-producer	6.5 (11.28)	1.5 (3.89)	20.5 (12.82)	28
	<u>29</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>72</u>

^a

Of the 17 missing cases, 7 are florists whose daily attendance I did not record.

Chi-Square: 13.2264

Df: 2

Level of Significance: <.01 >.001

Their decision to visit the winter market is influenced

by a variety of factors: the availability of surplus foods, importance of the market income to the maintenance of their households, buyer's demand, their produce specialty and residential distance from the site. I will elaborate further. As reference to tables 4 and 5 shows, 32.1 percent (54/168) and 39.0 percent (28/72) of the stallholders who attend the market during the contract and non-contract months respectively, are non-producers. The number of non-producers attending the site is not significantly different from the total number of them attending April to December. (p=.35)

This finding suggests that for both producers and non-producers, marketing is a year round occupation. One would expect fewer producers to come during the winter because of the restrictions that they must on any market day, be selling two-thirds of their own produce. To do so would require that they withhold sufficient surplus for the winter months, if the type of produce could be stored for that length of time. That few vegetable producers do is suggested by the fact that less than half of them sell their own produce exclusively. To do so during these months, usually means that they have less variety and less inventory. However, apple producers appear to regulate their crop's output sufficiently to meet this requirement. Most vegetable producers resort to the use of imported goods in order to maintain their clientele. Many of them interpret the City's specification for two-thirds their own produce, as referring to their activities during the months April

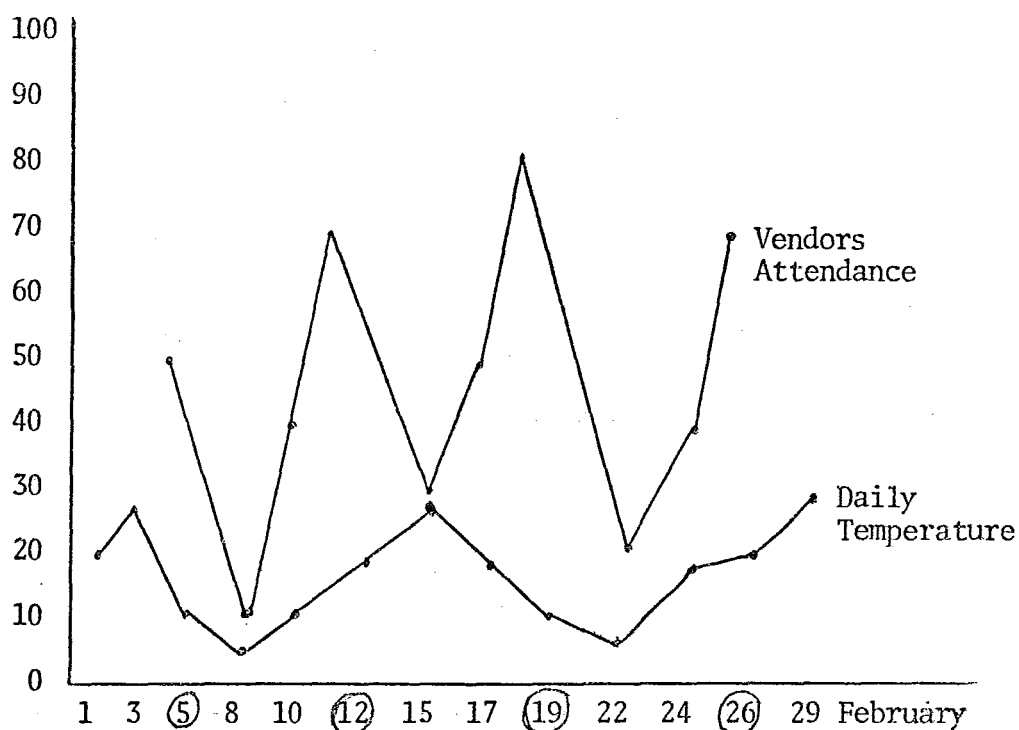
to December. However, if excessive use is made of imported goods the individual may be called on by the market manager to change his status to that of non producer. This change in status, perhaps preferable during the winter, could have repercussions on whether or not the vendor continues to attend "producers only" markets. At least, this is the argument advanced by one such producer who faces a change in status from producer to non-producer.

The weather influences their weekly attendance in a variety of ways. Certain items such as eggs, meat, fish, cheese, poultry and sausages are not as affected by the cold as are the green vegetables and luxury fruits. During the months of January through March, the market manager recorded 26 of the 38 market days as below freezing. And at least half of these days were less than 15 degrees fahrenheit, the temperature considered by many fruit and vegetable vendors as the lowest temperature at which they can safely display their produce. Thus on such days, vendors either left the market early, or declined to come at all.

However, cold weather is more likely to affect attendance during the week than on Saturday, as figure 4 depicts. In this chart I had portrayed for each market day in February the number of vendors present and each day's temperature. Despite the cold weather on February 5th, 55 vendors were present at the market. On the following Tuesday, February 8th, however, 16 sellers came

to market.¹ Attendance on both these days, when compared with that on comparable Saturdays and Tuesdays in February was generally lower.

Figure 4. Daily Attendance and Temperature in February



I hypothesized that distance from the site might influence whether or not the vendor attended it during the winter. The data is summarized in table 6.

1

7 of them had enclosures which protected themselves and their produce from the cold. 6 of these 7 sellers handled items not terribly affected by the cold--meat, cheese and eggs: 1 of them sold fresh green vegetables. Of the remaining 9 sellers--8 of them were selling staple vegetables or apples--items less affected by the cold than the luxury fruits or vegetables. A transient vendor from Toronto, with fresh green vegetables and citrus fruit elected to remain on the market, but left early.

Table 6. Distribution of Stallholders By Winter Attendance and By Distance From the Site

Distance From The Site in Miles	Attendance at the Winter Market ^a		Total f
	Yes f	No f	
0-10	33 (35.1)	44 (41.9)	77
11-20	22 (24.17)	31 (28.83)	53
21-50	17 (12.77)	11 (15.23)	28
	<u>72</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>158</u>

Note - chi-square = 3.1801 df=2 Significance level
= <.30 >.20

^a

There are 10 missing cases.

It is interesting to note that a greater number of persons resident 21 to 50 miles away attended the winter market than expected. I expect that the distance per se is not the relevant factor, but rather the availability of alternate sources of income in the outlying towns. However, I presumed that persons supplying other than fruit or vegetables to the market lived further away than did those sellers of the highly perishable and bulky fruits or vegetables. But as table 6 shows, there is no association between a winter vendor's produce specialty and the distance from the market which he must travel. The assumption in this case, that the

non-productive urban centre is surrounded by an area where highly perishable and moderately perishable goods are produced, with the region beyond, involved with higher unit cost goods--such as meat, poultry or eggs is not clearly demonstrated in table 7. I expect, however, that a better test of this premise would require a larger sample of all the stallholders--particularly of those suppliers attending the market during April to December.

Table 7. Distribution of Winter Vendors By Distance From the Market and By Produce Specialty.

Distance in Miles	Winter Vendor's Produce Specialty		Total f
	Fruit and Vegetables f	Other f	
0-10	22 (18.71)	11 (14.29)	33
11-20	13 (13.61)	11 (10.39)	24
21-50	7 (9.64)	10 (7.36)	17
	<u>42</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>74</u>

Note--chi-square=2.549 df=2 Significance level=
<.30 >.20

a

This category included the sellers of meat, eggs, poultry, fish, sausages, flowers, bread and cheese.

The Vendors

In this section I will treat the individual as the unit

of analysis and will first present a brief description of twelve vendor's backgrounds.

Case One

Mr. A, born and raised on the Prairies by immigrant parents, quit school when he was 13 years old in order to assist his father with the farm and with going to market. Later he worked as a gas station attendant and then, on coming to Ontario, he purchased a farm. He and his wife have visited this market for the last 13 years. Although he is 69 years old, he regularly attends the market twice weekly. He is proud of being multilingual and when given the opportunity, he will converse with his customers in their mother tongue. Mr. and Mrs. A, and their son live 11 miles outside Hamilton.

Case Two

Mrs. B, 45, assists her husband and son in market gardening. She has sold in the market for the last 25 years, and for the last few years, alongside her son. When 13 years old she quit school, later going to work as a labourer. Her husband's parents, unlike her own had been involved in market gardening for some time. Before she, her husband and two children came to market, his parents, brother and cousin had been stallholders. Mrs. B and her family live 10 miles outside Hamilton.

Case Three

Mr. C, a producer in his late forties immigrated to Canada 18 years ago. He had gone to school in Europe until he was 14--at which time he quit, in order to learn a trade. On arrival in Canada, he first worked as a labourer, only later purchasing a farm. He first took his own produce to market, then later opened a roadside stand. His wife and one of his three children help him with the preparation and selling of the goods. His farm is 8 miles outside Hamilton.

Case Four

Mr. D, 62 and Canadian-born, is a producer. His father, although a cabinet maker by trade, took up farming in Canada after emigrating from England. Mr. D has attended the market for the last 50 years, except for a brief sojourn in the military. His wife occasionally assists him in selling the produce, unlike his two children. He has a five-acre farm, 10 miles outside the city,

Case Five

Mr. E, 56, was born and raised in the Hamilton area. After leaving school at 17, he assisted his father in farming and marketing gardening. His brother also had a stand in the market. Mr. E and his wife operate a ten-acre farm, 5 miles from Hamilton.

Case Six

Mr. F, 26, and married, attends the market with his grandmother. He has been coming here for the last 10 years--before that he had helped his father in the market. He and his father are in partnership, as they work the farm together--along with his grandparents. They all live on this one hundred and fifty-acre farm, 60 miles outside Hamilton. He, like his parents and grandparents is Canadian-born.

Case Seven

Mr. G, 46, immigrated to Canada from Central Europe 9 years ago. His first job, after he quit school at 14, was that of apprentice to a butcher. When he came to Canada he found employment in this and related fields. During the summer he attends two other markets as well as this one. Being multilingual, he and his wife frequently converse with their customers in their mother tongue. He and his wife live 6 miles away in a small town outside Hamilton.

Case Eight

Mr. H, 29, joined the market as a dealer only recently. Although born in Europe, he has resided most of his life in Canada. He quit school at 18 years of age and took over his father's grocery store. His brother helps him with the stand. Mr. and Mrs. H, and their 3 small children live in Hamilton.

Case Nine

Mr. I, also a dealer, immigrated to Canada, 17 years ago from Southern Europe. After leaving school at 11, he assisted his father in farming. On coming to Canada, he obtained employment in a cotton mill and later with a construction company. Mr. I, 39, first assisted a relative who is also a stallholder, before establishing his own stand. Mr. and Mrs. I, and their three small children live in Hamilton.

Case Ten

Mr. J, 27 and married, held his first steady job when he was 17 years old in a cheese factory. After he quit school at 16, he had helped his father with the farm. Mr. J recently took over the stand of a retiring cheese vendor. His wife operates a small store. He, like his wife and parents, is Canadian-born. Mr. and Mrs. J, and their 2 small children live in a small town 42 miles outside Hamilton.

Case Eleven

Mr. K, 21 and single, was born and raised in Canada by immigrant parents. After quitting school at the age of 19, he assisted his father in wholesaling produce in Toronto. His father presently runs a grocery store. Mr. K, has just started coming to this market. He lives in Toronto.

Case Twelve

Mr. L, a dealer, was born and raised in Canada by immigrant parents. He applied for a market stand after quitting his job as a draughtsman. Before doing this, however, he first visited the market with another stallholder--thus gaining some insight into marketing. Mr. L, 39, is still single. He, like his parents, lives in Hamilton.

These 12 case histories illustrate many of the properties characteristic of all the stallholders. I will now discuss some of these properties--such as their sex, ethnic background and household size, in more detail. In addition to the above cases I will refer to the overall survey of 32 vendors--in which these 12 persons are included; and whenever possible, to data pertaining to the 89 winter vendors or to the 167 stallholders.

Messers. A, B, C, D, E, and F travel between 5 and 60 miles to market their goods. Unlike the dealers, Messers. H and I, they are not residents of Hamilton. Generally speaking, many of the

dealers attending the winter market are city residents; conversely producers are not city residents. And most of them reside in Wentworth County in the region to the south and south-west of Hamilton. In terms of actual mileage, I estimated that overall, 5.9 percent (10/167) of the stallholders travel between 31 and 60 miles to reach the market site.³¹ Of the sample of 32 winter sellers³² 50 percent of them live within 14.9 miles of the market. In short, most of them live outside city limits.

29 of the 32 vendors own land in amounts ranging from one to 200 or more acres. Mr. F with a farm of 150 acres is one of the 5 persons in the sample (17.2) with land-holdings in excess of 90 acres: Mr. D, with a farm less than 9 acres is one of 12 such persons in the sample (41.4 percent): and Mr. E with his 10 acre farm represents 1 of the 12 remaining persons in the sample with land-holdings of 10 to 59 acres. The sample's mean land-holding size is 31.0 acres. If we regard this as the mean farm size (disregarding that 5 of the 29 landowners do not farm their land) then on comparison to Wentworth county's average of 97.8 acres--it is considerably smaller than what one would expect.³³

31

On the basis of their 1971 address I estimated the stallholder's distance from the market with the use of a current road map. As the majority of their addresses were rural route, I expect I have underestimated the actual mileage.

32

Of this sample, 18 and 15 persons were producers and non-producers, respectively.

33

Statistics Canada, Agriculture, Census Farms by size area and use of Farmland. Bulletin 96-721, August, 1972, p. 30 -8.

Like Messers. A, C and D, the majority of stallholders are male, married and heads of households. Of the 32 vendors interviewed, 50 percent of them describe their household as comprising 3.7 persons or less. Having a household of more than one person is important to the vendor in that family members can assist in preparing, producing or selling the goods. Generally speaking, market stands are attended by the stallholder and by one close family member--such as his wife, child or father. Mr. L who usually is alone, has his niece help him on busy market days. Mr. K, also single, enjoins his fiancée to assist in selling the produce.

As we expected, 69.4 percent of the sample indicated their birthplace as Canada. Like Messers A, K and L however, their mother tongue is not English. Table 8 summarizes the distribution of the winter vendors by theirs and their father's birthplace. That producers attending the winter market are predominantly Canadian-born is suggested by the fact that 15 of the 21 native-born persons in the sample are producers. Like Messers B and E, 11 of the 15 Canadian-born producers were parented by Canadian-born persons.

Table 8. Distribution of The Sample By Theirs and Their Father's Birthplace.

Vendor's Birthplace	Father's Birthplace					Total
	Canada	England	Italy	Holland	Eastern Europe	
	f	f	f	f	f	f
Canada	14	4	1	0	2	21
England		1				1
Italy			5			5
Holland				2		2
<u>Eastern Europe</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	14	5	6	2	5	32

If we characterize them according to their Mother Tongue, which is the language first spoken in the home and still understood, then 19, 6, 2, and 5 vendors are English-, Italian-, Dutch-, and Slavic- speaking. Like Messers. A and G, fluency in other languages provides the vendor with an opportunity to converse with his customers in his mother tongue. During a 15 minute period, one Italian-speaking attendant transacted 7 of her 14 transactions in her mother tongue. And a cheese vendor is considering expanding his stand, but he claims that if he does so, he will likely hire an Italian-speaking assistant.

Although the work experiences of the winter vendors are

varied and diverse, there are certain skills which are common to most of them. For the majority of them either they, their parents or their grandparents had at one time been involved with farming or trades related to the preparing or marketing of foodstuffs- such as butchering meat, keeping grocery stores, or delivering milk. In short, many of them had acquired some knowledge of processing, producing or marketing foods from their family or friends. Many of them, in common with Messers A, E and F, quit school while in their early teens in order to assist their father with farming, going to market or attending the store. As many vendors have reiterated on other occasions, it is important that a stallholder know his produce--and as these case histories and table 13 suggest- most of them have had an occasion to acquire this skill. As one fruit vendor observed, he is reluctant to sell vegetables as he does not know how to pick the good from the inferior quality items, whereas with fruit, he has with the help of friends developed the necessary expertise.

Produce Specialization

Predominantly, non-producers sell cheese, and eggs; producers sell fresh meat, dressed poultry or rabbit, flowers and apples. Both types sell fresh vegetables and luxury fruits. I have summarized this data in table 9.

Table 9. Winter Vendors By Produce Specialization

Vendor	Produce Specialization								Total	Total ^a f
	<u>Cheese</u>	<u>Eggs</u>	<u>Meat</u> i	<u>Meat</u> ii	<u>Flowers</u>	<u>Fruit</u>	<u>Veg.</u>	<u>Both</u> Fr/Veg		
Producer	0	1	5	5	6	6	17	1		40
Non-producer	5	4	1	0	1	1	4	15		32
	5	5	6	5	7	7	21	16		72

a

There are 17 missing cases.

b

Meat i: This category includes fresh meat such as veal, lamb and pork; bacon, pre-processed sausages and cold meats.

Meat ii: This category includes dressed poultry and rabbits.

Producers and non-producers selling fruit and vegetables differ considerably in their attitude towards specialization in that producers tend to specialize in either fruit or vegetables. Non-producers selling such items are more likely than producers to sell both fruit and vegetables together. And very rarely does the producer unlike the non-producer, sell dissimilar produce--such as eggs and potatoes on his stand simultaneously. This finding is illustrated by the data in table 10 which portray the number of producers and non-producers who sell fruit or vegetables exclusively or both these items.

Table 10. Distribution of Fruit and Vegetable Sellers By Produce Specialization

Vendor	Produce Specialization		Total
	Fruit or Vegetables exclusively	Both	
Producers	14 (7.970)	1 (7.030)	15
Non-Producers	3 (9.032)	14 (7.97)	17
	<u>17</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>32</u>

Chi-square: 18.3225

Df: 1

Level of Significance: < .001

Within the category of fruit and vegetables, sellers specialize even more so by concentrating on certain type of items--to the exclusion of, for example, other kinds of vegetables. For example: 5 of the 12 persons selling vegetables deal exclusively with "salad greens"--lettuce, tomatoes, green peppers and onions; 2 of them sell primarily staple goods--such as potatoes, carrots, squash or cooking onions; and the remaining 5 vendors sell a mixture of vegetable types. Table 11 presents in summary form the kind of produce specialization evident among 26 fruit and vegetable sellers. In column (1) of table 11 I use the symbols P and D- to indicate their status as producer or non-producer. The numbers following P and D, refer to a particular vendor. The remaining columns indicate the frequency of items within each particular kind

of fruit or vegetable specialty which each vendor so indicated displayed on his stand during the week of March 21st. For example: vendor D-19 had 5 types of citrus fruit, 1 kind of other luxury item, 1 staple good, 1 "salad green", and 1 other kind of luxury vegetable. Because D-19 carries 5 types of citrus fruit on his stand and only 1 of the other food types, I classify him as specializing in citrus fruit. In order to indicate each vendor's specialty I have emphasized the produce line with the greatest frequency in bold print. As this table shows, dealers offer primarily citrus fruit or other non-standard luxury fruits, whereas producers concentrate on selling apples, staple vegetables or salad greens. Only one producer P-14 specializes in citrus and other luxury fruit. (It is interesting to note here that the market manager has suggested to him that he alter his status to that of non-producer.)

The task of identifying a dealer's specialty is difficult as they often carry both fruit and vegetables in varying volume from one week to the next. For example, a dealer might have two kinds of grapefruit one week and none the following week. As well, dealers diversify their range of items by displaying "ethnic" vegetables --such as rapini, ainise or artichokes, or by the use of non standard luxury fruit--such as prickly pears or pineapples. The dealers further differentiate between themselves and their competitors by choosing different brands of produce--that is, selling

Table 11. Distribution of Vegetable and Fruit Vendors By Produce Specialization

Classification of Each Vendor Numerically	Produce Specialization			VEGETABLES		
	FRUIT					
	Standard	Citrus	Other	Staples	Salad	Other
	f	f	f	f	f	f
P-1	0	0	0	1	7	1
P-2	0	0	0	1	6	4
P-3	0	0	1	4	8	1
P-4	0	0	0	5	0	1
P-5	0	0	0	0	7	6
P-6	0	0	0	5	2	2
P-7	0	0	0	5	0	1
P-8	0	0	0	2	0	0
P-9	0	0	0	2	0	0
P-10	0	0	0	7	0	4
P-11	4	0	0	0	0	0
P-12	5	0	0	0	0	0
P-13	1	0	0	0	0	0
P-14	3	9	10	1	2	4
P-15	0	0	0	2	0	0
D-16	0	0	0	1	9	1
D-17	0	0	0	0	7	4
D-18	0	2	0	7	4	4
D-19	0	5	1	1	1	1
D-20	1	1	0	1	2	3
D-21	0	4	2	0	0	1
D-23	0	1	6	1	4	4
D-24	0	3	2	0	2	2
D-25	6	0	0	0	0	0
D-26	3	9	3	0	1	1

navel or temple oranges instead of sunkist oranges. Generally speaking, this is less true of the producers, particularly in terms of brand differentiation. However, disregarding the sellers efforts at differentiating themselves from their competitors, the fruit and vegetable vendors represent the largest produce category in the market. As table 6 shows, 50 to 60 percent of the winter sellers are involved in the sale of fresh fruits and vegetables. In short, one in every two vendors sells this foodstuff.

Inventory Size

Assessing the inventory size or value of the seller's stock was a difficult task as they were reluctant to estimate either their own or their competitor's value. This was particularly true of the producers and many of the non-producers. Generally speaking a marketer's inventory can range in value from 100 to 1500 dollars--the amount varying with each market day. For example, one seller invests 200 to 300 dollars in food for a Tuesday or Thursday and 400 to 600 dollars for a Saturday. A highly successful competitor on a Saturday will bring in 1000 dollars worth of goods, by comparison. Usually the fruit and vegetable vendors buy sufficient stock, once or twice a week in order to satisfy demands of that week. Depending on their storage facilities and the type and condition of their produce, sellers will purchase enough produce to maintain their stand 2 or 3 weeks. One cheese vendor for

example, keeps 1500 to 2,000 dollars worth of cheese in storage.

The sellers regard having a large inventory as more desirable than having a small one. This attitude was often expressed by them in relation to the importance of having a "good display". A large inventory is often considered by a vendor's competitors as being an index to his success in the market--a large inventory being equated with a good business. Having a variety of items is important to some vendors since "if you carry as much variety as you can, people will buy other things...also people gathered around attracts others". With a large inventory a fruit or vegetable vendor can improve his display. As one observer comments

"If you see 3 pints of tomatoes, you're not going to look again...if you see 3 dozen pints, you know you have a choice..."

A corollary for fruit and vegetable vendors is that to have a large inventory requires extra frontage because of their items' bulkiness. As one fruit vendor observed about his competitor,

"He doesn't have enough of a display of citrus to compete with me...he has such small quantities out...that's the problem..."

Arrangement of Stands

As indicated earlier in Chapter two, vendors were previously situated according to their produce specialty and their status. In 1964 it was specified that dealers would be located in a particular locale --the stands bordering and adjacent to Merrick Street.

In 1969 the specification that such stands were "dealers" was removed by the city. Presently dealers and producers are interspersed throughout the market, with no one location being designated as exclusively for producers or dealers. However, florists do remain in an area marked off for them although a new comer selling vegetables is placed temporarily in this area if no stall-numbers are available elsewhere.

One of the uses of a seniority rating is that it provides the vendor with a means of obtaining another stall-number if the one presently assigned to him is unsatisfactory. I hypothesized that vendors with above average seniority (20 or more years) should have above average stall-numbers. I accordingly ranked all stallholders as having either an average or above average stand. An average stand was one which the market manager assigns as having a rental fee comparable to the majority of stands on that aisle. For example, an average stand rents for 30 dollars on aisle one whereas on aisle two it rents for 27.50 dollars: an above average stand rents for 35 to 66 and 35 to 55 dollars on aisles one and two. I excluded those vendors whose stall-numbers were located outside of the market site. Table 12 summarizes the results--that there is no significant association between a vendor's seniority rating and the "averageness" of his stand.

Table 12. Vendors Seniority Rating By Type of Stall-Number

Seniority Rating in Years	"Averageness of Stand"		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Average</u>	<u>Above Average</u>	
0 to 20 years	67 (63.14)	10 (13.86)	77
21 to 50 years	48 (51.66)	15 (11.34)	63
	<u>115</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>140</u>

Chi-Square: 2.751

Df: 1

Significance Level: $<.10 >.05$

As this analysis does not conclusively suggest that a vendor's seniority rating and the "averageness" of his stand are unrelated, I decided to introduce a third variable, their status as producer or non-producer. In doing so I hoped to find out if the above relationship between seniority and stall-number was changed or altered by the introduction of the additional variable. Tables 13a and 13 b summarize the findings.

Table 13a. Vendor's Seniority Rating by Averageness of Stand By Their Status

Seniority Rating In Years	<u>Average Stand</u>	Producers having <u>Above Average Stand</u>	<u>Total</u>
0 to 19 years	39.5 (37.40)	4.5 (6.6)	44
20 to 50 years	45.5 (47.6)	10.5 (8.40)	56
	<u>85</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>100</u>

Chi-Square: 1.405
Df: 1
Significance Level: <.30 >.20

Table 13b. Non Producers Seniority Rating By Averageness Of Their Stand

Seniority Rating in Years	<u>Average Stand</u>	Non-Producers having <u>Above Average Stand</u>	<u>Total</u>
0 to 19 years	26.5 (24.8)	6.5 (8.2)	33
20 to 50 years	3.5 (5.3)	3.5 (1.7)	7
	<u>30</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>40</u>

Chi-Square: 2.984
Df: 1
Significance Level: <.10 >.05

As tables 13 a and 13 b indicate, there is a slight association between a non-producers seniority rating and the

"averageness" of his stand, whereas this is not the case with the producers. In short, seniority ratings are not manipulated to such an extent that all the "above average" stands, are in the hands of those vendors with 20 or more years seniority.

That such vendors did not have a greater share of these stands is understandable in light of their attitude towards their own stands. A good stall-number is one which allows for attractive displays; is clearly visible to the customers; and is close to a steady stream of customer traffic. They identify 10³⁴ such stall-numbers as above average in that the display area is twice that of the usual 6 foot 8 inch frontage; it is close to two customer passageways and thus visible to a greater number of them at any point in time. The remainder of the stands also allow for attractive displays, are clearly visible to one customer traffic flow and are not always close to the steady stream of customers. To the majority of vendors, their stall number is a good one, particularly if it can be used by them all year round. Once committed to a particular location a vendor is reluctant to move elsewhere, even on a temporary basis. The result of their regarding their own

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I asked the sample of 32 vendors to rank these stands, according to their preferences. They regarded those stands on aisle one as the most desirable and those corner stands on aisles two and three as less preferable. Interestingly enough, 9 of these 10 stands were held by stallholders with 20 or more years of seniority.

stand as "good" is to regularize the physical arrangement of their stands from one day to the next. Thus a vacant stand signals to both customers and transient vendors alike that that stallholder is absent.

With the overall reduction in attendance, vendors do have the opportunity of expanding their stand size or of moving to another location if they are dissatisfied with their stall-number. Table 14 presents their decision to move elsewhere or to remain in their own stall-number. As the table shows, there is a significant association between their decision to "move or not to move" and their status as producer or non-producer. Fewer producers and a greater number of non-producers than expected exercise the option of moving to another stall-number for part or all of the winter months. Changing stands is an option chosen by 28.1 percent of them--and for some vendors, a necessary decision as their stand is located outdoors. Thus 6 of the 23 vendors who move elsewhere have stall-numbers which can not be used on a yearly basis. Generally speaking, moving to another stall-number was most attractive to those persons furthest away from the steady traffic flow. For some of these 23 vendors, the move involves taking the corner stand adjacent to theirs, or going across the aisle to a stall-number which allows for a larger display area.

Table 14. Class of Vendor By Decision to Move

Class of Vendor	Their Decision		Total ^a
	<u>To Move</u>	<u>To Remain in Own</u>	
Producer	9 (13.46)	39 (34.54)	48
Non-Producer	14 (9.54)	20 (24.46)	34
	<u>23</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>82</u>

a

There are 7 missing cases.

Chi-square: 4.9520

Df: 1

Significance Level: < .05 > .02

There are disadvantages in moving from one stall-number to another one temporarily: A vendor is likely to loose some of his steady customers who will look for him in the other location; he may find his place occupied by another vendor; or he may find himself much too close to a competitor. Thus these vendors who move to more than one stall-number try to regularize their movements so that customers will know where to look for them on a particular day.

Regardless of whether or not a vendor decides to move to another stall-number, the option of expanding his stand size is generally available to him. Generally speaking, fruit and vegetable vendors are more likely than the egg, cheese, meat, poultry or fish

vendors to increase their stand size--undoubtedly related to the bulky nature of their produce. The decision to expand stand size requires that they pay the market manager an additional 2.00 dollars rental fee; have the necessary equipment and counter facilities; have a sufficient volume of goods to maintain a larger display area; and perhaps have additional help. As Saturday is the busiest market day vendors are most anxious to increase their stand size then, rather than on Thursday or Tuesday. However, as the number of vendors attending the market increases on Saturday, the number of vacant stands in which a vendor can spread and extend his display is limited in number. A few of them indicated that they would increase their stand size on Tuesday and Thursday as well, if given the opportunity. They were involved in the sale of perishable bulky vegetables and fruit, and stand size for them was very important.

CHAPTER 4

THE MARKET GOERS

In this chapter I describe the factors which influence buyers' market activities. These variables--such as the buyer's age, household size, weekly food budget, length of residence in Canada, ethnic origin and residential proximity to the site, provide the best answer to the question -who are the buyers?

The first section presents a general description of these variables and whenever possible compares the market sample to the city population.³⁵ The degree of comparability between them indicates whether or not we can regard the sample as representative of the population.

In the second section I consider the relation of independent variables with one another as their interrelationship affects their cocumulative relationship with market activities. In doing this, I calculate correlation coefficients for the variables singly and cocumulatively.

Residential Distribution

My main hypotheses were that city residents use the

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Data on the city population is derived from the following sources: 1971 census material; 1965 study of ethnic groups in Hamilton; and a 1969 government study of urban family food expenditures.

market more than do the non-residents and that their proximity to the site is an important attribute of market shoppers. Thus we asked the shoppers to estimate their distance from the site in addition to specifying the name of the town or city in which their residence was located. Their responses are portrayed in tables 15 and 16.

Table 15. Estimated Distance From Their Residence To The Market Site

Estimated Distance In Miles	Number of Cases	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0-4	169	60.6	60.6
5-9	78	28.0	88.5
10-14	20	7.2	95.7
15-19	4	1.4	97.1
20-24	3	1.1	98.2
25-29	2	0.7	98.9
30-over ^a	3	1.1	100.0
	<u>279</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

^a

These 3 cases were excluded from the computation of the mean, mode, or median.

Mean: 4.754 miles
Mode: 0 to 4 miles
Median: 3.87 miles

Table 16. Market Goers Place of Residence

Place of Residence By Town or City	Number of Cases	Percent
Hamilton ^b	228	82.6
Stoney Creek	18	6.5
Burlington	14	5.1
Dundas	7	2.5
Ancaster	2	0.7
Oakville	2	0.7
Other	5	1.5
	<u>276</u>	<u>100.0</u>

a
There are 3 missing cases.

b
Modal Category: Hamilton

As table 15 illustrates the marketplace serves an area which is within 4.73 ± 0.14 miles of the site. As the distance from the market increases, the number of market goers correspondingly decreases. And although the distribution of shoppers varies with respect to the actual distance from the site--as table 15 demonstrates--the majority of them are residents of Hamilton. The remainder of them live in urban centres situated on the perimeter of Hamilton. Thus the same region which supplies the vendors also is the source of their clientele. However, as table 16 shows, the buying area is generally confined to the city.

The market site is not situated in the centre of Hamilton, nor is it equidistant from all residential areas of the

city--thus I expected the market to serve the area immediately adjacent to it. That 26.3 percent of them had walked there suggests that proximity to the site is an attribute of market clientele.

Distribution of Shoppers By Birthplace

I expected the ethnic composition of the clientele to reflect that of Hamilton residents. However, I presumed the proportion of non-English-speaking to English-speaking clientele might reflect the residential distribution of ethnic groups in the site's locale.

We therefore asked the shoppers to identify their country of birth, as well as that of their parents. Table 17 summarizes their responses: 53.8, 15.1 and 31.1 percent of them cite Canada, other English-speaking countries such as the British Isles and other non-English speaking countries such as Holland, Italy or Poland as their birthplace.

Table 17. Market Goers Birthplace

Birthplace	Number of Cases	Percent
Canada	150	53.8
United States	5	1.8
England	23	8.2
Ireland	3	1.1
Scotland	10	3.6
Australia	1	0.4
Germany	12	4.7
Italy	25	9.0
Netherlands	3	1.1

Table 17 (cont'd)

Birthplace	Number of Cases	Percent
Yugoslavia	8	2.9
Poland	6	2.2
Ukraine	3	1.1
Lithuania	4	1.4
Hungary	5	1.8
Other Eastern Europe	5	1.8
Other Central Europe	4	1.5
Other ^a	11	4.0
	<u>279</u>	<u>100.0</u>

31.1

^a

This category includes persons from U.S.S.R., China, Taiwan, Lebanon, Israel, Iran and Cyprus.

Kalbach notes that there is generally a high correlation between ethnic origin--which is based on the father's birthplace, and the offspring's birthplace.³⁶ My findings correspond to those of Kalbach, except for those persons born in Canada. Canadian-born shoppers are less likely to have comparable birthplaces with their fathers, than are the foreign-born shoppers. For example, 41.5 percent of North-American born persons and 12.4 percent of the remaining shoppers have parents whose birthplaces differ from their own.

³⁶

Warren E. Kalbach and Wayne W. McVey, The Demographic Basis of Canadian Society, Toronto: McGraw Hill, Company of Canada Limited, 1971, p. 155.

As I did not acquire other attributes of their "ethnicity" such as their fluency in their mother tongue, membership in ethnic associations, or ethnic background of their friends, I decided not to use ethnic origin as a relevant dimension, and instead chose place of birth as the independent variable. Respondants were accordingly classes as being Native-born or Foreign-born--thus 150 and 129 shoppers were so identified.

In order to compare the available census data on Hamilton's ethnic groups with that in the sample I grouped the respondents according to their father's birthplace--and whether or not their mother tongue was English. In Table 18 I show the distribution of the city and of the sample by mother tongue. For both the sample and city population the modal group is that of the English speaking persons: 74. percent of the city as compared with 58.7 percent of the sample. A comparison of the proportion of English speaking persons in each, indicated that they were significantly underrepresented. Conversely, the non-English-speaking persons were significantly overrepresented. Generally speaking, most ethnic groups in Hamilton were presented in the sample, although in differing proportions. On the whole, however, foreign-speaking persons comprised a greater number than what one would otherwise expect.³⁷ Market clientele do not represent

³⁷ On comparing the proportion of English-speaking in the sample with that in Hamilton I found it to be significantly different. ($p=.001$) See Statistics Canada, Population By Mother Tongue, Catalogue 92 - 758 (A p-7) August 1972, Advance Bulletin, p. 8.

city residents, ethnically. From this one can infer that foreign-born persons find the market site more attractive as a source of foodstuffs than do English speaking persons.

Table 18. Market Goers and City Population By Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue ^b	Sample Number of Cases	Percent	Hamilton Number of Cases	Percent
English	164	58.7	231,175	74.0
French	1	0.4	6,600	2.1
German	15	5.4	6,915	2.2
Italian	34	12.2	25,770	8.3
Netherlands	4	1.4	2,385	0.77
Polish	9	3.3	6,010	1.9
Ukranian	6	2.2	5,365	1.7
Indian, Eskimo	0	0.0	220	.071
Other	46	16.4	24,740	8.0
	<u>279</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>309,175</u>	<u>100.0</u>

a
Distribution of Hamilton By mother tongue is taken from the 1971 Statistics Canada Bulletin.

b
Census Data treats mother tongue as being the language first spoken in the home and still understood. I thus presumed that birthplace of father could be regarded as comparable. As I noted earlier, comments that there is a high correlation between a persons birthplace and their ethnic origin--which is defined by a persons father's birthplace.

How to explain this difference? To begin with, I considered whether or not English-speaking persons are more likely to refuse the interview in the market than are non-English-speaking shoppers and whether or not my assistants had systematically over sampled one group to the detriment of the other. Without knowing more about the persons who refused the interviews it is difficult to assess either of these two possibilities.

There is a third possibility -that the proportion of non-English-speaking persons reflects their residential distribution in the locale of the market. That is, the residential composition of the surrounding area is important, in so far as proximity to the site is a criterion of market goers. On the basis of Chandler's findings in 1965, I presumed the site was still situated south of a predominantly non-English speaking, lower and working class area, south-east and west of a mixed English and non-English speaking region which Chandler identified as being middle and lower class. He characterized the non-English-speaking region north of York and Cannon Streets as being highly to moderately stable in terms of residential turnover.³⁸

In short, if the locale around the market site is

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D.B. Chandler, The Residential Location of Occupational and Ethnic Groups in Hamilton (M.A. thesis, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1965) pp. 98-127.

predominantly non-English-speaking, then we could expect a greater number of non-English-speaking shoppers--if proximity to the site is a determining factor. It is interesting to note here that the Italian-speaking shoppers and vendors constituted in both cases, a fair proportion of their total numbers in conjunction with Chandler's observation that the area north of York and Cannon Streets was predominantly an Italian speaking residential area.³⁹ In short, we can presume that in so far as residential closeness to the site is an important attribute of market goers, the composition of market clientel is accordingly affected by the residential distribution of ethnic groups in the immediate area. Without ruling out the possibility of a systematic sampling bias, we may also conclude that the disproportionate number of non-English-speaking persons by Mother Tongue, is a result in part, of their spatial arrangement and closeness to the site.

Distribution of Market Goers By Household Size

The size of household which a buyer represents exerts a considerable influence on the actual frequency of purchases made in the market.⁴⁰ We asked the shoppers to indicate the number of

³⁹

Ibid., Chandler, pp. 82-84.

⁴⁰

Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditures in Canada, 1970, Volume 2, p. 19.

persons presently living with them (and including themselves).

I have summarized their responses in table 19.

Some vendors have observed that persons with large households benefit from shopping in the market as they can buy goods in bulk quantities, at a lower unit cost. For example, a shopper can purchase 3 or 5 dozen eggs at 2 cents less per dozen than she could if she purchased one dozen. As table 19 illustrates, one third of them are likely to require bulk purchases as they are residents in households of 4 or more persons. In general, however, because the majority of them are residents in households of 3 or fewer persons, their purchases will be in smaller units--such as the quart, pint or dozen.

I compared the mean household size of the sample--3.12 with that of the city residents --3.2, and subsequently determined that there is no significant difference between the sample's and city's household size. With respect to household size, the sample is representative of Hamilton residents.⁴¹

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Statistics Canada, Household by Size.
Bulletin 2T-2, Volume 2, Pt. 1., 1971.

Table 19. Market Goer's Household Size

Number of Persons Living With Respondent (inc. self)	Number of Cases ^a	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 to 3	184	66.7	66.7
4 to 6	84	30.4	97.1
7 to 9	5	1.8	98.9
10 to 12	3	1.1	100.0
	<u>276</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

^a

There are 3 missing cases.

Mean: 3.12 persons

Mode: 1 to 3 persons

Std. Deviation: 1.16 persons

Distribution of Market Goers By Age

I expected the age of the market goers to be comparable with that of Hamilton residents, particularly with those persons responsible for households. We asked them to indicate their year of birth or an approximate interval within which their birthplace was situated. Table 20 presents the data in summary form.

Table 20. Distribution of Market Goers By Age

Buyer's Age In Years	Number of Cases	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative Percent
13 to 32	94	33.7	33.7
33 to 52	101	36.2	69.9
53 to 72	72	25.8	95.7
73 to 92	11	3.9	99.6
93 over	1	0.4	100.0
	279	100.0	100.0

Mean: 42.69 years
Mode: 53 to 52 years
Std. Deviation: 16.853 years

As table 20 illustrates, the mean age of the shopper is 42.69 years. As expected, their age was roughly comparable with that of the Ontario household heads (46.09 years).⁴² However, as we did not ask them to indicate whether or not they were heads of households we can make few comparisons in this manner. We determined that the sample is representative of the population by comparing their mean ages. The mean age of the Hamilton residents, when persons under the ages of 14 are excluded from the computation, is 41.7 years. The sample's mean age -- 42.69 years is thus not significantly different from that of Hamilton adults and young adults.⁴³

⁴² Op. Cit., Family Food Expenditure, Vol. 1.

⁴³ Statistics Canada "Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts". Cat. 95-709, CT 9A, Series A, 1971.

Distribution of Market Goers By Weekly Food Budget

The market activities of each shopper is ultimately constrained by the amount of money which he allocates to food expenses. In order to interpret market activities we asked them to identify how much money they spent on food each week. In doing so we were able to establish the limits within which each shopper operated. Their responses are presented in tabular form. As table 21 shows, 73.2 percent of them spend less than 40 dollars weekly on food items.

In order to evaluate the typicality of their food expenditures I referred to the 1969 study of urban food expenditures.⁴⁴

Accordingly I estimated the 1972 average weekly food budget for all households in Ontario as being 32.46 dollars.⁴⁵ On comparing this amount with that spent by the market-goers (30.79 dollars) I found that Hamilton shoppers were representative of Ontario residents.⁴⁶

44

Op. Cit., Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditures, Vol. 1 and 2, 1970.

45

On the basis of the 1969 figure and the price index, I computed the 1972 weekly food expenditure as being 32.46 dollars. See Statistics Canada, Urban Family Food Expenditures, 1969.

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As ($p = .496$), I could not reject the hypothesis that market clientele were comparable to Ontario residents in their weekly food expenditures.

Table 21. Distribution of Market Goers By Weekly Food Budget

Estimated Weekly Food Budget, In Dollars	Number of Cases	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 to 9	33	12.1	12.1
10 to 19	41	15.1	17.2
20 to 29	61	22.4	49.6
30 to 39	64	35.6	73.2
40 to 49	37	13.6	86.8
50 to 59	17	6.3	93.0
60 to 69	11	4.0	97.1
70 to 79	3	1.1	98.2
80 and over ^b	5	1.8	100.0
	277	100.0	100.0

a

There are 2 incomplete cases

b

This open ended category was not included in the calculation of the mean.

Mean: 30.79 dollars

Mode: 30 to 39 dollars

Std. Deviation: 16.15 dollars

The weekly food budget is influenced by a variety of factors, such as the age and composition of household members, number of persons employed, income level and location of household. For example, persons over 65 and those under 65 years of age spent 10.72 dollars and 12.38 to 19.76 dollars weekly in 1969.⁴⁷ I hypothesized in turn, that these variables in influencing

⁴⁷

Ibid., pp. 10-13.

weekly food budgets would direct the market expenditures, in terms of cash amount.

In test for correlations between weekly food expenditures and the shopper's age or household size I used Pearson's correlation coefficient. The results of this analysis are presented in tabular form for ease of inspection below.

Table 22. Relationship of Independent Variables with one Another

Independent Variables	Independent Variables		
	Weekly Food Budget	Household Size	Length of Residence ^a
Age of Respondent	-.1105*	-.1095*	.6416***
Household size	.40679***		-.20956*
Immigrant's Length of Residence in Canada	.24372**		

^a

As pertaining to immigrants length of residence in Canada.

Note: * Significant at a level of 0.05

** Significant at a level of 0.01

*** Significant at a level of 0.001

We can draw the following conclusions from table 22:

the weekly food budget is strongly correlated with household size, as the government's study in 1969 would suggest, in that the amount

of money spent increases with the household size; weekly food budget is negatively correlated with an immigrant's length of residence in Canada, in that as the number of years residence increases, the amount of money spent by them decreases; and as we expected, with an increase in the shopper's age there is a decrease in their weekly food expenditures and in their household size.

CHAPTER 5

MARKET ACTIVITIES

This chapter focuses on the buyer's market activities and their interrelationship with the independent variables discussed in chapter four. In short, how does the shopper's age, place of origin and weekly food expenditure affect his use of the market?

In the first section I describe the buyer's reliance on the market in terms of his frequency of attendance, amount of money spent, duration of visit and number of years attendance. I will pay particular attention to the relationship of the independent variable--place of origin, with these dependent variables. My fundamental premise is that foreign-born shoppers utilize the market more than do the native-born persons. I presume that previous exposure to shopping in market places or in small shops in their place of origin, predisposes them to use the marketplace as an important source of foodstuff.

In section two, I look specifically at the shopping habits and demand schedule of market goers--their frequency of purchases, preferences, amount spent per purchase, and locale of purchases. In doing this I examine the degree of correlation between these and previously mentioned variables--age, household size and length of residence in Canada (if foreign-born).

Reasons For Coming Downtown

Because of the site's location in the central downtown business section adjacent to a municipal parking area I thought that perhaps the use of the market was incidental to the shopper's other activities. I asked them why they had come downtown that day. Their reasons are summarized in table 23.

Table 23. Market-Goer's Reasons For Visiting Downtown

Reasons Cited	Number of Cases	Percent
To visit the market	119	42.8
Market and Other Duties ^a	61	21.9
Other Duties ^b	98	35.3
	<u>278</u>	<u>100.0</u>

a

Shoppers stated that they had come downtown to visit the market and to shop, work, or visit, etc.

b

These shoppers did not mention the market as a reason for being downtown. They were downtown because of their work, special occasion, or appointments.

As table 23 shows, 64 percent of them cited coming to the market as their main or as one of their additional reasons for coming downtown that day. The remaining 35 percent we can regard as being circumstantial customers--in that an entirely

different purpose other than shopping brought them in the vicinity of the market.

Their Frequency of Attendance

I hypothesized that if the majority of them attended the market irregularly, that is, less than once every week or two weeks, then the vendors were faced with the prospect of predicting the demands of an erratic clientele. I felt that such a situation would increase the degree of uncertainty and risk already present for vendors of highly perishable goods during these months. Thus we asked the shoppers to specify how often they frequented the market during the winter. Table 24 presents their answers in summary form.

As table 24 indicates, 73.6 percent of them stated that they visit the market on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. This is a sufficiently regular pattern of attendance to allow us to consider them reliable clientele. In short, the majority of them consider market goods as being sufficiently important to the maintenance of their households that they regularly attend the market--despite the unpleasant weather.

Table 24. Shopper's Frequency of Attendance

Frequency of Visits Per Number of Days	Number of Cases ^a	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative Percent
3 out of 7 days	13	4.8	4.8
2 out of 7 days	26	9.5	14.3
1 out of 7 days	127	46.5	60.8
1 out of 14 days	35	12.8	73.6
1 out of 21 days	8	2.9	76.5
1 out of 28 days	60	22.0	99.6
1 out of 29 or more days	1	0.4	100.0
	<u>273</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

a

1.6 percent of the cases were incomplete. (6 cases)

I hypothesized that foreign-born shoppers, if dependent on the market would attend it on a weekly rather than bi-weekly basis. I thus classed their attendance as being weekly or other than weekly. As table 25 shows, a greater number of foreign-born than expected, attend the market on a weekly basis: conversely, a greater number of native-born shoppers than expected visit the market on a less frequent basis. In short, on a weekly basis, foreign-born are more likely to attend the market than are the native-born shoppers.

Table 25. Shopper's Weekly Attendance By Their Place of Origin

Shopper's Place of Origin	Attend On a Weekly Basis?		Total ^a
	Yes	No	
Native-born	83 (90.53)	65 (47.47)	148
Foreign-born	84 (76.46)	41 (48.54)	125
	<u>167</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>273</u>

^a

There are 6 missing cases.

Chi-Square: 3.7356

Df: 1

Significance Level: < .10 > .05

Their Yearly Attendance

Because we thought that their reliance on the market for foods might be a transitory phenomenon we asked them to estimate their attendance on a yearly basis. As the data in table 26 suggests, the buyers had visited the market a mean of 21.447 years.⁴⁸

⁴⁸

Both vendors and market goers have attended this market an average of 20 to 21 years.

Table 26. Shopper's Estimate of Their Yearly Attendance

Their Attendance In Years	Number of Cases	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative Percent
0 to 4	70	25.1	25.1
5 to 9	41	14.7	39.8
10 to 14	35	12.5	52.3
15 to 19	34	12.2	64.5
20 to 24	21	7.5	72.0
25 to 29	15	5.4	77.4
30 to 34	11	3.9	81.4
35 to 39	10	3.6	85.0
40 to 44	21	7.5	92.5
54 and over	21	7.5	100.0
	279	100.0	100.0

Mean: 21.447 years

Mode: 0 to 4 years

The market goers' yearly attendance is strongly correlated with their age and their length of residence in Canada-- if they are foreign born.⁴⁹ That is to say, as the shopper's age or the immigrant's length of residence in Canada increases, so does their market attendance. Once established, their habit of visiting the market is maintained by them over a considerable portion of their life time.

As it is artificial to consider the relationship of variables singly, I entered the variables by step-wise regression

49

I obtained correlation for market attendance with shopper's age (-.6819) and with an immigrant's length of residency in Canada (.6337), both of which were significant beyond the .001 level.

with market attendance as the dependent variable. As table 27 indicates, 47 percent of the variance in yearly market attendance is explained by the variables, age, length of residence, household size and distance from the site--of which age is the most important predictor. My inclusion of the variable--distance from the site, relates to a previous hypothesis--that is, that proximity to the site is an important factor in a person's decision to attend the market. And although the variables, distance from the site and household size are not as important as the shopper's age in influencing their attendance, they do in conjunction with the other variables indicate that the shopper's continuing use of the market is in part influenced by their proximity to the site and certain socio-economic factors --such as their household size or age, and if foreign-born, their length of residence in Canada.

Table 27. Step-Wise Regression, Dependent Variable --Market Attendance

Step Number	Variable Entered	Multiple R	R^2	Increase in R
1			
2	Shopper's Age	.68499	.46922	.46612
3	Their Length of Residence--For - eign-born	.69223	.47918	.00962
4	Shopper's House- hold Size	.69232	.47931	.00012
5	Shopper's Distance From Site	.69280	.47997	.00066

Shopper's Purchase Total

Because the marketplace does not offer the shopper a comparable range of foodstuffs to that of the supermarket or general grocery store in that canned goods, frozen foods, toilet articles, cereals, and most dairy products are absent, I did not expect to find many shopper's spending the bulk of their weekly food expenditure there. However, I established that they could spend as much as two-thirds of their weekly food budget in the market.⁵⁰

We first calculated the total purchase amount of each shopper's items in the following manner. Each shopper told us the items she/he had purchased, the amount spent per item, and overall purchase amount. Table 28 presents in summary form the distribution by total purchase amount. As table 28 shows, 75 percent of them spent less than 5 dollars on market goods-- with the remaining 25 percent spending between 5 and 15 dollars in total.

50

On the basis of the distribution of the family food dollar in 1969 for all classes in Ontario I estimated that shopper's could spend 12.6, 2.6, 25.1, 10.3, 1.8 and 13.6 percent of their budget each week on fruit and vegetables, eggs, meat, baked goods, fish and dairy products, in the market. On the average, they spent 22% of their food budget in the market place.
See Statistics Canada, Family Food Expenditures, Vol. 2, 1970, p. 19.

Table 28. Distribution of Market Buyers By Amount of Money Spent in Market^a

Amount Spent on Market Items	Freq.	Adjusted Percent	Cumulative
0 -49 cents	12	4.3	4.3
50-99 cents	46	16.5	20.8
1.00 -1.49 dollars	37	13.3	34.1
1.50-1.99 dollars	31	11.1	45.2
2.00 -2.49 dollars	31	11.1	56.3
2.50-2.99 dollars	17	6.1	62.4
3.00-3.49 dollars	16	5.7	68.1
3.50 -3.99 dollars	9	3.2	71.3
4.00-4.49 dollars	11	3.9	75.3
**b 5.00 -5.49 dollars	25	9.0	84.2
5.50-5.99 dollars	6	2.2	86.4
6.00-6.49 dollars	4	1.4	87.8
6.50-6.99 dollars	6	2.2	90.0
7.00-7.99 dollars	1	0.4	90.3
7.50 -7.99 dollars	2	0.7	91.0
8.00 -8.49 dollars	2	0.7	91.8
8.50-8.99 dollars	2	0.7	92.5
*** 9.50 -9.99 dollars	2	0.7	93.2

Table 28 (Cont'd)

Amount Spent on Market Items	Freq.	Adjusted Percent	Cululative
**			
10.50 -10.99 dollars	1	0.4	93.5
**			
**			
**			
12.50 -12.99 dollars	1	0.4	93.9
13.00 -13.49 dollars	1	0.4	94.3
**			
**			
14.50 -14.99 dollars	8	2.9	97.1
15.00 -15.49 dollars	3	1.1	98.2
15.50 -25.50 dollars ^c	5	1.0	100.0

a

The amount spent by the market buyer was estimated on the basis of i) the informants estimation, and ii) my estimation based on page 146 of the questionnaire. See appendix for manner in which food items purchased, were itemized.

b**

This symbol was used to indicate an interval with 0 frequency.

c

In the calculation of the mean, this last interval was treated as the separate categories, originally used in estimating buyers purchase amount.

e

Generally, the majority of market buyers accounts of amount spent coincided with my estimation of produce. However, as the initial response of the individual was coded by intervals of 4 dollars, the estimation was carried out in order to determine distribution more accurately.

Mean: 3.755 dollars
 Modal Category: 50-99 cents
 Median: 2.24 dollars
 STD DEV. 8.638 dollars

I hypothesized that the shopper's total purchase amount was influenced by certain socio-economic factors-- such as their weekly food budget amount, household size, age, distance from the site, and length of residence in Canada (if foreign-born). Table 29 presents the observed correlations between their total purchase amount and the above variables.

Table 29. Correlations of Shopper;s Total Purchase Amount With Certain Independent Variables

Independent Variables with	Dependent Variable Their Total Purchase Amount r
Shopper's Age	.19860***
Household size	.30604***
Immigrant's Length of Residence	-.23136***
Shopper's Weekly Budget	.39647***
Their Distance from Site	.00304
Number of Years to Market ^a	-.11690***

*** Significant beyond the .001 level

a

In this situation I treat their market attendance as an independent variable.

As table 29 illustrates, purchase amount increases accordingly as weekly budget or household size and decreases in amount and as age and number of years market attendance increases. For foreign-born shoppers their total purchase amount increases as their length of residence in Canada correspondingly decreases. That is, recent immigrants are likely

to spend more money in the market than are their more established counter-parts. For both native- and foreign-born shoppers their total purchase amount is not a function of their proximity to the site, but rather of their age, household size and weekly food expenditure.

On comparing the mean amount of money spent in the market by foreign- and native-born shoppers I found that they were significantly different in that foreign-born spent more in the site than did the native-born shoppers. This suggests that the foreign-born make greater use of the site as source of foodstuffs. This finding is emphasized by the fact that foreign-born and native-born shoppers differ significantly with respect to percentage of weekly food budget spent in the site.⁵¹

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Using the t test I found that native-born shoppers did differ significantly from foreign-born ($p < .001$) and that they did not differ from native-born shoppers having foreign-born parents. ($p = .24$) Native-born and foreign-born shoppers spent an average of 3.30 and 3.12 dollars and 3.6 dollars.

On comparing native-born shoppers (with native born parents) to native-born (with foreign-born parents) I found them to be significantly different. ($p = .1022$) Native-born (with native-born parents) however, did differ significantly from foreign-born shoppers with respect to percentage of weekly food budget spent. ($p = .017$) Native-born shoppers spent 18.202 and 20.371 percent of their weekly budget whereas foreign-born persons spent 26.414 percent of it.

Purchase Preferences --By Type

We classed market items as belonging to 1 of 6 general categories--meat, vegetables, fruit, cheese, eggs and other. Native and foreign-born shoppers do not differ significantly with respect to whether or not they make at least one purchase of 1 of the 6 general types of market items--except in the case of their purchase preference for items grouped in the residual category --"other". Generally speaking, neither foreign- nor native born persons patronize the market exclusively for one type of food.

We ranked each shopper according to the number of types of purchases. For example, we regarded the person who purchased at least one item of fruit, vegetable and cheese as having made 3 out of a possible 6--types of purchases. The results, as presented in table 40, indicate that native -and foreign- born shoppers do not differ significantly in their overall use of the 6 types of market items. In short, native- and foreign-born shoppers do not differ greatly with respect to whether or not they purchase 3 or 5 food types. As table 30 suggests, however, their modal number of types of purchases is 2.

Table 30. Shopper's Number of Types of Purchases By Their Place of Origin

Place of Origin	One f	Number of Types of Purchases				Total f
		Two f	Three f	Four f	Five & Six f	
Native	51.5 (49.5)	59.5 (55.95)	26.5 (31.65)	8.5 (9.15)	4.5 (3.75)	150
Foreign	40.5 (42.57)	44.5 (48.05)	32.5 (27.35)	8.5 (7.85)	2.5 (3.25)	129
	92	104	59	17	7	279

Chi-square: 2.49994

Df: 4

Significance Level: <.7 >.5

Their Frequency of Purchases

Considering that 70.61, 49.10, 29.03, 22.2, and 20.43 percent of the 279 shoppers purchased at least one item of vegetables, fruit, cheese, meat or eggs, we can rank the first two items as being first and second most probable purchase type. In short, although the market does provide a range of goods necessary to the maintenance of a household, the majority of shoppers use the site primarily as a source of perishable fruit and vegetables.

Their actual frequency of purchases within these two food types --fruit and vegetables, is summarized in table 31. In presenting this data I have grouped both fruit and vegetables into 2 or 3 main sub-categories --that of staple or standard items (such as apples or potatoes), luxury fruit or vegetables (such as

broccoli, asparagus, grapes, tomatoes, lettuce or citrus fruit).

I have itemized their frequency of purchases by each food within these two general categories of fruits and vegetables.

Table 31. Shopper's Frequency of Purchases Within the Food Types --Fruit and Vegetables

Food Items By Type and Sub-category	Frequency of Shopper's Purchasing	Percent
<u>Vegetables:</u> staple	139	29.64
luxury	330	70.36
TOTAL	469	100.00
<u>Fruit:</u> standard	82	34.45
luxury	156	65.54
TOTAL	238	100.00

The data illustrates that although shoppers tend to purchase at least one item of vegetables and perhaps fruit as well, their demand is for the highly to moderately perishable imported luxury goods. Foreign-born spend more money than do native-born shoppers in the market--however, their difference is due to their particular choice of items, and the quantity purchased, rather than to a distinctive preference for one type of good. In short, both foreign- and native-born shoppers prefer the luxury fruits and vegetables, although their purchases differ with respect to the particular item and its quantity.

In turn, vendors selling other items such as meat, frequent the market less often weekly than do the other specialists. As to be expected, their participation in the site, reflects the

demand for their produce specialty. For example, the vendors most likely to carry large volume of goods on most market days, are the vegetable vendors. And it is within this produce specialty and that of fruit that foreign born vendors diversify --thus incorporating many imported, or "ethnic" items.

CHAPTER 6

VENDOR'S MARKET STRATEGY

As Geertz suggests, it is not price that remains problematical to the vendor in the market economy, rather it is the strategy employed by him in convincing the buyer to purchase his goods rather than those of his competitors. I asked the vendors what particular options were in their opinion, relevant to their having a successful stand. In giving their opinions the majority of them said that they thought having an attractive display, good position, good quality produce and service were important factors. Their success often requires that they have a large inventory -especially if they were selling fruits or vegetables, and clientele. Those stands most often mentioned by them as being "a good stand", or "a good business" embodied some or all of the above attributes. In short, the vendor, Geertz observes,

"...tends to regard his primary task as one of creating or stimulating buyers, through advertising, aggressive salesmanship, choosing a strategic location, building a reputation, providing better service, or offering "greater" value in the sense of a lower over-all price level."⁵²

52

Op. Cit., Geertz, p. 35.

In the first section I will briefly describe those opinions exercised by them in the Central Market and in the concluding section, the outcome of their efforts in attracting buyers to their rather than their competitors stands.

Display Techniques

They consider having over-head lights, a neat well-organized table--in that the arrangement of the items in the containers and of the containers themselves be orderly and complementary in shape and colour, as important dimensions of a good display. Another feature of a "good display" is its continuous maintenance by the vendors throughout the day, so that the display area has the same arrangement and stock. One vendor who failed to arrange his produce in sufficient quantities on the table was regarded by the other as having a "poor display".

Each vendor develops his own technique of displaying goods to the extent that other vendors can distinguish between theirs and their competitors display. However, as they are subject to the restrictions regarding the marketing of produce as outlined in The Farm Products and Sales Act of 1970⁵³ they can not display their goods in other than the prescribed manner. For example,

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This act is administered by the Farm Products Inspection Branch of the Ontario Department of Agriculture and Food.

section 10, sub-section (1) of this Act states:

"...no person shall sell...at retail asparagus, snap beans, beets without tops, carrots without tops, onions without tops, parsnips, potatoes or tomatoes except by weight or in a package prescribed for vegetables by this Regulation."

What is left to the marketer if he wants to differentiate his stand from that of his competitors is to arrange the containers or the contents thereof, in a unique manner. Thus one vendor chooses to dump his parsnips in their container unlike his competitor who arranges them so that the top of one parsnip alternates with the bottom of another one: one vendor sells his carrots unwashed, unlike another vendor who washes his carrots each market day: and some vendors remove the outer leaves of the heads of cabbages or lettuce, while other vendors choose not to do so. In short, each vendor strives to develop a display which is sufficiently distinctive from that of his competitors and which will persuade customers that his produce is fresher and of better quality than that display elsewhere. As one vendor observed,

"...you find out about display for yourself...I find certain things push my stuff better...I sure won't tell anybody in case he tells my competitor..."

Service and Salesmanship

As I have indicated in chapter two, market legislation currently prohibits vendors from aggressively soliciting customers--

that is, by shouting. This particular market legislation has been incorporated in the majority of by-laws since 1886. This by-law specified that

"No person shall, upon the market...act as a runner for any hotel or market stable or solicit customers for any hotel or stables...nor shall such person solicit such custom by shouting..."⁵⁴

By 1932, the market by-law No. 4377 stated in section 9 that

"No person shall, upon the Market...act as a runner for any hotel or market stable or solicit custom for any hotel or stable...nor shall any person solicit such custom by shouting...No vendor or seller upon the market shall solicit the purchase of their produce offered for sale by shouting."

Today, a similar restriction discourages this form of salesmanship on the part of vendors: they must await their customer's decision rather than their aggressively prompting the customer to purchase.

In recording the conversations of customers and vendors we noted in each situation who initiated the transaction and the manner in which each event took place. Each account, (which lasted 15 minutes) included the events of every transaction--noting the sex of each customer, their comments about the goods, items transacted their cash value, and the vendor's comments. A sample of this schedule is included in appendix C. We observed five main styles of customer-vendor interaction: the "hi...how are you", "...how much is it?...I'll take this", "May I help you...Yes?",

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By-law No. 328, 1886, section 19.

or "Are these apples good for cooking?...What is this?" approach and the fifth--the conversation carried out in a language other than English.

We considered the "hi...how are you" approach to a transaction as a possible index of the customers or vendors familiarity with one another--thereby indicating that he was a potentially steady customer. The following excerpts illustrate the range of events we categorized as belonging to this category.

- 1) Vendor: How are you?
Customer: Not bad...I'll have 3 dozen eggs please..."
- 2) Vendor: Hi there
Customer: Missed you...where've you been?
Vendor: Hub's been pretty sick
Customer: Oh...that's too bad...I've been telling all my friends that this is the freshest headcheese I know of...
- 3) Customer: Hellow, how are you today?
Vendor: Fine...You?
Customer: Fine...just some carrots
Vendor: That's 25 cents...Bye
- 4) Customer: Hi, are you still selling apples?
Vendor: Yes,...how are you today?
Customer: Fine...do you still have any 2nd grade...

In each of these 4 excerpts, the transaction opens with a greeting which is then followed by the customer's request for a particular item. Regardless of which one initiates the salutation, the greeting serves to remind the other party that previous transactions have occurred to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

The second style of approach to the transaction was

the "I'll take this...how much is it?..." In each situation where such an approach is initiated by the shopper, no verbal recognition of either party occurs. The following 4 excerpts will demonstrate the impersonalness of this approach.

- 1) Customer: I'd like a dozen oranges please.
Vendor: Yes...99 cents...Thank you.
- 2) Customer: (picks over grapefruit, takes 5 and hands them to the vendor)
Vendor: (takes the money and says nothing)
- 3) Customer: How much are these? (points)
Vendor: 35 cents a bundle
Customer: OK, I'll take them...
- 4) Customer: (handles the bananas) I'll take these.
Vendor: It's 12 cents a pound...that's 20 cents...
Thank you.

The third approach to the transaction--the "May I help you? is self-explanatory. We regarded this technique as a way in which the vendor can prompt the customer to purchase, particularly if the individual is not recognized by the vendor as a steady customer. It is unnecessary for me to provide examples of this approach, as only two queries were used by the vendors --"may I help you" and "Yes?"

There are a number of transactions which involve queries of declarations about the quality or use of the item. This event usually takes place before the customer indicates his decision to purchase the item. For example:

- 1) Customer: What are these?
Vendor: They're temples ma'am...half orange,
half tangerine
Customer: I can't eat them...I have no teeth
Vendor: But they're good to eat...

- 2) Customer: Hello...I'd like some apples for
baking...can you recommend some?
Vendor: Large spies are the best...they're 35
cents a quart.
- 3) Customer: (praises item) They're the best I've
ever tasted...1 basket of them
Vendor: Yes, indeed...that's 45 cents please...
- 4) Customer: I just love red juicy apples...I'll
take these...
Vendor: Yes, they are lovely...bye

We regard such conversations as these as being service-oriented in that additional information about the produce is volunteered either by the customer or vendor.

The fifth style of customer-vendor transaction I am unable to document, beyond the general observation that other languages are involved at some point in the transaction. For example:

- 1) Customer: speaks in a foreign language to vendor,
and points at the dried figs...
Vendor: said in English "figs, prunes and
apricots?", while pointing to the boxes.
- 2) Customer: much handling...talks to vendor in
foreign language. Vendor and customer
seem to know each other. She adds 1
parsley to 3 spinach she has already
purchased.

In table 32 I summarize the frequency of each of these styles of customer-vendor transaction based on a sampling of 40 regularly-attending winter vendors. If a vendor has at least one occurrence in the 15 minutes of any one of the above styles, he is included in the frequency count for that particular approach.

Thus a vendor using 4 styles of transacting items is counted 4 times, once in each of the appropriate styles.

Table 32. Frequency Count of Customer-Vendor Transactions
For Sample of 40 vendors

Conversation Style	Number of Vendors Using f	% of Total N (40)
"Hi...how are you?"	22	55.0
"How much is it?"	39	97.5
"May I help you?"	15	37.5
"These are lovely apples"	21	52.5
Foreign Language	10	25.0

As table 32 indicates, the majority of vendors do await the decision of the customer to query him as to the price or to inform him which item he wants. (97.5%); 55 percent of them conduct a transaction with at least 1 steady customer whom they greet with "hi...how are you?" Not only do the majority of vendors await their customer's decision as to their purchase, but they also conduct the majority of their transactions in this manner. Of the 267 conversations recorded, 156 of them are of the "I'll take this" style. Of the remaining 109 conversations, 30m 28, 24 and 15 wear of the "hi...how are you", "These are lovely apples", "May I help you?" and "conversation in foreign language". Thus 59.1 (158/267) percent of all the transactions required that the vendor await the

customer's declaration to purchase, without any further interaction other than that required by the transaction itself; 24.7 percent (66.267) of them required that the vendor greet the customer, or discuss the weather, their health, or their produce with him; 8.9 percent (24/267) required that the vendor initiate the interaction with a query--such as Yes?; and the remaining 7.3 percent of them (15/267) required the vendor and customer to complete the transaction in a foreign language. If we classify these approaches as being either personal in that additional information regarding the weather uses of the produce or the vendor's or customer's health is included in the transaction by either party, then we can say that 32 (85/267) and 68 percent (182/267) of all these transactions are personal and impersonal respectively.

Being "friendly" with the customers as one vendor calls it, is considered by many of them as an important aspect of their serving their customers. As this vendor comments

"...you don't wait for the customer to ask--"how much are your onions?"...you don't do this...what we do is--"would you like a couple of onions, these are our own",...you get a bag out...you ask about them and how they like the item...You have to like people or you won't stand here...we really care...we want to sell to them. But the hired girls... they do it the other way, and lose money."

In addition to exchanging pleasantries with their customers about the weather, holiday events, their health or families, vendors reimburse their customers for over-ripe or forgotten purchases,

temporarily store their purchases, prepare the produce for use (--removing carrot tops for example), provide them with discarded lettuce leaves for their pets, and provide customers with shopping bags (at a nominal fee). All of these services help the vendor convince his customers that his stand has more to offer than that of his competitors.

Pricing

With the enforced standardizing of quantity, quality, type and appearance of market goods local officials have effectively reduced competition between sellers and buyers and have virtually eliminated their need to haggle over an item's price. Most vendors when confronted with a request to alter the price of an item, refuse to do so. For example, in one incident a customer requested

"...can I have them for 49 instead of 59 cents a dozen...(she feels them and picks them over)... someone had them on last week for 49 cents, but I can't find him".

In response to this request, the vendor said "no wonder, he probably went out of business". In another situation the vendor weighed the meat which the customer had chosen and told him the price- 2.90 dollars. The customer replied "I'll give you 2.50 dollars"--to which the vendor responded "no."

In setting a price, each vendor is cognizant of his

competitor's likely price for a similar item. As most fruit and vegetable dealers purchase their goods from the same source --the Ontario Food Terminal, each dealer is able to estimate his competitor's investment and thus his retail price. Generally speaking, the older and more established vendors set the prices for goods each day, with the other vendors adjusting their prices accordingly. It is difficult to determine the extent to which idiosyncratic factors such as the weather, vendor's personality and location vis-a-vis his competitors, affect the price equilibrium of an item from day to day. For example, a fruit vendor said

"I have the same oranges here as I had on the other aisle. Here I get 69 cents a dozen while over there I only got 55 cents a dozen. Why? People go on aisle one and know that there are established fruit dealers there...they don't even look at me...the discerning shopper might find me...but the general public doesn't do this...So, if I can get it here, why not."... over here there's no competition."

When a vendor observes his customer's lack of interest in certain items, he first looks around the marketplace at his competitor's prices before changing his own. Although there is some deviation in an item's price per unit, it is generally within 10 cents of the modal price. By vendors maintaining a relatively similar price per unit per item, and by their refusal to haggle with customers, they are

"collectively bargaining for the maintenance of

established equivalences."⁵⁵

On a short term basis, there is some fluctuation in an item's price per unit. For example, when a vendor has a larger supply than usual, which is perhaps over-ripe, he will display these items as a "special". Thus as one vendor explained

"...like last week I had bananas at 10 cents... but they don't keep from day to day...and I had 40 boxes which is a lot so on Tuesday I put "special" on the sign...I didn't have to ...just a come on..."

And as another vegetable and fruit dealer said when I asked him if he had anything on special,

"Today I have pears and peppers on special... Pears are 4 quarts for 1.25 dollars and peppers, 6 quarts for 75 cents...good for business...I bought enough to put on special at a special price...if you are carrying what you do from day to day, you wouldn't put it on special..."

Although the price of bananas is in the above situation 5 cents less per pound than its normal price, they are not comparable in quality or brand name with those bananas sold at 15 cents a pound elsewhere. In most cases, the appearance of the item on "special" is sufficiently different from similar items at higher prices to be perceived as such by the market-goer.

Fruit and vegetable dealers are more likely than

any other vendors to display an item at a "special" price, for a larger than usual unit. Thus green peppers are sold by one dealer in 6 quart baskets, when usually they are sold singly or in bunches of 2 or 3, for a "special" price. Few producers, particularly those persons selling staple vegetables, offer their goods at "special" prices. However, they do offer the customer more quantity for a slightly lower cost per unit on a regular basis. Whereas 1 quart of apples, for example, may sell for 35 to 40 cents, 6 quarts of them will sell for 1.25 dollars--in effect, for 21 cents per quart. Both producers and non-producers are in general agreement that having "reasonable prices" is more important to their having a successful stand, than is, their having "specials" or lower prices than their competitors.

II

We evaluated a vendor's success in encouraging customers to purchase items from him rather than from his competitors, on the basis of his cash flow during a half-hour period. Before sampling we stratified the vendors according to their classification as producer or non-producer, type of produce specialty, location, and seniority. Thus we observed an egg or cheese vendor at the same point in time as we did his competitor's.

As we did not measure all the pertinent variables--such as the quality, brand name, size and source of each item, I can not demonstrate, as originally intended, the correlation between a

vendors cash flow and his use of options--such as having "specials" or offering greater value at an over-all lower price.

Vendor's Cash Flow

During the half-hour of observation we recorded their number of sales, quantity and type of item purchased by the customers and the amount spent by them per item. As the data in table 33 shows, 45.83 percent of the sample of 48 vendors earn less than 10 dollars and a mean of 12.16 dollars during this half-hour of observation.

Table 33. Marketer's Cash Flow During a Half-hour

Cash Flow in Dollars	Number of Vendors	Percent Adjusted Cumulative	
1 to 5	8	16.66	16.66
6 to 10	14	29.17	45.83
11 to 15	14	29.17	75.00
16 to 20	6	12.50	87.50
21 to 30	6	12.50	100.00
	48	100.0	100.0

Mean: 12.1667

Mode: 6 to 15 dollars

As the unit value of meat, cheese and eggs is generally higher than that of fruit or vegetables, we expected that a greater number of these marketers would earn more during the half-hour than would the fruit and vegetable vendors. As table 33 illustrates, vendors

selling these commodities are more likely than are the fruit and vegetable sellers to have a mean cash flow in excess of 10 dollars.

Table 34. Summary of Marketer's Mean Cash Flow

Vendors By Classification as	Size N	<u>Mean Cash Flow</u>
Fruit/Vegetable Vendors	30	10.9
Eggs, Cheese, Meat, Fish Vendors	19	17.5
Fruit/Vegetable Vendors Close to Heavy Customer Traffic	13	15.23
Fruit/Vegetable Vendors Not Close To Heavy Customer Traffic	15	6.56
Producers--Fruit/Vegetables	16	8.37
Producers--Other	8	7.93
Dealers--Fruit/Vegetables	10	13.8
Dealers--Other	14	17.7

Of the sample of 48 vendors, dealers averaged more cash flow during the half-hour than did the producers; fruit and vegetable producers close to aisle one and four, averaged a greater cash flow than did their counterparts on less frequented aisles; producers of commodities other than fruit and vegetables averaged less cash flow than did the non-producers of other commodities; and fruit and vegetable producers averaged less cash flow than did the fruit and vegetable dealers. Generally speaking, those persons selling higher priced items per unit, nearest a steady circulation of customers, or offering a variety of goods--some of which are on "special" are

going to have a greater cash flow than those who are not.

The vendor's success in stimulating buyers can be approached from another angle--the proportion of steady to uncommitted customers which each market vendor has. For example, 81 and 230 of the 197 and 469 fruit and vegetable items purchased by the shoppers were transacted with vendors whom they had done business with before. As for the 25 vendors who responded to my query about their percentage of steady clientele--I determined that a mean of 58.9 percent of their customers were "steady" clientele. In short, the circulating clusters of customers are not as erratic and indecisive as one might otherwise think--they come to the market knowing what it is they want, where they can get it and from which vendor.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Local political bodies' interference with market events has had considerable influence on the events which take place there today. Although the site was initially conceived as a place where buyers and sellers could meet without intermediaries, the city could not successfully eliminate their presence. In its adjustment to urban growth, the movement of rural persons from Hamilton's outlying regions and from Europe, changing urban food preferences, it granted non-producers and imported foods a status comparable to that given producers and locally grown produce. In addition, the city in specifying regular market hours, standard marketing procedures, permanent location, and in encouraging vendors long term commitment, hastened the site's development as a place of "final sale".

The city operated on the premise that producers could not compete effectively with non-producers, or that, it was not in their interest to allow them in the site. In any event its' legislation discriminated against the emergence of a competitor to the producer--and withheld privileges from the non-producers. Table 35 reiterates this observation, in that it demonstrates that until recently non-producers contributed less than 17 percent of the site's revenue. Since 1967, however,

when non-producers could accumulate seniority and could sell imported foods if they so wished, their contribution has increased from 32 to 40 percent. In this instance I regard their percentage increase in contribution, as indicative of their group's growth in members.

Table 35. Yearly Market Revenue, As Derived From the Stallholders Payment of Fees.

Year	Total Revenue (rounded, in 1,000 dollars)	Percentage Contribution	
		Non-Producers	Producers
1951	35,000	9.23	90.77
1952	45,000	12.0	88.0
1953	47,000	12.4	87.6
1954	47,000	16.45	83.55
1955	47,000	12.7	87.3
1956	45,000	15.2	84.8
1967	63,000	32.6	67.4
1968	63,000	37.3	62.7
1969	70,000	40.1	59.9
1970	70,000	37.9	62.1

Source: Cash Records in Market Manager's Office.

The city influenced the sites activities in a third manner, in that it discouraged the growth of a collective organization. In appointing a market clerk, as overseer of the 'market peace', market events remained in their control, and market vendors did not participate in market management. Vendors intermittent attempts to acquire some control over the site has failed in that the city has refused to relinquish such privileges to them. For example, in 1969, they challenged the city's right to decide whether or not a public market should be continued in its present locale. The vendors wanted a 'written guarantee' that the public market would remain in the civic square. The assessment of their request, in this case, by the February 17th edition of the Hamilton Spectator, 1969, was as follows:

"First, the legality of a pact is questionable... Second, no city administration has any business signing away the taxpayer's right to make future decisions for the exclusive benefit of a small, profit making group. (Only 27 of the 179 Association members are Hamilton residents)...The city should make no unilateral commitments to stallholders, even if it clearly demonstrated a market will be an asset..."

In 1965, the vendors petitioned against a six day market which had been in effect for the previous two months. The producers found it difficult to attend it and prepare the produce for all six days. That the decision to terminate this experiment was the city's responsibility is suggested by Alderman W. McCulloch's (chairman of the market sub committee) statement in the October 27th

edition, 1965, of the Hamilton Spectator.

"We intend to hear the opinions of the stallholders to help us in our evaluation of the experiment. Depending on what we find we may decide on a four- or five-day week for the market."

In short, although the vendor may protest or petition for the privilege of self-involvement in decisions pertaining to market events, such control remains in the city's hands.

As chapters three and five show, the persons who frequent the site are not randomly collected, in that most of them have experience and skills related to producing or marketing food. However, the distinction between producers and non-producers is more than an arbitrary one in that their resultant involvement in the site differs on a number of points--in the options exercised by them in satisfying the customer's demand and in the outcome of their activities--the cash flow. In short, during the winter months, their use of such options as having "specials", moving their stand, is correlated with their status, I have summarized the pertinent points of comparison in table 36. They are alike in that they are both anxious to create market clientele and in that they both emphasize the freshness and appearance of their goods. For both groups, their professional qualifications is that they are able to estimate "reasonable prices", given their supply factors, fixed costs, break-even point, and their clientele.

The city has indirectly influenced demand and the site's

clientele in so far as it has specified the region in which the site is located, the variety and origin of goods considered acceptable market fare, market hours and days, and marketing techniques; and in so far as it has regulated prices, through its intervention in defining acceptable units (that is, pounds or quarts). In addition, it negatively sanctioned aggressive bargaining, and in final analysis, it helped reduce the necessity of a sliding price system, and the competition between vendors.

Table 36. Summary of Differences and Similarities Between Non-producers and Producers

Attributes	<u>Producers</u>	<u>Non-Producers</u>
Attendance	Similar attendance in winter	Similar attendance in winter
	once or twice a week	generally all 3 days
Location	dispersed except for a concentration of florists and meat vendors on inner aisles	dispersed, some concentration on periphery of site
Market Status	many vendors with seniority of 20 years or more	few dealers with seniority greater than 12 years
Residential Distribution	dispersed throughout Wentworth and nearby counties--in rural or semi-urban areas	many residents of Hamilton, some in outlying regions and other urban centres such as Toronto, Waterloo
Ethnic Background	predominantly English-speaking	many of Italian- or other-speaking parents

Table 36 (cont'd)

Attributes	Producers	Non-producers
Inventory Value	<p>some of them have inventory worth 1,000 dollars or more</p> <p>majority of them bring less than 1,000 dollars of inventory</p>	<p>many of them have inventory value of 1,000 dollars or more</p>
Market Options	<p>tend to remain in own stall-number</p> <p>less likely to expand stand size</p> <p>attractive displays</p> <p>4 styles of transactions</p> <p>Little use of "specials"</p>	<p>likely to move to another stall-number</p> <p>veg-fruit dealers likely to expand stand size</p> <p>Attractive displays</p> <p>4 styles, plus use of foreign languages in completing transactions</p> <p>Persons selling fruit and Vegetables use "specials"</p>
Produce Specialty	<p>tend to specialize in fruit, vegetables, or meat</p> <p>specialize within produce type--i.e. Macintosh Apples</p> <p>usually carry same items from one week to the next</p> <p>generally sell standard items--such as tomatoes, celery, lettuce, potatoes, carrots, etc.</p>	<p>some specialize in eggs, cheese, sausages but veg-fruit dealers sell both</p> <p>generally specialize within fruit category--usually citrus fruit</p> <p>cheese dealers--specialize in imported or Canadian cheese</p> <p>vary as to items carried--depends on availability of supply</p> <p>often sell "ethnic items" such as rapini, ainise, or usual luxury items such as artichokes or eggplant.</p>

Table 36 (cont'd)

Attributes	Producers	Non-Producers
Cash Flow	<p>persons selling meat, bread, generally had cash flow greater than 10 dollars</p> <p>Producers generally had cash flows of less than 10 dollars</p> <p>Vegetable and fruit producers near heavy customers traffic had cash flows in excess of 10 dollars</p>	<p>egg, cheese, sausage dealers had cash flows in excess of 10 dollars</p> <p>Dealers generally had higher cash flows of 10 dollars or more</p> <p>Vegetable and fruit dealers near heavy customer traffic had cash flows in excess of 10 dollars</p>
City Restrictions	<p>must produce 2/3 of produce sold</p>	<p>must pay for city's certification that they are non-producers</p>

The clientele is representative of Hamilton or Ontario residents in that their age, household size, and weekly food expenditures is comparable to what one would find in these populations. However, the market population is quite distinct from that of Hamilton in that a greater number of foreign speaking persons frequent the site than what one would otherwise expect. As I have suggested this disproportionate numbers may be related to residential proximity to the site. Generally speaking many of them are residents of nearby,

ethnically diverse, non English-speaking neighborhoods. Another factor influencing their attendance might be their previous familiarity with market-places or small shops--acquired when they were still residents of Europe. More important, perhaps, is the increasing numbers of foreign-born vendors and the increasing availability of imported foods present in the site. As vendors tend to sell those items they know, the appearance of "ethnic" items such as prickly pears, artichokes, zucchini, eggplant, dandelion greens, anise, rapini, or refeta cheese, is understandable.

Whatever the final cause, foreign-born persons spend more money in the market, and attend it on a weekly basis--in short, make greater use of the site than do the English-speaking or native-born shoppers. Their food preferences are similar to those of the native-born, in that they purchase two types of foods, prefer fresh fruits and vegetables as likely items over meat, cheese or eggs, and in that they often return to vendors with whom they have had previous transactions. For both native- and foreign-born, their attendance is not a transitory phenomenon, in that they have visited the site an average of 20 years. Whether their attendance is correlated with the increase in foreign-speaking vendors, or with the acceptability of imported foods in the market requires further exploration.

As I have shown, the amount shoppers spend is correlated with their household size, age, weekly food budget and their ethnic

background. Regardless of these factors however, they generally spend small amount of money overall, and per item. This accordingly affects the vendor's expectations about his clients and his daily volume of business. Thus, aggressive salesmanship takes place, not in soliciting the customers, but in encouraging them, once they have indicated a preference for one item, to purchase another. As one vendor asks of each customer after each declaration of purchase-- "anything else?" The vendor first tries to maintain and then to increase clientele's demand. He can do this by offering good service, reasonable prices, fresh produce, and a choice of items --to the shopper. For the most part, this does not require that they move or expand stand size, or that they have an "above average" stand. In the winter, use of such options is important only to those fruit and vegetable dealers with a large volume of perishable, bulky items.

Although we can agree with Dalton and Bohannon's statement that such a site is economically unimportant, in comparison to other food outlets--such as chain stores the question then is--why has the city and clientele maintained its existence? Some understanding of the customer's dependency on the site can be gained through considering the reasons why they "purchased goods from the vendors they did". In addition to emphasizing the importance of the freshness and appearance of the goods, the customers add:

"...I have been buying my sausages from the same vendor for 7 years..."

"They are friendly vendors,...most things are cheaper than in stores..."

"I trust them..."

"She likes them because she is not restricted to buying just one kind of apples...but has a variety to choose from..."

"He keeps the best potatoes in town...you couldn't buy them in a store"

"convenience"

"I can always depend on these people...they always have fresh things..."

"I like people who grow their own things"

"They are reliable people..."

"prices are cheaper here"

"It's where the best buys are"

"It's fresher than the supermarkets..."

In addition to finding the prices, freshness and appearance of the market items as reasons for purchasing them, the shoppers indicate that other factors--such as the site's convenience, their dependency on a vendor's supply of certain items, their trust in them, in the vendor's reputation--influence their use of the site as a source of fresh foods. Their transaction with the vendor is not truly impersonal, but quite the contrary, in that their preference for "sweet bounties of the earth" in a fresh and attractive state, is mitigated by their reliance on certain vendor's

ability to provide them with such items satisfactorily. The social and emotional aspects of this exchange is again highlighted in Mr. L. Nutley's poem about the market-place. See appendix G. I suggest that however financially profitable or unprofitable the site's maintenance to the city may be, however, differentiated its range of items from supermarkets, and however fresh, the foreign-born shoppers in conjunction with the city continues to reinforce the site's embodiment of rural values.

APPENDIX A

REGULATION OF THE HAMILTON MARKET IN 1840¹

No. 1-- That no person or persons shall sell, or expose for sale in this Town any Butcher's Meat, Poultry, Eggs, Butter, Cheese or Vegetables at any other place than the Public Markets, under the penalty of not less than Ten shillings nor more than Thirty Shillings, for each offence. Provided, however, that nothing in this law shall be taken to prevent persons from the county, from selling any or all of the articles mentioned, after the hour of Two o'clock, P.M., if they have paid the Market Fees thereon, and been unable to dispose of the provisions in the regular Markets.

No. 2 - That none but Butchers occupying a Stall, or Stalls, in one or both of the Public Markets of this town, be permitted to sell Meat in a less quantity than the quarter, under the penalty of not less than Ten Shillings, nor more than Thirty shillings for each offence.

No. 3 -- That no person or persons buy any Provision or article of food in the Market, from the opening of the market until Two o'clock, P.M. for the purpose of selling the same again, under the penalty of not less than Ten Shillings nor more than Thirty Shillings for each offence.

No. 4-- That all fresh fish brought into this town for Sale, be taken to the Public Markets, and there exposed for sale under a penalty of not less than Five Shillings, nor more than Thirty Shillings for each offence.

No. 5 - That any person who shall by himself, hi agent, or steward, be guilty of forestalling, regrating, or engrossing* any Poultry, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, Fruits or any other Article of Provision within this Town, shall forfeit for every offence a sum not less than Ten Shillings, nor more than Thirty Shillings for each offence.

No. 6-- That the clerk of the Market shall be entitled to demand and receive the following Fees, viz. From the owner of each Sleigh, Waggon or other Carriage, in which there shall be any Article exposed for Sale in Market, the sum of Seven pence half-penny, and from all persons brining other provisions to Market, whether Meat, Poultry, Butter, Cheese, Eggs, Fresh Fish, Flour, Oats, Peas, Fruit,

Vegetables, or any kind of Grain whatsoever, if in a two Horse Wagon or Sleigh, the sum of 7½; if by a one horse cart, Sleigh or Cutter the sum of 4d; if brought on Horseback or in a wheelbarrow, the sum of 3d, and if by hand, the sum of 1d, except if brought in a Waggon, Sleigh or other Carriage.

No. 7-- That in Case the Clerk of the said Market shall exact or receive any higher fees than those authorized by this Act, or be guilty of any other act of extortion, he shall on Conviction thereof, before the President, or any Member of the Board, be fined for the first offence Fifteen Shillings, and for every subsequent offence the sum of Thirty Shillings.

No. 8-- That no person or persons shall purchase any Fresh Fish within the Town of Hamilton before the hour of 10 o'clock, A.M. for the purpose of selling the same again, under the penalty of not less than Five Shillings, nor more than Thirty Shillings for each offence.

No. 9-- That every Load of Hay brought into this Town for Sale, shall be brought to the neighbourhood of the Hay Scales, and if weighed, to pay the Sum of One Shilling and three pence per load; if sold without being weighed to pay a fee of 7½ to the keeper of the Hay-Scales, under a penalty of not less than Ten Shillings, nor more than Thirty Shillings for each neglect or refusal.

No. 10-- If any person shall expose for Sale in the Market Houses or elsewhere in said Town, any Unwholesome, stale, Emanciated, Blown, Stuffed, Tainted, Putrid, or Measly Meat, Poultry, or other Provisions, such person shall forfeit a penalty of not less than five shillings, nor more than Twenty five Shillings for each offence, and the Meat, Poultry, and other provisions so exposed for sale shall, without delay, upon view of any Member of the Board of Police, or Clerk of the Market by seized and destroyed.

No. 11-- Every Butcher shall keep the inside of his locker and the table of his Stall or standing, and the place where his meats may be, clean and free from filth and dirt, and shall also keep clean the floor of his stall and of the Hall opposite thereof, upon the pain of forfeiting not less than Five Shillings nor more than Twenty five Shillings for each offence.

No. 12-- Every Butcher shall keep his Cellar in the Market, in a clean and seeet state, under a penalty of not less than Five Shillings nor more than Twenty five Shillings for each offence; and the Clerk of the Market shall have access at all times to said Cellar, or to any of them, under the penalty of Fifteen Shillings, to be paid by any Butcher who shall refuse to prevent such access.

It is to be understood that all fines are to be levied in Halifax Currency.

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD,

LEGATT DOWNING--CLERK

HAMILTON, 19th September, 1840.

1

The Heading of the Charter reads as follows;

HAMILTON MARKETS

The following Laws and Regulations have been adopted by the Hamilton

I. for the Government of the Hamilton Markets.

Bull, Printer, "Gazette Office", Hamilton.

APPENDIX B

VENDOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

YOU DO NOT HAVE TO INDICATE YOUR NAME, BUT PLEASE SIGNIFY WHETHER

YOU ARE

MALE

FEMALE

Section A: GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

(circle the correct answer)

1. Do you as a market vendor pay a dealer's license fee? YES NO
2. Do you have a permanent stand on this market? YES NO
3. IF YES, on what aisle is your stand located?
ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX
4. IF YES, did you use this stand during the winter months? YES NO
5. IF NO, on what aisle was the stand you used during the winter months located?
ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX
6. IF YOU DID NOT HAVE a permanent stand on the market, on what aisle during the winter months was your stand usually located?
ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX
7. Is the stand in your name on the contract? YES NO
8. IF NO, then in whose name is the stand held?
FATHER'S MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SISTER'S COUSIN'S GRANDFATHER'S
GRANDMOTHER'S.

9. IF YES, then for how many years have you held a stand on the market in your name?

0-9 years, 10-19 years, 20-29 years,
30-39 years, 40-49 years 50-59 years,
60-69 years, 70-79 years, 80 years and over.

10. How did you acquire your position in the market as a vendor?
Did you

- _____ a) make an application to the market manager for a vacant position?
_____ b) purchase a business that already had a stand on the market?
_____ c) take over a stand once held by a close relative?
_____ d) other (specify) _____

(Indicate correct answer with a /)

11. Have you ever worked on a vendor's stand other than your own in this market? YES NO

12. IF YES, whose stand was it? Your

FRIEND'S or CLOSE RELATIVE'S or OTHER _____ (specify)

13. For how many years has someone with your family name stood on the market with their own stand?

0-9 years, 10-19 years, 20-29 years, 30-39 years,
40-49 years, 50-59 years, 60-69 years, 70-79 years,
80-89 years, 90-99 years, 100 years and over.

14. What was your occupation before you had your own stand on the market?

_____ (specify)

15. What was your father's occupation? _____ (specify)

16. What was your grandfather's occupation? _____ (specify)

17. In what year were you born? _____ and in what country were you born?
_____(specify)
18. In what country was your father born? _____
19. If your father was not born in Canada, when did he come to Canada? (IF APPLICABLE)

20. In what country was your grandfather born? _____(specify)
21. If your grandfather was not born in Canada, when did he come to Canada to live?
_____(specify year, if applicable)
22. If you were not born in Canada, when did you come to Canada to live?
_____(specify year)
23. If you are married, in what country was your wife/husband born?

24. How many persons are presently living with you at your home address?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 or more
25. How many miles is your present home address from the central market?
0-4 miles 5-9 miles 10-14 miles 15-19 miles 20-24 miles
25-29 miles 30-34 miles 35-39 miles 40-44 miles 45-49 miles
50-54 miles 55-59 miles 60-64 miles 65 miles or over.
26. Is your present home in a rural area? YES NO
27. How much land do you own at the present time?
none, less than one acre, 2-9 acres, 10-19 acres, 20-29 acres,
30-39 acres, 40-49 acres, 50-59 acres, 60-69 acres, 70-79 acres,
80-89 acres 90-99 acres 100-109 acres, 110-119 acres, 120-129 acres,
130-139 acres, 140-149 acres, 150-159 acres, 160-169 acres,
170-179 acres, 180-189 acres, 190-199 acres, 200 acres or over.

28. How much land do you work at the present time?
none, 25% of your land or under, 26-49% of your land, 50-74% of your land, 75-100% of your land.
29. How did you acquire the land that you now work?
- a) You inherited the land from a family member? YES NO
- b) You are in partnership with another family member? YES NO
- c) You purchased the land from a family member? YES NO
- d) You purchased the land from a friend? YES NO
- e) You purchased the land from a stranger? YES NO
- f) You rent the land? YES NO
30. Do you bring any produce of your own to the market during the winter months? YES NO
31. IF YES, what type of produce do you generally bring during the winter months?
FRUIT VEGETABLES POULTRY MEAT EGGS OTHER _____ (specify)
32. Do you take produce to any market other than the central market, during the winter months? YES NO
33. IF YES, at what other markets do you have a stand? _____
_____ (specify)
34. Do any of your relatives (such as your brother, sister, father, cousin) also have a stand on the market during the winter months? YES NO
during the summer months? YES NO
35. If you do have relatives that also have stands on this market during the winter months, is their stand
- a) next to your stand?
- b) in the same aisle?
- c) in another aisle?

36. Do any of your relatives help in any way with your present stand on the market? YES NO
37. IF YES, what types of jobs do they undertake
- a) Do they help pack and prepare the produce for market? YES NO
- b) Do they help produce the foodstuff brought to market? YES NO
- c) Do they help in selling the produce at the market stand? YES NO
- d) Do they take produce to another market while you run this stand? YES NO
- e) other (specify) _____
38. IF NO, do you pay any persons to assist you with any of the following tasks?
- a) in the preparation for the market? YES NO
- b) in the production and care of the produce itself? YES NO
- c) in the selling of the produce at this market? YES NO
- d) other (specify) YES NO
39. What type of produce do you generally bring to the market during the winter months?
- FRUIT VEGETABLES MEAT POULTRY CHEESE FLOWERS FISH
- OTHER _____
40. Do you purchase any produce from the wholesaler's in Toronto? YES NO
- Hamilton YES NO Buffalo YES NO
41. During the winter months do you usually pay your rental fees by the month? YES NO
- day? YES NO

42. What rental fee did you pay during the winter months for your stand?

Between 25 to 49 dollars per month?

_____ or _____ per day
_____ 50 dollars or over per month?

APPENDIX C

PRODUCE SCHEDULE

STALL	NAME
DATE	TIME

A. PRODUCE COUNT - 15 minutes

PRODUCE	AMOUNT - PRICE	QUANTITY ON STAND
(for example Beets)	50¢/4 quarts	2 4 quart baskets
Cucumbers	20¢ each	2 boxes
	2 for 35¢	

B. TRAFFIC CUSTOMER COUNT - 30 minutes

TIME	TOTAL NO. OF CUSTOMERS	NO. OF COMPLETED TRANSACTIONS	PRODUCE
(for example)			
12:45	1	0	
12:50	0		
12:55	2 (ladies)	1	6 qt. Macs
12:57	2 (ladies)	1	1 lb. mushrooms

C. CONSUMER CONVERSATION COUNT - 15 minutes

BUYER	VENDOR	TIME
Long conversation about how healthy oranges are for lady's little boy. Buys 1 dozen oranges.		1:15
NO CONVERSATION		
Gives vendor correct change		1:17

BUYER	VENDOR	TIME
"Are these good for cooking"	"Yes, very good."	1:18
"How much are these?" "O.K."	50¢	1:23
NO CONVERSATION		
Looked over all apples and kicked the basket he wanted. Looked over the Macs then and kicked the basket he wanted.		1:24

APPENDIX D

CONSUMER QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Were you born in Canada? YES NO
2. IF NO, then:
in what country were you born? _____
when did you come to Canada? _____ (year)
3. Where were your parents born?
Canada, U.S.A., other _____ father
Canada, U.S.A., other _____ mother
4. Do you speak any languages other than English? YES NO
5. IF YES ,
What other languages do you speak? _____

6. What year were you born? _____ (year)
7. Do you live in Hamilton? YES NO
8. IF YES, then
on what street? _____
9. IF NO, then
in what community or city? _____
10. How many miles would you say your home is from the city market here? in Hamilton?
0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39,
40-44, 45-49, 50 or over.
11. How did you reach this market today?
walk bus taxi train car bicycle truck other _____

12. Why did you come downtown today?

- | | |
|---|--------|
| a) to come to market? | YES NO |
| b) to do some shopping, for example in Eaton's. | YES NO |
| c) because of business or work? | YES NO |

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR-2

MARKET BEHAVIOR

1. Do you usually do your shopping alone? YES NO
2. IF NO, then
With whom? Children Friend Husband Wife Parent(s)
Brother Sister Other _____
3. How many persons do you usually do your shopping for when
you are in the market?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 or more
4. How often do you visit this market during the winter months?
once twice three times/a week
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 times a month
5. How long have you been doing your shopping in the market here?
0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, 15-19 years, 20-24 years,
25-29 years, 30-34 years, 35-39 years, 40-44 years, 45-49
years, 50 years or more.
6. How much time would you say you have spent in the market today?
0-14 minutes, 15-29 minutes, 30-44 minutes, 45-59 minutes,
60 minutes or more.
7. How much money do you spend, on the average, for food during
the week?
0-10 dollars, 11-19 dollars, 20-29 dollars, 30-39 dollars,
40-49 dollars, 50-59 dollars, 60-69 dollars, 70-79 dollars,
80-89 dollars, 90-99 dollars.

8. How much money would you say that you spent on food purchased in the market today?

0-4 dollars, 5-9 dollars, 10-14 dollars, 15-19 dollars,
20-24 dollars, 25-29 dollars, 30-34 dollars, 35-39 dollars,
40-44 dollars, 45 dollars or more.

9. Is this amount similar to what you would usually spend in the market? YES NO

10. IF NO, then

Is it more? less? than what you would usually spend YES NO
in the market?

CONSUMER BEHAVIOR-3

MARKET PRODUCER PURCHASED

1. What items did you purchase in the market today?

Flowers Fish Meat Poultry Sausages Cheese Bread

Honey Cider Citrus Fruit Eggs Fruit Vegetables Paintings

Home made relishes and or Jams

2. How much did you buy of each item? Do you usually buy this.

Lb. Qt. Doz. USUALLY ()
Single Item (Price) YES NO

3. Where did you purchase each item? Do you usually shop at that particular stand?

ITEM	AISLE	YES	NO

4. Is there any item which you did not purchase today which you had planned on buying? YES NO

5. IF YES, why did you not purchase this particular item because

1. the vendor you usually buy from, didn't have it today?
2. the vendor you usually buy from, was absent today?
3. the price was too high?
4. the quality of the item on display was not very good?
5. you spent more money than you had intended
6. you had more than you could carry already?
7. other _____

6. Why did you purchase these items from the vendors you did? You liked

1. the quality of their produce on display
2. the appearance of the produce, it "looked good, fresh"
3. you always buy from these vendors
4. other _____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

APPENDIX E

EXERPT FROM FARM PRODUCTS GRADES AND SALES-ACT,
REGARDING CARROTS, pp. 49-51

"74--(I) Subject to section 75, the grades for topped carrots are as follows:

- I. Canada No. 1 grade, consisting of carrots that are,
 - (a) of similar varietal characteristics;
 - (b) not broken, soft, flabby, shrivelled or woody...
 - (c) not trimmed into the crown but are so trimmed that the lengths of 75 per cent of the carrots in the lot does not exceed one-half of an inch...
 - (d) not rough, forked or misshapen and not materially affected by secondary rootlets;
 - (e) reasonably clean;
 - (f) free from sunburn that
 - (I) extends more than one-half of an inch below the outer edge of the crown...
 - (g) free from decay;
 - (h) from any injury of defect or a combination thereof... (of a minimum length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches
 - (j) of,
 - (i) the minimum and maximum diameter as marked on the package if packed in a package on which the minimum and maximum is marked...
 - (ii) any minimum diameter of not less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches...
 - (iii) a minimum diameter of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, if packed in a transparent package...
 - (k) properly packed.
- Ia. Canada No. 1 cut Crowns Grade, consisting of carrots from which the crowns...have been removed but that in all other respects meet the requirements of Canada No. 1 Grade...
2. Canada No. 2 Grade, consisting of carrots that are,
 - (a) of the same general type
 - (b) not softy, flabby, shrivelled or woody...
 - (c) trimmed so that the tops do not exceed one inch in length
 - (d) not forked or defored to the extent that the appearance of a carrot is seriously affected
 - (e) free from sunburn...
 - (f) free from decay
 - (g) free from any injury or defect or a combination...
 - (h) of a minimum diameter of 1 inch and a minimum length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and
 - (i) properly packed..."

APPENDIX F

KIND OF VARIETY OF MARKET GOODS BY
CLASS OF VENDOR SELLING

Kind of Variety of Market Goods	Sold by Producers	Non-Producers
<u>VEGETABLES</u>		
Ainise		X
Artichokes		X
Asparagus	X	X
Beans, green	X	X
Beans, Lima		X
Beets	X	X
Broccoli	X	X
Brussel Sprouts	X	X
Cabbage, green	X	X
Cabbage, red	X	
Cabbage, savoy	X	
Carrots	X	X
Cauliflower	X	X
Celery	X	X
Celery root	X	
Cucumbers, seeded	X	X
Cucumbers, seedless	X	X
Dandelion Greens		X
Eggplant		X
Endive	X	X
Escarole	X	X
Garlic cloves	X	X
Horseradish root	X	
Kohlrabi		X
Leeks	X	X
Lettuce, bib	X	
Lettuce, iceberg	X	X
Lettuce, leaf	X	X
Mushrooms		X
Onions, cooking	X	X
Onions, green	X	X
Onions, spanish	X	X
Parsnips	X	

Kind and Variety of Market Goods	Sold by Producers	Non-Producers
Parsley, green	x	x
Parsley, Italian	x	x
Peppers, green, red	x	x
Potatoes	x	x
Potatoes, red	x	x
Rapini		x
Radish, red	x	x
Radish, winter	x	
Spinach	x	x
Squahs, winter	x	
Squash, summer-zucchini		x
Tomatoes	x	x
Turnips, summer	x	
Turnips, winter	x	
<u>FRUIT</u>		
Apples, Courtland	x	x
Apples, Delicious	x	x
Apples, Greening	x	
Apples, Macintosh	x	x
Apples, Newport		x
Apples, russet		x
Apples, snow	x	
Banannas*		x
Anteloupe		x
Dried fruit*(figs, apricots)		x
Grapes*		x
Grapefruit*		x
Lenons		x
Limes		x
Olives		x
Oranges*		
Peanuts, nuts etc.		x
Pineapple		x
Pears, bosc		x
Rhubarb	x	x
Strawberries		x
Tangerines*		x

Kind and Variety of Market Goods	Sold by Producers	Non-Producers
<u>EGGS</u>		
eggs, hen*	x	x
eggs, pullet		x
eggs, duck	x	
eggs, geese	x	
<u>MEAT-FRESH</u>		
Lamb*	x	
Port*	x	
Rabbit	x	
Veal*	x	
<u>MEAT-PROCESSED</u>		
Bacon*	x	
Cizwarke		x
Ham*	x	x
Sausages, farm	x	x
Sausages, Other*		x
Pepperoni		x
<u>POULTRY-DRESSED</u>		
Chicken*	x	
Duck	x	
Goose	x	
<u>FISH</u>		
Blowfish		x
Bullet		x
Crab		x
Cuttle Fish		x
Carp		x
Clams		x
Eel		x
Flounder		x
Herrin, dried		x
Kingfish		x
Lobster		x

Kind and Variety of Market Goods	Sold by Producers	Non-Producers
<u>FISH (cont'd)</u>		
Mackerel		X
Porgy		X
Pickrel		X
Perch		X
Squid		X
Salt Cod		X
Shark		X
Snapper		X
Sole		X
Scoop		X
Snails		X
Whiting		X
<u>CHEESE</u>		
Ambrosia		X
Blue Cheese		X
Camembert		X
Cheddar, mild		X
Cheddar, medium		X
Cheddar, old		X
Colby		X
Curds		X
Cottage cheese		X
Edam		X
Emmental		X
Feta		X
Farmers Brick		X
Gouda		X
Gouda, caraway		X
Havarti		X
Limberger		X
Mozarella		X
Parmesean		X
Pepper cheese		X
Romano		X
Swiss		X
Smoked cheese		X
Wine cheese		X
Valone		X

Kind and Variety of Market Goods	Sold By Producers	Non-Producers
<u>MISCELLANEOUS FOODS</u>		
Bread, buns	x	
Butter		x
Cider, apple	x	
Fudge		x
Head Cheese	x	x
Honey		x
Jams, preserves	x	x
Maple Syrup	x	x
Relishes, pickles	x	
Pies, cookies	x	
<u>MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS</u>		
Flowers, plants	x	x
Paintings	x	
Peacock Feathers		x

a

This is not an exhaustive list of all market items found in the market, although it does cover most of the items found in the market, although it does cover most of the items found regularly. Cheeses, Fish, and Meat, I do not expect are completely listed here.

Note: * -I indicate that more than one kind, size or variety of this item is usually sold.

APPENDIX G

THE MARKET PLACE

Down through the year the market place
Has been this city's pride
Where an olio of race and creed
Have toiled side by side,
To bring the city's daily fare,
Sweet produce of the earth
Potatoe, cabbage, beet and yam,
To sell for what they're worth.
The crowds in endless queues line up
Before their favorite stand
Then purchase as their fancy tells,
Sweet bounties of the land.

A hundred years and twenty-five
Our market place has played a part
Still vibrant, healthy and alive
And of "so" dear to many a heart.

So let the market place live on
Meeting place of all nations,
A place where friend may speak with friend
And buy his weekly rations.

Source: Poem by the market manager,

Mr. L. Nutley

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"To authorize the Entering into an agreement with the T. Eaton Company Limited respecting area under portion of the Central Market Property, passed June 12th, 1928.
- By-law No. 4377
"To regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", Feb. 23rd, 1932.
- By-law No. 4618
"To ammend By-law No. 4377 to regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", passed 27th May, 1934.

By-law No. 4712

"To ammend By-law No. 4377 to Regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat and By-law No. 4618 to ammend same." passed, May 14th, 1935.

By-law No. 5021

"To ammend By-law No. 4377 to Regulate Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", passed May 27th, 1947.

By-law No. 5516

To Regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", May 30th, 1944.

By-law No. 6691

"To ammend by-law No. 5516 to Regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", Feb. 13th, 1951.

By-law No. 6896

"To ammend By-law No. 5516 to Regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", May 13th, 1952.

By-law No. 6832

"To ammend the Market By-law No. 5516", passed January 15th, 1952.

By-law No. 7739

To ammend By-law No. 5516 to Regulate the Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat", February 28th, 1956.

By-law No. 7930

"To ammend by-law No. 5516 to regulate the Central Market and the sale of fresh meat", passed December 20th, 1956.

By-law No. 10042

"To ammend the Market by-law No. 5516", passed April 30th, 1963.

By-law No. 9809

"To ammend the barket by-law No. 5516, passed September 11, 1962.

- By-law No. 9800
"To ammend the Market By-law No. 5516."
passed August 28th, 1962.
- By-law No. 9968
"To ammend By-law No. 5516 to Regulate the
Central Market and the Sale of Fresh Meat",
passed October 8th, 1963.
- By-law No. 10390
"To Regulate the Central Market", April 24th, 1964.
- By-Law No. 66-120
"To ammend By-law No. 10390 to regulate the Central
Market", passed April 12th, 1966.
- By-law No. 67-86
"To ammend By-law No. 10390", passed March 14th, 1967.
- By-law No. 68-79
"To ammend By-law No. 10390 to regulate the
Central Market", passed March 12th, 1968.
- By-law No. 70-103
"To ammend Market by-law No. 10390", passed
April 14th, 1970.
- By-law No. 70-271
"To ammend Market By-law No. 10390",
passed September 29th, 1970.
- By-law No. 71-212
"To ammend Market by-law No. 10390", passed
August 31st, 1971.