

"FLEAMARKET" IN A GERMAN TOWN
A Study In Economic Sociology

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Dedicated to my mother, Mardaleni
and in Memory of my Father

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PART I : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION : THE FLEAMARKET AS A SCIENTIFIC ENTERPRISE OF SOCIOLOGY

A. Studies on the Fleamarket

Studies of the fleamarket are not yet developed in the social sciences. The fleamarket is still regarded by social scientists as a marginal aspect of their research. There are two reasons which can be proposed why examining the fleamarket is still not a major project in the social sciences. Firstly, the fleamarket emerged, especially in Germany, as a social economic phenomenon around 1960 and the fleamarket has flourished in almost all German cities only since the 1970s (Oberbeil, 1985; Winter, 1996). Secondly, fleamarkets are seen as only a kind of informal aspect of the economy the contribution of which for the German economy is not significant enough to be considered as a proper subject for the scientific enterprise. Up to now there have been only four studies of the German fleamarket by social scientists.

The first empirical study of fleamarkets in Germany was carried out by Gisela Schessing-Krusch in 1982. Her "Diplomarbeit" (M.A. thesis) focused on the spatial planning. She sees the fleamarket as the new urban adventure and communication space in the city. The second study on this topic was conducted by Hartmut Heller in 1984. He looked at the *Trempelmarkt* in Nürnberg as origin of the German fleamarket. Thirdly, within the framework of their introduction to the method of the empirical social research at the University of Marburg, Carsten Clauss et al. carried out the empirical research twice, in 1983 and 1989, at the Fleamarket in Marburg. They interviewed both sellers and visitors who engaged in activities at the Marburg fleamarket. They found that engaging in the fleamarket activities of trading and visiting can be seen as an institution of leisure and communication. In his dissertation "*Trödelmärkte: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur sozialen und ökonomischen Struktur einer Institution privater Öffentlichkeit*", Günter Winter argues that the fleamarket is a "private public" and leisure institution. The term "private public" institution means that the fleamarket is located between the private and the public sphere. The actors in the fleamarket, especially the sellers, present aspects of their private lives, like their style, through displaying their clothes in the public sphere. The fleamarket itself is also seen by Winter as a place for leisure.

Furthermore, some other studies have discussed the German fleamarket, but as a minor topic. Gebhardt mentioned the fleamarket, when he explained operation of the market for secondhand goods (1986). Like Gebhardt, in his dissertation "*Der institutionelle Handel mit gebrauchten Konsumgütern: Strukturanalyse und Marktpolitik*" (1987) Fuhrmann also discussed the fleamarket as an institution of the trade in secondhand goods.

Based on these studies of the fleamarket, we argue, however, that sociologists have not yet elaborated on the fleamarket as a significant aspect of the scientific enterprise of sociology. Most of these studies have explained the fleamarket phenomenon in the perspective of urban sociology, namely the fleamarket is seen as a way of using urban space for social purposes (Clauss et al., 1990; Winter, 1996). Departing from this situation, therefore, I would like to take the fleamarket seriously as a part of the scientific enterprise of sociology. In contrast to these other sociologists, I see the fleamarket as an entry point for the "new economic sociology".

B. Historical Sketches of the Fleamarket

The buying and selling of secondhand goods are not something new for Germans. These activities have taken place for a long time. Through the social, economic, and historical process, these activities take a new form in the fleamarket. The fleamarket, in its current form, is very common throughout Germany at present time, also in Bielefeld. In this part, it will be discussed two things : history of German fleamarket and of Bielefeld fleamarket.

a. A History of the German Fleamarket

According to Hartmut Heller (1984) the history of German fleamarket can be traced to the "*TrempeImarkt*" which was held from 1494 until 1914 in Nürnberg. This market was attended by the cobblers, who repaired worn shoes and by sellers of secondhand clothing.

After the Second World War, in Berlin the *Schwarzmarkt* (the black market) emerged as a market-place where barter and cigarettes were used as the general medium of exchange. Hermann Glaser (1991: 32) pointed that :

Der Schwarzmarkt entstand, weil die Reichsmark als Zahlungsmittel fast wertlos geworden war; bedingt durch die hohen Ausgaben für Kriegsrüstung war in Deutschland zuviel Geld im Umlauf; angesichts des geringen Umfangs der für den Handel verfügbaren Konsumgüter tauschte man Ware gegen Ware; oder Zigaretten ersetzen das Geld als Währung.

In this *Schwarzmarkt* people exchanged not only new goods and foods but also secondhand goods. In its development, this *Schwarzmarkt* continued in a formal form, namely the *Secondhand-Markt*. This latter form did not use parks or streets as market-places, but rather in-door place like kiosks, shops, etc. In this new form, the seller of secondhand goods follows the German regulations for market activities, in general, such as paying tax (Klocke and Spellerberg, 1990).

The fleamarket in its present form emerged around 1960 in Germany (Jüllich and Jüngst, 1977). By the 1970s, the fleamarket had emerged in various cities in West Germany. During this decade, the sellers were usually not professional traders who engaged in trade in order to make money, but only pseudo traders who attended the fleamarket to fulfill a value rational orientation. After the 70's, the fleamarket became more developed in both number and kind. At the beginning of the 1980s the

commercialization of certain fleamarkets appeared through the combining of fleamarket and trading. In other words, some organizers of fleamarkets hold fleamarkets to earn a profit and also some traders sell their goods to make a profit. Today, this type of economic activity is very common throughout Germany, especially in the former West Germany. (Winter, 1996; Oberbeil, 1985). There were 15000 fleamarkets in 1985, as estimated by Oberbeil. According to Jüllich and Jüngst (1977) and Winter (1996), the fleamarket can now be found throughout cities in Germany.

b. A History of the Bielefeld Fleamarket

According to on interviews, before the Second World War in Bielefeld there were the sellers who bought and sold secondhand goods by going from door to door. They were known as the *Lumpensammler*. In addition, at the "Kirmesmarkt", there were also people who sold secondhand goods.

Under the title "Nicht nur in Paris, auch in Bielefeld gibt es seit kurzem einen "Flohmarkt", Hannes wrote an article in the *Neue Westfälische* on the emergence of "the fleamarket" on May 5th 1963. For the first time in Bielefeld, a seller sold the secondhand goods, meaning here antiques, in a shop located in the *Stressemannstraße*.

On May 6th 1972, the first fleamarket was held in Bielefeld. This fleamarket was organized by the city of Bielefeld through the *Ordnungsamt*, at the "alten Markt". With the passing of time, this fleamarket was only located at the *Klosterplatz* area and its surrounding area. To run this market-place as effectively as possible, in 1992 the Bielefeld officials gave Otto & Grotte GBR a chance to organize the fleamarket. Besides this, Bielefeld city government, through the *Freizeitzentrum*, organized an indoor fleamarket, at the end of 1981 in *Baumheide*. This fleamarket became the pilot project for the other *Freizeitzentren* fleamarkets, like *Stieghorst*, *Stricker*, and so forth.

According to interviews, Otto & Grotte GBR was the first private company to organize fleamarkets in Bielefeld. This private company held a fleamarket in 1984 for the first time. They organized about 42 fleamarkets in 1995. We will discuss the role of this company in the next chapter.

C. Why Study the German Fleamarket ?

There are several reasons for doing a sociological study of the German fleamarkets. One reason is that this topic is basically undeveloped in sociology in Germany. Through this study of the fleamarket, as described, I hope to contribute something to sociology, especially to the New Economic Sociology. Secondly, I who come from a developing country, Padang in Indonesia, wondered when I visited the German fleamarket for first time in Göttingen, why rich Germans go to the fleamarket. There I saw that people sold their own used goods for a few marks, while beside their stand a "Volvo" car was parked. For Indonesians, the "Volvo" is a "minister's car". In addition, in my country, especially in Padang, the fleamarket is called as "pasar miskin" (the poor market"). This means the market for the poor people. It is called this because the traded goods are too worn or old or are stolen things. If someone goes to this market, he or she will be stigmatized as poor. Therefore the "have" people do

not go to the fleamarket. Since, if someone visits the fleamarket, it can lower her or his social status. Seen from this point, as a student of sociology, at the time, I thought there must be something involved in the German fleamarket which differs from Indonesian fleamarkets.

Thirdly, if we compare Germany with other advanced European industrial Countries, i.e., with France, England, and Italy, Germany is located in the center of Europe and borders on the ex-communist countries, Poland and The Czech Republic. This situation makes Germany the gate to the European Union for people from the ex-communist countries of Eastern Europe. Fourthly, in comparing with other advanced industrial countries grouped into the G7, Germany has an environmental movement more active on both the political level and the social level. In Germany, the Green party is able to influence government policy on the environment both in the federal government and in some "Bundesländer" (the federal states). In some states, like in North Rhine Westphalia, the Green Party together with the Social Democrats (SPD) are the governing parties. In social level, in everyday life Germans take care of their environment. Germans preserve their natural environment through various activities such as disposing of damaged household goods, garbage, and other unwanted objects to different garbage containers and recycling some materials.

D. The Concept of the Fleamarket

Based on observations and interviews, Germans use several words to denote a market place where people can sell their own used goods:

- Der Flohmarkt
- Der Trödelmarkt
- Der Antikmarkt
- Der Trödelbasar
- Der Krammarkt
- Der Sammlermarkt
- Der Adventsflohmarkt
- Der Weihnachtsflohmarkt
- Der Sommerflohmarkt
- Der Frühlingsflohmarkt
- Der Kinderflohmarkt

According to interviews with a number of fleamarket organizers, the words above refer to one situation only, namely the marketplace where people can bring secondhand or new goods to sell. The words like "Floh", "Trödel", "Antique", "Kram" mean goods which have been used or have become "secondhand". Some organizers of the fleamarkets add these words to other words which are related to the season like "Sommer" (summer) and "Frühling" (spring), or at certain time's like Advent and "Weihnachten" (Christmas), and to certain groups like "Kinder" (children) and "Sammler" (collectors), etc.

Based on observations and interviews, the organizers use "Flohmarkt" more than any other destination for their market. As already mentioned, "Trödel" is German for secondhand things. Seen this context, goods traded in this market-place are

secondhand things or used items. It does not mean that traders sell only secondhand goods, at certain fleamarkets, sellers also offer new goods, handicrafts, vegetables, etc. If the organizers of a fleamarket allow traders to sell new goods and vegetables, they will announce this fact in their advertisements. We will return to this topic in the following chapter.

In principle, anybody can sell things at the fleamarket. This means that at the fleamarket, there are different traders who have various purposes for being there, such as having fun, spending leisure-time, meeting other people, finding a new atmosphere, and making money. Thus we can distinguish the fleamarket from the secondhand shop. In contrast to the fleamarket, at the secondhand shop one engages in trade only to earn money. She or he trades there because this shop belongs to him or her. Furthermore, the visitors attend the fleamarket also have varying motivations like having fun, engaging in social contacts, collecting something, etc. On other hand, customers who come to the secondhand shop are that they want to buy used goods. There are no people there who seek to fulfill a value orientation like having fun, making new friends, spending leisure time, etc.

Based on the time of the activity, we can also distinguish between the fleamarket and the secondhand shop. The fleamarket is by and large held at the weekend, namely on Saturday and/or Sunday. In contrast to the fleamarket, the secondhand shop generally is open on workdays. Also the traders who sell secondhand goods at the fleamarket do not need a license. On the other hand, owners of secondhand shops need a trade license. From this point of view, therefore, the economic activity which is conducted at the secondhand shop can be classified as part of the formal sector of the economy. In this sector one has to pay tax to the state or city in order to do this kind of business. In contrast to the secondhand shop, at the fleamarket one pays only a small fee for using space in order to set up table and display goods. Therefore, this activity can be regarded as part of the informal sector of the economy.

The following is a table indicating the differences between the fleamarket and the secondhand shop.

Table 1.1. Distinction between the Fleamarket and the Secondhand Shop

Items	The Fleamarket	The Secondhand shop
Traders	public	Private
Purposes engaging in trade	profit & nonprofit	Profit
Kinds of exchanged goods	various kinds	one kind
Purposes for visiting	heterogeneous	Homogeneous
Market-place	public sphere	private sphere
Market-day	weekend	work-days
Kinds of economic activity	informal	formal

This study, as discussed above, will look at the fleamarket within the framework of the New Economic Sociology. This framework has three parts: theoretical approach, research findings and conclusions. The introduction will be followed by an exploration of the theoretical basis of this study. The empirical data will be presented in the second part. The empirical results will start in chapter three. In both chapter three and chapter four, any social process, which takes place at the fleamarket, will be discussed. In chapter three will also be described the setting of the fleamarket. This chapter will include the setting and historical sketches of location, market-place, market-days, number of the fleamarket, and types of the fleamarket. Chapter five will investigate the fleamarket actors who play important roles. Before constructing a model of the types of the actors at the fleamarket, some portraits of fleamarket actors will be presented.

Discussion on the fleamarket as a mirror of social complexity will be presented in chapter five. In this chapter engaging in trade as well as visiting the fleamarket as a leisure activity, bargaining, the social meaning of money, German Romanticism and the environmental movement, and socialization of children through the fleamarket will be discussed.

Chapter six will describe the German fleamarket on the macro level, that is, in its relation to the global economy. Bielefeld as an international city will be discussed, seen from the perspective of international trade, the international flow of capital, the circulation of information, number of tourists, number of foreigners, and religion. A discussion of the German fleamarkets as a world market will follow. Chapter seven will ask how the fleamarket is regulated. Who regulates the fleamarket? This will be followed by explanation of the relationship of market, state, and society at the fleamarket.

The last part consists of concluding remarks. This chapter concludes that Germans have a long tradition of selling and buying the secondhand goods at the market-place. This tradition is continued in the new form, of the fleamarket. This gives rise the conclusion that the fleamarkets are embedded in German society as whole.

CHAPTER TWO

ELABORATION OF THE CONCEPT OF EMBEDDEDNESS IN THE CASE OF THE GERMAN FLEAMARKET : A CONTRIBUTION TO THE NEW ECONOMIC SOCIOLOGY

Introduction

The fleamarket, as described in chapter one, is still a marginal project in the scientific enterprise of social sciences, including sociology. Some German social scientists have engaged in the study of the fleamarket (Clauss et al., 1990; Gebhardt, 1986; Winter, 1996). These studies generally used the urban sociology perspective in which the fleamarket is regarded as a way to use urban space for the benefit of society (Clauss et al., 1990; Winter, 1996). In contrast to other sociologists, my study will explain the fleamarket using the New Economic Sociology approach.

A. The Historical Context of the New Economic Sociology

The new economic sociology, which emerged in the early 1980s, can be traced to the old debate between economists and sociologists about approaches to theorizing the "economy". According to Granovetter and Swedberg (1992: 5), one possible reason for the interest of sociologists in economic topics at this time was that scholars like Gary Becker had challenged the existing division of labor between economics and sociology, which meant that economists were now taking on sociological topics and beginning to step on the toes of the sociologists. The first attempts to work on other social topics came in the mid-1950s when a few scholars like Gary Becker and Anthony Down argued that political topics could be analyzed with economic models. This *economic imperialism* continued throughout the 1960s and the 1970s with the extension of economic models to topics in history, law, and demography. The term *economic imperialism* refers to an attempt to impose economic analysis on every topic of the other social sciences. There are, at least, two economic approaches under this term, namely rational choice sociology and transaction cost economics (Swedberg, 1987, 1990). These approaches will be discussed in another part of this chapter.

Under the guidance of Harrison White at Harvard, a number of his students and young colleagues developed an interest in economic topics. Some of them, especially Granovetter, constructed the basics of theory building for the new economic sociology in which concept of embeddedness has been paid most attention. To construct this approach, Granovetter and Swedberg use both classical sociology theorists, especially Max Weber on economic action, and modern sociologists, especially Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in *The social Construction of Reality* (see Granovetter, 1985, 1990; Swedberg, 1987, 1990, 1991; Martinelli and Smelser, 1990).

According to Granovetter and Swedberg (1992), at the time of the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) (1976), there was no sharp separation between economic topics and social topics. In fact, there was an easy mingling of the two that continued into the nineteenth century, especially in Germany where the local version of this institutional economics soon became known as the historical school. The first confrontation which began in Germany and Austria in the 1880s, became known as the *Methodenstreit* (the battle of the method) and soon spread to several countries. The abstract-deductive approach won a devastating victory over historically and socially oriented economists. Some sociologists engaged in this battle like Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, etc.

Granovetter and Swedberg (1992) argued that Comte had already, in the 1830s, criticized economists for being far too abstract and non-empirical. In his book *Rules of Sociological Method* (1915) and some of his other writings, Durkheim also criticized the tendency of economists to radically isolate their topic from everything "social". Through his books *Economy and Society* and *General Economic History*, Weber contributed some basics to economic sociology like concept of economic action, types of actions, and so forth. However Durkheim and Weber made an unsuccessful effort to motivate support for economic sociology among sociologists.

B. On Embeddedness

1. The Concept of Embeddedness

The concept of embeddedness denotes the fact that economic transactions of the most diverse sorts are inserted in overarching social structures that affect their form and their outcomes. The concept of embeddedness originated with the Hungarian anthropologist Karl Polanyi, who used this concept to assert that economic life in the pre-industrial age was embedded in social, cultural, and political institutions. This meant that such phenomena as trade, money, and market as institutionalized in a society were determined by social, cultural and political rather than economic factors. In other words, economic life was inspired by motive other than profit making. Economic life in this early society was governed either by reciprocity or by redistribution. The market mechanism was not allowed to dominate economic life: supply and demand did not set the price but rather tradition or political authority. The market system, on the other hand, is necessarily a post-industrial phenomena, as the economy became 'disembedded' from the society during the process of the Great Transformation. In this society, however, it is exactly 'the price-making market' that determined all of economic life (Polanyi, [1944]1968 see also Polanyi et al., 1957).

This concept is then adopted with some critics by some sociologists, such as Granovetter (1985, 1990, 1993) and Swedberg (1992), Portes (1995), Stanfield (1990), Schrader (1994, 1995). According to Stanfield the Great Transformation in Europe does not end with the achievement of disembedded economy, because such an economy is anti social. Increasing commodification during the inter-war period was followed by counter-actions to safeguard society from the disruptive forces of the market. These counter-actions were government measures like welfare policy, labor legislation, pollution control, an improvement in working conditions and a reduction in

working hours, a social security and system and central banking, to cite some governmental interventions in the market; there were also other non government initiated actions as well as populist movements. All these actions were carried out to protect social life from the imperative of the market. These counter-actions continued during the post-World War II period (Stanfield, 1990: 202-203). These thoughts convince me that after Great Transformation, both state intervention and social relations become dominant in economic life.

The concept of embeddedness itself has been improved by Granovetter. He distinguished between "relational" embeddedness and "structural" embeddedness. The "relational" embeddedness refers to economic actors' personal relations with one another. The later connects to the broader network of social relations to which these actors belong (1990: 99-100). In Contrast to Polanyi, Granovetter argues that the embeddedness of the economy takes place on different levels or to different degrees in various types of societies. Granovetter argued that economic action in post industrial society is just as embedded as in pre-industrial societies. In some pre-industrial societies like tribal and peasant society there are people who are just as obsessed with attaining wealth as in modern society, for example Guatemalan Indians are involved in a monetized economy where they must engage in some commercial agriculture to earn the money required for their daily needs (1993: 13). In modern capitalist societies economic action is not as 'disembedded', as Polanyi thought. Rather, economic actions are embedded in a different way, such as social networks in investment banking (see Granovetter and Swedberg, 1992: 10-13).

2. The Embeddedness Versus Others

a. The Embeddedness Versus Over- and Under-socialized Action

In his 1985 article, "*Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*", Granovetter saw that both classical and contemporary theorists (of economics and sociology) had proposed economic action as representing a continuum, with social action located somewhere on this continuum. One pole of the continuum is over-socialized human action in economic behavior. It is indicated by the actor's high sensitivity to 'the opinion of the others and hence his or her obedience to the dictates of consensually developed systems of norms and values, internalized through socialization.' The actor always orients his or her action according to the dictates of internalized norms and values.

At the other pole of the continuum is the atomized actor or the under-socialized economic actor. In this sense, as Granovetter mentioned, the actor acts according to dictates of pure gains and rational choice. It is the approach of the classical and neo-classical economics which make no attempt to integrate social relation and social structure in the analysis. Social relations in rational behavior is regarded, therefore, as 'fictional drag that impedes' rational behavior and the working mechanisms of the market.

Granovetter does not agree totally with the model of either the over-socialized actor or the classical and neoclassical economic approaches. Instead of these views, he argues that the actions of actors are rather 'embedded in concrete, ongoing social

relations'. This meant that the actor modifies his/her social behavior depending on the expectation of herself or himself and others. In that respect, he agreed with Weber (1964). For Weber, economic action is not seen as simple stimulus-response phenomenon, but rather as a result of an evaluative process undertaken by the individual in the ongoing process of social relations. In other words, economic action is socially situated and embedded in an ongoing network of personal social relationship of the actor.

b. The Embeddedness Versus Rational Choice

Rational choice was introduced to sociology by economists. This rational choice theory, as reflected in the famous publication of Gary Becker titled "*The Economic Approach to Human Behavior*" (1976), basically starts with some unit of behavior or actor who is assumed to "behaving rationally". Behaving rationally is regarded as "maximizing" consistent behavior which is anticipated to bring future rewards or returns.

In general rational choice theory assumes that the social actor is purposive and intentional governed by a well-ordered hierarchy of preferences and that is "rational" in the sense that:

- a. Social actors calculate utilities or preferences in selecting a course of action.
- b. Social actors also make calculations of the costs for each line of conduct (and its forgone alternative).
- c. Social actors try to maximize their utility in pursuing a particular option.

The rational choice approach, originating purely from the utilitarian and neoclassical tradition, has now been introduced into the analysis of political science and sociological issues like family, fertility, marriage, crime, etc. Granovetter and other new economic sociology theorists, in particular, as well as some economists, have labeled this approach as "economic imperialism". In an interview with Swedberg (1990), Neil Smelser pointed out that economic imperialism is "fundamentally misguided" because of its "unrealistic assumptions," especially the assumption that the individual tries to maximize utility in all situations. Granovetter believes that incorporating sociology and rational action is wrong. His basic argument is that mainstream economics, as it exists today, cannot even solve its own problems; so how could it possibly solve those in the other social sciences? Furthermore, according to Granovetter, this approach is an extreme form of "methodological individualism", which is trying to build "an enormous superstructure on a narrow base", because it does not take seriously the importance of social structure or social networks and how this structure affects the whole outcome. Also in an interview with Swedberg, Granovetter argues that "what happens in production, consumption and distribution is very much affected by people's embeddedness in social relations" (1990: 96-114).

c. The Embeddedness Versus Efficiency

The "Efficiency" approach was developed by economists to look at institutions. This approach, known as New Institutional Economics (NIE), originates from the recent extension of economic analysis to cover (social) institutions. Some common belief among institutionists are that:

- a. Mainstream economics should deal with institutions
- b. Missing institutional analysis can be built directly on the basis of neoclassical economic principles.

According to Granovetter and Swedberg (1992) NIE theorists represent a somewhat heterogeneous collection of economists like Douglas North, Oliver Williamson, Andrew Schotter, Robert Thomas. The central theme of their work is "efficiency": an institution exists because it is efficient. Efficiency is achieved by reducing transaction cost, with transaction cost roughly defined as the cost other than price incurred in trading goods and services.

This approach has also received a lot of criticism from proponents of New Economic Sociology theorists. They see that the concept of efficiency in mainstream economics has always been very confusing and contradictory. Through Berger and Luckmann (1966) Granovetter understands that the (economic) institution, in this case the fleamarket, is understood as a social construction. This is not the kind of objective, set of 'external' realities that it seems. Instead it is typically the result of a slow, social creation; a way of doing something which 'hardens' and 'thickens' and finally becomes 'the way things are done.' When an institution is finally in existence, people orient their actions to a set of activities sanctioned by other social actors, treating it as something that exists out of time and could not be otherwise. But this sense of an institution as external and objective is the sort of obfuscation that society is based on.

3. The Embeddedness in Different Ways and Degrees

Based on Granovetter's idea of embeddedness of economic life, Schrader (1995: 10 also see 1994) has suggested that the embeddedness can be also seen as a continuum pole:

Ich stelle mir ein Kontinuum von mehr oder weniger eingebetteten Handlungs- bzw. Interaktionstypen vor, die das wirtschaftliche Handeln in verschiedenen institutionellen Kontexten (z.B. anonymer Markt, Nachbarschaftsmarkt, Familie, usw.) kennzeichnen. Der Handlungs- bzw. Interaktionstyp ist eine Funktion verschiedener individuell determinierter Variablen (wie zum Beispiel Nähe bzw. Distanz zum Gegenüber), aber insbesondere auch Bedingungen der Sozialstruktur (wie zum Beispiel dem Verhältnis von individuellen und Metapräferenzen oder der Festlegung gesellschaftlich legitimen Handelns und dessen Kontrolle). Diese Funktion kennzeichnet die möglichen Handlungsalternativen im Spannungsfeld zwischen gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen und ökonomischer Notwendigkeit in einem bestimmten institutionellen Kontext. Man kann sich die verschiedenen Interaktionstypen auf einer stetigen Skala vorstellen, die von 'stark eingebettet' bis 'entbettet' reicht, wobei ich bewußt auf eine Bestimmung der Intervallgrenzen verzichten möchte. Beispiele für den ersten Interaktionstypus in westlichen Gesellschaften wären die Begrenzung der Kommodifizierung von Dienstleistungen innerhalb des Familienkontextes, aber auch die moralische und legislative Beurteilung von Kinderprostitution oder Korruption. Ein

extremes Beispiel für die Entbettung wäre die Reduktion einer vormaligen Interaktion am Bankschalter zu einer entpersonifizierten, objektbezogenen Handlung am Geldautomaten oder Kontoauszugsdrucker.

Schrader elaborated on this modification concept of embeddedness by using concept of rationality (1995: 11):

Diese Modifikation des Konzeptes der Einbettung könnte zu einem erweiterten Rationalitätskonzept beitragen, das den von der Neoklassik unterstellten Antagonismus von Markt und Moral aufhebt. Der Grad der Einbettung einer Interaktion determiniert dann die sozial legitimen Handlungsalternativen, über die das Individuum optimiert, d.h. je nach Einbettungsgrad mehr nach zweck-mittel-rationalen, wertrationalen, traditionellen oder anderen Kriterien entscheidet.

In this study on the German fleamarket, therefore, we agree with Granovetter's idea that the embeddedness of economic life in society occurs in different ways. Following Schrader's contribution, any form of the embeddedness has its own degree, therefore, the embeddedness can be situated on a continuum between full embeddedness as one pole and exact disembodiedness as the other. Based on these points, it can be argued that the embeddedness of engaging in the fleamarket's activities like visiting, trading, and holding the fleamarket can be seen in the following ways:

a. Orientation of Engaging in the Fleamarket's Activities

Engaging in the fleamarket's activities is an economic action. Through Weber's sociological idea (1964: 112), an economic action can be seen as a social action so far as it 'takes account of the behavior of someone else.' This "taking account of others" is not meant by Weber solely in the sense of formal considerations attending market transactions but, more importantly, in the sense of substantive expectations linked to sociability. This therefore can be completed socially in various ways -by seeing other people, by talking to them, by thinking of them, and so on. Furthermore Weber insisted the actor always orients his or her action toward people's behavior through socially constructed meanings. This means that the actor interprets (*verstehen*) his or her own customs, habits, norms, and vested interest in ongoing social relations. By means of this viewpoint, we comprehend the actor's action at the fleamarket as a form of social action, because the action towards others is oriented through --seeing, thinking, speaking, bargaining, trading, and so forth.

Social action in the scope of engaging in the fleamarket's activities, based on Weber's notion ([1922]1978: 24-25), at least, may be oriented in two ways. It may be: (1) Instrumentally rational (*zweckrational*), that is, determined by expectations as to the behavior of objects in the environment and of other human beings; these expectations are used as "conditions" or "means" for the attainment of the actor's own rationally pursued and calculated ends; (2) Value-rational (*wertrational*), that is, determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospects of success.

In instrumentally rational orientation purposes of the actors in engaging in the fleamarket's activities are making money or something related to money (income). On the other hand those in value-rational orientation are oriented toward the pursuit of some non-profit orientations like having fun, engaging in social relationships, using leisure-time, and so on.

Based on these kinds of orientations of engaging in activities at fleamarkets, we can understand the degree of embeddedness based on Schrader's idea that economic life can be ordered on a continuum with full embeddedness as one pole and total disembodiedness as the other. Value-rational orientation can be situated on the pole of full embeddedness, while instrumentally rational orientation can be placed in the pole of exact disembodiedness.

b. Social Networks

Network studies have been undertaken by sociologists since the 1960s. It is concerned with how individuals are linked to one another and how the bonds of affiliation serve both as lubricants for getting things done and as a glue which provides order and meaning to social life (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994: 365). Social networks, at the level of person to person interaction, can be regarded as a specific group of relations among a defined group of persons with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the individuals involved (Mitchell, 1969: 2). Using the network analytical approach, therefore, one can see that the structures or patterns of social linkages enhance and/or constrain the behavior of persons involved in various areas of social life. It thus provides a base to understand how individual behavior is affected or influenced by social structure.

In connection with our work, there are two kinds of social networks, namely trading networks and non-trading networks. According to Hans-Dieter Evers (1988: 92-93), the trading networks refer to social processes of exchange where social interaction takes place between persons with the primary purpose of exchanging goods over more or less greater geographical distances. They operate from local to global networks (Amponsem, 1994; Menkhoff, 1993; Schrader, 1988; Evers, 1988), from informal -- kinship, localities, surname, friendship, and classmate ties -- to formal ones -- trust in contracts -- (Menkhoff, 1993; Suparb, 1990). Referring to Evers' idea, therefore, the non-trading networks refer to individuals who are bound to one another through engaging in trade, but are not primarily interacting to achieve the purpose of exchanging goods over more or less extensive geographical distances.

An action by a network member is embedded because it is expressed in interaction with other people. The way a person is embedded in networks of social relationships is crucial in determining many of the social actions and much of the institutional outcomes. According to Swedberg (1990), what happens in production, distribution and consumption is very much affected by people's embeddedness in social relation. Social networks, therefore, are among the most important types of structures in which social life, included in the economic activity, is embedded.

Based on these points, we will see that social networks can be constructed by some factors, including certain fleamarket regulations (like registration process) and similar purposes for engaging in trading activity at the fleamarket. By registration process the organizers of certain fleamarket give their members and neighborhood residents favored access to trading opportunities. Through this process the fleamarket organizers and visitors will be connected, glued or bound to each other (Burt, 1992). Differentiation in degree and grade of network represents distinction in degree and grade of embeddedness.

c. Moral Economy

Departing from Scott's notion, Evers (1994) pointed out that peasant societies are normally characterized by a high degree of solidarity and by a value system that emphasizes mutual help, the sharing of resources and subsistence security. Under these conditions, traders in a peasant society have a moral obligation to share proceeds with kinsfolk and neighbors, on the one hand, and the necessity to make profits and accumulate trading capital, on the other. This situation is faced as a traders' dilemma, because this is a situation in which an actor has to choose between two courses of action, both deemed equally unfavorable, undesirable or at best neutral. A dilemma, therefore, signifies a difficult choice (Evers, 1994: 7).

This moral economy can be regarded as an indication of the embeddedness of economic activities in society, because the actors will consider moral issues, like kinship obligation, when engaging in trade. Echoing Evers's idea, I will argue in the following chapters, that economic actors in industrialized countries, like Germany, also face the traders' dilemma in certain moral issues like paying taxes. Evers (1994 : 13-14) argued that:

What was once the traders' dilemma is now the dilemma of the capitalist state. On the one hand, its major function is to provide the political and legal framework for capitalist enterprises to flourish; on the other, governments have to face voters or political movements if profit levels are too high, the environment is not protected and social problems exceed tolerable, i.e., morally justifiable, limits. The values of profitability and solidarity are still polar opposites.

d. The Market-Place as a Mirror of Social Complexity

According to Mai and Buchholt (1987: 2) the market-place, in the developing countries, mirrors various aspects of community life, because the market-place accommodates ample information on the structure of goods offered, the types of traders, the enterprises, the customers, even the economic and social organization of trading, market prices, credits, selling and buying strategies, the communicative and cultural aspects of the market-day, and so forth. In short they claim that the market-place mirrors the whole complex of social, cultural, political, and economic aspects. This means that economic life in the market-place, as a mirror of social complexity, is embedded in other aspects of human life. Using this approach, as described in chapter five, the fleamarkets can be considered as a mirror of social complexity, because it

contains ample information on types of the organizers of the fleamarket, the visitors, the traders, leisure activity, types of bargaining, price, social meaning of money, etc.

e. Leisure Activity

Based on Webster's *Third International Dictionary*, the word leisure is derived from Latin *licere*, meaning to be free. Leisure is time spent in a leisurely or relatively unconstrained and uncoerced manner. It is something freely done. According to Kelly (1982), leisure is freely chosen because the activity itself or one's companions, or some combination of the two, promises personal satisfaction. It is the personal and social orientation of the actor that makes it leisure – or something else. Thus, leisure is related to the use of the time, not time itself. It is distinguished by the meaning of the activity, not by its form. Hence, leisure is defined as an activity chosen in relative freedom for its quality of satisfaction. Leisure activity, therefore, can be seen as an activity that is embedded in human life. Connecting with this study, it can be argued that some peoples who engage in the fleamarket's activities like trading, visiting and holding the fleamarket use their leisure time in the fleamarket. Therefore these activities can be regarded as the leisure activity.

f. Price

In general classical economic theories, the prices in different types of markets for different types of commodities are usually determined, changed, and stabilized by the law of supply and demand. According to classical economists, traders set price by considering the interplay between supply and demand. Therefore, the more markets become competitive and prices stable, the greater the number of traders. But in his study of stock option trading, Baker (1984) finds that price volatility increased with the size of the trading group. According to Baker this occurred because as group size increased, the number of personal trading relations that the average trader could sustain did not. In a large group it was thus harder to know about all traders; information flow was reduced by the size and resulting fragmentation of the trading network, and convergence to a single equilibrium price become problematic. The imperfect movement of information that caused this resulted from fundamental cognitive limitations of human actors in conjunction with the necessary embeddedness of trading in networks of personal relations.

In general, many kinds of prices are influenced because transactions do not occur on the spot in the market but between traders of long acquaintance. Anthropologists pointed out that peasant and tribal markets are typically clientelized –namely, buyers and sellers have long-term continuing relations (see Geertz, 1978; Alexander, 1987). This leads to sticky prices, as buyers and sellers are unresponsive to price inducements to trade with unfamiliar partners. This stickiness, and the result that adjustments must then be made in quantities, so the market is not cleared, is important not only in tribal and peasant setting but also capitalist societies (Braudel, 1985). In his book "Prices and Quantities: A Macroeconomic Analysis", Arthur Okun argued that two types of prices are formed in product markets: "auction-market prices" and "customer-market prices." The former are identified by the fact that they are exclusively shaped by demand and supply forces and thereby fit the classical paradigm of continuous market-clearing. According to Okun, this is typical of certain homogeneous products such as

agricultural and mining products. The latter denote prices where the social relationship between the buyer and the seller affects the price in combination with the ordinary supply and demand forces. Okun (1981: 142) pointed out that customers avoid shopping costs by sticking with their supplier as much as workers avoid search costs by sticking with their employer. Based on his literature study, Granovetter (1993) found that supply and demand as well as social structure affect prices and quantities not only in tribal and peasant markets but also in modern markets. Based on these points, we see that price is also embedded in social (trading) networks.

g. Bargaining

According to Geertz (1978) when the information is poor, scarce, maldistributed, inefficiently communicated, and intensely valued in the market-place, the customer will search for information through the two most important search procedures, namely: clientelization and bargaining. The clientelization is symmetrical, egalitarian, and there is an oppositional relation between the buyer and the seller. This reduces the search to manageable proportions and transforms the mob into a stable collection of familiar antagonists.

Geertz (1978) pointed out that bargaining in the bazaar is multidimensional and intensive. Though price setting is the most conspicuous aspect of bargaining, the bargaining spirit penetrates the whole interaction. The multidimensionality of bargaining refers to bargaining along nonmonetary dimensions. While money price is held constant, the possibilities for bargaining in terms of quality aspects, quantity aspects, credit arrangements and so on, are enormous. These can include various techniques and strategies like maintaining sales patten and switching currency units, interchanging items, 'walking off', and adding extra (see Alexander, 1987; Evers, 1988; Evers and Schrader eds., 1994). The bargaining embeds in its sociocultural contexts, because, according to Geertz:

The whole structure of bargaining is determined by this fact: that it is a communication channel evolved to serve the needs of men at once coupled and opposed. The rules governing it are a response to a situation in which two persons on opposite sides of some exchange possibility are struggling both to make that possibility actual and to gain a slight advantage within it (1978: 32).

h. The Social Meaning of Money

In mainstream economic thought, like Adam Smith (1776) and Carl Menger, money is often considered a neutral exchange instrument, no more and no less, having no social meaning. Money is the only medium of exchange in market transactions. Therefore, money is only related to market rules. This means, according to Barber (1977), that market exchange is free from cultural or social constraints and money seems to be exempted from extra-economic influences.

In classical sociological interpretations of money, as we have discussed, money has pervasive effects on the quality of social life. For Simmel and Marx, money revolutionized more than economic exchange: it fundamentally transformed the basis of all social relations by transforming personal bonds into calculative instrumental ties.

In his *Philosophy of Money*, George Simmel (1990: 346) suggested that "the complete heartlessness of money is reflected in our culture, which is itself determined by money." He continued that money is not just an impersonal instrument but also has liberating aspects. By breaking the personal relationship characteristic of traditional society, money allowed each individual the freedom of selecting their own terms and partners of economic exchange.

For Zelizer (1994: 11 - 19), both economic mainstream and classical sociological thought have some problems in understanding the phenomena of money. Firstly, the functions and characteristics of money are usually defined strictly in economic terms. Even when the symbolic meaning of money is recognized, it either remains restricted to the economic sphere or is treated as a largely inconsequential feature. Hence, she suggests that "while money does serve as a key rational tool of the modern economic market, it also exists outside the sphere of the market and is profoundly influenced by cultural and social structure." Secondly, monies are seen as the same in modern society. This interpretation referring to what Simmel called money's "qualitatively communistic character" denies any distinction between types of money. According to Zelizer, this interpretation denies that the social actor can react with anger, shock, or ridicule to the "misuse" of monies in the wrong circumstances or social relations. She suggested that, therefore, "there is no single, uniform, generalized money, but multiple monies: people earmark different currencies for many or perhaps all types of social interactions, much as they create distinctive languages for different social contexts." Thirdly, for her, the classical economic inventory of money's functions and attributes, based on the assumption of a single general-purpose type of money, is unsuitably narrow. She argued that, therefore, money is not only as a market phenomenon but also a political and sociocultural phenomena. One can see that certain monies can be indivisible, nonfungible, nonportable, deeply subjective, and therefore qualitatively heterogeneous. Fourthly, she disagrees with a sharp dichotomy between money and nonpecuniary values. For her, money under certain circumstances may be just as singular and unexchangeable as the most personal or unique object. Fifthly, according to her, given these assumptions, the alleged freedom and unchecked power of money becomes improbable. Cultural and social structures set inevitable limits to the monetization process by introducing controls and restrictions on the flow and liquidity of monies. This means that Zelizer has given us an alternative approach to money, namely the social meaning of money approach. In this approach, therefore, she (1993: 197) claims that:

" money is neither culturally neutral nor socially anonymous. It may well "corrupt" values and social ties into numbers, but values and social relations reciprocally transform money by investing it with meaning and social patterns. Despite its transferability, people make every effort to embed money in particular times, places, and social relations. Thus, there is no single, uniform, generalized money, but multiple monies: people earmark different currencies for money or perhaps all types of social interactions, as much as they create distinctive languages for different social contexts".

Using the social meaning of money approach Nugroho (1994) has analyzed the meaning of money in Javanese society. He found that there are at least three the social meanings of money, namely money as a means of economic exchange, as an

instrument for meeting the social, cultural, money as well as psychological necessities, and money as a political means. Thus he agrees with Zelizer's opinion, namely that there is no single, uniform, generalized money, but multiple monies.

Furthermore, an important collection of essays edited by Parry and Bloch (1989) showed the variation of money, describing how the multiple symbolic meanings of modern money are shaped by the cultural matrix. For Zelizer these studies are restricted to societies outside the centers of capitalism. She mentioned that:

A sociological model of money must show how, how much, and why, even in the heartland of capitalism, different networks of social relations and meaning systems mark modern money, introducing controls, restrictions, and distinctions that are as influential as the rationing of primitive money. Multiple monies in the modern world may not be as visibly identifiable as the shells, coins, brass rods, or stones of primitive communities, but their invisible boundaries work just as well (Zelizer, 1993: 200)

i. Consumer Culture

Consumption is always considered a cultural process. While consumer culture -- a culture of consumption -- is unique and specific. "It is the dominant mode of cultural reproduction developed in the west over the course of modernity", said Don Slater (1997: 8). Consumer culture denotes the culture of the modern west -- certainly central to the meaningful practice of everyday life in the modern world. Therefore consumer culture is more generally bound up with central values, practices and institutions which define western modernity, such as choice, individualism and market relations (see also Featherstone, 1991; Evers and Gerke, 1977).

To understand this social phenomenon, in his book *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Don Slater (1997: 24-32) has identified some characteristics of consumer culture:

a. Consumer culture is a culture of consumption.

The idea of consumer culture implies that, in the modern world, core social practices and cultural values, ideas, aspirations and identities are defined and oriented to consumption rather than to other social dimensions like work, citizenship, religious cosmology, military role, etc.

b. Consumer culture is the culture of a market society.

In the market society, goods, services and experiences have been produced solely in order to be sold on the market to consumers. In this context, consumer culture develops as part of capitalist system.

c. Consumer culture is, in principle, universal and impersonal.

Consumer culture often refers to the notion of mass consumption because it exemplifies the generalization of commodity consumption to the entire population. However, mass consumption is only one form of a more fundamental principle: the idea of making large volume of goods for sale to a general public than for oneself, for one's household or local community or on the basis a personal commission.

d. Consumer culture identifies freedom with private choice and private life.

To be a consumer is to make choices: to decide what you want, to consider how to spend your money to get it. Consumer choice is a private act.

e. Consumer culture is the privileged medium for negotiating identity and status within a post-traditional society.

Consumer culture is not inherited like social position which is ascribed by birth in traditional society; but it is negotiated and constructed by individuals.

f. Consumer culture represents the increasing importance of culture in the modern exercise of power.

Consumer culture is notoriously awash with signs, images, publicity. Most obviously, it involves aestheticization of commodities and their environment: advertising, packaging, shop display, point of sale material, product design etc.

g. Consumer needs are in principle unlimited and insatiable.

In consumer culture, uniquely, unlimited need - the constant desire for more and the constant production of more desires - is widely taken to be not only normal for its denizens but essential for socio-economic order and progress. While the insatiable need refers to the increased productivity of modern industry it is widely understood as both a response and a spur to the capacity of people's desire to become increasingly sophisticated, refined, imaginative and personal, as well as people's desire to advance themselves socially and economically.

From these explanations above, consumer culture indicates embeddedness of economic life in culture. In relation with our study, consumer culture is regarded as a cultural context where the fleamarket emerges as a social economy phenomenon.

j. German Romanticism

It is difficult to fix the limits of the concept of the romanticism (Frankland and Schoonmaker, 1992: 19; Furst, 1979). To understand this concept, however, we use Hawthorn's idea:

Romanticism, which after A.W. Schlegel's contemporary definition is what most have called this extraordinary movement of artistic and intellectual creativity, is inherently difficult to describe. The spiritual and intellectual freedom that it presumed generated a range of ideas that defy a comprehensive account. It is, perhaps, best characterized as a belief in two propositions: that as one contemporary put it 'we live in a world that we ourselves create', and that the principle of creativity is plenitude, infinite variety. Even so, one has immediately to qualify this, for there was also a conviction, among the poets, novelists, musicians and painters as much as among the philosophers and political theorists, that from the plenitude a unity was possible, although whether merely a unity of imagination or senses or a theoretical and practical unity of the society remained always in dispute and ever uncertain (1987: 37).

At its core, furthermore, romanticism attempts to right a balance: 'against reason it sets feeling, against universal right it sets particular traditions, and against personal development through civic action it sets self-development through inward exploration' mentioned Frankland and Schoonmaker (1992: 19). Hence, the romantics, according to Barzun (1972: 859 - 870), wanted for themselves and their peoples the freedom, diversity, self-reliance, and opportunity for self-development.

The romantic movement was in evidence throughout Europe, but its form varied from one country to another. As Zeitlin has pointed out (1968: 36), in England, and especially in Germany, this movement reflected a strong national reaction to the radicalism of the enlightenment as expressed in the French Revolution and against Napoleonic expansionism. In general, the romantics rejected the static view of the world and human nature which the Enlightenment advocated. They refused to accept the notion of a universe that, like a machine, runs smoothly according to an inherently rational and universal law. Furthermore, Zeitlin argues that in every field -literature, art, music, philosophy, and religion- an effort was made to free the emotions and the imagination from the austere rules and conventions imposed during the eighteenth century. In religion, German Protestantism restored inner experience. Its theological tenets released man from nature. In philosophy, the individual mind was assigned a creative role in shaping the world. In his philosophical writings, Immanuel Kant freed man from god and society as well. 'Enthusiastically if crudely interpreted, he had demonstrated the supreme power of the idea,' mentioned Hawthorn (1987: 36).

As Hanke has written (1981), the historical sensibility of the romantics was shaped by their temporal awareness and was informed by the same sense of duration that creates the feeling of continuity and unity of individual mind in time. Historical past, present, and future are not conceived as discontinuous, isolated instances but are instead seen as organically developing from each other.

In dealing with the fleamarket, the legacy or tradition of German romanticism has given contemporary Germans the idea that a human being can create her/his life as she/he wants, but at the same time creativity is plenitude. Besides that, the romantics regarded life as meaningful and good (Hanke, 1981: 2). In terms of these ideas, therefore, people can make their life as good and meaningful as they need through their creativity. To preserve the environment and thus to create the meaningful and good life, the Germans invented the Green Movement, and also the German fleamarket. So, like consumer culture, German romanticism is also considered a cultural context for the emergence and development of the fleamarket. In this way, we try to describe the embeddedness of the fleamarket in German culture.

k. The Social Market Economy

Müller-Armack (1966) explained a German way of constructing of the economy by combining freedom and responsibility. In other words, the German economy is generated by interaction between market economy and state intervention (see also Nicholls, 1994). In principle this system economy, well known as the social market economy, involves the following :

1. The price is determined, changed, and stabilized by the law of supply and demand.
2. The state is regarded as protector of competition. This means that the state will intervene the economic life, if the state sees that unfair anomalous situations.
3. The state is a factor in social compensation. The free market will be both controlled and stimulated by governmental intervention designed to create full employment and a just distribution of wealth. These matters will be developed in a following chapter.

Thus, like two points above, the German social market economy is regarded as a context where the German economy developed. Using this idea, this means that German economic activities are embedded in the political aspects of human life.

I. Socialization through the Market-place

The market-place can be regarded as a social arena where members of society transmit to new individuals the social and cultural heritage of their group. Through socialization the individual learns the attitudes which usually refer to broad system of meaning and of values that extend far beyond his/her immediate situation. We argue that through the fleamarket children or the youth can internalize and/or actualize his/her culture which he or she inherited from his/her family or society. By seeing this phenomenon, this implies that through economic activity members of society transmit to the youth their social and cultural heritage of their group. This is also exemplifies of the embeddedness of economic activity in socio-cultural aspects of human life.

Based on these arguments, we argue that the embeddedness of a certain economic institution takes place in different ways and to different degrees. This can be explained in social, political and cultural structures where this economic institution exists. Therefore, it can be assumed that the distinction of the embeddedness of the fleamarket in various ways and degrees can be seen in some manners, namely orientation of engaging in the fleamarket's activities, social networks, moral economy, market-place as a mirror of social complexity, leisure activity, price, bargaining, the social meaning of money, consumer culture, German romanticism, and socialization through the market-place.

Until now, as described above, there is no study which focuses on the German fleamarket using the New Economic Sociology perspective. Therefore, this study can be regarded as a basic study of the fleamarket in Germany using this approach. This present study was guided by four basic questions:

1. How were the fleamarkets constructed and how do they grow ?
2. Who are actors of the fleamarkets ? Which roles do they have ?
3. Who regulates the fleamarkets ?
4. How are the fleamarkets embedded in the society as a whole?

PART II: RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHAPTER THREE

LOOKING AT THE SETTING : THE TIME AND SPACE OF THE FLEAMARKET

Introduction

Economic institutions are defined by Richardson (1986) as the set of organization, groups, and processes by which people in a society produce and distribute goods and services. We can, therefore, say that the fleamarket is an economic institution, because it is characterized by processes of the distribution goods and services which involves actors. Since these processes are related to actors and groups of actors, we can also regard the fleamarket as a social process. All social processes have two crucial aspects, namely, the setting and the actors. According to the Webster New Encyclopaedic Dictionary, setting refers to the time and place of human activity. The actor is one who acts. The latter it will be discussed in the next chapter. In this chapter the setting of the fleamarket will be presented.

Discussing the setting of the German fleamarket, therefore, we look at some aspects connected to the time and the place of the human activities in which this economic institution exists, e.g., settings and historical sketches of locations. Then market-places, market-days, numbers of fleamarkets, and types of fleamarkets will be discussed.

A. Setting and Historical Sketch of a Location

1. The Setting

Bielefeld is the only county-town (kreisfrei Stadt) belonging to Detmold district (Regierungsbezirk Detmold) in the state of North-Rhine Westphalia. Covering an area of about 257.66 sq. km., it is located geographically 52° 1' 21" north latitude and 8° 31' 59" east longitude. Topographically Bielefeld is located between 73.40 m (Brake) and 313 m (Hünenburg) above sea level.

Bielefeld can be economically divided into three areas, namely, the shopping area, the industrial area, and the agricultural area. Like other cities and towns in Europe Bielefeld has a shopping area located in the center of the city. This area is called the Jahnplatz in Bielefeld. Around this area can be found the town-hall, the municipal theater, churches, the main railway station, the bus station, and so on. Industrial areas are located in Milse, Altenhagen, Ubbedissen, Jöllenbeck, and Babenhausen. Agricultural areas can be found in Dornberg, Babenhausen, and Senne.

Most roads date to before the Second World War. They connect to other cities located around Bielefeld, e.g., Herford, Detmold, Lemgo, Gütersloh, Paderborn, Münster,

Osnabrück, Minden, Bad Oeynhausen, etc. There is also a main highway (*Autobahn*) which joins to other cities in Germany - especially western Germany and in other West European countries, e.g., Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, as well as with Poland. In 1847 the railway was constructed from Köln (Cologne) to Minden through Bielefeld. Nowadays the railway connects Bielefeld to all cities, not only within Germany, but also in western Europe, e.g., Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. There are three street railways which connect to metropolitan Bielefeld, namely, from Sieker Mitte to Babenhausen Süd, from Sieker to Milse, and from Schildesche to Senne. There is also an airport that can be used by small airplanes, in Senne.

In the past 255 years Bielefeld grew from a small town with 3,200 inhabitants in 1740 to a middle city with 324,674 inhabitants in 1993. The total of population has increased substantially reflecting births as well as immigration (see table below).

Table 3.1. Growth of the Population of Bielefeld from 1740 until 1993

Year	Population	Year	Population
1740	3,200	1900	63,007
1783	3,400	1910	78,615
1787	5,302	1920	81,414
1798	5,581	1930	120,963
1811	6,077	1940	127,144
1825	6,704	1950	154,982
1830	7,833	1960	175,076
1840	9,298	1970	169,236
1850	10,706	1980	312,708
1861	13,718	1990	319,037
1870	18,693	1991	322,132
1880	31,110	1992	324,287
1890	41,358	1993	324,674

Source : Ostermann, 1961 : 35 and Statistisches Jahrbuch NRW 1970-1994

In the 1960's emigration combined with migration to other cities in Germany caused a decline in population. In that decade, annual emigration rates were lower than annual immigration rates (see Table 3.2.).

In 1946 the immigration rate was higher in comparison with other years. One major cause was soldiers returning from the war. The migration to and/or from Bielefeld was not only by Germans but also by foreigners. This is evidenced by the numbers of foreigners living in Bielefeld (see Table 6.2.). After the Second World War, Germany needed these "Gastarbeiter" to rebuild infrastructure and industry. As a result, many foreigners came from various countries to Bielefeld, i.e., from Turkey, Italy, and ex-Yugoslavia. The majority of these were Turks (see Table 6.3.).

Table 3.2. Balance of Migration Bielefeld from 1946 until 1993

Year	Balance of Migration	Immigration	Emigration
1946	+ 29,458	35,797	6,339
1950	+ 6,251	11,532	5,281
1960	- 671	9,716	10,387
1970	+ 185	11,991	11,806
1980	+ 1,380	15,916	14,536
1990	+ 1,633	15,384	13,751
1993	+ 421	13,184	12,763

Source : Ostermann, 1961 : 36 and Statistisches Jahrbuch NRW 1970-1994

The above facts suggest that Bielefeld is an international city where many foreigners live, not only as workers but also university students. This theme will be developed in the next chapter, through a consideration of the international flow of capital, international trade, the circulation of information through modern communication systems, the number of tourists, and the religions characteristic of Bielefeld today.

Table 3.3. Occupation of the Bielefeld Population in 1992

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Total of population</i>
Agriculture, Forestry, & Fishery	1,365
Electric Power, Water Supply, & Mining	1,395
Manufacturing Industry	47,153
Trade	27,876
Transportation & Communication	10,780
Construction	7,292
Banking, Finance, & Insurance	5,803
Services	24,517
Non-Profit Organization & Self-employed	12,723
Government & Welfare System	24,078

Source : Statistisches Jahrbuch NRW 1994

In 1992 there were 162,984 persons employed in Bielefeld. 47,153 people were in the manufacturing industries, and 27,876 in trade (see Table 3.3.). The majority of Bielefelders were, therefore, engaged in the modern sector of the economy, namely in industry and service activities. There are many industries located in Bielefeld manufacturing a variety of products, from machines to electronic equipment.

2. History

Bielefeld was founded by the court of Ravensberg in 1214. This development was motivated not by military but economic goals:

Weitgehend fiskalischer Art waren sicherlich die ersten Erwägungen, die den Grafen zu seiner Gründung bestimmten. Die oben angezogenen Urkunden von 1216 und 1224 geben zu erkennen, daß Graf Hermann bereits vor der Stadtgründung Zoll-

und Münzrechte für eine Stadt im Bielefelde erbeten und erhalten hatte (Engel, 1952: 42).

The logical consequence of this decree was that Bielefeld citizens had the right to construct a market-place. The development of the market led that place to become not only the shopping center but also the settlement area for the merchants. Hence, as Engel states (1952: 42 - 45) this city came to be known as "*Kaufmannstadt*" (trader town). In 1293 "*Neustadt*" (new town) was built up around the Mary Church in order to accommodate the developing activities in the urban society, e.g., trading, industry, and so on. Until December 1972 Bielefeld was divided into two parts, namely the "*Kreisfrei Stadt*" (county-town) of Bielefeld as well as "*Kreis*" (municipality) Bielefeld which consisted of Senne, Sennestadt, Heepen, Schildesche, Brackwede, Ummeln, Gadderbaum, Quelle, Brake, Milse, Hoberge-Uerentrup, Deppendorf, and so on. Since January 1st. 1973 both parts of Bielefeld have been fused in "*Kreisfrei Stadt*" (county-town) Bielefeld (see map).

In 1309 the merchants were granted the privilege which related to the sale of the garment, i.e., producing wool and linen, making clothes, and trading. They formed an organization which was named "*Johannis-Bruderschaft*" to be used as networks of producing and trading - especially linen (Engel, 1975: 24 - 29). These networks engaged in long-distance trade between German cities and extended abroad as well, i.e., Dortmund (1391), Lübeck (1475), the Baltic lands and Scandinavia. In 1768 a modern bleaching factory was built for the production of high quality linen products. Since then state mercantilism was transformed by the creation of "*Aktiengesellschaft*" (incorporation). During this more recent period, this textile industry played an important role in the economic activities of Bielefeld (Engel, 1975: 28 - 32).

As an industrial city Bielefeld grew and developed together with the growth and the development of industry. A spinning mill was constructed in 1854 and called "the Ravensberger Spinnerei". Nikolaus Dürkopp built the Bielefeld bicycle as well as the work tool industry (sewing machines) in 1866. Before the Second World War his factory had produced racing cars and airplanes. A prepared foods industry was founded by Dr. August Oetker on January 1st. 1891 (Gerke, 1973: 72 - 81). Today Bielefeld is identified by this industry, i.e., Dr. Oetker City. This is because Dr. Oetker company is one of the biggest of companies in Germany making pudding mixes, etc. Besides Oetker and Dürkopp nowadays there are a number of big companies that produce a range of commodities, from machines to cosmetics, from electronic goods to medical wares in Bielefeld. These goods are sold in both the national and the international market (see Andreas Beaugrand eds., 1996). This point will be discussed in the following chapter.

B. The Setting of the Fleamarket

Some aspects connected to the time and the place of the fleamarket will be presented in this section. These are the market-places, market-days, selling and display area, numbers of fleamarkets, and types of fleamarkets.

1. Market-Places

The market place is a location of human activity in which people relate to each other through seeing, smiling, speaking, bargaining, selling, buying, etc. The fleamarket's organizer considers a number of factors before choosing a place for holding a fleamarket. The main factors are not only economic but also sociocultural. For some organizers, especially those who hold fleamarkets to make money, economic reasons are more important than sociocultural goals because they have to pay a fee for using a space as well as taxes for holding the fleamarket. On the other hand, other organizers tend to consider sociocultural factors more than economic ones. These organizations are clear that holding fleamarkets in any place which is known that place is more important than using other places which are not known by their members, for example the organizer of the fleamarket in the "*Haus Groß-Bethel*." This idea will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

With regard to the building used for holding the fleamarket, therefore, we see that there are two kinds of fleamarket market-places, namely the indoor market-place and the outdoor market-place. Firstly, the indoor market-place means that all activities - like seeing, speaking, selling, buying, bargaining- are generally done in the building. The organizers of the fleamarket usually use the *Freizeitzentren* (leisure centers), schools, and public halls, for example the *Freizeitzentrum* in Stieghorst, the *Sonnen Hellweg Schule*, and the Bielefeld Hall. At the indoor market-place, traders and customers can use facilities like the café, toilets, toys, and the building itself. The traders can buy a cup of coffee or tea with cake in the café, for instance in the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum*, and then drink coffee there or carry it to their table. After looking around the fleamarket, the visitors can also drink coffee there. Also if one needs to use the toilet, he or she can find one right in building, like in the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum*. One can also use recreation equipment, for example the soccer game, in other rooms like in the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum*. One must not worry about the weather if he or she goes to the indoor market-place, such as in the *Carl-Severing Schule*, because the building protects visitor from the rain or the sun's heat.

The outdoor market-place, however, means that all of the activities are generally conducted in the open-air or outside of the building. To hold an open-air fleamarket, the organizers use a city park (the "Johannisberg" and the "Radrennbahn"), the parking lot of a big store or some other building (e.g., Real Markt Bielefeld-Mitte, Marktkauf on Friedrich-Liststraße, University of Bielefeld and the *Seidenstickerhalle*), and public parking areas (Hotel Vier Taxbäume Brackwede and Kesselbrink). There are generally no the café and the toilet at these places. However, sometimes toilets and food stands are available like at the fleamarket at the "Johannisberg" and in the yard of the "*Seidenstickerhalle*."

We have already described the physical setting of the location of the fleamarket. Now, we move on to another aspect of the fleamarket, namely the social setting. This relates to the location of the market-place in a social context. Based on the social setting of the market-place, therefore, we can see that there are three locations which are used by organizers for fleamarkets, namely near settlement, near the shopping center, and far from settlements as well as shopping centers.

Firstly, the market-places of the fleamarkets located near a particularly neighborhood usually are carried out at the *Freizeitzentren* (e.g., in Baumheide, Stieghorst, Stricker, etc), at the indoor or outdoor facilities of public institutions (e.g., the *Bürgerwache*, the University of Bielefeld, *Haus Groß-Bethel*, the *AWO-Begegnungszentrum*, Stapenhorst-schule, etc.). The majority of market-places are located in working class settlements (e.g., the fleamarket at the *Freizeitzentren*, at the *Begegnungszentren*, in the schools, etc.). Some of them are located near special residential areas for handicapped people, pensioners, etc (e.g., the fleamarket in *Haus Groß Bethel*, in the *Katholik St. Meinolfgemeinde*, and so on). Part of them are located in student neighborhoods (e.g., the fleamarket at the University of Bielefeld and the Siegfriedplatz).

Secondly, the market-places located close to shopping centers are normally held in the parking lot or on grassy areas near spaces belonging to the shopping centers (e.g., the fleamarket in the parking area of Realmarkt's shopping center, Marktkauf in Friedrich-liststr, Allfrisch 's shopping center in Quelle, etc) or close to shopping areas (e.g., the fleamarket in parking area of the Viertaxbäume Hotel, Kesselbrink, in Teutoburgerstreet --in front of Realmarkt's shopping center--, and at the Klosterplatz, etc).

Thirdly, market-places located far from the settlements as well as shopping centers are generally held in parks (e.g., in the Johannisberg) as well as in parking areas (e.g., in the parking lot of Fa. Windel Textil Kracker street).

2. Market-Days

Fleamarkets are generally organized on weekend-days, namely on Saturdays and on Sundays. However, there is a fleamarket that is held every Wednesday by the *Beratungsstelle* in Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum*. On official holidays there is also, occasionally, the fleamarket in Bielefeld, such as on the Easter-Sunday. Most fleamarkets are held on Saturdays. For example on June 24th 1995 there were three fleamarkets, i.e., in the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum*, on the Johannisberg and in the *Diakoniezentrum* Brackwede. On the other hand, on the next day, June 25th 1995 there was only one fleamarket held on the Johannisberg. Furthermore, the number of traders who attend fleamarkets on Saturdays is larger than on Sundays (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Number of Traders on the Johannisberg on March 3rd and 4th 1996.

Day	Traders Present
Saturday	66
Sunday	45

Source : author's data collection

The season is also considered by organizers when deciding to hold a fleamarket, especially by private companies. In addition, the hours of the fleamarkets vary particularly between the summer and the winter, and fleamarkets in the summer are open longer than in the winter. Besides that, we can also see differences hours open between different organizations. Fleamarkets that are organized by the *Freizeitzentren* are usually open between 12 noon and 5 p.m. Private companies usually hold their fleamarkets from about 8 a.m. until 3 p.m. -- some of them until 5 p.m. The bulk of the non-governmental organizations -like the *Kirchengemeinde* and the *Bürgerwache*- hold the fleamarket about 1 p.m. until 5 p.m. and the other -like AStA (Students Union) at the University of Bielefeld- from about 9 a.m. until 1 p.m. These hours are usually typical of fleamarkets held on Saturday. On Sundays, the fleamarkets are usually open between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

There are some reasons for these differences. For both the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations the opening hours of fleamarkets are set according to the rhythm of the members of the organization or of residents. Some members or residents have to do their shopping, cooking, washing, and so on by noon on Saturday. To attract as many members or residents as possible these organizers set the opening times of the fleamarkets from 12.00 o'clock and later. But private companies usually open their fleamarkets from 8 a.m. onward on Saturdays, reasoning that the organizers can thus attract as many traders as possible and earn more money in fee for space use.

3. Selling and Display Area

There are generally two forms used by traders to present their goods. These are to display them on a table and/or on the ground. At some fleamarkets like in the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum*, the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum*, and AWO-*Begegnungszentrum* Oldentrup, organizers supply traders with tables. Most fleamarket organizers do not furnish tables for traders. This means that traders have to bring their own table to the market-place. The traders usually use either a folding camping table or a big table (60 x 300). Also, some traders set up shelters made from canvas or a big umbrella to protect them from the sun's heat or the rain. Furthermore, many traders display their goods on the ground. This is normally done by children, when they engage in trade at the *Freizeitzentren* (leisure centers).

At the indoor fleamarket organizers usually arrange their tables according to names on the registration list. This way, the building's space can be used as efficiently as possible. At this kind of fleamarket, traders can not change their display spaces which are determined by the organizer, since the other spaces belong to other traders or are used as footpaths for visitors. If a trader adds to his or her display space he or she can take another trader's display space or make the footpath smaller. Footpaths are constructed so that visitors can see all the stalls located at this fleamarket. They are generally very narrow. At certain times, this path is crowded, especially at opening time. On the other hand, in outdoor fleamarkets there are normally no regulations concerning space. Whoever arrives at first time at the market-place, can choose a strategic location for engaging in trading activities. At fleamarkets held by private companies, traders can also use as much display space as they want. There are no restrictions. Moreover, footpaths at this kind of fleamarket are usually wider than those in indoor fleamarkets.

Regulation of indoor fleamarkets through numbers and names which are based on registration lists can be regarded as formalization of the informal sector. Regulation is done because demands by traders are higher than supplied spaces. In addition, through this regulation, organizers of municipal and initiative fleamarkets, can offer trading space to their people.

4. Pictures of Fleamarket Activities in a Market Day

To gain a relatively detailed picture of activities going on at the market-places on the market-days, it is useful to highlight six portraits of fleamarkets, namely the *Freizeitzentrum's* fleamarket in Baumheide, the *Freizeitzentrum's* fleamarket in Stieghorst, the "Café Floh" in Baumheide, the *Tausch- & Trödelmarkt* at the "Siegfriedplatz", the *Kram-Antik- & Trödelmarkt* on the "Johannisberg", and fleamarket at the "Klosterplatz".

a. The *Freizeitzentrum's* Fleamarket in Baumheide

On the eighth of June the organizer of the *Freizeitzentrum* organized his sixth fleamarket in 1996. This fleamarket used two market-places, namely in- and outdoors of the *Freizeitzentrum* building. In the indoor market-place the traders can start selling at 12 noon. The outdoor market-place is also opened by the organizers at 12 noon. The day before the fleamarket, the organizer set up the stales and labeled them according to the names and numbers of the traders.

At 9.30 a.m. the first trader arrived at the market-place. She brought her table to the yard of the *Freizeitzentrum* and set it up. She chose a strategic location as the site for her trading activities, namely on the side of the path to the Baumheide library. After that she took other goods from her car which was parked in front of the Marktkauf supermarket. By this time there were about 10 visitors there.

At 10.00 a.m. there were 30 traders at the market-place. Some of them had only set up their tables. They did not display their things on the tables yet, because, according to them, they could be fined about 50 marks for doing so. That means paying three times the amount for using a space, which is usually about 15 marks. Some of them unloaded their goods from the boxes and displayed them on the table.

By 11.00 a.m. there were about 80 traders. All of them had set up their tables. Some of them were not selling at this point, because they followed the rules of this fleamarket. But the others had already sold some of their goods.

At 11.30 a.m. the activities in outdoor market-place were in full swing. The bulk of traders who would be engaged in trading activities at the outdoor market-place had arrived. There were also about 250 visitors present. Some traders, who wanted to trade at the indoor market place, stood in front of two entrance doors of the *Freizeitzentrum*.

At 12 noon all of the traders were ready to serve the customers at the out door market-place. The two entrance doors of the *Freizeitzentrum* were opened by the organizers. The traders came into the center. Each trader had to show her or his registration card to the organizers before coming in. This is important for supervision and for the security of

traders' goods. After fifteen minutes, the organizers allowed the visitors to enter the indoor market-place. At this point, there were about 350 visitors in both the outdoor and indoor market-place.

At 1 p.m. some visitors had already left but there were still about 200 visitors present. Trading was still busily going on. After looking around, some visitors went to the café to drink and/or eat snack.

At around 2 p.m. it suddenly started drizzling. Thus the majority of the traders at the outdoor market-place started packing up their commodities. Some of them moved into the *Freizeitzentrum* building. At this point there were only 75 visitors at both market-places.

By 2.30 p.m. about 90 % of traders who had set up their wares at the outdoor market-place had left this place. Only thirty persons stayed there.

By 3 p.m. there were only two traders left at the outdoor market-place. Some traders in the indoor market-place started packing up their goods. About 20 visitors remained in the market-place.

At 3.30 p.m. all of traders started packing up their goods. There were no visitors left at the market-place.

By 3.45 p.m. everyone had left.

b. The *Freizeitzentrum*'s Fleamarket in Stieghorst

On the twenty-seventh of January the staff of the *Freizeitzentrum* organized their first fleamarket in 1996. Before opening the entrance doors of the *Freizeitzentrum*, as a market-place, the organizers set up tables and labeled them according to the name and numbers of the traders who would come. This is usually done about one hour before the opening of the fleamarket.

At 12.10 noon the first trader arrived in this center with her own car. One of the organizers led her to the parking area located at the back of the building. After parking, she got out and entered through the back of the center. She scrutinized the announcements relating to the fleamarket and then went back to her car and waited there until the arrival of the other traders. It was very cold and snow was falling.

By 12.20 p.m. 15 traders had arrived. The bulk of them stood near their own unused goods in front of the entrance door. The rest of them waited in their cars. By this time, three visitors had arrived. Some of them waited while talking to each other about the weather, this fleamarket, and so forth.

At 12.30 noon. the organizers opened the entrance door and supervised the traders who would come into this center. Each trader had to show her or his registration card and then would be stamped on her or his hand by the organizer before having access to the market-place. For the organizers, this procedure is important for the security of trader's commodities. The organizers could also easily supervise the traders who come in and out this building with their goods. Children who sell their goods in this fleamarket were also

allowed by the organizers to enter. Unlike adults, there is no registration procedure for children. The organizers forbade the entry of a visitor who wanted access to the building through this gate. They said that the entrance door for the visitors is located at the front of this building.

At around 1.15 p.m. the bulk of traders were in the market place and also had unloaded as well as displayed their goods. Two traders came late to this market-place. The organizer asked for their card and showed them their stalls.

At 1.20 p.m. the entrance door for the visitors was opened by the organizer. At least, 25 visitors came in and looked around the market-place.

Between 1.45 p.m. and 2.45 p.m. the fleamarket was in full swing. About 100 visitors were doing their bargaining and shopping and in the process found time to chat with friends and acquaintances. As practically paths between the stands had become jammed by now, visitors had to move slowly through the crowd. An organizer took some money from the traders for using a space and/or the table. In the café, some people were drinking and/or eating snacks and speaking with each other. The bulk of them were the visitors who had looked around the market-place. In the toy room, some youths were playing the football game table.

At around 3 p.m. there were fewer visitors at the market-place. Some traders were drinking and/or eating snacks that were sold in the café. Some traders had brought their own food. The others were speaking with each other or with their friends and acquaintances who went there as visitors. Some of them were also looking around the market-place to see other trader's stands, to buy something, or only to have fun.

At 3.45 p.m. there were only 20 visitors in the market place. Some of the traders started packing up their goods into cardboard boxes or bags and then brought their goods into their car.

By 4 p.m. a quarter of the traders had departed from this place and the bulk of them started packing up their commodities. There were no people in the café.

At 4.10 p.m. all of traders packed up their commodities and then left this market-place.

At 4.30 p.m. there was no-one there, neither visitors nor traders. The organizers organized and tidied the tables as well as the rooms and then went to their home.

c. The "Café Floh" in Baumheide

The "Café Floh" is organized every Wednesday by the Baumheide *Beratungstelle*. One day before holding the fleamarket, the organizers set the tables in the hall of the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum*. This means that the market place was ready for holding the fleamarket in the morning. This following scene was a picture of the "café fleamarket" on the 20th March 1996.

At 8.10 a.m. the first trader arrived in the *Freizeitzentrum*. She brought her commodities into this center and set them on the floor in front of the entrance door of the hall which is located near the café. Then she sat in the chair located near the entrance door.

At around 8.30 a.m. there were 25 traders waiting in front of two entrance doors of the hall. They queued up in two lines. Some of them spoke with each other. There were also about 20 visitors who had come to this center.

At 8.45 a.m. about 90 percent of the traders had come there queued in the line. The visitors swelled in number and became indistinguishable from traders. Some of visitors also stood near the entrance doors of the hall. The rest of them spoke to each other.

The entrance doors of the hall that functions as a market-place were opened by the organizers at 9 a.m. As soon as the doors opened, the traders were in a mad rush seeking strategic places to display their goods. Some of them did not have tables. Therefore, they only used chairs to hang their goods on the walls. There were 60 traders there. After all traders had entered the market-place, about 120 visitors also rushed madly into this market place in search of interesting offers and to fulfill their needs, while the traders were unloading as well as displaying their things. By this time, the fleamarket was crowded. It was difficult to distinguish between the visitors and the traders, because bulk of the traders were surrounded by the visitors. There were four visitors who did not directly go to market-place but to the café to have breakfast for the first time. After that, they came into this market-place.

At 9.15 a.m. an old woman (about 60 years old) stole a sweater from a table but the trader saw this woman. The trader took back her property. The old woman did not react and went slowly through the crowd. The trader only shook her head back and forth. After looking around the market-place, some visitors spoke to each other, while having breakfast.

At 9.45 a.m. there were 50 visitors in the *Freizeitzentrum*. Some of them were drinking while speaking to each other in the café or in the passage which is located between the café and the hall. Some of the traders started packing up their commodities into boxes.

At 10 a.m. twenty traders left this place and the others were packing up their commodities. There were fewer visitors.

At 10.30 a.m. there were only twelve traders and no visitors in market-place. Ten visitors were still speaking each other in the café.

At 11 a.m. all traders left the hall. The organizers set up the tables as they had been before the holding of the fleamarket.

d. The Tausch- & Trödelmarkt at the "Siegfriedplatz"

On thirtieth of March the *Bielefeld Bürgerwache e.V.* organized the first fleamarket in 1996 in the "Siegfriedplatz". The first trader arrived at 1.45 p.m. in this place. After parking her car, she brought a cake to the *Bürgerwache* which is located in front of the "Siegfriedplatz". She gave her cake to one of the organizers of this fleamarket through the

window. At this fleamarket, the cake is accepted as payment in kind for space use. After giving her cupcake, the organizer stamped her registration card. For organizers of the fleamarket it is important to control the traders who pay in kind. At that time, it snowed for about 1.5 minutes.

At 2 p.m. nine traders arrived at the fleamarket. Some of them were standing in front of their cars. The others were speaking to each other in the market-place. A trader forgot to bring her registration card, but she brought a cake. After receiving the cake, the organizer of the fleamarket stamped her hand. In the *Bürgerwache* there were five cakes, as in kind payment, but there were nine traders who had displayed their goods. There are at least two possible explanations for this situation. One is that the traders did not yet give their cakes. Second is that the traders who had displayed their things had the same table as other traders who gave the cakes. There were ten visitors there.

At 2.15 p.m. some traders started unloading and displaying their goods. While they were still displaying their goods on the table, some of them had to answer customer's question about the prices and/or to engage in bargaining with them. According to the advertisement in the local newspapers, the fleamarket started by 3 p.m. but in reality at this time some of traders had already made transactions with the customers.

At 2.30 p.m. about 60 visitors were doing their shopping and in the process found time to chat with friends and acquaintances. There were about 25 traders there but only 19 cakes in the *Bürgerwache*. An organizer shouted to ask weather anyone had not yet paid in kind.

Around at 3 p.m. when it snowed for about two minutes, visitors in the market-place swelled in number and became indistinguishable from the traders. All traders had arrived there. The café was in full swing at this time. The organizers of the fleamarket functioned as the waiters and waitresses in this café. An organizer checked the trader's reservation cards. He asked each trader about this as he moved from stand to stand.

3.30 p.m. was peak hour for activities at this fleamarket. About 250 visitors were bargaining, shopping, looking around, and speaking to each other in the market place. The café had become jammed by now.

At around 4 p.m. there were fewer visitors in the market-place. The café was still full. Some traders bought slices of the cake at the café and brought them to their stands.

At 4.30 p.m. only about 60 visitors were in the market-place. Some of them looked around and/or bought things. About ten traders packed up their things and left the market-place.

At 4.45 p.m. it snowed. The bulk of traders started packing up their commodities. There were about twenty visitors in the market-place and 30 visitors in the café.

By 5 p.m. only ten traders were left in the market-place and packing up their goods. There were still more visitors in the café than in the market-place.

At 5.30 all traders and visitors had left this place. Only organizers of the fleamarket, who were setting tables and washing glasses, remained.

e. The *Kram-Antik- & Trödelmarkt* on the "Johannisberg"

On twenty-third of March Jörn Werber held the first fleamarket in 1996 on the Johannisberg. On the "Johannisberg" the fleamarket is usually carried out for two days namely on Saturday and Sunday. On Friday night some traders went to this place in order to search for strategic positions to pitch their tents and/or to park their trucks. This was important for them because besides having a strategic place to trade, they also would not have to wake up early on the morning of the fleamarket. Professional traders who live in Bielefeld and/or not so far from Bielefeld, like Gütersloh, normally do this.

At 5.30 a.m. there were ten traders that had pitched their tents and parked their trucks. The bulk of them came from other towns like Paderborn, Osnabrück, Herford, Gütersloh, and Detmold. The Organizers of this fleamarket were speaking to each other about the weather. It was cloudy.

Between 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. the bulk of traders had arrived there. Some of them were chatting, joking, and helping each other to pitch tents, set tables and display their goods. The others had displayed their goods on the table and/or on the ground. At this time, some visitors came to this place to only look around this market-place without intending to buy anything.

Between 8.30 a.m. and 10.30 a.m. there were about 60 visitors in the market-place. The visitors generally came to this place together with their friends or their family (i.e., in small groups) using their own car or by bus. When a small group left this place, another group arrived there. This was a reason why the number of visitors was only about 60 persons.

At around 11 a.m. it was drizzling. The bulk of the visitors went to the parking area. There were only twenty visitors in the market-place. Some traders covered their goods with plastic.

At around noon the rain stopped but it was still cloudy. Some visitors arrived in this market-place. After they had parked their cars, they went together to the market-place which is located about ten meters from the parking area. At this time there were about 40 visitors in the market-place. The organizers of the fleamarket collected fees for using place.

Between 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. a trader packed up his goods and left the fleamarket. According to him, he had to go back to home to do something. He said that, if it does not rain tomorrow, he would trade again in this place. There were about 60 visitors there. According to a professional trader, if it is good weather, it is time for selling because the bulk of customers usually come to this place at this time. There could be about 200 visitors there.

Between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. some traders packed up their commodities and then left this market-place. This was generally done by traders who live in other cities like Dortmund, Hannover, and so on. There were about 40 visitors there.

At around 5 p.m. the bulk of traders started packing up their goods. About 30 percent of the traders had left the fleamarket. There were about twenty visitors there.

At around 5.30 p.m. all of the traders were packing up their commodities. About 60 percent of the traders left this place. There were about five visitors in the market-place.

At 6 p.m. all people went back to their houses. But there were still some tents that would be used by traders the next day, Sunday.

f. The Fleamarket at the "Klosterplatz"

On April 20th Otto & Grotte GBR organized the fleamarket for first time in 1996 at the "Klosterplatz". One day before holding the fleamarket, namely around at 6 p.m. on Friday, the organizers checked whether the market-place could be used or not and cleaned up toilets located in the Ritterstraße tunnel. They also numbered the place based on the map of the market-place of the fleamarket that they had created.

At around 4.30 a.m. some of the organizers of this fleamarket arrived and controlled the market-place again to check whether it was organized and ready for business. The organizers of the fleamarket had their own stand in the market-place.

At 5.30 a.m. a car arrived at this market-place and stopped near the organizers' stand. Thereafter, two women got out and one of them asked the organizers where her stand was located. One of organizers showed her his map of the market-place and then explained to her where her spot was. After that they got into their car and went to their spot. After arriving there, they unloaded their goods. Then one of them parked their car in the parking area which was located not so far from this market-place.

By 6 a.m. about 60 traders had arrived. All of organizers of the fleamarket were in the market-place and the surrounding area. Four of them conducted motor vehicles that drove through the roads located around this market-place. Five of them serviced the traders who wanted to know the location of their stands. One of them served the traders who wanted to pay their fees for using a space. One trader said that his registration card was lost. One of organizers answered that there was no place for him at the "Klosterplatz" but he could use another place at the *Jodekuskirche*'s yard that is located beside the "Klosterplatz", if he wanted to sell there. But he had to pay a new fee for using the spot. About 30 visitors had come there.

By 6.30 a.m. about 75 percent of all the traders who wanted to sell at this fleamarket had arrived there. While the bulk of them were still unloading their goods from their cars or were displaying their things on the tables, the visitors started trickling into the market-place. Some of them had to answer the visitor's questions or had to engage in bargaining with their customers, while they were setting their goods on the table. A couple asked to the organizers whether they could sell in this place without making reservation. One of the organizers showed the couple a space on the map of the market-place that they could use.

At around 7 a.m. the bulk of the traders had arrived there. About 100 visitors were now looking around this market-place. There were no motor vehicles in the market-place. To

attract customers, a trader shouted some interesting words like "*diese Jacke wurde von Michael Jackson getragen*" (this jacket has been worn by Michael Jackson).

At 7.30 a.m. about 90 percent of traders had arrived. The bulk of the traders had finished displaying their goods. About 150 visitors were now shopping and looking around.

Around at 8 a.m. all of the traders had been there. An organizer of the fleamarket closed the entrance located at Hagenbruchstraße. All organizers of the fleamarket were having discussions in front of their own stands before going to have breakfast together.

Between 8.30 a.m. and 11.30 a.m. the market-place was in full swing. About 400 visitors were in the market-place. Some of them were bargaining. The others were looking around the place. Some of them found time in the process to chat with friends and acquaintances. In some parts of the market-place it was difficult to distinguish between traders and visitors because the traders were surrounded by visitors. The organizers controlled the traders who did not register to have official spaces. At that time they also handed out lists of their fleamarkets which they would organize in April and May.

By 12 noon there were fewer visitors in the market-place. Some of the traders looked around the market-place to search for something, to make fun, or to meet their friends and acquaintances who also sell there.

Around at 12.30 noon there were only about 250 visitors in the market-place. Some traders started packing up their goods, and thereafter, left the market place. All organizers of this fleamarket were in the market-place.

At around 1 p.m. about 15 percent of all traders had left the market-place. Some of them started packing up their goods and the bulk of them were standing and/or sitting in front of their stands. About 150 visitors were still there.

At around 1.30 p.m. some organizers controlled traffic which went back and forth over Ritterstraße. Some of them controlled traders who threw away their garbage in the market-place like paper, plastic, and so on. About 30 percent of all traders had left their stalls. There were about 100 visitors in the market-place. The *Biergarten* was opened. This was a stall with a garden where snacks, beer, and soft drinks were sold.

By 2 p.m. the entrance which is located at Hagenbruchstraße was opened. This meant that the motor vehicles could be permitted to enter the market place. There were five cars in the market-place. The *Biergarten* was slowly filled by customers. Some of them were traders who had already dismantled their stalls. About 50 percent all traders had left this fleamarket. There were about 50 visitors looking around this place.

At 2.15 p.m. all traders were packing up. The bulk of them had left the fleamarket. There were only 25 visitors left in the market-place. The customers swelled in the number at the *Biergarten*.

At 2.30 p.m. there were only 25 traders still packing up their commodities. The *Biergarten* was in full business. There were no visitors in the market-place.

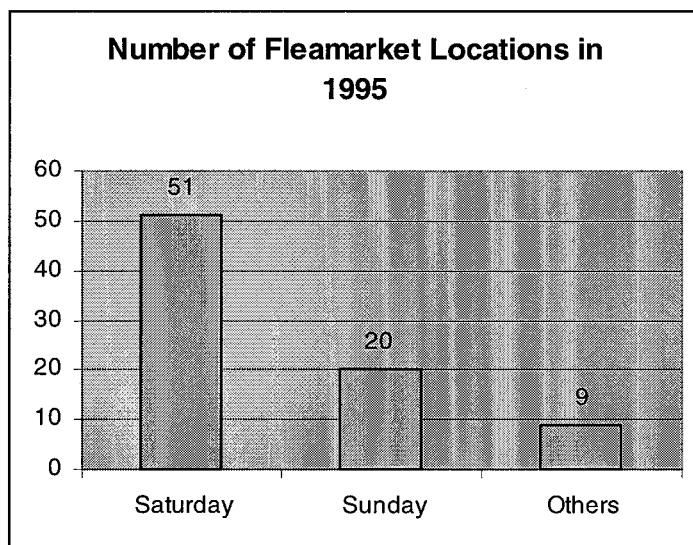
At around 3.15 p.m. all traders and organizers of this fleamarket had left the marketplace. The *Biergarten* was still full.

From the above illustrations of list all fleamarkets we find that every fleamarket has its own regulations, including on opening hours, registration, space use, payment for using a space, traders, and so on. It is also evident that there are differences on selling and display areas between fleamarkets.

5. Number of Fleamarkets

In 1995 fleamarkets were organized by various organizers on Saturdays in fifty one different locations. On Sundays there were only twenty locations. Some locations were used by organizers for fleamarkets lasting two days - Saturday and Sunday- such as those held on the "Johannisberg", in the parking lot of the firm of Windel Textil, etc. Also there were some fleamarkets which were organized on alternating days, either on Saturday or on Sunday- such as fleamarkets located in the Stricker and in the "Lindenplatz". These included seven fleamarkets. As described above there were two fleamarkets held on Wednesdays, namely the "Café Floh" in Baumheide and in the parking lot of Marktkauf supermarket.

Figure 3.1:



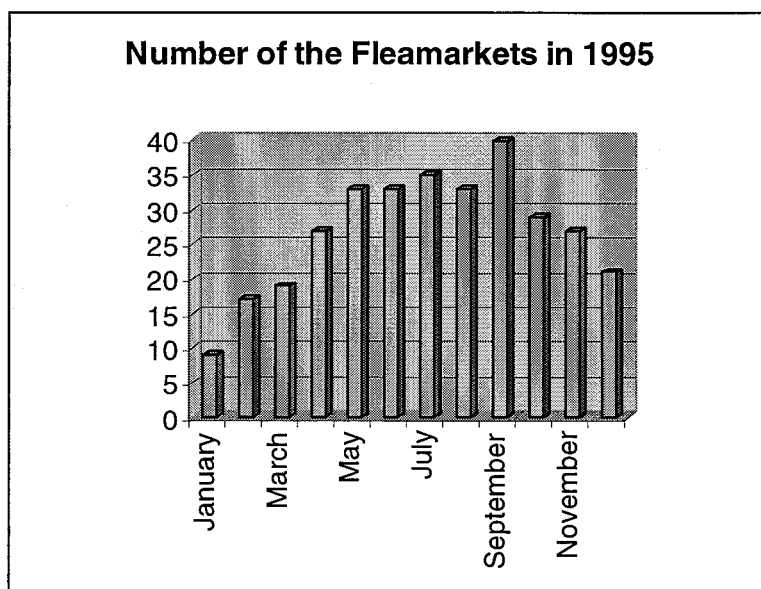
Source: author's data collection

According to the above data, it can be argued that the fleamarket is a German weekend activity. In other words, trading in and visiting the fleamarket is regarded as a weekend activity for Germans. As described in the next chapter, some Germans spend their leisure time on weekends at the fleamarket, both as traders and as visitors.

Based on our data, the majority of fleamarkets in 1995 were held in September, on forty occasions. These were followed by those organized in July of 1995, on thirty five occasions. In January 1995 there were only nine fleamarkets held. Based on the table below, it can be argued, therefore, that holding fleamarkets are more than in summer than

those in winter. In other words, the season influences the holding the fleamarkets. If we consider annual German activities, it can be found that most festivals and other parties are held in the summer time. As we know, in winter time it is very cold. On other hand, in summer time it is hot and people generally spend their time on holiday. Some Germans put fleamarkets on their holiday agenda.

Figure 3.2:



Source: author's data collection

6. Types of Fleamarkets

In the literature there is no consensus having to do with types of markets in various settings. In different empirical situations, one sees different forms of market organization being conditioned by that particular setting. We do find some researchers who have generally identified types of market. Putting them all into one basket, there are : the "peasant market" (Dewey, 1962), the "minor market" (Skinner, 1964), the "bazaar market" (Geertz, 1963), the "agricultural market" (Harris, 1981). These are all essentially similar. It is difficult to use these types to explain the German fleamarket. There are some reasons for this problem. One is that the typologies are based on markets in developing countries like Indonesia, China, and so on. However, a special characteristic that distinguishes our subject is that the German fleamarket operates in a rather unique environment, namely in a developed country whose GNP is the highest in Europe. Secondly, the German fleamarket is not based on a peasant society but on an industrial society. Therefore the German fleamarket can be regarded as a German way to solve the problems of their industrial society. Thirdly, the market-place mirrors various aspects of community life. However, the German fleamarket mirrors German social complexity. For these two reasons German fleamarkets can not be considered similar to fleamarkets located in developing countries, like those in Indonesia.

According to our data fleamarkets differ from each other, and, we can differentiate them into three types. This differentiation based on organizers who carried out the fleamarket, the purpose of organizers holding the fleamarkets, kinds of visitors who go there, kinds of traders who sell there, and numbers or kinds of fees which are paid by the trader.

a. Organizers of the Fleamarket

German fleamarkets are held by various organizers. There are three at least three types of organizers of fleamarkets. These are governmental organizations, non-governmental organization, and private companies. This topic will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. Fleamarkets which are organized by governmental organizations like leisure centers, recreation centers, and the *Bezirksamt* county will be called as the municipal fleamarkets. Since these organizations are a part of the Bielefeld city government.

Fleamarkets which are organized by other non-governmental organizations, like the Bielefeld *Bürgerwache*, the *Beratungsstelle* (advice center) in Baumheide, the *Eltern-Kinder Gruppen* (the parent-children groups), the *AStA* (the student union) of the University of Bielefeld, will be called initiative fleamarkets. Because these organizations hold the fleamarket as part of an initiative or movement. The last, we will call commercial fleamarkets when they are organized by private companies.

b. Organizers' Purposes for Holding a Fleamarket

As discussed in the next chapter, there are various value orientations involved in holding a fleamarket. The municipal fleamarkets are organized as part of the program of the Bielefeld city government. The important goal for organizing a fleamarket is to facilitate interaction and communication among people living in the same district.

The initiative fleamarkets are carried out by the non-governmental organizations as part of a project or social movement. Therefore each organization has its own purpose for holding a fleamarket. This can range from facilitating communication to collecting money for victims of war; from preserving the environment to supplying cheap goods, etc.

These commercial fleamarkets are organized by the private companies, for example Otto & Grotie GbR, AGB der Lübker-Veranstaltungen, Agentur für Märkte, Veranstaltungen (agents for markets and meetings) Jörn Werber, Helmut Sadra, Heribert Klösner, etc. They organize fleamarkets in order to make profit. It is part of their business.

c. The Traders

Both the municipal fleamarkets and the initiative fleamarkets are attended more by traders, not to make a profit but for value orientations like talking with people, making new friends, getting rid of old goods, having fun, etc. They are called here pseudo traders. In contrast to these kinds of fleamarkets, the commercial fleamarkets are usually attended by traders who want to make money. They are either part-time traders or professional traders. The former are individuals who engage in trade as a second job. The latter are people who engage in trade as their main job.

d. The Visitors

Both the municipal fleamarket and the initiative fleamarkets are usually visited by people who want to meet friends, take a stroll, become acquainted with other people, have fun, and kill time, as well as by people who want to buy cheap secondhand goods. The first will be identified as "flaneur"s and the latter as "Schnäppchen" hunters. The commercial fleamarkets, however, are usually attended by the "Schnäppchen" hunters who want to buy cheap new goods and by people who want to collect antiques. The later will be called the collectors.

e. Fees for Space Use

The fee that has to be paid by traders for using space varies according to the regulations of each fleamarket. At the municipal fleamarkets, including fleamarket at the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum*, the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum*, and the Stricker *Kinder & Jugendzentrum*, traders have to pay ten to twenty marks for the right to use a space.

At the initiative fleamarkets, the amount of the fee that must be paid by the traders for using space varies according to the specific goal of each fleamarket. Some of the organizers of fleamarkets do not charge fees for using space. This means the traders can sell there without obligations to pay something to the organizers of the fleamarket. This is the policy of the AStA (students union) University of Bielefeld's fleamarket and "Café Floh" in Baumheide. There are also some organizers of fleamarkets who ask for the donation of a cake for using space. This is the practice of the *Bürgerwache*, the organizers of the fleamarket held at the "Siegfriedplatz". When the organizers of this kind of fleamarket collect fees for using space, they normally charge between ten marks and fifteen marks. Like two earlier types of fleamarket, the amount of the fee that is paid by the traders varies according to the rules of each specific fleamarket. This can range between 20 marks and 35 marks per square meter.

The following, Table 3.5., is a schematic representation explaining types of fleamarkets.

Table 3.5. Differentiation of Types of Fleamarkets

Items	The Municipal FM	The Initiative FM	The Commercial FM
Organizers	governmental organizations	non governmental organization	private company
Purposes of the Organizers	as part of a program	for a good cause or project or social movement	to make profit
Traders	more pseudo traders	more pseudo traders	more part-time traders & professional traders
Visitors	more "flaneurs" & "Schnäppchen" hunter for secondhand goods	more "flaneurs" & "Schnäppchen" hunter for secondhand goods	more collectors & the "Schnäppchen" hunter for the new goods
Fee for using space	10-20 DM per stand	gratis, a cake, or 10-15 DM per stand	20-30 DM per square meter.

Note : FM means Fleamarket.

Conclusion

Based on the physical setting or location of the market-place, the fleamarket can be differentiated into two types, namely the indoor fleamarket and the outdoor fleamarket. The indoor fleamarket refers to activities - like looking, speaking, selling, buying, bargaining- generally done inside a building. The latter means that all these activities are generally conducted in the open-air or outdoor. The first type is generally carried out by governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. Private companies usually also use buildings for holding their fleamarket in the winter.

According to the social setting of the market-place, also, we can see that there are three locations which are used by organizers to hold fleamarkets, namely near the neighborhood, close to a shopping center, and far from neighborhoods and shopping centers. The first location is usually chosen by both governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. They usually use their own buildings or spaces which are located near the homes of their members. The latter two types of locations are used by private companies.

Fleamarkets are generally held on weekends, namely on Saturday and on Sunday. Most of the fleamarkets are on Saturdays. This indicates that fleamarkets are a weekend-activity. The number of fleamarkets are also influenced by the season. In summer fleamarkets are organized more frequently than in winter. The opening hours of fleamarkets of both the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations usually take into consideration the rhythm of activities of the people who are members of these organizations or of the residents of the area.

Last but not least, empirical data reveals that fleamarkets are organized by various types of organizers with different purposes and with different amounts or kinds of fees which are paid by the trader and that are visited by traders and visitors with different motivations. This leads to the conclusion that the fleamarkets can be divided into three types: the municipal fleamarket, the initiative fleamarket, and the commercial fleamarket.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ACTORS OF THE FLEAMARKET : TRADERS, VISITORS, AND ORGANIZERS

Introduction

To describe the social processes involved in the fleamarket, in an earlier chapter, the setting in which social actors interact with each other, taking into account the time and the place of human activity, was discussed. In this chapter continues with a discussion about the actor himself. The social actors who engage in the fleamarket's activities, (namely trading, visiting, and holding the fleamarket) consist of traders, visitors, and organizers of the fleamarket.

From an economic approach, the social actor acts according to dictates of pure gain and rational choice. Social actors calculate utilities of preferences in selecting a course of action. At this point, the actor is the atomized or the under-socialized economic actor. At other pole of the continuum, social actors are seen to always orient their action according to dictates of internalized norms and values. Hence they are obedient to the dictates of consensually developed system of norms and values, internalized through socialization. To know how to position the social actors some points in a continuum between the embeddedness and disembeddedness of fleamarket activities in society as whole, as well as to differentiate the social actors who engage in the fleamarket's activities, some cases of all the kinds of all social actors are presented.

A. The Traders : from Hobby to Profession

Our empirical research shows that the traders at the fleamarket are not all of the same types. To understand that differentiation, I refer to some studies relevant to the subject. The bulk of these works divide traders into two types (see Geertz, 1963; Mai and Buchholt, 1987; Suparb, 1990). One of types identified by all of them can be generally described as "peasant traders", "peasant pedlars", and "part-time traders". The rest can be also put into a single category of "full-time traders", "permanent traders", and "professional traders". For our study, this distinction is not applicable for explaining the phenomena. The typology described above is useful for analyzing markets in the developing countries, but it can be not as easily applied to other socio-cultural settings like the fleamarket in Germany. Hence, another model of types of traders at the fleamarket, will be offered.

1. Portraits of Traders

To understand the fleamarket, as already discussed, I initially made a survey in the *Bürgerberatung* with 300 respondents. The result of this survey show that traders in the market-place engage in marketing¹ differently. Most striking are, of course,

¹ Marketing denotes buying and selling in a market.

differences in purposes for engaging in trade, frequency, and in type of goods being offered.

According to our survey, respondents' reasons for engaging in trade differ and generally more than one reason is given. The majority of respondents (30.2 %) sell things at the fleamarket in order to earn money. The bulk of respondents (27.4 %) also agree that they trade at the fleamarket to become acquainted with other. Another reason given by many respondents (24.6 %) for trading activity is to get rid of their unwanted goods.

Table 4.1. Purposes Given by Respondents for Engaging in Trade at the Fleamarket
(n = 30)

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Earning money	22	30.2
Trading as a hobby	7	9.6
Getting rid of old goods	18	24.6
Contacts with friends	3	4.1
Becoming acquainted with new people	20	27.4
Having fun	3	4.1
Total*	73	100.0

Source : author's data collection

Note : * Multiple answers were possible

In terms of frequency of engaging in trade at the fleamarket, based on our survey, traders can be divided into four levels, namely every month, once every 2 - 3 months, 1 - 2 times each year, and only one time. The majority of respondents (60.0 %) said that they sell at the fleamarket about 1 - 2 times each year. The other levels less than 20 % of all respondent. These data show that engaging in trade, for a majority of respondents is not one of the main activities of their life.

Table 4.2. Frequency Given by Respondents in Engaging in Trade at the Fleamarket
(n = 30)

Frequency of Attendance	Percent
Every month	10.0
Once every 2 - 3 Months	16.7
1 - 2 times each year	60.0
Once	13.3
Total	100.0

Source : author's data collection

The respondents who engage in trade can be also distinguished according to types of goods offered. Our survey shows that all of the respondents stated that they sell secondhand goods. Only 6.7 % of all respondents sell new goods.

Table 4.3. Kinds of Goods which are Sold by Respondents (n = 30)

<i>Kinds of Goods</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Total (Percent)*</i>
Secondhand goods	100.0	0.0	100.0
New goods	6.7	93.0	100.0
Antiques	0.0	100.0	100.0
Foods	0.0	100.0	100.0
Others	10.0	90.0	100.0

Source : author's data collection.

Note : * Respondents are asked to choose freely more than possible answer.

These data, based on a survey, give us only an introduction to understanding differentiation among respondents who engage in sporadic trade at the fleamarket. The data explain that the respondents who engage in trade at the fleamarket are characterized by different purposes, in terms of frequency, and in types of goods were offered. These data do not explain the contribution of fleamarket earnings to traders' total incomes. These data also do not show how traders engage in activities at the fleamarket and do not cover the traders who engage in trade at the fleamarket every week and who also sell new goods, and so on. To complete our understanding of the traders, we must look at the results of observations of the activities of traders at the market-place and our in depth interviews with the traders.

To present the case study of types of traders, I offer the following six portraits of traders: Ms. Cane as portrait no. 1, Ms. Möller as portrait no. 2, Frau Bergmann as portrait no. 3, Frau Irrgang as portrait no.4, Mr. Abdullah as portrait no. 5, and Frau Thor as portrait no. 6. In the course of this illustration it will become clear how we draw our data from biographies of real traders, combined with observations at the fleamarket and interviews.

a. Ms. Cane : Portrait No. 1

Ms. Cane is a female, Slovakian, 27 years old, and single. She studies at the University of Bielefeld. She lives in Bielefeld, but Her parent live in Hamm-Westfalen. She works in a coffee-shop which is located in Bielefeld every Tuesday for five hours. Through this activity, she earns about 200 marks each month. She also works as a social worker in a dormitory for disable people eight days each month. From this job, she earns about 450 marks each month.

In the coffee-shop Ms. Cane works as a waitress from 3 p.m. until 8 p.m. If she has luck, she sometimes obtains tips from customers. In the dormitory she takes care of the disabled residents. She can choose which days she wants to work. Because of this, she can organize both jobs and her studies smoothly. If she has a seminar or an appointment this week for example, in the last week she arranged her work schedule to accommodate it. For her employer, it is important that Ms. Cane is able to work two days every week.

Ms. Cane sells the secondhand goods like clothes, books, tennis-balls, jewelry, toys, cups and plates. The bulk of items belong to herself. There are two reasons why she sells her own possessions. Firstly, she does not want to wear them anymore because of

her personal. Secondly, these goods are no longer useful to her because of their function. The first reason relates to clothes, shoes, as well as jewelry and the latter refers to other types of goods like toys. Some her goods were given to her by friends who do not want to use or to wear them anymore.

Ms. Cane has been trading at the fleamarket since 1993. Up to March 1996, she had made these about 10 times. In other words, she sells there about 1 - 2 times each year. By engaging in trade at the fleamarket, she earns between 65 and 100 marks each time. She engages in trade only at the "Siegfriedplatz", Bielefeld. At this fleamarket she must only provide a cake as a fee for using a space and she also finds a special atmosphere there. She knows that this fleamarket happens the fourth week of every month in the summer. If she is doubtful about the schedule of the fleamarket she can find it in the local newspapers. Besides she sometime obtains information about the schedule of fleamarket from her acquaintances. If she walks home through the "Siegfriedplatz", she can also see a schedule of fleamarket posted there.

For Ms. Cane engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket is, besides finding a good atmosphere, also to make contacts with her friends and other people who come to the market-place. For her earning money at the fleamarket is a logical consequence of engaging in trade. But engaging in trade at the fleamarket for her is not primarily to earn money. Therefore she usually engages in trading activities together with her acquaintances. If Ms. Cane takes the initiative to engage in trading activities, she must make a cake to be given to the organizer of fleamarket in exchange for using space. All costs of baking the cake will be paid by herself. However, if her acquaintance invites her to sell at the fleamarket, Ms. Cane does not have to contribute a cake. According to Ms. Cane, it is better to engage in trading activities together with a friend because they can help each other. Furthermore, she can also look around this market-place and search for something that she needs and is interested in.

Activities on March 30th 1996

One month before engaging in trade at the fleamarket located at the "Siegfriedplatz", Ms. Cane wrote a letter to the *Bürgerwache* to apply for a stand at the fleamarket held in March. One week before the fleamarket, Ms. Cane obtained a letter from the *Bürgerwache* saying that she could engage in trading activity there. Two days before, she contacted her friends to borrow their car and their table. She also searched for clothes in her wardrobe, that she had not worn for a long time, to sell at the fleamarket. She also asked her friends whether they had any articles which were not being used anymore and whether they wanted to sell them together at the fleamarket. She picked up the table from her friend's house the day before engaging in trading activities.

- 9 a.m. Ms. Cane started baking two cakes. The first cake would be given to the organizer of the fleamarket as fee for space use. The other cake would be consumed by herself. To bake these cakes she had to spend time about four hours and cost about five marks.
- 1 p.m. She went to her friend to pick up the car then she packed her goods and the table into the car. Her other friend came to Ms. Cane's house and loaded her own goods into the car.
- 2.30 p.m. The two women drove together to the Siegfriedplatz. When

they arrived there, the market-place was crowded. Furthermore, while they started unloading and displaying their goods, many visitors surrounded Ms. Cane's stand.

- 4 p.m. Ms. Cane went to the café in order to buy a cup of tea and two pieces of cake. After that she brought her snack to her stand and ate it there.
- 4.30. p.m. She looked around the market-place to see the other stands and bought a jacket, blouse, and flowerpot for seven marks.
- 4.45. p.m. It started snow. Ms. Cane and her friend started packing up their goods into a plastic box.
- 5 p.m. Ms. Cane and her friend left the market-place.

b. Ms. Möller : Potrait No. 2

Ms. Möller is female, German, 37 years old, single, with one daughter (9 years old). She lives alone in Bielefeld, and her daughter lives with her mother in Lippe. She says that it is better for her daughter to live together her mother, because she works not only during the day but she also has to go to the hospital at night to work. It depends on her shift. She has worked as a nurse in a hospital in Bielefeld since 1978. She earns 2400 marks a month after taxes and deductions are taken out.

The first time Ms. Möller sold things at the fleamarket, in 1992, she hardly had any experience with bargaining. According to Ms. Möller, if someone asked her price, she said it based on her opinion that the customer can afford it. Ms. Möller also thought that if someone disagreed with her price, he or she would say nothing and continue on other stand. Her idea about price changed when some customers --especially Turks-- bargained over her price. The first time someone bargained with her, she was shocked. She said to herself that "*ich bescheiße diese Leute*" (I'm cheating there people).

Ms. Möller engages in trading activities only at the fleamarket which is located in the parking area of Hotel Vier Taxbäume in Brackwede, Bielefeld. According to Ms. Möller there are two reasons: firstly, she usually sells together with her acquaintance who live in Brackwede. It means that she and her acquaintance display their goods at the same table. This way they can be thrifty with their money because they pay only for one space. Beside that they can talk and help each other. Secondly, there is no registration required at this market-place. She and her acquaintance can directly go to this place to trade without registering. To know the schedule of the fleamarkets she reads local newspaper on Friday as well as on Saturday.

For Ms. Möller, engaging in trading activities is to have fun, to become acquainted with other people, and to get rid of used goods. According to her, "*Geld ist gar nicht so wichtig*" (money is not so important). She actually gave some of her goods away free to people who came to her stand. Ms. Möller did not previously know these people. She mentioned three reasons for giving away her used things at fleamarket: firstly, if she gets rid of old goods in the garbage can, they came pollution. Secondly, if she calls the city to take them, she has to pay money for the service. The last, if she gets rid of her old goods in the Red Cross box, she does not know who will be wearing her clothes. Hence, Ms. Möller gives away her old things to someone at the fleamarket. Also, through this act of giving, she may get to know people who come to her stand. This is done by Ms. Möller in the market-place.

Activities on October 7th 1995

Ms. Möller has a habit of sorting her own clothes and other possessions which are not in use. She saves them in a box. One day before engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket, she searches for clothes which may not be used anymore then she combines them with other clothes which had already been stored in the box. After that she packs them up in the car.

- 5 a.m. Ms. Möller woke up and started cooking and preparing food for breakfast and she also prepared food for coffee break at the market-place before leaving for the fleamarket.
- 6 a.m. Ms. Möller arrived at her friend's house. Her friend would also engage in trading activities at the fleamarket. Her friend lives in Brackwede which is located near the fleamarket. Before going to the market-place, her friend packed up her own commodities and the table into Ms. Möller's car.
- 6.45 a.m. Ms. Möller and her friend went together in Ms. Möller's car to the market-place located in the parking area of Hotel Vier Taxbäume.
- 7 a.m. Ms. Möller and her friend arrived in the market-place. After unloading the table and their commodities from the car, Ms. Möller parked her car in the parking area located behind the market-place. In meantime, her friend set up the table. Thereafter, Ms. Möller and her friend started displaying their commodities on the table.
- 11.30 a.m. A woman came to Ms. Möller's stand. She looked at a tablecloth. Ms. Möller asked her, whether she liked it. That woman only smiled. After that Ms. Möller said that if she liked it, she would like to give her the tablecloth. The woman took it and thanked her.
- 1 p.m. Ms. Möller and her friend started packing up their commodities.
- 1.25 p.m. Ms. Möller and her friend returned to her friend's house. After unloading her friend's goods and the table, Ms. Möller went back to her house.

c. Frau Bergmann : Potrait No. 3

Frau Bergmann is a fleamarket trader, German, 59 years old, a widow, with a son. Her husband had recently died time of the interview (November 1995). She works for a newspaper -mostly in the printing department- in Bielefeld four days a week. Because she works in this printing department, she starts working at night, around 10 p.m. She normally goes off to her printing job at 9 p.m., arriving there about at 9.30 p.m. She generally works about for four hours each working day. According to Frau Bergmann, if the printer does not work, her work-day would be extended until about five or for six hours. She normally returns home about 4 a.m. With this job, she earns about 1500 marks each month.

Her son and his wife live with her. He is 30 years old, married, a student, with no children. Frau Bergmann's son studies at the University of Bielefeld. Her daughter in-law works in a firm in Bielefeld.

Frau Bergmann has engaged in trading activity at the fleamarket since 1988 and goes there almost every week. She does not go there in winter, because it is too cold for her. Her purpose for engaging in trade at the fleamarket is, according to her, to make money, to have fun, and to get know other people. By selling at the fleamarket, she can earn about 150 marks on Saturday and about 250 marks on Sunday. Thus, her fleamarket activities contribute significantly to her monthly income.

Frau Bergmann sells secondhand things like clothes, records, bags, and books. If she engages in trading activities on Sunday, she brings expensive and antique goods like porcelain, statues, ceramics, and so on, because she has to pay a larger fee for using smaller space on Saturday, for example at the fleamarket located in the parking area of the Hotel Vier Taxbäume in Brackwede she pays only 20 marks. On Sunday, however, she has to pay about 70 marks for using a space there. Beside that, according to Frau Bergmann, the visitors who go the fleamarket on Saturday are mostly buy cheap goods rather than expensive ones. If she engages in trading activities at the fleamarket on Saturday, she does not go there as trader on Sunday.

To manage her trading, Frau Bergmann has a simple bookkeeping system. She writes down all of her goods which she sells in a notebook. According to her, it is important to distinguish between income from her job and money obtained through her trade at the fleamarket. Through this way, she knows how much she makes a profit from transactions at the fleamarket.

Activities on November 18th 1995

- 5 a.m. Frau Bergmann woke up and then went to the kitchen. She boiled water to make coffee. After that she had breakfast.
- 6 a.m. Frau Bergmann packed up her goods and table into the car. Then she went to bathroom where she only washed her face, brushed her teeth and combed her hair.
- 7 a.m. Frau Bergmann went to the fleamarket located in the parking area of Hotel Vier Taxbäume, Brackwede.
- 7.30 a.m. She arrived there and set up her table. Thereafter she started displaying her commodities on the table. For this she needed only 15 minutes.
- 11 a.m. A nun come to Frau Bergmann's stand. She went directly to the hand-bags. Frau Bergmann said that the price was only 20 marks. The nun said nothing and only looked at the black hand-bag. After that she asked Frau Bergmann whether that hand-bag made from leather. Frau Bergmann explained quality of her commodity. This nun gave 20 marks. And then she asked Frau Bergmann whether she wanted to be given a present, namely a fruit can. It had been given to her by some other people but she did not like it. Frau Bergmann took it. She had never met the nun before.
- 11.30 a.m. An old woman came to her stand and looked at her goods on the table. Frau Bergmann asked her what she was looking for. She said that she wanted to get a present for her grand son. Frau Bergmann suggested that she buys a leather jacket for him. She asked Frau Bergmann about the price of that jacket. Frau Bergmann said 75 marks. She bargained it for 60 marks. Frau Bergmann agreed with that price. When Frau

Bergmann packed up the jacket in plastic, she asked her customer whether she wanted to be given five towels and some clothes. The old woman accepted the present.

1.30 p.m. Frau Bergmann started packing up her goods.

1.50 p.m. Frau Bergmann left the market-place.

d. Frau Irrgang : Portrait No. 4

Frau Irrgang is a female trader, German, 30 years old, married since 1989, with no children. She works as a secretary 40 hours per week. This means that she works eight hours a day from Monday through Friday. From this activity, she earns about 2500 marks each month. She lives in Olfen, Kreis Coesfeld in the state of North Rhine Westphalia.

Since 1992 she has engaged in trade at the fleamarket twice a month. She engages in trade at the fleamarket normally done on Saturday. She does not go to the fleamarket on Sundays because this time is spent together with her husband doing joint activities like going to the movies, attending the theatre and concerts, etc.

Frau Irrgang has gone to fleamarkets located as far away as in Dortmund, Lünen, Witten, Dortmund, Münster, Hamm, Bielefeld, and so on. When she went to fleamarkets which were located not very far from her city like Lünen and Witten, she normally went alone. But when she went to fleamarkets located far from her home like in Bielefeld, she went together with friends. Going with friends to the fleamarkets is important for her, because she has someone who can help her on the road and at the market-place.

Frau Irrgang also engages in trade at the *Wochenmarkt* (the weekly market). She has done this since 1990. She goes there twice a month. She trades at the *Wochenmarkt* only in Datteln and Wallraß. Since these towns are located not far from Olfen.

For her, engaging in trade at the fleamarket and at the *Wochenmarkt* is not just to earn money but also to spend her leisure time and to have fun. By trading at the fleamarket, she once made 800 marks. But she normally earns about 300 marks. At the *Wochenmarkt* she can earn money from 80 marks to 100 marks. This means that she earns more money at the fleamarket than at the *Wochenmarkt*. But she also has to spend more time at the fleamarket than at the *Wochenmarkt*. To engage in trade at the fleamarket, she generally spends her time between 10 hours for short distance trade like to Lünen and 16 hours for long distance trade like Bielefeld. On the other hand, she spends only about eight hours trading at the *Wochenmarkt*.

Frau Irrgang sells handicraft items which are made by herself. She claims that she is never idle at home but always busy with activities. While watching television, therefore she makes dolls, knits baby clothes, or paints balls, and so on. When she has made something she is happy and satisfied. She sometimes takes orders from friends or other people who know that she makes articles which are used for Christmas, birthday parties, etc.

For trading activities at both the fleamarket and at the *Wochenmarkt* she uses her weekends, especially Saturday. The five days in working at her office makes her completely exhausted. By engaging in trade, she finds a new atmosphere: contacts with new persons, engages in bargaining, and has fun. This way she recovers from her weekly weariness.

For her husband, her trading activities, at both these markets is no problem. Her husband agrees with her trading activities, but he never goes with her to the two markets because he has no interest in these activities. Engaging in trade at both markets does not disturb their family relationship. Because they have one day to do something together each week.

Activities on October 14th 1995

One day before engaging in trade at the fleamarket in Bielefeld, Frau Irrgang contacted her friends to ask whether they also wanted to go to the fleamarket, which fleamarket, and whether they wanted to go together. Besides that she checked her car to be sure it could be used for long distance travel. She then packed up her goods and stall in the car.

- 3 a.m. Frau Irrgang woke up and prepared food for breakfast, lunch, and coffee break.
- 3.45 a.m. She went to Dortmund to meet her friends.
- 4.30 a.m. She arrived in Dortmund where her friends had been waiting for 15 minutes. They took a short break before leaving.
- 5 a.m. Frau Irrgang and her friends went together to Bielefeld.
- 6.30 a.m. Frau Irrgang and her friends arrived in Ecke Hermann Windel Street in Senne, Bielefeld. She made a pause again to drink together with her friends. After that Frau Irrgang unfolded her table and her friends helped her to make the stall.
- 7 a.m. Frau Irrgang unloaded her goods from the box and displayed their things on the table. She was already to sell.
- 8 a.m. Visitors started coming to the market-place. Some of them came to her stall only to see what she sells.
- 8.30 a.m. A customer asked her about the price of an artificial flower which she had made herself. The customer bargained for a price. She sold it five marks. The original price was seven marks.
- 1 p.m. Frau Irrgang had lunch together with her friends. After that she went to the toilette. She then looked around the market-place.
- 6.30 p.m. Frau Irrgang started packing up her goods.
- 7.05 p.m. Frau Irrgang drove back to Olfen alone.
- 8.30 p.m. She arrived at home and went directly to the kitchen to have dinner. After that she went to the bed room.

e. Mr. Abdul : Potrait No. 5

Mr. Abdul is a male trader, 50 years old, an Afghan, with four children. His first child is 14 years old and the youngest is three years old. Mr. Abdul has lived in Germany since 1989. He came to this country because of the war Afghanistan.

According to Mr. Abdul, engaging in trading activities is his job. He has traded at the fleamarkets since 1980. Until 1995 Mr. Abdul, with a friend, engaged jointly in trading activities: travelling, selling, etc. This means that financial capital belonged to them jointly --fifty percent from each partner-- In January 1996 they agreed to end their cooperation. Since that time Mr. Abdul is helped by his family, especially by his son, to engage in trading activities. According to Mr. Abdul, he and his ex-partner in trade are usually in contact with each other through the telephone. Through this contact, they can avoid engaging in trade at the same place. Besides this, they can help each other when one of them needs certain goods.

All of his goods are new. They are bought in different cities in Germany. Mr. Abdul buys electronic products in Gelsenkirchen, toys in Köln (Cologne), carpets in Dortmund, clocks and telephones in Frankfurt, perfumes and jewelry in Düsseldorf, and so on. The bulk of his goods are made in other countries like China, Indonesia, Turkey, Thailand, etc.

The price of his goods is always cheaper than the price for the same items in the shops or in the supermarkets. Almost all of the prices of his goods can be bargained over. According to Mr. Abdul, at the fleamarket the traders can not set a fixed price for their goods. For almost every sale, he bargains over the price with the customers. Sometimes his customers, generally the Germans, make a transaction without bargaining.

He usually buys two magazines i.e., "Flohmarkt Revue" and "Trödler & Magazin Sammeln" every month to know schedule of fleamarkets. Through these magazines he can know when and where the fleamarkets will be organized in the various locations, not only in Bielefeld but also in other cities in Germany.

Activities on March 23rd 1996

One day before engaging in trade on the "Johannisberg", Bielefeld, namely on Friday night March 22nd 1996, Mr. Abdul went to the market-place to search for a strategic position to make tent. He arrived there at around 7 p.m. and spent about 30 minutes making the tent. He left at around 7.30 p.m. As he already set up this tent the day before engaging in trade, he did not have to wake up early.

- 5 a.m. Mr. Abdul woke up and went to the bathroom. Then he had breakfast.
- 5.45 a.m. Mr. Abdul and Bus --his first son-- went to the fleamarket located on the "Johannisberg". He needed 15 minutes to go there.
- 6 a.m. Mr. Abdul and Bus arrived at the market-place. By this time the bulk of traders were displaying their goods. Mr. Abdul parked his car behind his tent. After that he set up the tables and then started displaying his goods on the tables. Bus helped his father to display the goods.
- 11 a.m. It was drizzling. By this time, Mr. Abdul had earned 25 marks. There were two reasons for this situation: the drizzling and many competitors who were selling the same goods.
- 12 noon The rain stopped but it was still cloudy.
- 5.30 p.m. Mr. Abdul started to pack up his goods.
- 6.15 a.m. Mr. Abdul finished packing up but the tent and the tables were still there because he would to sell them there tomorrow.

f. Ms. Thor : Potrait No. 6

Ms. Thor is a female trader, 37 years old, German, an artist, and single. According to her, she works as a trader selling her own handicrafts and has small workshop in her house. She lives in Detmold.

Engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket is her job. In other words, she sells things at the fleamarket to make money. Ms. Thor engages in trading activities at the fleamarket every weekend, on both Saturday and on Sunday. If the event is the *Töpfermarkt* or the *Handwerksmarkt* (the handicrafts market), she usually chooses to engage in trading activities there. Because these special markets are carried out only at certain time. Also, according to her, if she engages in trade at the *Töpfermarkt* and at the *Handwerksmarkt*, this means that she is selling her goods at the best place. To get information about the fleamarkets, she buys a monthly magazine which gives times and locations of the fleamarkets as well as other markets like the *Handwerksmarkt*. Through these activities Ms. Thor can earn between 500 marks and 1000 marks for each trading session. Thus, she makes money between 1000 marks and 2000 marks per week. Through this trading, according to her, she also meets new people and sees her friends who come to her stand.

Engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket has been carried out by Ms. Thor since 1986. The first time she traded at the fleamarket, she realized that she could continue her activities as a handicrafts artist to make something and be independent of other people or other institutions, because she could earn money by selling her products at fleamarkets.

She only sells new jewelry like rings, earrings, noserings, necklaces, etc. To sell her handicrafts, she attends fleamarkets which are located not only in Bielefeld and Detmold but also in Kassel, Hannover, Dortmund, Essen, Hamm-Westphalia, Osnabrück, Gütersloh, Paderborn, and Münster. All of her goods are labeled according to the price. It means that her handicrafts items have fixed prices. If the customers want to bargain, she says that the price can not be bargained over. In general, customers will buy her goods paying what is on the price tag.

The bulk of her goods are made by herself. Some items are purchased from friends who are also handicrafts artists. The rest she orders from distributors of jewelry in other cities such as Hannover, Ralsdorf, and München. She also buys some materials, which she needs to make jewelry, in those cities.

She makes her handicrafts in her own workshop and works from 2 - 4 hours everyday. She states that it is difficult to explain how many kinds of jewelry are made in one day, because she does not make just one kind of jewelry from beginning to the end every day.

Activities on May 25th 1996

4.30 a.m. Ms. Thor woke up and went to the kitchen to boil water in order to make coffee. Thereafter, she went to the bathroom to wash her face. Then she had breakfast.

5.30 a.m. Ms. Thor went to Bielefeld in her own car. To get to Bielefeld she spent about 30 minutes

- 6 a.m. Ms. Thor arrived at the market-place, that is the "Klosterplatz", Bielefeld. She went directly to the place from which she always engaged in trading activities. She unloaded her goods, the table, and the tent from her car. Thereafter, she went to the parking area located around the market-place.
- 6.30 a.m. Ms. Thor constructed the tent and set up the table. Then she started displaying her commodities on the table.
- 7.30 a.m. It began to rain. Ms. Thor made her first transaction five marks for an earring.
- 9.30 a.m. Her sister came with her daughter. This meeting was, for Ms. Thor, important and interesting because she had not met her sister and niece for a month. On this occasion Ms. Thor bought something for her niece.
- 10 a.m. Ms. Thor was startled to know some of her goods had been stolen. She lost about 150 marks.
- 10.30 a.m. Two visitors came to her stand. One of them asked Ms. Thor about the price of a ring. Ms. Thor explained that it depends on the kind of ring. Each ring had its own price tag. The customer asked whether she could bargain it. Ms. Thor said that her goods could be not bargained. Finally, the customer bought the ring without bargaining.
- 11.30 a.m. It rained again. While Ms. Thor started packing up her goods, some visitors came to her stand. Ms. Thor stopped packing up and then re-displayed her goods. At this moment, her friends also came to her stand. They engaged in an interesting conversation for 30 minutes. One of her friends showed her rings and bracelets. She explained that her goods were bought in the USA and if Ms. Thor had an interest in her goods, she would sell them to Ms. Thor.
- 12.30 p.m. Ms. Thor started packing up again. After packing up, she went to the parking area to fetch her car. She earned about 635 marks at this market-place.
- 1.15 p.m. Ms. Thor returned home.

2. Types of traders

Based on above portraits of traders, therefore, it can be argued that there are similarities and differences among traders related to their purposes for engaging in trading activities, the frequency of the trader's attendance, ethnic background, relative contribution of trading to household consumption, and relation with society.

a. Reasons for Engaging in Trading Activities

Engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket is an economic action. Using Weber's sociological view (1964: 112), an economic action can be seen as a social action in so far as it 'takes account of the behavior of someone else.' This taking account can be accomplished in various ways -by seeing other people, by talking to them, by thinking of them, and so on. As described in an earlier chapter, Weber argued that the actor always orients his or her action in relation to people's behavior through socially constructed meanings. In other words, the actor interprets (*verstehen*) his or own customs, habits, norms, and vested interests in the ongoing course of social interaction. Using Weber's idea, therefore, we understand that the trader's action at the fleamarket can be regarded as a form of social action, because his or her action toward others is

oriented by means of --seeing, thinking, speaking, bargaining, selling, smiling, and so forth.

This social action, seen in the scope of trading activities at the fleamarket, based on Weber's idea ([1922]1978: 24-25), can at least, have two orientations. That are instrumentally rational (*zweckrational*) and value-rational (*wertrational*). The first relates to actions which consider the relation between means and ends. Second describes actions which are based on a conscious belief in the value of the act for its own sake.

Our survey in the *Rathaus* and on our in-depth interviews of fleamarket traders show that engaging in trading activities involves various goals: making money, having fun, meeting friends, becoming acquainted with new people, using one's leisure time, getting rid of one's old goods. Based on these reasons, it may be said that both types of orientations are typical of traders' reasons for engaging in trading activities at the German fleamarket. In instrumentally rational orientations, the main purpose of trader for engaging in trading activities is to earn money. In other words, it can be regarded as a main job, like portrait no. 3 and no. 4 or as a second or part-time job, as portrait no. 5 and no. 6 show, which make up to all of or part of the traders income. Through these activities, the traders spend their time to make a profit from transactions. The traders who engage in trade at the fleamarket, as their main job, are regarded as the professional traders, while those who do it as a second job are considered as the part-time traders. The part-time traders do their main job Monday to Friday. On the other hand, in value-rational orientations the main purpose of traders for engaging in trade is not to earn profit but just the non-monetary goods like having fun, engaging in social relationships, using leisure time, and so forth, like portrait no. 1 and no. 2 show. Earning money, therefore in this context, is viewed as a by product of engaging in trading activities. This type of traders is called as the pseudo traders.

b. Frequency of Traders' Attendance

Various reasons for engaging in trading activities influence distinction of frequency of engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket. For the professional traders and the part-time traders who have the intention of making profit from fleamarkets transaction-like in portrait no.3, no.4, no.5 and no.6-, this activity is carried out more often than in the case of the pseudo traders who have non-profit orientations -such as portrait no. 1 and no.2. In the cases of traders who have profit orientations, furthermore, we can further divide them into the professional traders, who engage in these activities as their main job, and the part-time traders who engage in trade as a second job. The first engage in trading activities more frequently than the latter. These differences can be understood in term of the relative contribution of these activities to household income.

c. Kinds of Goods Traded

Based on the kinds of goods which are exchanged by traders at fleamarkets, we see that the pseudo traders usually sell their own secondhand goods. On the other hand, the part-time traders generally sell either used goods or handicrafts. In contrast to the first two types, the professional traders usually sell new goods, antiques, or the handicrafts items.

d. Relative Contribution to Household Consumption

To explain this topic, we need to refer to an interesting idea of Evers about the contribution from several sources of income, and different kinds of income, to household consumption. According to the Bielefeld Workshop of Development Sociologists (1981: 5), in many developing countries, survival is dependent on what combination of activities and sources of income persons or groups decide on. But also in industrial societies, Evers (1987, see also 1991) states that the intertwinement of several sources of income and different kinds of labor is by no means unimportant, although overlooked by most studies. Especially the demand for organizing an alternative economic system, something that has been influenced by ideas of dualism, has emphasized the distinctions rather than the systematic interweaving of the subsistence economy and the production of goods, of wage-labor and unpaid labor.

To illustrate his notion of this intertwinement, Evers (1982, 1987, 1991 see also Evers, Betke, and Pitomo, 1983) describes the types of income generating activities and sources of income, including subsistence production, the informal sector, and the formal sector. In Evers' view the informal sector consists of that part of the shadow economy in which small units produce for the market and render services. Furthermore, subsistence production comprises all consumption-oriented economic activities intended for private use and consumption and consumption outside of market economic relations. Both of these types of economic activities are classified by Evers as the shadow economy, which involves all those economic activities which are not included in the official statistics and are therefore withdrawn from government regulations and taxation. This implies that, based on these definitions, the formal sector indicates all those economic activities which are recorded in official statistics, and therefore included in government regulation and taxation.

From the 64 theoretically possible combinations, there are, according to Evers (1987 and 1991), the following intertwinement types which can be regarded as making significant contributions to household consumption:

(1) F-Type (Formal Sector Type) :

Predominance of income from wage-labor with lesser importance of subsistence production and no income from the informal sector.

(2) FS-Type (Formal and Subsistence Sector Type) :

High importance of income from wage-labor in the formal sector, combined however with significant consumption from subsistence production.

(3) FIS-Type (Formal plus Informal plus Subsistence sector Type) :

A high degree of intertwinement in which all three sources of reproduction are important.

(4) FI-Type (Formal and Informal Type) :

Besides the equal importance of income from wage-labor in the formal sector and activities in the informal sector, subsistence production is insignificant. As with the F-Type, household income and expenditures are organized mainly through the market.

(5) IS-Type (Informal and Subsistence Sector Type) :

The informal sector is the dominant source of income but is closely intertwined with subsistence production. Wage-labor in the formal sector appears only sporadically.

From Evers' perspective point of this kinds of economic activities which can generate income as well as the intertwinement of types contributions to household consumption, trading activities at the fleamarket, can be regarded as economic activity in the informal sector. Based on the portraits of traders presented here, it appears that, in portrait no.1 and no.2, the contribution of their engaging in trade at the fleamarket to household consumption is very small and occasional. Their most importance source of income is wage-labor in the formal sector. In portrait no.3 and no. 4, furthermore, we find that the income which is earned from engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket is equally important to that from activities in formal sector. Hence we see that in portrait no. 5 and no. 6, income which is gained from trading activities is very important, they have no income from the formal sector and subsistence production can be regarded as insignificant in these cases. Thus, we can elaborate an Evers' idea with the addition of one type from our study, namely the I-Type (Informal Sector Type). This I-Type indicates a predominance of income from activity in the informal sector with less importance of subsistence and no income generated from wage-labor (the formal sector).

e. Ethnic Background

According to our observations and interviews, the bulk of both the pseudo traders and the part-time traders are Germans. In contrasts to two earlier kinds of traders, the majority of the professional traders, who sell new goods at the fleamarket, are foreigners who live permanently in Bielefeld. However, the majority of the professional traders who trade in handicrafts and antiques are Germans.

f. Relations with Society

If we wish to highlight the relationship between trading activities and society, therefore, it is important to use the concept of embeddedness of economic life in the society. From our studies of the relevant literature, as described in chapter two, it can be argued that the embeddedness of a certain economic institution takes place in various ways and to different degrees (Granovetter, 1985; Schrader, 1995 and 1994, also see Evers and Schrader eds., 1994). Departing from this view point, therefore, we see that the social embeddedness of trade at the fleamarket is expressed in at least three ways:

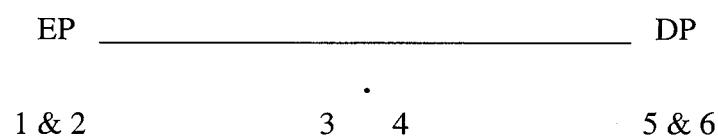
1. Orientations of Trading Activity

As discussed above, purposes for engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket can be grouped, at least, into two basic orientations: firstly, the instrumentally rational orientation involves all trading activities which pursue means, as well as calculated ends, rationally. These activities are usually carried out to make a profit. On the other hand, the value-rational orientation includes all trading activities which are based on a conscious belief in the value of the activity in and for itself.

From these basic orientations involved in engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket, therefore, we can arrive at grades of embeddedness based on Schrader's view. He explains that economic life can be described as a continuum between full embeddedness as one pole, and exactly disembodiedness at the other. Portrait no. 1 indicates that an important reason for engaging in trading activities is to locate a good social atmosphere. Through engaging in trade, this actor can take part in some other activities, such as meeting friends and looking around the market-place. Portrait no.2 it appears that through engaging in trade, the economic actor can have fun, engage in social relationships, as well as dispose of unwanted possessions. Both portrait no.1 and no.2 show that these actors consider earning money not main reason for their trading activities. In portrait no. 3 and no.4 we can see that these actors engage within trading activities in the framework of making money as a second job. The former sells used goods, some of which are bought from her acquaintances, while the later deals in her own handicrafts. They also have differences in their strategies of marketing. The first trader usually asks everyone who comes to her stand, about what she or he needs. Hence she is well known to visitors of the fleamarket. On the contrary, the second trader only answers if she is asked questions by customers. Furthermore, in portrait no. 4 and no.5 we can also see that these economic actors trade in order to make profit, as their main job.

Based on these data, therefore, portrait no. 1 and no.2 (the pseudo traders) can be located at the embeddedness pole. On the other hand, we can place portrait no. 4 and no. 5 (the part-time traders) at the opposite pole of disembodiedness. Portrait no. 3 and no.4 (the professional traders) fall in the middle of the continuum. But the former is located near to the embeddedness pole, because some of her commodities come from other people. In comparison with portrait no. 3, portrait no.4 can be placed nearer to the disembodiedness pole. Compared with portrait no. 5, portrait no.4 trades as a second job. Also she takes orders from her acquaintances and people in her neighborhood (see Figure 4.1. below).

Figure 4.1. The Embeddedness and the Disembodiedness of Trading Activities
Based on Trading Orientation



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembodiedness Pole

1 - 6 = portrait no.1 - portrait no.6

2. Social Networks

As discussed in chapter two, network studies have been carried out by sociologists since the 1960s. These are concerned with how individuals are linked to one another and how the bonds of affiliation serve both as lubricant for getting things done and as the glue which provides order and meaning to social life (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994: 365). From our review of the literature on social networks, we see that there are

two kinds of social networks, namely trading networks and non-trading networks. Trading networks, according to Evers (1988: 92-92), refer to the social process of exchange in the sense that social interaction occur between persons with the primary purposes of exchanging goods over shorter or longer geographical distances. Hence, with regard to Evers's concept, non-trading networks imply that when the individuals who are glued and linked to one another in engaging in trade are not primarily caused by the purpose of exchanging goods over a more or less greater geographical distance.

The trading networks at the fleamarket can be seen among the professional traders, like in portrait no. 5. In his trading activities, Mr. Abdul still has contacts with his ex-business partner. Through maintaining this contact, they can avoid engaging in trade at the same place. Furthermore they can help each other, when one of them needs certain goods.

To understand the non-trading network which is expressed in trading activities at the fleamarket, first of all, it is importance to observe fleamarket regulation related to the trader. As discussed in a following section of this chapter, at certain fleamarkets, especially those which are held by governmental organizations and by non-governmental organizations, the organizers choose these traders who have first priority in setting up a stand at the fleamarket. These organizations give to the people who reside in their working area and/or who the members of these organizations priority for engaging in trade at their fleamarket like those of the *Bürgerwache e.V.* Through this regulation, accordingly, we see how social networks are constructed. The traders, especially the pseudo traders, and the visitors who come the same area meet in the same public arena, namely the market-place of the fleamarket. In this arena, they can engage not only in trading activities --bargaining, selling, and so on-- but also in social interactions like meeting, speaking, smiling, drinking together, etc. The last activity can result in economic actors -- the traders as well as the visitors-- becoming connected, glued or bound to each other (Burt, 1992). In this situation, furthermore, the traders will experience traders' dilemma.

We also found that non-trading networks can arise through people engaging in trade at the same table, like in portraits no. 1 and no. 2 (both the pseudo traders) and traveling together to the same fleamarket, like in portraits no. 1, no. 2, and no. 4 (the last is a part-time trader). Through these activities, we see how the traders form social bonds with one to another.

Based on explanation above, it can be argued that these social networks (both trading networks and non-trading network) reflect a kind of embeddedness of fleamarket trading activity in the society as whole. If we try to establish the grade of the embeddedness of trading activities in this context, it can be claimed that, engaging in trading activities at those fleamarkets which are held by the governmental organizations as well as by non-other profit organizations, is more socially embedded than that at fleamarkets held by private companies.

3. The Traders' Dilemma

Using Scott's idea, Evers (1994a) notes that peasant societies are normally characterized by a high degree of social solidarity and by a value system that emphasizes mutual help, the sharing of resources and subsistence security. Under these conditions, traders in a peasant society face a dilemma which arises out of their moral obligation to share proceeds with kinfolk and neighbors, on the one hand, and the necessity to make profits and accumulate trading capital, on the other.

Evers (1994a: 10) argues that if the developed market economy expands and economic relations become "disembedded" or differentiated from society, the traders' dilemma is transformed into the social dilemma typical of all capitalist market economies. On the one hand, a modern economy requires the rationalization of economic relations and the primacy of productivity. On the other, social justice and redistribution are necessary to preserve the legitimacy of the state and its social and political order.

Corresponding to Evers' view, traders in industrialized countries, like Germany, have a moral obligation to share income with their society, namely through paying taxes to the state. For Germans, paying taxes to the state means that they contribute to maintaining their system, including the social market economy and the German social democracy. These points will be discussed in chapter seven.

How do Germans view people who do not pay their taxes? To answer this question, it is useful to look at the case of Steffi Graf, who was accused in 1995 by tax official of making "*Steuerflucht*" (tax evasion). Almost all of German mass media, newspapers, magazines, and television reported on this case. Almost all of media said that Steffi Graf, especially her father, have done something wrong². As a result of with holding tax payments, it appears opinion that Steffi Graf has incurred social stigma³ in German society.

Using Evers' idea, we can see that many professional traders, especially Germans, engage in trading activities at the fleamarkets in order to avoid this dilemma. They usually sell antiques and/or "*Trödel*" like antique furniture, old books, ceramics, and so on. Many of them have a "shop", which is part of their house. Almost all of them do not have a *Gewerbeschein* (trade license). This license make it obligatory to pay tax on transactions. According to officials of the *Ordnungsamt*, any person who sells regularly at the fleamarket, in order to earn money, must have a *Gewerbeschein*. They refer to the *Gewerbeordnung* (Official Trade Regulation):

Titel III. Reisegewerbe

§55. Reisegewerbekarte. (1) Ein Reisegewerbe betreibt, wer gewerbsmäßig ohne vorhergehende Bestellung außerhalb seiner gewerblichen Niederlassung (§42 Abs.

2) oder ohne eine solche zu haben

1. selbständig oder unselbständig in eigener Person Waren feilbietet oder Bestellungen aufsucht (vertreibt) oder ankauft, Leistungen anbietet oder Bestellungen auf Leistungen aufsucht oder

² At the time many mass media, like "Stern", "der Spiegel", etc reported this case.

³ when I went to the Bielefeld Center by bus, I ever over heard a schoolboy make fun of his friend, because her name was Steffi.

2. selbständig unterhaltende Tätigkeiten als Schausteller oder nach Schaustellerart ausübt.

(2) Wer ein Reisegewerbe betreiben will, bedarf der Erlaubnis (Reisegewerbekarte).

(3) Die Reisegewerbekarte kann inhaltlich beschränkt, mit einer Befristung erteilt und mit Auflagen verbunden werden, soweit dies zum Schutze der Allgemeinheit oder der Verbraucher erforderlich ist; unter denselben Voraussetzungen ist auch die nachträgliche Aufnahme, Änderung und Ergänzung von Auflagen zulässig.

Based on this study, the police will prosecute a professional trader if he or she sells new things at the fleamarket. But the police also find it difficult to distinguish among the professional traders, part-time traders, and pseudo traders who sell the same goods such as antiques or *Trödel*. Therefore, the police, in reality, check only the traders who sell new goods. Selling at the fleamarket can be a strategy used by professional traders, without a *Gewerbeschein*, in turn, to avoid paying tax.

The other traders` dilemma can emerge through the regulation the access of traders to selling at fleamarkets. This influences economic actors --the traders and visitors-- who come from the same residential area or the same social community to meet as well as to communicate among themselves and establish social bonds. This situation will be experienced by traders as a dilemma because they have to choose between setting prices according to their need, so that they do not take losses, and to recognize their social relationships with acquaintances, friends, and neighbors.

Based on our field research, especially at the fleamarkets which are held by governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations, we find that some traders, especially students, who come from other German cities, but live in Bielefeld, are surprised when customers came to their stand, asked the price of an item, and then left without bargaining over the goods. These traders know that, at the fleamarket, anyone can bargain over the prices, but they do not understand why people usually do not bargain with them.

According to our data, if the trader and the visitor know to each other, especially the pseudo trader and the flaneur, before making transaction, they usually chat about something related to their common life situation. Then, the customer asks the price. The trader generally can not give the price immediately, but he or she thinks a moment and then states it. Based on our interviews at the market-places, she or he can not state the price at once because they have no set prices for their goods. The other hand, the buyer usually does not bargain over that price directly, but they will say that they have only so much money and showing what is in their pocket. But, in reality, the customer has more money in another pockets. This strategy will be more deeply discussed in a following chapter.

Table 4.4. Types of Traders at the Fleamarket

Items	The Pseudo Trader	The Part-time Trader	The Professional Trader
Purposes	Non-profit aims : having fun, trading as a hobby, etc.	Earning money as a second job	Earning money as a main job
Frequency	Low (1-4 times a year)	Middle (once weekly)	High (twice a week)
Kind of goods	Secondhand goods	Secondhand goods and handicrafts	Antiques, new things, handicrafts
Contribution to household consumption	Low	Middle	High
Ethnic back ground	Mostly Germans	Mostly Germans	Germans sell handicrafts and antiques and foreigners sell new goods
Embeddedness -orientation	Value rational	Instrumentally rational	Instrumentally rational
-social network	Non-trading network	Non-trading network	Trading and non- trading networks
-Traders' dilemma	Neighbors, friends, acquaintances, etc.	Pay tax	Pay tax

B. The Visitors : from Collecting to Communicating

This study shows that people who attend the fleamarkets as visitors are not identical in their motivations. Most striking are differences in their reasons for going to the fleamarkets, in terms of frequency, in time spend there, and in the kinds of goods purchased.

The results of this survey indicate that respondents, as visitors or customers, have differentiated and various reasons for going to fleamarkets. The majority of our respondents (29.1 %) say they go to the fleamarket to buy something. Many of them (24.7 %) also visit the fleamarkets to take a stroll. These will be followed by the visitors who go to the fleamarkets because of interest in new social atmosphere (19.4 %) and to have fun (14.7%).

Table 4.5. Visitors Reasons for Attending the Fleamarket (n=194)

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Shopping	170	29.1
Taking a Stroll	144	24.7
Meeting Friends	42	7.2
Interest in social atmosphere	113	19.4
Motley crowd of people	7	1.2
Having Fun	86	14.7
Killing Time	5	0.9
Becoming Acquainted with People	10	1.7
Market Located on their Way to home and/or work	6	1.1
Total*	583	100.0

Source : author's data collection

*multiple answers were possible

In terms of frequency of fleamarket attendance, our survey shows that the majority of respondents (37.6 %) visit the fleamarket one or twice a year. This is followed by respondents (30.9 %) who attend the fleamarket once every two or three months. Some of them (24.7 %) go to a fleamarket every month. Only 3.7 % of respondents had attended a fleamarket once in their life (see Table 4.6.).

Table 4.6. Frequency of Fleamarket Attendance

Goes to the Fleamarket	Frequency	Percent
Every week	6	3.1
Every month	48	24.7
Once every two or three months	60	30.9
Once or twice a year	73	37.6
Up to now once	7	3.7
Total	194	100.0

n = 194

Source : author's data collection

In terms of time spent at the fleamarket, the visitors can be divided into five groups: up to 15 minutes, 16 - 30 minutes, 30 - 60 minutes, 60 - 120 minutes, and over 120 minutes. The majority (42.8 %) spent from 30 until 60 minutes in the fleamarket. This is followed by visitors (26.3 %) who stay at the fleamarket from one to two hours.

Table 4.7. Time Spent at the Fleamarket

Time Spent	Frequency	Percent
Up to 15 Minutes	9	4.6
16 – 30 Minutes	38	19.6
30 – 60 Minutes	83	42.8
60 - 120 Minutes	51	26.3
> 120 Minutes	13	6.7
Total	194	100.0

n= 194

Source : author's data collection

Based on our data, the majority of respondents (65.9 %) go to the fleamarkets to buy secondhand goods. This is followed by visitors (14.9 %) who buy goods like ceramics and handicraft items from Africa, Asia, and Germany. Some of them (11.4 %) visit the fleamarkets to search for antiques.

Table 4.8. Kind of Goods Purchased (n=170)

<i>Goods</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Secondhand goods	159	65.9
New goods	8	3.4
Antiques	28	11.7
Foods	10	4.1
Others	36	14.9
Total*	241	100.0

Source : author's data collection

*multiple answers were possible

These data based on the survey, are useful for making an initial differentiation of the visitors. These give us general information about varying and multiple reasons for visiting fleamarkets, varying in terms of frequency of and time spent there. These data do not explain, however, who the visitors are, or what they do at the fleamarket, etc. To give us an understanding of the motivations of visitors, it is important to look at the results of observation and in-depth interviews with them.

1. Portraits of Visitors

To construct a typology of visitors, it is useful to present some cases in order to understand their reasons for visiting the fleamarket, their activities at the fleamarket, etc. To achieve this end six portraits of visitors will be introduced, namely Mrs. Maimunah as portrait no.1, Frau Mühlenweg as portrait no. 2, Mrs. Hazer as portrait no.3, Mr. Mahmud as portrait no.4, Frau Sunkel as portrait no. 5, and Ms. Jung as portrait no.6. These portraits are offered as case studies of the economic as well as the sociocultural behavior of visitors at the fleamarket. In this course of this illustration we would draw our data from biographies of visitors, combined with observation of their activities at the fleamarket.

a. Mrs. Maimunah : Portrait No. 1

Mrs. Maimunah is female, a student at a Dutch university, an Indonesian, and is 34 years old, married, without children. She has lived in Bielefeld since December 1995. Her husband is also a student but at the University of Bielefeld. To save money, she lives together with her husband in Bielefeld. She sometimes goes to the Netherlands to consult about her dissertation with her professor there.

Her daily activities are those related to writing a dissertation (i.e., reading, writing, and discussion) and to housework (cooking and shopping in the city center : these activities can be done together with her husband). To support their studies, they have savings which resulted from both her own work and her husband's job. Besides this, her husband obtains a salary as a lecturer from his university in Indonesia every month. Furthermore, she also writes actively for newspapers published in Indonesia both in English and in Indonesian. From these activities, she earns some income.

She became aware of the fleamarket in Bielefeld, for the first time, through signs posted along the road from the university to the city center. To get information on the fleamarkets, she usually asks her acquaintances. If she meets her friends, she normally includes the fleamarket as one of topics of conversation. This is done to get information on locations and schedule of the next fleamarket.

Since living in Bielefeld, she has gone to the fleamarkets 14 times to June 1996. She has visited the fleamarkets located in parking area of Hotel Vier Taxbäume, the "Freizeitzentrum" in Stieghorst and in Baumheide, the "Siegfriedplatz", the "Klosterplatz", the "Johannisberg", and the parking area of Real Markt. From these fleamarkets, she would like visit only the fleamarkets located in the "Freizeitzentrum" in Baumheide, the "Klosterplatz", and the parking area of Real Markt the next time, because, according to her, the goods are sold at these fleamarkets are interesting and cheap. By going to the fleamarket, which is located in the parking area of Real Markt, she finds goods which are not sold at the two other fleamarkets. She also knows that the prices at this fleamarket are more expensive than those two other fleamarkets. But she visits the later also as a leisure activity.

She attends the fleamarket to buy something for her collections. She collects goods which can be not found in Indonesia and are produced in Germany or other European countries like ceramics and/or porcelains, metal-crafts (i.e., chimes, wall decorations), and other special goods. According to her, she also has a hobby of collecting the goods which have a chime motif, such as batiks, statues, photos, porcelains, and so forth.

Activities on 15th June 1996

This trip to the fleamarket, located at the Klosterplatz, was the first visit to this market-place. She heard about the fleamarket from a friend. As is commonly known, this fleamarket is located at two sites, namely the "Klosterplatz" and the "Jodokukircheplatz". At that time she only looked around the fleamarket at the "Klosterplatz", because she did not realize that there was another one at the "Jodokuskircheplatz".

- 11 a.m. Mrs. Maimunah went to the market-place by bus.
- 11.15 a.m. Mrs. Maimunah arrived there. She was surprised because she observed that this market-place was bigger than others that she had been to. The first thing she did was to map this location in her mind. She did this to make her searching easier and to save her time. At the fleamarket she bought a German chime, an owl ceramic, and a miniature of a traditional German house for one mark a piece. She bargained over the price.
- 12.30 p.m. After looking at all the stands located at the "Klosterplatz" she left the market-place and continued on to a supermarket located not far from this fleamarket.
- 1 p.m. She returned home.

b. Frau Mühlenweg : Portrait No. 2

Frau Mühlenweg is a housewife, a German, 55 years old, married, with two daughters. Both of daughters are students at University of Bielefeld. Only the youngest lives at home with Frau Mühlenweg. The oldest lives with her friend in other place. Also, her first daughter works for a company in Bielefeld. Her husband works as an engineer. Through this employment he earns about 4500 marks every month. Out of this income, he has to give his daughters 500 marks each. This means that he spent money 1000 marks on his daughters.

Frau Mühlenweg goes to the fleamarket almost every weekend, namely on Saturday and Sunday. This has been done by Frau Mühlenweg since 1993. She goes to fleamarkets located not only in Bielefeld but also in other cities like Hannover, Münster, Paderborn, Bonn, Köln, Halle/Westf., Detmold, Krefeld, and so on. When she went to fleamarkets located not very far from Bielefeld, like in Münster and Paderborn, she traveled together with her brother and her daughter in her car. But when she went to fleamarkets in the cities which are located far from Bielefeld, for example Bonn and Köln, she went there with the train. When going by train she used the *Wochenendticket*.² When she traveled to the other cities, she usually went in the early morning about 5 a.m. and returned home about 4 p.m.

To find out information about the locations and times of the fleamarkets, she searched in the newspapers which are published on Friday and on Saturday. If she needs information about the fleamarkets in other cities like Bonn and Köln, she telephones the information and tourism office of those cities. She always notes the schedule of fleamarkets, that she want to go to, in her own note book.

She visits the fleamarkets to search for porcelains for her collection. This means that collecting porcelain objects is her hobby. She collects vases, jars, tea sets (e.g., cans, pots, cups, crockery), etc. She collects not only complete tea sets but also partial sets, for example with only pots or plates, etc. She only buys porcelains produced before 1950. To display her porcelains she has special cupboards located in many spaces in her home, like her bath-room, living-room, kitchen, and stairs.

² This ticket can be used by up to 5 persons to go to anywhere in Germany for 35 marks.

According to Frau Mühlenweg, her husband never forbids her to collect these porcelains. But he never agrees to go together to the fleamarket, with her. Her husband does not like to go to fleamarkets. But her brother, who lives in the same apartment building, as well as her oldest daughter, have the same hobby as she, as collectors of the same goods. Thus Frau Mühlenweg usually goes to the fleamarket together with her brother.

Activities on June 8th 1996

On Friday night, about 8 p.m., while Frau Mühlenweg and her family had dinner, she discussed the plans about their schedule for visiting the fleamarket, the prices of goods, and so on with her brother. They do this almost every Friday night.

At 11.20. a.m. Frau Mühlenweg and her brother picked up oldest first daughter. After that they went directly to Baumheide.

At 11.30. a.m. They arrived in Baumheide. Immediately after arriving, they each went to the different parts of the market-place. This was done to search for items to buy for their collections effectively in the various areas. Because at the same time, other collectors are there to search for the same goods for their own collections. By doing so, therefore, they saved time and might find the interesting porcelain before other collectors. When they met each other later, they informed each other about what they had bought. At this fleamarket, Frau Mühlenweg bought a tea set (a pot, four cups, six pieces of crockery, five plates) for seventeen marks, a vase for two marks, and a big pot for seven marks. Her daughter also bought a pink tea pot for four marks. Those prices had all been bargained for or set by bargaining.

At 1 p.m. They continued their visit to other fleamarkets. They went to Sennestadt.

At 1.30. p.m. They arrived in Sennestadt. According to a newspaper, there was a fleamarket in this area at that time. But when they got to that place, there was no fleamarket. After that, they continued their trip on to Brackwede.

At 2.10. p.m. They arrived at Strickers' *Jugendzentrum*. However, they bought nothing at this market-place.

At 3. p.m. They returned home.

Mrs. Hazer : Portrait No. 3

Mrs. Hazer is 36 years old, employed, Turk, married, with a son. Her husband has been unemployed since 1994. She has worked as a cleaner at the university of Bielefeld for more than 10 years. She goes to the university every day for eight hours except on weekends. By means of this job she earns about 1600 marks each month. Like other workers, she gets "*Urlaubsgeld*" and vacation every year.

Mrs. Hazer goes to the fleamarket to buy secondhand goods which are needed by her family. Before going to the fleamarket, she sometimes has an idea of buying anything in particular to buy something, but she often has no idea because when she searches for

something specific, she does not seriously look at other goods being sold by the traders. When she did not find what she wanted, she was disappointed.

Through these activities, according to her, she can be thrifty with her money. She has to manage her income carefully in order to save something. Purchasing new things is done if she needs something which can be not found at the fleamarket or which she needs immediately. Therefore, she will often buy something at the fleamarket which she does not need at the moment. Hence the bulk of her family's goods, like clothes, electric appliances, and household goods i.e., drinking and eating utensils (like cans, glasses, cups), cooking tools (like pots, saucepans, and so on), etc. were bought at the fleamarkets.

Before purchasing these goods, their prices were arrived at by bargaining. For her the fleamarket has a social meaning as arena of bargaining. She states that "it is the fleamarket" to those traders who refuse to engage in bargaining. She claims that her friends have the same attitude about bargaining. How high the price can be depends for her on the kind and quality of goods which she wants to buy. She has a list of prices of secondhand goods in her mind. For example she would buy a sweater for about one mark up to three marks, a set of glasses for about three marks to six marks, and so forth.

Mrs. Hazer goes to the fleamarkets located at Stieghorst's Freizeitzentrum, Baumheide's Freizeitzentrum, the "Siegfriedplatz", the "Klosterplatz", and at the "Radrennbahn". This means that she visits the fleamarkets about 4 - 5 times every month, because those fleamarkets are carried out every month, except in Radrennbahn. She only goes to these fleamarkets, because she claims that the secondhand goods are sold cheaper than at other fleamarkets. Beside that quality of these goods is relatively better than at other fleamarkets. Going to the fleamarket is normally done together with her family or with her friends. She sometimes goes there alone. It depends on the situation. If she goes to the fleamarket with her acquaintances or members of her family, she makes an appointment with them before the trip.

There are various ways to know the schedule of fleamarkets. Firstly, she can ask people who know it. Secondly, she can find the dates in local newspapers, and finally, from leaflets which are distributed by organizers of fleamarkets or signs posted along the road from her house to her work-place. She collects the schedules of all fleamarkets which she plans to visit.

Activities on March 23rd 1996

One day before going to this fleamarket, she met her acquaintances in the city center. At this meeting, they talked about many things, including the fleamarket. They made an appointment to go together to the fleamarket located in Stieghorst.

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| By 12 noon | The acquaintances picked up Mrs. Hazer with car. They drove together to Stieghorst. |
| About 12.45 p.m. | They arrived. The main entrance of Stieghorts' Freizeitzentrum was still closed. In front of this building some traders were displaying their goods under their tables. |
| At 1.15 p.m. | The main entrance was opened. Mrs. Hazer and other visitors |

went into the building. On this occasion she bought a jacket for eight marks and a set of dishes for three marks. She had bargained for the prices.

By 2 p.m. The group returned to the city.

Mr. Mahmud : Portrait No. 4

Mr. Mahmud is an Egyptian, 43 years old, married, with 4 children. His wife is a German. In order to take care of her children, his wife left her job in an office. Mahmud has lived in Germany since 1989 and works as an electrician in Bielefeld. He earns about 2800 marks each month.

Mr. Mahmud has gone to the fleamarket ever since he came to Germany. He obtained his first information on the fleamarket from friends. He still gets information on schedule of the fleamarkets, held in Bielefeld, from his friends. If he knows the time and location of a fleamarket in Bielefeld, he usually goes there. He has visited various fleamarkets, including those which are located in the "Klosterplatz", the "Siegfriedplatz", Hotel Vier Taxbäume Brackwede, the "Johannisberg", the parking area in front of Real Markt, the "Radrennbahn".

Mr. Mahmud goes to the fleamarket to buy cheap goods, especially secondhand things. Thus he usually buys things that he thinks are important for his family, like clothes, bicycle, toys, and so on. Through this activity, he can save money by spending less for clothing and other goods which are used in daily life.

Going to the fleamarket, for him, is usually something done together with his family. They all look at stand after stand. This is important, because they can then decide to buy something or not. If his wife has something else to do at this time, he will go together with their children who also enjoy their visit to the fleamarket. Beside enjoying the new atmosphere, his children also can find new toys which they have not seen before.

Visiting the fleamarkets, according to him, is not only for purchasing needed goods but also good for finding "*Überschung*" (surprise). This "*Überschung*" relates to both kinds of the secondhand goods and to their prices. In relation to secondhand goods, he sometimes has found goods which he needed for along time. Finding needed goods at the fleamarket makes him happy. Furthermore, for him, although he knows that the prices of goods at the fleamarket are cheap, he will still bargain to get an even lower price. Engaging in bargaining gives him pleasure.

Activities on May 25th 1996

At this time it had been raining since 8 a.m. Only about 60 % of the 228 spaces for trading located at the "Klosterplatz", were occupied by the traders. The number of visitors was only about 50 % of those at the Klosterplatz fleamarket in good weather.

9 a.m. Mr. Mahmud accompanied his wife to Sieker where her wife's friend lived. This was because Mrs. Mahmud had to attend a meeting of her colleagues at that time. After going there, Mr. Mahmud went with his children to the "Klosterplatz".

- 9.30 a.m. They arrived at the "Klosterplatz". Before going to the market-place, Mr. Mahmud parked his car in the parking structure located near this place. From the parking structure they went on foot to the market-place. It was raining. They started searching for something from one stand to another. As a result of these activities, he bought a bicycle for thirty marks, a school bag for five marks, and an electrical item for two marks.
- 11 a.m. Mr. Mahmud and his children left this market place. He would have liked to go to another fleamarket, located at the "Siegfriedplatz", but his plan was canceled because of the bad weather.

Frau Sunkel : Portrait No. 5

Frau Sunkel is German, 29 years old, a teacher, married, with a daughter. Her husband has a bicycle shop in Bielefeld. She has lived in Bielefeld since she first attended the University of Bielefeld in 1988. Since 1994 Frau Sunkel has taught German to children who do not speak German as their native language. She teaches at the school every work-day. Through this activity she earns about 1580 marks. Before she worked at this school, she taught in a German Language course in Bielefeld continually for five years. If she has the time and opportunity, she sometimes also teaches that course twice a semester. She does it to have a change of routine, discussing with the participants of the course about their lands, languages, cultures, and so on.

For Frau Sunkel, finding a new atmosphere is also one reason for going to the fleamarket. At the fleamarket she enjoys a comfortable feeling. If she visits the fleamarket, she usually meets acquaintances there and she and her friends can have a conversation about whatever they want to talk about. Looking around the market-place as well as looking at the goods is fun for her. According to Frau Sunkel, one can find this atmosphere only at certain fleamarkets, especially at fleamarkets located at the "Klosterplatz" and the "Siegfriedplatz". Hence, she usually goes to those. She added that at the "Siegfriedplatz" her daughter can also play, because there is a place provided for children and her daughter can play with other children there. She does not pay anything for her daughter's activity. Besides, she can buy goods which can be not found at other market since they are so cheap. She never goes to other fleamarkets, such as those located on the Johannisberg and at the parking area of Real Markt because she did not like the atmosphere at those fleamarkets.

Although she enjoys a new atmosphere at the fleamarket, Frau Sunkel attends the fleamarket only about four times a year because she does not have much time. On Saturday morning she has to buy food at the shops, clean her house, etc. After that, she has to pay attention to her family through common activities like recreation, working in the garden, etc.

Information on the fleamarket schedule can be known through local newspapers. She sometime obtains this information from acquaintances who live in the same building. She also sometime goes to the fleamarket together with them.

Activities on April 20th 1996

- 9.30 a.m. Frau Sunkel went together with her daughter by bicycle to the "Jahnplatz" (the city center).
- 9.40 a.m. Frau Sunkel and her daughter bought some vegetables and some fruit there. After that they went on to the "Klosterplatz".
- 9.50 a.m. They arrived at the "Klosterplatz". At first they looked around the market-place which is located at the "Klosterplatz" and then went to the "Judokuskircheplatz". On that occasion Frau Sunkel not only met her friends but also bought some goods. She met seven persons, some of whom she had not had contact with for a long time. She bought a bag for one mark and a music-cassette also for one mark. For those purchases, she did not bargain over the price because, according to her, it was reasonable and also the seller was a child. She mentioned that she did not bargain with children because she feels that how they set their prices is not based on making a profit.
- Around 11 a.m. Before she and her daughter returned home, they had ice cream in a restaurant. Eating ice cream after visiting the fleamarket at "Klosterplatz" is part of activities of attending this fleamarket for her. The daughter also likes the ice cream.

Ms. Jung : Portrait No. 6

Ms. Jung is a student, German, 26 years old, and single. She lives in Bielefeld. She studies *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (German as a foreign language) at the Faculty of Literature and Linguistic at the University of Bielefeld. Through an acquaintance, she obtained a job teaching German for the *Internationaler Bund* e.V. twice a week. Through this activity, she makes about 1000 marks.

Her parent lives in Werther - a village located not far from Bielefeld. Ms. Jung visits her parents once every one-two months. To be able to live in Bielefeld, she receives about 500 marks from her father every month.

Going to the fleamarket, according to Ms. Jung, first of all and more important, is to meet people whom she has not seen for a long time. Hence, Ms. Jung usually only goes to these fleamarkets where she can find her friends, namely the fleamarket at the Klosterplatz and also at the "Siegfriedplatz". These fleamarkets, as described, are located in the area where the majority of students reside. She does not visit any other fleamarkets, like on the Johannisberg, in the parking area of Hotel Vier Taxbäume Brackwede, etc. She does not go there, because she says that these fleamarkets are very commercial. The traders charge more for their goods there than at the two that she likes. Besides, she did not find an atmosphere, like that at the "Klosterplatz" and the "Siegfriedplatz". She makes interesting social contact with people who attend this market-place. After looking around the market-place at the "Klosterplatz", she usually eats ice cream. While in the "Siegfriedplatz" after looking at all stands, she usually drinks at this market-place.

Her other reasons for going to the fleamarket are to buy cheap and special secondhand goods and to have fun. At the fleamarket, Ms. Jung can buy the special secondhand goods which are not to be found at the other markets. These include vests made in

Latin America, bamboo lampshades made in Asia, and so forth. If these things are bought in a shop, they are usually more expensive than at the fleamarket. Also she claims that she can bargain over the price with the fleamarket traders. However she does not bargain with children, because the children state their intended price from the beginning. For her engaging in bargaining is fun. Additionally also she enjoys the atmosphere, like when the traders shout out about their wares.

According to Ms. Jung, she knows the schedule of some fleamarkets especially those which are located in the "Klosterplatz" and the "Siegfriedplatz" which are both respectively conducted on certain weekend each month. If she is doubtful about these dates, she can read about it in local newspapers, and local magazines published in Bielefeld. If she goes to the university by bicycle through the "Siegfriedplatz", she also can read the schedule on information board of the *Bürgerwache*.

Activities on April 20th 1996

The day before Ms. Jung attended the fleamarket located at the "Klosterplatz", she spent the night at her acquaintance's house. This friend lives in Steinhagen, a small city located near Bielefeld. Staying overnight at her friend's house is for Ms. Jung a way to strengthen the relationship.

10.30 a.m. Ms. Jung and her friend, Frau Lindenmann, leave Steinhagen
 At around 11 a.m. Ms. Jung and her friend arrived in Bielefeld. They went directly to the market-place. They went from stand to stand to look at goods offered for sale by traders. At one stand Ms. Jung met a friend who was selling goods there. Ms. Jung bought a jacket from her for four marks. During this transaction, Frau Jung spoke with this friend for about three minutes. At same time, Frau Lindenmann visited another stand. Frau Lindenmann also bought a jacket. After that they went together to look at other stands. Frau Jung and her friend sometime look together at the same stands, sometime a lone at different stands because they are interested in different things. While traveling to this market-place, Ms. Jung met some friends, some of whom she had been not seen for a long time.

By 2 p.m. Ms. Jung bought two shirts for twenty marks, a waistcoat for eight marks, two books for five marks, and three new brooches for ten marks. Finally Jung went to an ice cream located bordering to the "Klosterplatz" to meet Frau Lindenmann. After eating ice cream they returned home.

2. Types of Visitors

From these portraits, we see that some of them are similar and others are different in terms of their purpose for visiting the fleamarket, kinds of goods purchased, kinds of fleamarket visited, their ethnic backgrounds, motives for bargaining, and relations with other economic actors. By using these similarities and differences we can construct some types of visitors.

a. Purposes Visiting Fleamarkets

Based on Weber's sociological thought ([1922]1978 : 24-25], as described in chapter two, social action involved in the activities of visiting fleamarkets, can be oriented at least two ways: either instrumentally rational (*zweckrational*) or value-rational (*wertrational*). According to the survey taken in the *Rathaus* as well as on in-depth interviews, it seems that the purposes for visiting the fleamarket are shopping, meeting friends, having fun, becoming acquainted with new people, taking a stroll, and so forth. This means that both types of rationality are involved in the orientation of visitors to engaging in the activity of visiting the fleamarket. In the instrumentally rational orientation, the main purpose of the visitor is shopping. Based on this orientation, economic actors choose between instruments (e.g., income) in order to reach their aim (e.g., buying cheap things, collecting something, and so forth). Thus, visiting the fleamarket can be seen as a way to fulfill this orientation. In portrait no. 1 and no. 2 (also portrait no. 3 as well as no. 4) we can say that visiting fleamarket is a result of a consideration of instruments and goals. From portrait no.1 and no.2 we can see that if the informants go to the antique shops, they will pay more money than those at the fleamarket for similar goods because prices at the fleamarket are lower than in the shops. Also we see their income can not fulfill all of their aims because it is too small. Furthermore, collecting itself can be regarded as an expression of a value-rational orientation since it reflects a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of aesthetic forms of behavior. An aesthetic value as a good can only be understood by people who share the same aesthetic value. These are usually people who come from middle class and upward. For them, collecting is a hobby. Therefore, portrait no. 1 and no. 2 will be grouped in the category of type of the collectors because their main reason for visiting the fleamarket is collecting certain things as a hobby.

In portrait no. 3 and no. 4, however, we can highlight shopping at the fleamarket as a compromise between their income and their living expenses, like housing, clothing, etc. They go to the fleamarket to hunt for cheap secondhand or new goods. By means of this activity they can manage their money and be able to buy more by their savings. Based on this point, therefore, portrait no.3 and no.4 can be gathered into another basket, namely the "Schnäppchen" hunter, because their main purpose for going to the fleamarket is to hunt for cheap secondhand or new goods in order to live better with less money.

In the portraits no. 5 and no.6, visiting the fleamarket is carried out to achieve value-rational goals, such as finding a new social atmosphere, meeting acquaintances, having fun, and so forth. Based on these motives, therefore, we argue that these informants can be collected into another kind type of visitor, namely the flaneur.

b. Frequency of Visiting the Fleamarket

Like the traders, their purpose for visiting the fleamarket influences the frequency of potential customers in visiting the fleamarket. Our portraits show that the flaneurs go to the fleamarket less often than the two other kinds of visitors. The flaneur generally visits the fleamarkets which are organized by the governmental and the non-governmental organizations, like the fleamarket at the Siegfriedplatz for area students other one held at the "Freizeitzentrum" for residents. These fleamarkets are usually

organized once a month. However, both the "Schnäppchen" hunters and the collectors typically visit fleamarkets more than twice a month.

c. Kinds Goods Purchased

From our portraits we see that the "Schnäppchen" hunters visit the fleamarket to look for both cheap new goods and cheap secondhand goods while the collectors search for specific items which will be added to their collection. In contrast to these two types of visitors, the flaneurs visit the fleamarkets without a goal of buying something. But they will buy certain goods, if they feel that these goods are interesting.

d. Kinds of Fleamarkets Visited

In order to buy cheap new goods, the "Schnäppchen" hunters usually go to the commercial fleamarkets, but they generally buy inexpensive secondhand goods at the municipal fleamarkets, the initiative fleamarkets, and special commercial fleamarkets. The collectors will go to certain fleamarkets in which, based on their experiences, goods are traded which they want to buy. The flaneurs, as mentioned above, commonly visit the city fleamarkets and the initiative fleamarkets.

e. Ethnic Background

Based on our observations and interviews, the bulk of both the flaneurs and the collectors are Germans. According to our data, if the collectors are the foreigners, they are generally studying at the university. In contrast to the first two kinds of visitors, the majority of the "Schnäppchen" hunters are foreigners who live in Germany, in this context in Bielefeld.

f. Reasons for Bargaining

According to our portraits and interviews, the motive of the majority of the flaneurs who engage in bargaining is because they enjoy it. However, since in German daily life a price can be not bargained for directly by the trader and customer at the marketplace, the German flaneurs do not engage in bargaining with children. They also do not bargain over a price, if they feel that the good is already cheap. In contrast to German flaneurs, the "Schnäppchen" hunters usually bargain over all prices which are offered by traders. They try to get the price as low as possible. On the other hand, the collectors also typically bargain over the price, but they do it to pay a "fair price" for the item that they are interested in. This point will be discussed in-depth in chapter five.

g. Relations with other Economic Actors

To understand this point we also use concept of embeddedness of economic life in the society as a whole. From our studies of the literature, as described above, we argue that the embeddedness of a certain economic institution takes place in various ways and to different degrees (Granovetter, 1985; Schrader, 1995 and 1994; also see Evers and Schrader eds., 1994). Starting from this view, therefore, we can see that the

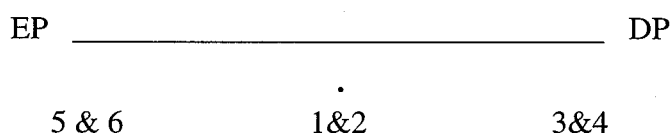
embeddedness of engaging in trade at the fleamarket in this society can be expressed in at least two ways:

1. Orientations to Visiting the Fleamarket

By discussing the purpose for visiting fleamarket, therefore, we can arrive at grades of embeddedness based on the Schrader's idea. His idea is that economic life can be characterized as a continuum between full embeddedness, as one pole, and total disembodiedness as the other.

The informants in portraits no. 5 and no.6 visit the fleamarket to achieve value-rational orientations, like finding a new atmosphere, meeting acquaintances, having fun, and so forth. These purposes indicate a high degree of embeddedness for the fleamarket in German society. In the cases of portrait no. 1 and no. 2, they go to the fleamarket to collect certain items. Therefore, they can be located in the middle of continuum. Collecting can itself be regarded as value-rational orientation. However, portrait no. 3 and no. 4 can be arranged near the disembodiedness pole since these informants visit the fleamarket in order to survive within their income.

Figure 4.2. The Embeddedness or the Disembodiedness of Visiting Fleamarkets
Based on Orientations of Informants



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembodiedness Pole

1 - 6 = portrait no.1 - portrait no.6

2. Social Relationships

In this section we discuss only the social relationships between visitors and traders. Social relations between visitors and organizers will be discussed in the next part of this chapter. Our data show that the flaneurs, i.e., portrait no. 5 and no. 6, generally go to both the city fleamarkets and the initiative fleamarket. At these fleamarket, they meet traders who come from the same residential area or who share the same activities, like students. Based on this situation, the visitors and the traders can continue their social contacts at the fleamarket that they have established in the other social arenas like the university or the neighborhood. Based on this finding, therefore, we locate the flaneurs at the embeddedness pole.

If we compare the collectors and the "Schnäppchen" hunters, based on our portraits and our observations, we find that the collectors engage in social contact with the traders more often than the "Schnäppchen" hunters. At the market-place we often see collectors engaging in discussion on antiques with traders. However the "Schnäppchen" hunters only engage in bargaining with traders. This activity is also carried out by the collectors. Therefore, the degree of embeddedness of the collectors is higher than the "Schnäppchen" hunters (see Figure 4.3.).

Figure 4.3. The Embeddedness or the Disembeddedness of Fleamarket Attendance in German Society Based on Social Relationships between Visitors and Traders

EP _____ DP

The Flaneurs The Collectors The "Schnäppchen" hunters

Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

The following, as Table 4.9., is a schematic presentation to demonstrate the types of visitors at the fleamarket.

Table 4.9. Types of Fleamarket Visitors

Items	The Flaneurs	The Collectors	The <i>Schnäppchen</i> Hunters
Purpose	Having fun, social contacts, etc.	Collecting as a hobby	Hunting for cheap goods
Frequency of visiting	Twice a month	More than twice a month	More than twice a month
Kinds goods purchased	Depending on situation	Special goods like ceramics & antiques	Cheap new goods & secondhand goods
Kinds of fleamarket visited	The municipal (city) fleamarket & the initiative fleamarket	Certain fleamarkets	For new goods at the commercial fleamarket, for secondhand goods at both the city & initiative fleamarket
Ethnic background	More Germans	More Germans	More foreigners
Reasons for bargaining	Having fun	Getting "a fair price"	Getting the price as low as possible
Embeddedness -orientation	Value rational	Instrumentally rational	Instrumentally rational
-social relationships	Meeting other economic actors who come from the same residential area & background	Discussing about antiques and bargaining	Bargaining

C. The Organizers of The Fleamarket : from "Bürgerinitiative" to Making Money

In contrast to the two other types of fleamarket actors, a survey on the organizers of the fleamarkets was not made. However, based on our observations and interviews with some organizers of fleamarkets, we find that some of them differ in relation to each other, while others show similarities. Before constructing types of the fleamarket organizers, we introduce some cases of organizers.

1. Portraits of Organizers

Like the other types of fleamarket actors, before presenting types of organizers, it is useful to look at some cases of fleamarket organizers. Thus, I offer six portraits, namely organizer of "Café Floh" as portrait no. 1, the organizer of the fleamarket at the "Siegfriedplatz" as portrait no. 2, the organizer of the fleamarket at the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum* as portrait no. 3, the organizer of the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum* as portrait no.4, the organizer of the fleamarket on the "Johannisberg" as portrait no. 5, and the organizer of the fleamarket at the "Klosterplatz" as portrait no. 6.

a. The Organizers of "Café Floh" : Portrait No. 1

The Baumheide *Beratungsstelle* has organized the fleamarket, known as "Café Floh", since October 1980. According to a speech given on the 15th anniversary of "Café Floh" in October 1995, the idea of holding a fleamarket came from Heide Klein and Silvia Mai who worked in the *Beratungsstelle*. Their idea was to be supported by their colleague i.e., Frau Quelle, Frau Ott, Frau Thöne, Frau Mikoassik, and Frau Glass. According to the speech:

Diese Frauen hatten die Idee, gebrauchte Kleidung preiswert zu verkaufen oder zu kaufen und gleichzeitig sich mit anderen Frauen zu treffen, Kontakte zu knüpfen sich gegenseitig Unterstützung für den Alltag zu geben. Außerdem war es ein Anliegen der Mitarbeiterinnen der Beratungsstelle, sich in einem unverbindlichen Rahmen bekannt zu machen.

Thus, for Baumheide's *Beratungsstelle*, the goal of holding a fleamarket is to help people to sell, as well as to buy, secondhand clothes by keeping prices low and to facilitate social contact among people as a help in everyday life. Besides, through holding the fleamarket, they wanted to make Baumheide's *Beratungsstelle* better known among the public.

The organizers of the *Beratungsstelle*, as discussed in chapter three, hold a fleamarket at the Baumheide *Freizeitzentrum* every Wednesday, except during summer vacation which is normally in August. At this time, almost all of the staff take vacation, so that there is no one available to organize the fleamarket. The reason for holding the fleamarket on Wednesday, according to them, is to make everyday life more fulfilling

with activities which can fight boredom at home, solve the difficulty of making social contact with other people, etc.

To organize the fleamarket, especially to set up the tables at the indoor market-place, the *Beratungsstelle* staff members are helped by an employee of Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum*. One day before the fleamarket, he arranges the tables which will be used by traders to display their goods. Other tasks necessary for holding the fleamarket are that the organizers must open the entrance gates of the hall as well as close them.

The "*Beratungsstelle*" itself performs some major functions, including *Erziehungsberatung* (education counseling), *Familienberatung* (family counseling), *Sozialberatung* (social counseling), and *Psychotherapie* (psychotherapy). By means of these activities, this institution gives counseling related to socialization in the family, in the Kindergarten, and at school, advice on sexual harassment, family problems, depression, alcoholism, social conflicts, psychomatic problems, etc. To provide these activities for the public, the "*Beratungsstelle*" obtains funds from the government and other organizations. This institution, therefore, offers these public services for the residents of Baumheide and the surroundings free of charge. On market-day, people come to the fleamarket either as visitors or as traders. At the same time, they can also go to the "*Beratungsstelle*" to obtain counseling from staff members who are working there. The staff of the "*Beratungsstelle*" usually engage in communication with people who are present at the market-place. Through this contact, they can do counseling right there or, perhaps, make an appointment to meet at another time.

At this fleamarket the traders do not have to pay a fee or contribute something to the organizers, in exchange for using a space. The traders can choose their own place (in this case a table). In contrast to other fleamarkets, therefore, at this fleamarket traders try to come earlier in order to obtain a strategic space. We can also see at this fleamarket, as soon as entrance gates are opened by the organizers, traders running to claim a strategic spot. At this time, the situation at the market-place is chaotic. There is even more confusion when the visitors arrive.

When trading activities are occurring at the market-place, the organizers supervise and engage in social contact with both traders and visitors there. During this time, a trader can also tell the organizers if he or she needs a table to display her or his goods. The organizer will take one from other room and give it to the trader. If there are people who have brought their children, the organizer opens the play room for children.

b. The Organizer of the Fleamarket at the "Siegfriedplatz" : Portrait No. 2

The Organizer of the fleamarket at the "Siegfriedplatz" is the "*Bürgerinitiative Bürgerwache e.V.*" This organization has held the fleamarket there since the end of 1970s. They hold this fleamarket to facilitate contact among local residents. The *Bürgerwache*, therefore, does not charge a fee for using a space at the market-place, but the trader has to contribute a cake as a kind of fee for using a space. This cake will be cut to pieces and to be sold at the café in the *Bürgerwache*.

There are some activities carried out by this organizer in relation to holding the fleamarket. These are registration, supervision, holding the café, and so on. In terms

of registration, one has to enroll through post or telephone a month before engaging in trade at this fleamarket. The organizer will send the trader a card two weeks before the date of the fleamarket. If there is a demand for more spaces for stands than exist, the organizers give people who live around the square priority. Before starting trading activities, traders give the organizer their cakes. After that, an organizer stamps their card to indicate that they have donated a cake. When trading activities have already started, one of organizers usually shouts at traders to give their cakes as well as to ask traders about their cards. Other organizers get ready to open the café around 2.30 p.m.

In the café the organizers function as waiters or waitresses, cashiers, cleaners, and so on. This means that they carry out all activities involved in holding the café from making coffee to washing cups and taking money. In this café there is no division of labor. Someone can do all the tasks if they want. Before opening the café, workers have prepared all necessary goods and materials like glasses, cups, plates, spoons, sugar, coffee, milk, tea, juice, etc. All the cakes will be cut into pieces. Around three p.m. the café is normally in full swing.

At this fleamarket, one has to bring her or his own table in order to engage in trading activities because the organizer does not provide any. However one can use a space as big as one wants. At this fleamarket, therefore, one table can be used by more than one trader but they give the organizer only one cake. In the *Bürgerwache* building namely on the ground floor, there is a big room that is used as a place for people who want to have coffee as well as to chat. If the sun shines, the café will be located on the terrace of the building.

c. The Organizer of the Fleamarket *Freizeitzentrum* at Baumheide: Portrait No. 3

This fleamarket has been organized by the officials of Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum* since 1981. This center was the first governmental organization that organized a fleamarket in Bielefeld. This center, therefore, has been a model for other centers that organize similar activities. When this center held the fleamarket for the first time, according to an official, this was carried out to promote social contacts among the people who live around the center. Therefore there was no fee charged for using a space at that first fleamarket.

To hold a fleamarket at this center, organizers have tasks related to registration, preparation of the market-place, supervision, fee collection for space use, etc. Before engaging in trading activities at the indoor market-place, the potential trader has to register with the organizer of this fleamarket through the post or by telephone. This can be done up to two weeks before engaging in trade. The organizer usually sends the trader a letter that serves as a registration document a week before the market-day. For traders who sell at the out-door market-places, this registration is not necessary. Also, the organizer assigns the table to be used by the trader at the indoor market-place. They can arrive at the market-place whenever they wish, but almost all of them normally are there before 12 noon.

To prepare the indoor market-place for business, organizers have to set tables that will be used by the traders to display their goods. This task is usually done on the Saturday morning before the fleamarket is held. They arrange as many tables as the number of traders who have registered. To make it easy for the traders, they label the tables with the names of those who will sell there. These tables belong to the center.

The organizers open the indoor market-place, located in Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum* building, around 12 noon. Before traders can come in they have to show their registration cards to organizers who stand at the door of the center. The organizer will look at the cards that are presented by traders and compare them with their list of registered traders. The other check, done by the organizer, is connected to the starting of trading activities at the outdoor market-places. According to the order of the fleamarket organizer, one may start selling her or his goods at the outdoor market-place from 12 noon onwards. If someone makes a transaction before 12 noon, if it is noticed by the organizer, he or she has to pay twice the amount for using space as one who does not make mistake.

To collect the fees for space use one of the organizers is present. This is usually done around 1 p.m. She collects fees at the outdoor market-place and then continues at the indoor one. The organizer does not take fees from the children because, according to one organizer, they engage in trade only to sell their toys. At this fleamarket, one has to pay a fee of 15 marks per table and four - five marks for each clothes rack. This sum has to be paid not only by people who use center's tables but also by those who bring their own tables.

d. The Organizer of the Fleamarket *Freizeitzentrum* at Stieghorst : Portrait No. 4

This fleamarket has been organized by staff members of Stieghorst's *Freizeitzentrum* since 1980. For this organizer the goal of holding fleamarket is to ease social contact among people who live in the area. This fleamarket, according to a staff of the center, was inspired by that of Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum*.

There are some tasks that have to be carried out by the organizers related to holding a fleamarket in this center such as registration, preparation of the market-place, supervision, fee collection for space use, etc. At this fleamarket, in order to engage in trading activities for the first time the potential trader has to register directly with the organizers in the Stieghorst *Freizeitzentrum* on certain dates i.e., on December 5th 1995 for January - March, on March 5th 1996 for April - June, on June 4th 1996 for August - September, and on September 10th for October - November. During registration the trader has to buy a ticket for one mark to use the market-place. This ticket can be used by other people but it is still registered in the name of the person who made the registration. This is done because of the space problem. According to the organizer, many people want to engage in trading activities at this fleamarket. To solve this problem, the organizer allows each trader to engage in trading activities there only three times a year. If one does not use his or her ticket and/or it is used by other people, her or his chances to engage in trading activities at this fleamarket will be reduced.

About one hour before opening the door, some organizers set up enough tables for the number of traders registered and put their names on the tables. The others arrange parking auto of traders who come to trade there. Opening the door located in the back of the building, for traders is usually done about 12.45 noon. When traders come into the market-place, they have to show their tickets to the organizers. After that an organizer stamps traders' hands, before they are allowed to enter. This is necessary for organizers to distinguish between traders and visitors. About 1.15 p.m. the organizers open the door, which is located in the front of the building, for visitors. By this time market-place is crowded.

These organizers take fees for using space from traders who sell in the yard of the center as well as from children who engage in this activity. The children have to pay only two marks for a stand, while the others pay the normal fee. To use the center's tables, one has to pay ten marks per table. Traders can use center's up to two tables from the center. If someone brings her or his own table (60 x 300), they pay 15 marks for each table. You can only use the center's tables if you engage in trading activities at the indoor market-place. A fee of five marks is also charged for each clothes rack. This task is carried out by an organizer about 1.30 p.m. At the same time she checks goods that are being sold.

e. The Organizer of the Fleamarket on the Johannisberg : Portrait No. 5

This fleamarket, as described, has been carried out by Jörn Werber Agentur für Märkte, Veranstaltungen und Vermittlung (agent for market and meeting) for around twelve years ago. This agent, however, holds the fleamarket to make money. Accordingly, they hold other fleamarkets, which are located not only in Bielefeld but also in other cities around Bielefeld, such as at the Marktkauf-parking lot in Sennestadt, at the Kaufzentrum Riga-Ring in Soest, at the Marktkauf Baummarkt parking lot in Soest, at Kultur & Kongreßzentrum in Goch, at the Stadthalle in Kleve, in the Kaiser-Center parking lot in Löhne, and at the Marktkauf-parking lot in Gütersloh. Beside holding fleamarkets, this company works as an agent for other events like shows. This company is managed by the wife of Werber and assisted by their relatives. Weber usually organizes this fleamarket two days --Saturday and Sunday-- each month, from March until October. This fleamarket is usually held in the third week of every month.

To hold his fleamarket the organizer has to carry out some tasks, such as selecting a location, advertising, preparing the market-place, collecting fees for using spaces, etc. Selecting a location, in this sense, means that before holding a fleamarket in a certain location, the organizer usually considers some things such as the amount of rent as well as if it is a strategic location. It is important for organizer to consider the amount of rent for a place because this company has to estimate the profit which can be obtained if the agency rents a place. The firm also considers locations which are known to people and can be reached with private and public transportation. The profit has to do not only with the amount of rent for the place and its location but also the tax which has to be paid³.

³ It is difficult to get information on this subject. When I asked private organizers, as well as finance officials about it, they replied that it is private.

To introduce a new fleamarket or to announce time and location of fleamarkets which will be held in the immediate future, the firm advertises in the fleamarket magazines and in local newspapers. These include Trödler & Magazin Sammeln, Flohmarkt Revue, Westfalen-Blatt and Neue Westfälische. Also they usually announce their fleamarkets by means of posters which are hanged along side streets in Bielefeld. They also give the traders brochures listing fleamarkets which are to be held, when collecting the fee for space use at the market-place.

One day before holding a fleamarket on the Johannisberg, the company checks the market-place to be used by traders to set up their stands. Around 8 a.m. on first market-day one of organizers makes a boundary with special plastic ties separating the path which is used by pedestrians and the road which is used by vehicles. This is to protect pedestrians from accidents since this market-place is located on the junction of two streets. He also marks a boundary between the parking area and market-place. This boundary will be removed when the fleamarket is over i.e., on Sunday. At this fleamarket the organizers also have stands from which snacks, drinking and fast-food are sold. These stands are run by the relatives of Frau Werber. The organizers collect the money for space use around noon.

There are various kinds of fees for use of space collected by this organizer: firstly, there is a basic price of 20 marks per square meter. Secondly, six marks is charge if one wants to use a table. Thirdly, five marks per day is charged to sell new goods. Fourthly, 50 marks is charged per square meter if the trader sells fruits and vegetables. Based on observation, these fees can be bargained over by giving good reasons which are appreciated by the organizers, such as that no sales were made. This is something done by traders, who have engaged in trading activities for a long time at this fleamarket, do.

f. The Organizer of the Fleamarket at the Klosterplatz : Portrait No. 6

The fleamarket at the Klosterplatz has been organized by Otto & Grote GBR since 1992. Before 1992, this fleamarket was organized by the city of Bielefeld. At that time, anyone was allowed to use as much space as he or she wanted so that there were usually chaos involved in the division of places among the participants. To organize this fleamarket as effectively as possible, the officials of the city of Bielefeld gave this private company opportunity to hold this fleamarket. Based on various involved criteria, city officials chose Otto & Grote GBR to be the organizer.

Otto & Grote GBR introduced new management practices as well as new rules to this fleamarket. Before you can trade at this fleamarket, you have to register with Otto & Grote GBR. This can be done every work-day by means of post or telephone. The company sends a registration card to the trader about two weeks before the fleamarket is held, if the applicant has paid the fee for using a space. If the trader loses her or his registration card, she or he can not use the space. If the person wants to sell there, they will have to pay again. If there are spaces free, the organizer will give spaces to traders who come without registering. To arrange the market-place as effectively as possible, the organizer distributes a map which describes the number and locations of stands. By means of this map, traders questions about spaces can be answered by the organizer. This helps to manage space use.

The organizer of this fleamarket has a varying fee scale for renting a space : firstly, children who are up to 14 years old are freed from paying anything, but they have to register before engaging in trade. Secondly, students up to 18 years of age have to pay 15 marks per three meters. Thirdly, 24 marks is the normal fee for three meters. Fourthly, 30 marks is charged for three meters in an specially good location. Fifthly, 36 marks is charged for using a top space per three meters. Finally, if a trader makes reservations for one year, she or he receives a discount of about 15 percent.

Otto & Grote GBR hold fleamarkets, located not only in Bielefeld but also in other towns close to Bielefeld such as Quelle-Bielefeld, Babenhausen-Bielefeld, Asemissen-Bielefeld, Brackwede-Bielefeld, Bielefeld city center, Heepen-Bielefeld, Dissen, Bad Salzuflen, Halle/Westf., Werther, Steinhagen, Leopoldshöhe, Spenge, Bad Lippspringe, and Harsewinkel. According to the firm, they organize about 40 - 42 fleamarkets each year. If the fleamarket held in a hall, and not at the Klosterplatz, participants need to make reservation. This is done in order to anticipate space limitations.

2. Types of Organizers

Based on the portraits of organizer of the fleamarkets presented above, it can be argued that some of the organizers are similar and others are different in regard to their purposes for holding the fleamarket, their frequency of holding fleamarkets, advertisement, their relation to society, and their relation to the state.

a. Purpose for Holding a Fleamarket

Holding a fleamarket, in terms of Weber's ideas, can be regarded as an economic action which may be oriented, in at least, two ways. It may be based on instrumental rational (*zweckrational*) which calculates between means and ends. On the other hand it can be also determined by value-rational (*wertrational*) which is based on a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independent of its prospects of success.

According to our interviews with some organizers of fleamarkets, there are various reasons for organizers to hold fleamarkets. These include earning money, fostering communication between people and institutions, easing access to certain institutions, supporting the environmental movement, facilitating social contacts among people, collecting funds for social and/or religious activities, accommodating interests of people related to secondhand goods. Considering these motivations, it can be said that earning money is a purely *zweckrational* orientation. The others can all be placed in the basket of value-rational orientations.

The goal of making money it is usually given by private companies like Otto & Grotte GBR, AGB der Lübker-Veranstaltungen, A.M.V.V. Jörn Werber, Helmut Sadra, Heribert Klösner, etc. Facilitating communication between people and institutions as well as promoting access to certain institutions are normally the goals of governmental organizations like the *Freizeitzentrum*, the *Kinder- & Jugendzentrum*, and the *Bezirkamt*. Furthermore, only a non-governmental organization that

encouraging environmental movement was a reason for holding a fleamarket. This was the AStA (students union) at the University of Bielefeld. Other reasons, like facilitating social contact among people, collecting fund for social and/or religious activities, and accommodating interests of people related to secondhand goods are all reasons for carrying out fleamarkets given by non-governmental organizations including all the centers which are coordinated by the city, the *Bielefelder Elterngemeinschaft e.V.*, the AStA at the University of Bielefeld, the AWO Begegnungszentrum Oldentrup, the *Katholik St. Meinolfgemeinde* (the Catholic Parish of St. Meinolf), the *Bürgerwache*, the *Haus Groß-Bethel*, Baumheide's *Beratungsstelle*, etc.

b. Frequency of Holding Fleamarkets

The frequency of holding fleamarkets, based on our empirical data, differs according to each organizer and each market-place. The fleamarket is usually carried out once a month by governmental organizations as well as non-governmental organizations. But, we also find exceptions for example the Baumheide *Beratungsstelle* holds its fleamarket every week, every Wednesday and organizers of the *Haus Groß-Bethel* hold their fleamarket only once a year.

Private companies commonly hold fleamarkets more than once a month at certain marketplace. For instance, Jörn Werber's agency holds a fleamarket two days --i.e., Saturday and Sunday-- every month on the Johannisberg or the *Lübker Veranstaltungen* organizes a fleamarket at the Boss Supermarket every Sunday. But we find also some private companies holding fleamarkets at certain market-place once a month. For example Otto & Grotte GBR organizes fleamarket at the Klosterplatz.

c. Advertisement

In order to be well known by people, potential traders as well as visitors, organizers of fleamarkets usually advertise in various ways. Firstly, they advertise their fleamarket in the local newspapers like the *Westfalen-Blatt*, *Neue Westfälische*, and *Stadt Blatt*. Secondly, they put advertisements in special magazines for the fleamarket business, such as *Trödler & Magazin Sammeln* as well as *Flohmarkt Revue*. Thirdly, they make and distribute brochures. Finally, they use posters which are hung on walls or on other objects located at the junctions of the roads.

Based on empirical data generated by this study, only private companies advertise in all the ways mentioned above. For example, the Jörn Werber Agency and Otto & Grotte GBR advertise their fleamarkets in local newspapers i.e., *Westfalen-Blatt* and *Neue Westfälische*, and the fleamarket magazines i.e., *Trödler & Magazin Sammeln* as well as *Flohmarkt Revue*, brochures, and posters. Comparisons with other cases can be seen in Table 4.10.

From table below it can be seen that private companies i.e., portraits no. 5 and no.6, use advertising more than the other two types of fleamarket organizers. This is understandable considering their purposes for holding fleamarkets e.g., making money. For them, the more traders who come to their fleamarket means more money for organizer. In order to attract more traders, they advertise their fleamarkets in many ways. According to private organizers, it is important to advertise, especially in the

fleamarket magazines because, in this way, not only traders who live in Bielefeld know about their fleamarkets but also traders who live in other cities. The traders who come to their fleamarkets are generally professionals who normally read fleamarket magazines. In relation to posters if we compare between the private companies and other types of organizers, we find that the other organizers advertise with posters only in their local areas. Private companies, however, hang their posters on walls or other objects located in many strategic places not only in Bielefeld but also in other towns around Bielefeld, such as Gütersloh and Herford.

Table 4.10. Advertising by Organizers in 1995

<i>Kinds of Advertising</i>	<i>Portrait</i>					
	<i>No.1</i>	<i>No.2</i>	<i>No.3</i>	<i>No.4</i>	<i>No.5</i>	<i>No.6</i>
Local Newspapers:						
Westfalen-Blatt	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Neue Westfälische	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stadt Blatt	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Fleamarket Magazines:						
Trödler & Magazin Sammeln	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Flohmarkt Revue	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Brochures	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Posters	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

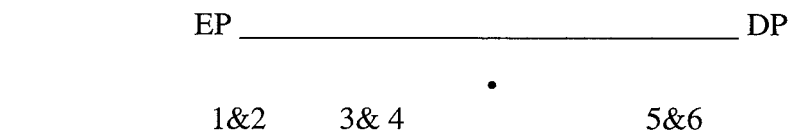
Source : author's data collection

Note :

N = No Y = Yes

From sociological point of view, at least, two explanations can be offered for the phenomena described above. Firstly, using various kinds of advertising can be considered as a formalization of economic activity, in this respect of the fleamarket. Advertising, in this sense, is formalization from inside e.g., from the organizer of the fleamarket. Seen from this perspective, therefore, it can be said that there are different degrees of formalization of the fleamarket. Secondly, formalization itself is, therefore, a kind of disembeddedness of economic life. This topic will be discussed more deeply in the next chapter. Consequently, from the advertising made by organizers of the fleamarkets a picture of the degree of the embeddedness of their activities can be constructed. Based on our observations and interviews, people are familiar with "Café Floh" and the fleamarket at the Siegfriedplatz (portrait no.1 and no.2) through verbal information --communication from person to person. On the table showing advertising practices, the non-profit organizations indicate a high degree of embeddedness. This is followed by that of the governmental organization and then by that of the private companies (see Figure 4.4.).

Figure 4.4. The Embeddedness and the Disembeddedness of the Practice of Holding Fleamarkets Reflected in Advertising



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

1-6 = Portrait no.1 - portrait no.6

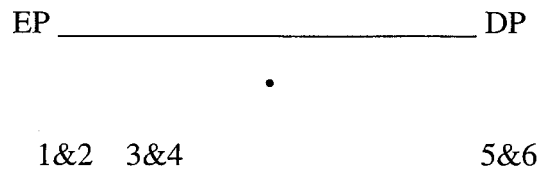
d. Relation to the Society

In discussing the relation of economic activities to the society, we subscribe to Granovetter's (1985) as well as Schrader's views that the embeddedness of economic life in various types of societies occurs in different ways. This can be seen as a continuum which is characterized by one pole of complete embeddedness and of total disembeddedness. To highlight this point in relation to the German fleamarket, therefore, we will discuss three things :

1. Orientations involved in holding a fleamarket

By explaining the purposes for holding a fleamarket we find that certain fleamarkets can be located at the pole of disembeddedness and the other at the pole of embeddedness. The fleamarkets which are organized by private companies --i.e., portrait no.5 as well as no.6-- can be regarded as disembedded because they are carried in order to make money. On the other hand, the fleamarkets of other organizers --both those governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations-- can be located at the embeddedness pole. The two types of organizations have different degrees of embeddedness in term of orientation involved in holding a fleamarket. For the non-governmental organizations holding a fleamarket is seen as a means of facilitating contact among their members so that they themselves (the organizers) can participate more actively in those social relations through holding the café, like the organizers of the fleamarket at the Siegfriedplatz, or by their presence during market-time like the organizers of the Café Floh. In contrast to non-governmental organizations, the governmental organizations hold the fleamarkets as a goal in themselves, in this regard as a part of the program of the *Freizeitzentrum*. Thus, they do not deliberately engage in social contacts with traders and visitors while holding the fleamarket. Social contacts are made by them only during registration as well as by taking money for space use as will be discussed below. Based on these activities, it can be said that the non-governmental organizations --portrait no.1 and no.2-- can be located closer to the pole of embeddedness than the governmental ones --portrait no.3 and no. 4 (see Figure 4.5.).

Figure 4.5. The Embeddedness and the Disembeddedness in the Society of Holding Fleamarkets Based on the Actor's Orientation



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

1-6 = portrait no.1- portrait no.6

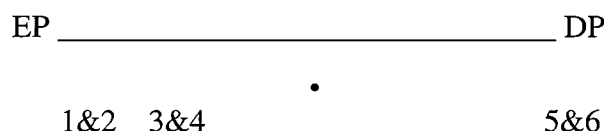
2. Social Relationships

To understand the social relationships which arise between fleamarket organizers and traders and also between the organizers and the visitors, it is important to look at the regulation of trading activities. Almost all the governmental organizations, as well as the non-governmental organizations, hold fleamarkets to facilitate social contacts among the people who live in their task areas. Based on this reason, many of them give their members and neighborhood residents favored access to trading opportunities. This means that, before fleamarket, the social interactions have been taken place between the organizer and the trader through the registration process. Through this process the organizer is certain that the people who engage in trading activities are local residents or members of the organizations. These social contacts will be continued as the organizers check the registration cards before traders start engaging in trading activities at the market-place. However the non-governmental organizers, as discussed above, engage in more intensive social contacts as well as more active ones --through their presence at the market-place e.g., portrait no.1 or by holding café in the market-place like in portrait no.2.-- than those of the governmental organizations.

Some private companies also have a registration process for their special market-places but they do not select the type of people who are allowed to engage in trading activities like the other two types of organizations do. In the case of private companies, whoever registered first has the first chance to trade at their market-place. This attitude can be understood in that they organize the fleamarket in order to make money. For the private firms the number of traders who register is more importance than the personal characteristics of the trader.

Furthermore, if we compare the social relations with traders and visitors characteristic of between private companies and the other organizations, we find that the other two types of organizations (i.e., portrait no.1, no.2, no.3, and no.4) have closer social contacts with traders than those typical of the private companies (see portraits no.5 and no.6). In other words, the non-governmental organizations show a high degree of embeddedness for holding fleamarkets. This is followed by that of the governmental organizations and then by the private firms (see Figure 4.6. below).

Figure 4.6. The Embeddedness and the Disembeddedness in the Society of Holding Fleamarkets Based on Social Relationships between the Organizer and the Traders



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

1-6= Portrait no.1 - portrait no.6

In addition the social relationships between the fleamarket organizers and the visitors differ in terms of degree of embeddedness. The non-governmental organizations engage more intensively and more actively in these social contacts than other organizers of fleamarkets. For example the *Bürgerwache* as well as the *Haus Groß-Bethel* hold a café during the fleamarket. This means that when they serve the customers who come to their café, they engage in social contacts with the fleamarket visitors. At the Sigfriedplatz, the organizers and some of the visitors already know each other. Therefore the café at the Sigfriedplatz is like a neighborhood party. Moreover at the *Haus Groß-Bethel*, organizers invite not only their own people (who are handicapped) to drink coffee together there but also outside (establish) people who bond with the organization. Through the café, this organization make new social contacts with people who come to their market-place for the fleamarket.

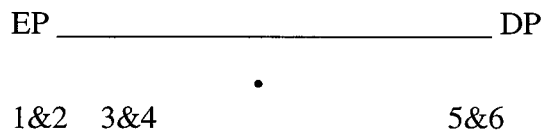
If both of these organizations establish social contacts through the café, then the organizers of Baumheide's *Beratungsstelle* make social contacts with the visitors through their active presence at the market-place. By this active presence they can direct contact with their people who need help which not just related to the activities at the fleamarket but is also connected to their counseling role. Besides this, they provide a room which can be used by parents who bring their children. In comparison to other non-governmental organizations, organizers of this fleamarket engage in more active social contacts with visitors.

The governmental organizations also generally have a café but this is run by people who are not members of this organizations. Therefore these organizers can not build social relationships directly with the fleamarket visitors, many of whom live around their center, through the café. Nevertheless they engage in social contact through other activities which are related to their programs like dance groups, play groups, youth groups, etc.

Furthermore, the private companies usually hold a café in the market-place. There is no additional activity which can be used to make social contacts with the visitors who come to their market-place. Moreover some of organizers leave their market-places after collecting the fee for space use and only return when the fleamarket is almost over.

From the empirical data given above it can be seen that the fleamarket activities of non-governmental organizers are more embedded than those of the two types of other organizations. Than the fleamarket activities of governmental organizers are more embedded that those of the private firms (see Figure 4.7. below)

Figure 4.7. The Embeddedness and the Disembeddedness of Fleamarket
Based on the Social Relationship Between the Organizers
and the Visitors



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

1-6 = Portrait no.1 - portrait no.6

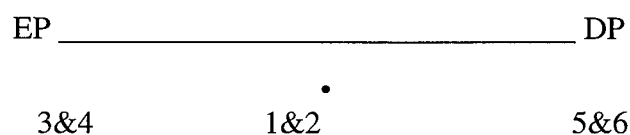
e. Relations with the State

In this point, we will highlight the embeddedness of the fleamarket in relation to political activity. From a theoretical point of view, we follow Granovetter's (1985) and Schrader's arguments that, as explained, the embeddedness of economic activities in various societies arose in different ways. These can be seen as a continuum which has one pole of greater embeddedness and an opposite pole of disembeddedness.

1. Purpose for holding a fleamarket

From the above discussion of purposes for holding fleamarkets, a continuum showing the embeddedness of holding fleamarkets in term of political activity, is the different purposes of the different organizers can also be arranged. As explained above, the governmental organizations, namely portrait no.3 and no.4, carry out the fleamarket as a program reflecting the pattern of other task that must be carried out by them. This is understandable because they are all governmental institutions and therefore they have similar programs. In this political sense, these organizations can be set near to the pole of embeddedness. On other hand the non-governmental organizations hold the fleamarket as part of an initiative to facilitate social contacts among their members. To carry out their activities some non-governmental organizations (like portrait no.1 and no.2) obtain funds from the state. As a result, they have report on their activities. On the other hand the private companies (portrait no.5 and no.6) are freer from state influence. This is illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 4.8. The Relative Embeddedness and the Disembeddedness of Holding Fleamarkets from the Political Perspective: Based on Actor's Goals and State Influence.



Note :

EP = The Embeddedness Pole

DP = The Disembeddedness Pole

1-6 = Portrait No.1 - No.6

2. Regulation

In terms of regulation at the fleamarket, there are at least two actors involved i.e., the organizer of the fleamarket as well as the state. According to our empirical studies, there are various rules related to holding and engaging in activities at the fleamarket i.e., selection of the trader, space use, registration, fees, kinds of goods traded, times set trading at the fleamarket.

a. The Trader

Not all people are permitted to engage in trading activities at every fleamarkets because some organizers have their own regulations related to the selection of traders. For examples portrait no.2 as well as no. 4 give the people who live in their task area first chance to sell at their fleamarket. Also, case no.4 permit someone to engage in trading activities at their fleamarket only three times. Furthermore some organizers restrict the number of the traders, like in portrait no.2 as well as those private companies which hold their fleamarket in certain types of places like halls. These rules reflect the limited space for stands.

As discussed in following chapter the state also has regulations related to the traders, particularly, in regard to those who engage in trading activities at the fleamarket mainly in order to earn profit. They go to the fleamarkets which are located not only in Bielefeld but also in other cities. For the traders which engage in trading activities as a job, the state has regulated their activities in the *Gewerbeordnung*, particularly in *Titel III. Reisegewerbe* §55. This states that such traders must have the *Gewerbeschein* (trade license). That license relates to the obligation to pay tax on earnings.

b. Using Space

Some organizers of fleamarkets regulate the use of space on the market-place. Portrait no.2, no.3, as well as no.4, for example, restrict the number of places/stands which can be used to display goods for sale. Portrait no. 2 allows only one stand to each applicant who wants sell there. However, at this fleamarket, one can use any kind of table to display goods. A small table or a large one will be considered as a stand by this organizer. Thus many of the traders use a big table that can hold the goods of, at least, two people. Furthermore, portrait no.3 and no.4 restrict each applicant to two spaces only. Both organizers permit only a normal table (60x300cm) or a table which will be furnished by them for use at their fleamarket. These restrictions are not found at the fleamarkets which are organized by private companies (like in portrait no.5 and no.6) because they calculate the square meters of space to be used by the trader to set the amount of the fee which has to be paid.

The state also regulates space use when holding fleamarkets. According to the law, namely the *Gewerbeordnung*, especially in paragraph 69, the organizers of fleamarkets must register their fleamarkets with the *Ordnungsamt*. Particularly the organizer who uses a market-place located in a public area like the Johannisberg, the

Klosterplatz, and the Siegfriedplatz, needs to register. This registration relates not only to the tax which has to be paid but also to the obligation to keep traffic under control and running smoothly. To return to the payment of taxes, the *Ordnungsamt* has a tax table ranging from 200 marks up to 1000 marks. This amount of tax owed by an organizer is based on number of traders registered with the organizer of the fleamarket. For example, if the traders have registered up to 20 persons, the organizer must to pay 500 marks in the tax; but if more than 75 persons registered, he or she owes 1000 marks.

c. Registration

To manage the market-place as well as possible, some organizers (like portrait no.2, no.4 and portrait no.6) restrict, through registration, the number of the traders who can sell at their fleamarket. For some of the governmental organizations as well as the non-governmental organizations (like portrait no.2 and no.4) there is another reason to restrict participation, as discussed above, namely giving their members or clients the first chance to do business there. If they use registration to limit the traders, this motive is not typical of the private companies in holding a fleamarket. Registration is done for this purpose if they hold a fleamarket in a location with limited space, such as in a hall.

d. Fees

Based on our empirical data, almost all of the fleamarket organizers charge a fee for space use at the fleamarket. Out of 79 market-places, which were managed by organizers in 1995, only in "the Café Floh" organizer do not charge fee for using a space. The amount of the fee which will be collected by organizers differ according to their aim in holding the fleamarket. However, it can be said that the private companies take money for using space more than the other two kinds of organizer. More details about fee are shown below.

Table 4.11. Fees of Using Place in 1995

The Fleamarket Organizer	Fee
Portrait no.1	Gratis
Portrait no.2	one cake per table
Portrait no.3	15 DM per table
Portrait no.4	10 – 15 DM per table
Portrait no.5	20 – 40 DM per Sq. m + six DM per table
Portrait no.6	DM 15 - 36 pro 3 Sq. meters*

Source : author's data collection

Note :

* = this price applies only to the fleamarket at the Klosterplatz because the same organizer also holds fleamarkets at other market-places with differing rules for space use fees.

What is this money used for ? According to our interviews money taken in fees is used in (at least) two ways : for public interest and for private gain. The governmental organizations, i.e., portrait no.3 and no.4, as well as non-governmental ones, like portrait no. 1 and no.2, use this money for the public interest e.g., to support charitable and social activities which are carried out by themselves using funds which come from the fleamarket. Furthermore, for some organizers the goal of holding the fleamarket is

to raise funds for social activities. For example, the organizer of the fleamarket in the yard of the Stapenhorstschule (Stapenhorst School) holds the fleamarket to collect funds in order to help the school perform its functions activities like toys or recreation equipment for pupils, rehabilitating the school building, etc. According to this organizer, these days it is difficult to get the financial aid from the state because the state has its own financial problems. On the other hand, private companies usually use their money for their own private interest. According to private organizers some of these money raised through fees to be used to pay taxes and renting a place.

e. The Goods Traded

Not every kind of goods can be traded at every fleamarket. Some organizers announce their rules regulating types of goods permitted as well as other details, in their brochure or other ways like in portraits no.1, no.2, and no.4. On the other hand others don't announce these rules since it is considered well known, like in portraits no.3, no.5, as well as no.6. To show which goods are not allowed, the following table is offered.

Table 4.12. Goods Not Allowed at the Fleamarket

No.	Goods Not Permitted
1	new goods
2	groceries and beverages
3	toys resembling guns and weapons
4	National Socialist memorabilia
5	Animals and animal food
6	flowers and plants
7	automobiles
8	pornography and sex articles
9	alcohol and cigarettes
10	weapons and munitions
11	lottery chances

Source : brochure of the Bürgerwache e.V. & Lübker Veranstaltungen.

All goods are forbidden by the *Gewerbeordnung*, particularly in paragraph 56 (*Im Reisegewerbe verbotene Tätigkeiten*). Some of them –like new goods, groceries, as well as beverages--can be traded at the fleamarket, if a trade license has been granted and an agreement has been made between the organizer of the fleamarket and the *Ordnungsamt*. In general, both non-governmental and governmental organizations do not permit new industrial products, food products or beverages at their fleamarkets. In contrast to these types of organizations, the private companies will permit traders to sell these at some market-place, but not at all of their fleamarkets. It depends on their agreement with the *Ordnungsamt*. Before engaging in trading activities, the trader has to ask to the organizer whether or not he or she can sell these types of goods at the fleamarket. The organizer will permit the traders to sell them if they have a trade license and are willing to pay a large fee.

Based on observations at the fleamarkets, especially those organized by private companies, I sometime notice that the police are checking the market-place. They look at what kinds of goods are being sold by the traders. They also sometime ask the

traders to show their licenses, if the traders are selling new goods or items which could be stolen goods. If the trader does not have trade license, they will issue a fine and take a sample of the goods as evidence.

f. The Time

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, most fleamarkets are held in Bielefeld on the weekends, particularly on Saturday. The majority of the governmental organizations and non-profit organizations permit traders to start their trading activities at the market-place at 12 noon. On the other hand, the private companies usually open their fleamarkets earlier, i.e., about 7.00 a.m. This difference is related to the different aims for holding a fleamarket. Furthermore, some organizers forbid traders to start trading activities earlier than the scheduled time. If the trader does not obey this rule, and if the organizers find out, they will fine her or him by doubling the fee like in portrait no.3. On other side, there is no regulation ending the trading activities at the market-place. From my observations, at end of the scheduled market-period there are only few visitors at the market-place. These know that the market will be over soon, but they try to find the goods which will be sold for less the end.

Table 4.13. The Schedule of Fleamarkets in 1995

Organizer	Times	
	Day	Hour
Portrait no.1	Wednesday	9 a.m. - 11 a.m.
Portrait no.2	Saturday	3 p.m. - 5.30 p.m.
Portrait no.3	Saturday	12 noon - 3.30 p.m.
Portrait no.4	Saturday	12.30 noon - 4 p.m.
Portrait no.5	Saturday & Sunday	7/8 a.m. - 5 p.m.
Portrait no.6	Saturday	8 a.m. - 2 p.m.

Source : author's data collection

From this empirical data, these regulations can be conceived as, both those set by the organizer and by the state, a formalization of economic activities. In contrast to advertising, the formalization related to the government regulations can be considered as a certain way to embed the economic activity in the society, especially in a political framework. But regulations which are made by the organizer of fleamarket, especially those related to registration, can be also regarded as another way of embedding economic activity in social life.

Based on this information, we see that there are five regulations which have been included in the law, in this sense the *Gewerbeordnung*, that have to do with holding fleamarkets as well as engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket. These are the regulations dealing with the trader, space use, fees, the goods can be traded, and the schedule. This indicates, therefore, that the state intervenes in the market. Therefore, this state intervention can be regarded as a form of embeddedness of economic life, e.g., of the fleamarket in the political aspect of human life. Accordingly, all of the portraits can be located in the pole of embeddedness.

The following, as Table 4.14., is a schematic presentation to explain the types of fleamarket organizers.

Table 4.14. Types of Fleamarket Organizers

Items	Government Organizations	Non-Government Organizations	Private Companies
Purpose	As part of a program	Part of an initiative	To make money
Frequency of holding the fleamarket	Once a month	Once a month	More than twice a week
Advertisement	Local newspapers, brochures.	Local newspapers, brochures, verbal communication	Local newspaper, brochures, and fleamarket magazines
Embeddedness-orientation	Instrumentally rational	Value rational	Instrumentally rational
-social relations	Registration, collecting fees	Registration, café, collecting fees	Collecting fees
-relation to the state	As part of the city's duties	To obtain part of their funds from the city	Licensed by the state

Conclusion

The research findings on the actors of the fleamarkets indicate that there are, at least, three types of actors who play a role in the fleamarket, namely the traders, the visitors, and the organizers of the fleamarkets. These groups of actors are not internally homogeneous. Each category of actor is characterized by sub-types. Based on similarities among and differences between traders, which are related to their purposes for engaging in trading activities, frequency of attendance, ethnic background, level of contribution of trading to household consumption, and relation to the society, we thus argue that three types of traders exist. These are the pseudo traders, the part-time traders, and the professional traders. The pseudo traders are characterized by the non-profit orientations, such as having fun, trading as a hobby, etc. They sell the secondhand goods or handicrafts from one to four times each year. Contribution of their trading activities to household consumption is low. They are generally Germans and are socially connected with other actors fleamarket, especially with visitors. Therefore they face the "trader's dilemma" because of their pre-existing social relationships with customers. In contrast the part-time traders are identified by their engaging in trade as a second job. They sell secondhand goods and handicrafts about once a week, and tend to be Germans. Their trading activity income makes a significant contribution to household consumption. They face trader's dilemma through paying tax and embedded through non-trading networks. The last type is

marked by their engagement in trade as a main job, by selling handicrafts made by Germans and by selling new goods made in foreign lands. They face trader's dilemma through paying tax and by being embedded through trading networks and non-trading networks.

Based on similarities among and differences between visitors, which are related to their purpose for going to the fleamarket, kinds of goods purchased, kinds of fleamarkets visited, ethnic backgrounds, reasons for bargaining, and relations with economic actors, we also construct three types of fleamarket visitors: the flaneurs, the collectors, and the Schnäppchen hunters. The flaneurs are marked by their visiting both the city fleamarkets and the initiative fleamarkets to achieve value-rational orientations like having fun and engaging in social contact, and enjoyment of the bargaining. They tend to be Germans and buy things on unplanned basis, shopping by accident, their action is embedded through social contact with other economic actors who come from the same residential area of the city or social backgrounds. The collectors are characterized by their visiting of certain fleamarket to collect special items, like ceramics, more than twice a month, large number of Germans, bargaining to get a "fair price", and engaging in social contacts through discussion about the goods and bargaining. The last type is identified by his or her visiting of the commercial fleamarkets to look for cheap new goods and of the two other kinds to look for cheap secondhand goods, more than twice a month. They tend to be more foreigners, bargaining to get a price as low as possible, and engage in social contacts through this bargaining.

Like the two other types of fleamarket actors, the organizers of the fleamarket are also heterogeneous. We see similarities and differences among organizers which are based on purposes for holding the fleamarket, frequency of holding fleamarket, advertising, their relation to the society, and relation to the state. We therefore claim that there are three types of organizers of fleamarkets: the governmental organizations, the non-governmental organizations, and the private companies. The governmental organizations hold their fleamarkets about once a month as part of their own program. To announce their schedules and locations, they use local newspapers and brochures. They engage in social contact with traders through registrations and collecting fees. Their activity of holding fleamarket is embedded in the political aspect of human life through the objective of this activity itself, namely as a part of city's duties. The non-governmental organizations are characterized by holding fleamarkets as an initiative activity about once a month. Information on fleamarket schedules is distributed through local newspapers, brochures, and verbal information. Social relations between organizers and other types of economic actors are through registration, cafés, and collecting fee for space use, as well as by obtaining some money from the state. The last type (the commercial organizer) is marked by holding fleamarkets to make money more than twice in a week, using local newspaper, brochures, and fleamarket magazines to advertise, engaging in social relation with traders by collecting fees for use of space, as well as obtaining license for holding fleamarkets.

Observations of varying kinds of fleamarket actors bring us to the conclusion that the embedding of fleamarket activities like trading, visiting, and organizing fleamarkets in the society as a whole occurs in different ways and degrees, for example in the degree of involvement in social networks, moral economy, bargaining, advertising, the

purposes for fleamarket activities, regulation, etc. These findings agree with Granovetter (1985) and Schrader (1994) who argue that the embeddedness of economic life happens in different ways and degrees. These findings also show that purposes of actors for engaging in the fleamarket's activities are structured not only by pure gain and by rational choice but also by value-rational orientations.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FLEAMARKET AS A MIRROR OF SOCIAL COMPLEXITY : LEISURE, BARGAINING, THE SOCIAL MEANING OF MONEY, AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL IDEAL

Introduction

In their book "Peasant Pedlars and Professional Traders", Mai and Buchholt (1987) stressed that the market-place, in the developing countries like Indonesia, mirrors various aspects of community life. According to Mai and Buchholt (1987: 2) the market-place contains ample information on the structure of goods offered, the typology of traders, the enterprises, the customers, even the economic and social organization of trading, market prices, credits, selling and buying strategies, the communicative and cultural aspects of the market-day, and so forth. In short they claim that the market-place mirrors the whole complex of social, cultural, political, and economic aspects.

Using this approach it has also been found that some types of market-places in the developed countries –in this work Germany-- also mirror the complexity of social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of community life. Some kinds of German market-places like "*der Wochenmarkt*" and the fleamarket reveal significant information on various aspects of social, cultural, political, and economic life in the community. In this chapter, therefore, we will discuss what kinds of aspects of community life are embedded in the fleamarket.

Thus, the first section of this chapter discusses engaging in trade as well as visiting the fleamarket as a leisure activity. Of concern is what degree of leisure do various kinds of traders as well as visitors have ? To construct degrees of leisure we present data on the purposes for engaging in trading activity and those of visitors attending market. In the second part, we highlight bargaining in the fleamarket. In this section we describe types of bargaining strategies based on cases of bargaining in the fleamarket. We also see that Germans learn bargaining strategies from participating in the fleamarket. The third segment of this chapter tries to answer the question: what social meanings of money are characteristic of the fleamarket ? The fourth part of this chapter deals with how German romanticism and the environmental movement influence people to engage in trade and organize fleamarkets. The last section of this chapter describes the socialization of children in the fleamarket.

A. Trading and Visiting the Fleamarket as Leisure Activities

In this section we will discuss on trading and visiting the fleamarket as leisure activities. And then we compare degree of Leisure orientation among traders based on their purposes for engaging in trade and among visitors based on their purposes for attending fleamarkets.

1. Trading at the Fleamarkets as a Leisure Activity

Germans are generally seen as hard working people. It is therefore surprising to observe that selling goods and visiting the fleamarket are often regarded as a mere leisure activity. According to Webster's *Third International Dictionary*, the word leisure is derived from Latin *licere*, meaning to be free. Leisure is time spent in a leisurely or relatively unconstrained and uncoerced manner. It is something freely done. Leisure, for Kelly (1982), is freely chosen because the activity itself or one's companions, or some combination of the two, promises personal satisfaction. It is the personal and social orientation of the actor that makes it leisure – or something else. Thus, leisure is related to the use of the time, not time itself. It is distinguished by the meaning of the activity, not by its form. Hence, leisure is defined as an activity chosen in relative freedom for its quality of satisfaction.

From that point, we will find that some aspects of trading activities relate to using leisure time. According to our survey, (see Table 4.1.), there are, at least, six purposes for engaging in trading activities i.e., making money, trading as a hobby, speaking with other people, becoming acquainted with other people, getting rid of secondhand goods, and having fun. The first reason can not be regarded as leisure activity because it is primarily directed to achieving an economic end. The other reasons, however, can be considered as leisure activities because these are done or chosen primarily for their own sake and not essentially to achieve an economic goal.

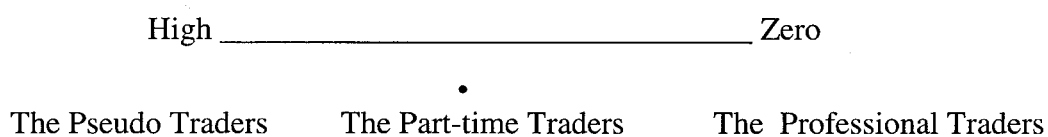
Based on our observations, we found that some people engage in trading activities together with all the members of their family – mother, father, and children. For example, the Müller family which consists of Herr Müller, 35 years old and a mechanic, the husband; Frau Müller, 30 years old and a housewife as well as their three children. Herr Müller always engages in trading activity at the fleamarket together with his wife, and his children. For him, engaging in trade at the fleamarket is to get to know and have contact with other people as well as to have fun. To get to know and have contact with other people, when someone comes to his stand together with his/her child, he sometimes gives away a toy to the visitor's child. Why does he do it? He said that "*ich mache das aus Freundlichkeit.*" While trading, he plays with or goes to looking around the market-place together with his children. When he goes to the toilet or to another part of the fleamarket together with his children, his wife help him by selling his goods. At the fleamarkets, particularly those organized by governmental and non-profit organizations, we find many families engaging in trading activity together with their family members.

From the scene described above it appears that engaging in trading activity, together with one's family member at the fleamarket, is a way to use leisure time together with outside of the private sphere – in this regard away from home. At home the members of family can engage in the same activities together, like watching television, listening to music, reading newspapers and magazines, etc. At the fleamarket, through trading, members of the family use their leisure time in the mixed sphere between the private and the public sphere (see also Winter, 1996: 19).

When we highlight the degree of leisure based orientations of traders for engaging in trade at the fleamarket, we return to our portraits of traders as presented in previous chapter. We find that the pseudo traders – like Ms. Cane (27 years old, student, single) as well as Ms. Möller (37 years old, single, with one daughter) can be characterized by the high degree of leisure orientation because they engage in trading activity in order to experience a good social

atmosphere, make contacts with friend and other people, to have fun and to get rid of secondhand goods. From that reasons it seems to us that their activities are leisure activities because these are carried out primarily for their own sake and not essentially to reach economic goals. For these pseudo traders making money is regarded as a logical consequence of engaging in trade. Moreover, degree of leisure orientation of the part-time traders is higher than that of the professional traders because the purpose of the professional traders for engaging in trading activity is only to make money, whereas the part-time traders give two reasons for the same activity, namely making money and using leisure time. Also, the part-time traders are more free than the professional traders to engage in trade at the fleamarket, because the part-time traders have other income through their main job (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Degree of Leisure Orientation of Traders Based on Purposes for Engaging in Trade



2. Visiting Fleamarkets as a Leisure Activity

Furthermore some orientations of visiting fleamarket can be also considered as an activity connected to the use of leisure time. In term of this survey, there are also six reasons given for visiting fleamarkets that can be regarded as use of leisure-time i.e., doing the shopping, meeting friends, taking a stroll, becoming acquainted with other people, having fun and killing time. These are all carried out or chosen primarily for their own sake. On the other hand, if one visits the fleamarket in order to obtain goods cheaper than in another market, it can be said that this activity is not leisure time because it is done primarily to achieve an economic end.

How do visitors spend their leisure time in the fleamarket ?. Based on our observations, some people, particularly old women, visit the fleamarket in order to have social contact with other people. In these old women's everyday life, they do not make social contact with other people, except with the same people they live with in the old people's home or in their own apartments. When they visit the fleamarket, they generally do not shop but go from stand to stand in order to look at things and make comments to the traders. The traders usually respond to their comments. I always found that special comments of old people are connected to seeing an interesting item that has to do with their life in the past. For example "I had a vase just like this when I was young". If the traders did not respond to their comment, they would continue on to another stand and repeat this activity. They sometimes asked the price. This was done, not to make a transaction, but to have social communication with the traders.

It is generally assumed that in industrial society, in this sense German society, almost all of social activities related to the life cycle from weddings until funerals, are in the context of a formal institution. Establishing social contacts with other people also takes place in formal institutions, like those carried out by the "Bürgerinitiative" and religion organizations and also by commercial organizations. To participate in activities in those organizations, they, at least, have to be registered as members of those organizations. Moreover, to participate in the commercial organizations they have to pay something. In contrast, at the fleamarket, people

can have the social contacts readily and naturally. There is no formal membership and participating at the fleamarket is free.

In contrast to Germans, in my society of Minangkabau, Indonesia, there is no institutionalization of the life cycle in a formal institution. Almost all activities related to life events are carried out by members of kinsgroups, the local community, etc. For example, if one of kinsgroup's members wants to hold a wedding party, all of members of her or his kinsgroup will help her or him according to their ability, namely, contributing money, engaging in the tasks of holding the wedding party, and so forth. Likewise if old people have no nuclear family, they will be supported by their wider kinsgroup or perhaps also by their local community (the *kampung*). The old people usually live with a son or daughter, even if their children move to other place from the *kampung* (*merantau*). Thus we do not find old people going to the market in order to have social contact with other people like at the fleamarket in Germany.

How do we explain this difference between German society and Minangkabau society? It can be explained by the process of rationalization. In Germany rationalization have effected almost all aspects of life: organization through bureaucracy, religion through the reformation, and the economy through capitalism (see Weber [1922]1978, [1923]1961). The institutionalization of the life cycle in German society can be seen also as the rationalization of the life cycle. In contrast to German society, in Minangkabau rationalization has not touched life circle events yet.

The fleamarket is also regarded as a meeting-place by some people, especially young people. They visit the fleamarket with the intention to meet friends, not only with those who have made an appointment to meet them in the fleamarket but also with those they haven't seen for a long time. For example Ms. Klein is 24 years old, German and a student. Her main purpose in going to the fleamarket is to see the people whom she had arranged to meet before and/or has not met for a long time. Therefore she only goes to the fleamarkets where she can meet acquaintances, that is the fleamarkets at the Klosterplatz and the Siegfriedplatz in Bielefeld. Especially at the Sigfriedplatz, she and her friends can engage in conversation not only in the market-place but also in the cafe which is owned by the organizer of the fleamarket. As already described, these fleamarkets are located in areas where many students reside.

How do people do with their weekend? According to our empirical data, we found that some people spend their weekend at certain fleamarkets. They go there in order to experience a new atmosphere different from their monotone activity as workers, students, etc. They enjoy not only the goods that are displayed on the tables by the traders but also the social milieu that happens there including social contact, different types of people, ways of bargaining, etc. Based on our observation some people spent their weekend, in this case Saturday, all day long in the fleamarket. They were at fleamarkets, located in Bielefeld, from early in the morning until afternoon. Thus, we can include the activities of playing a role and of "killing time" in goal of finding a new atmosphere at the fleamarket.

Doing one's shopping at the fleamarket can be also regarded as a leisure activity as far as it is not primarily intended to obtain an economic ends. By shopping, someone will sometime have an "*Überraschung*" (surprise) at the market-place. Based on our observation, we found that some people surprised when they find something displayed on a table like the old women above. It is based on a social psychological relation to something in the person's past. The

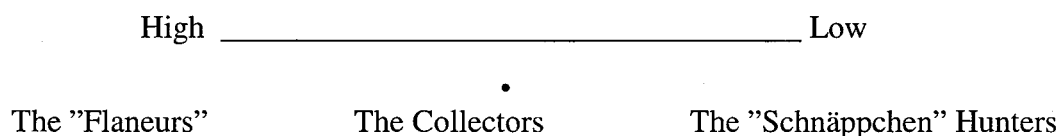
customers referred to the past-time like "when I was young, my aunt gave me something like this" for example. The surprise can also relate to a social-psychological meaning of something in the present. For example, my experience in the market-place, when I helped my friend translate from German into Indonesian and the reverse, in order to buy something. The trader handed me a shirt after she made the transaction with my friend. I did not take it immediately, because I did not intend to buy it. I took it when I clearly heard that she said that "Das ist für Sie ein Geschenk" (it is a gift for you). I was surprised because I did not know her from before. When I asked her why she gave me a gift, she said that "I think it is good for you; I like to give it." This was also experienced by many people who I interviewed. I also observed when an Asian, who was looking at goods on a table, was presented by the trader with a table lamp. He was also surprised by this situation. The surprise experience also occurs when someone finds something which she or he wants or has never seen it before.

This scene described above also contrasts with my society. In general, shopping in Minangkabau like "engaging in war". Because there is normally no fixed prices in the market-place like that of Pasar Raya in Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia. There, both the traders and the customers use bargaining strategies to win "this war". For the traders, the strategies are to maintain their price, while the customers try to lower the price. Accordingly, shopping in Pasar Raya Padang not be considered as a leisure activity because it is basically carried out to achieve an economic goal, namely getting something for a cheap price.

All of activities of visiting the German fleamarket can also be combined with having fun. After or while meeting friends, making contacts, experiencing a new atmosphere and shopping, one also feels like they are having fun. In the Germany, the phrase "Es macht Spaß" (having fun) is usually used by people to denote an activity that is neither stressful nor monotonous activity. In my opinion, this phrase indicates leisure activity. In one of portraits of the traders, Ms. Möller said that "die Arbeit macht keinen Spaß, aber man hat hier Spaß" (the work is no fun, but one has fun here).

To understand the fleamarket as a mirror of social complexity, it is also useful to describe the degree of leisure of the visitors based on the intentions visitors in attending the market. In our portraits of the visitors, as described in previous chapter, we will characterize the "flâneurs" as having a high degree of leisure because they visit the fleamarket in order to find a new social atmosphere, to meet their friends, to have fun and to engage in social contacts with other people. For the "flâneurs" shopping is regarded as a logical consequence of visiting the fleamarket. The collectors and the "Schnäppchen" hunters have the same reason for visiting the fleamarket, that is shopping. However this activity has a different meaning. Because their hobby to collect something, the collectors visit the fleamarket. In contrast to the collectors, the "Schnäppchen" hunters do their shopping there, because of their strategy to survive within their income. In other words, they buy what they need at the fleamarket primarily to achieve an economic end. Therefore the collectors have a higher degree of leisure than the "Schnäppchen" hunters in their orientations for participating at fleamarket (also see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2. Degree of Leisure orientation of Visitors Based on their Purposes for Attending Fleamarkets



In industrial society, in this case German society, people differentiate between work and other activities -- like leisure for example-- more clearly than in the developing societies like Indonesia. Industrialization and urbanization has caused a greater separation between work and the rest of life - in this regard leisure (Godbey, 1981). In other words, through industrialization and urbanization the space of work have been differentiated from the rest of life. By this differentiation people do not combine their work and their other activities anymore. This separation can be seen through people's opinions which relate to any activity. At the fleamarket, to come back to our example, we found that some people said that "die Arbeit macht keinen Spaß, aber man hat Spaß hier" (the work is no fun, but one has fun here). The word *Spaß*, for Germans, is connected with leisure activity. In short, engaging in fleamarket activities, namely selling and visiting, is regarded a leisure activity. In Germany when one uses his or her leisure, he or she enjoys it. He or she will not mix his or her leisure activity. Therefore, it is understandable that many traders, particularly the pseudo traders, sometimes give a stranger their secondhand goods as a gift. They can enjoy it without earning any money. Because "Verschenken" (giving something away) to a foreigner is done or chosen primarily for its own sake and not essentially to achieve an economic goal.

In contrast, in Indonesian society people do not distinguish between leisure and work. Hence it is difficult to know whether one is using his or her leisure or not. Over the weekend many people use their free time to work. On the other hand during work-time they may do something that does not relate to their work, for example reading newspaper at the office. In short, they fuse work and leisure by doing them at the same time. How can we understand this phenomena? Although in Indonesia industrialization is ongoing process in many aspect of life, nevertheless industrial culture is not yet internalized at all by people as part of their life. They still participate in pre-industrial culture in which work and other life activities are combined in space and time. In many Indonesian cities, where many industries and offices are located, they still live like an agricultural society in which there is no clear and strict separation between work and other activities. Many of them do not know what the meaning of "leisure" activity is (see also Suparb Pas-Ong, 1990).

B. Bargaining

Bargaining is an important point which has to be discussed if one wants to focus on the fleamarket in Germany. This is because the fleamarket in itself is always connected by people with bargaining. In the emic view, it is not fleamarket if one is not allowed to bargain there. If the trader refuses to bargain, the visitors usually say "Aber das ist doch der Flohmarkt" (But it is the fleamarket).

Although the fleamarket has some characteristics of bazaar, as described by Geertz (1978, 1979), i.e., no fixed price, which allows for bargaining, the bargaining is not the same as that which occurs in the bazaar. At the fleamarket there is no multidimensional intensive

bargaining. The difference between the bazaar and the German fleamarket will be explained below.

1. The Bazaar and the Fleamarket

Bargaining in the bazaar, according to Geertz (1978), is multidimensional and intensive. Though price setting is the most conspicuous aspect of bargaining, the bargaining spirit penetrates the whole interaction. The multidimensionality of bargaining includes bargaining along nonmonetary dimensions. While money price is held constant, the possibilities for bargaining in terms of quality aspects, quantity aspects, credit arrangements and so on, are enormous. Using Geertz's approach to understand *bakul*¹ in Rural Java, Alexander (1987: 179) saw that there are some well-established bargaining techniques which are used by all *bakul* (see also Evers, 1988; Evers and Schrader eds., 1994). Two of these can be described as verbal techniques: maintaining sales pattern and switching currency units. The other three are non-verbal: interchanging items, 'walking off', and *tambahan* ('adding extra').

In contrast to the bazaar, at the fleamarket one does not find the traders maintaining sales pattern, switching currency units, interchanging items, 'walking off', and giving *tambahan*. In general, the traders² will state the price when the potential buyers ask about it. If the professional traders have the same kind of goods, they usually explain why one is more expensive than the other. Therefore the buyers will not be confused in making a choice because of an exchange of items. The traders also do not aggressively ask the buyers what they want to buy. They use currency units which are usually used by people in German everyday life. The visitor will risk a loss of the opportunity to buy the interesting secondhand goods, if she or he uses 'walking off' as bargaining strategy. This strategy may be useful however if the visitor wants to buy new things in the fleamarket because there exist many new goods which are sold by many professional traders.

Furthermore intensiveness of bargaining, according to Geertz, means the exploration in depth of an offer already received, a search along the intensive margin, as contrasted to seeking additional offers, a search along the extensive. To illustrate this process it is useful to know how Alexander (1987: 172-73) described it:

This dialogue illustrates some general features of bargaining. The seller does most of the talking, keeping up a constant flow of pattern which the buyer answers or, more commonly, ignores. Bu Bariyah (trader) stresses the generally high quality of her goods, but occasionally points to low quality pots among her stock so that she can represent herself as an adviser rather than an antagonist. Talking almost constantly, she wheedles, feigns indignation and tries to intimidate her customer. She also attempts to confuse him by switching her offers to other goods on sale. The seller makes most of the bids. Despite the fact that the buyer had purchased a similar pot from her at Rp 11 000 not long before, her initial bid is beyond

¹ According to Alexander (1987 : 3) Javanese distinguish two categories of traders : *juragan* and *bakul*. *Juragan* are 'wholesalers', often men, mainly located in *depot*; *bakul* are predominantly women, dealing with varying success with a wide range of agricultural and manufactured commodities, whose trading activities are centred on the *pasar*.

² There are three types of fleamarket traders: pseudo traders, part time traders and professional traders. Pseudo traders mean people who trade at the fleamarket to achieve value rational orientations like having social contacts. Both part-time traders and professional traders do trading to get profit. The former have other activities as main job and the latter have only this trading as main job.

this mark, and even when the bargaining is well advanced she is still asking more than double. During the second session, Bu Bariyah's offers hover around Rp 15 000 and once she drops this by a quarter the sale is quickly concluded. The seller, confident in this price knowledge because he had made a recent purchase, reiterates his initial serious bid, with occasional bids for other pieces of copperware, Bu Bariyah claims his information is outdated and that he is not making sufficient allowance for variation in quality, but the buyer is sufficiently confident to persist. In fact, at the end of transaction, Bu Bariyah is momentarily confused and sells a high quality pot for only Rp 500 more than an inferior one.

From this scene we know that bargaining in the bazaar is protracted and intense: buyer and seller take time and exchange many bids. The sale will be concluded after using many bargaining techniques and much time. In the transaction for goods at the fleamarket, in contrast to the bazaar, bargaining is usually a short process: buyer and seller rapidly exchange two or three bids and the sale is concluded. The transaction –from negotiating price to paying money- will take approximately from two minutes to ten minutes.

Additionally, in the bazaar, other character will be also found, that of clientalization. According to Geertz (1978) clientalization is the tendency for repetitive purchasers of particular goods and services to establish continuing relationships with particular purveyors of those goods rather than searching widely through the market at each occasion of need. The bazaar participants move along the grooved channel of clientalization. They find their way again and again to the same adversaries which are not dependency relations, but competitive ones. Clientship is symmetrical, egalitarian, and oppositional. There is no "patron" in the master and servant sense here. Clientship is also a reciprocal matter. The seller is tied to his regular customers in the same way as the customers are to him. Clientalization reduces the search to a manageable scale and transforms a diffuse mob into a stable collection of familiar antagonists. The acquainted partners use the repetitive exchange to limit the costs of the search. To understand this process, Alexander is helpful :

Bakul describes three categories of customers. *Sing toko* is a casual buyer whom the vendor may never see again. Social interaction is devoid of anything other than the desire to exchange products or services, and transactions are strictly directed towards the goal of gaining a good price. A *langganan*, or *langganan biasa*, is a customer who buys on a regular, but not necessarily exclusive, basis. Transactions with such customers are always cordial and the seller's initial offer is often pitched at a level which limits bargaining to a single counter bid. Concessions on quantity may be granted on cheaper items. *Langganan biasa* merge in many respects with *langganan tetep*, although with the letter credit is extended to the customer for periods ranging from a day to a month. As *langganan* relationships of both kinds require regular transactions, it is not surprising that the most common loci are retail stalls (*warung*) both in the villages and the towns. The *bakul* involved in *langganan* relationships with consumers trade almost exclusively in regularly purchased foodstuffs, especially vegetables and meat, prepared foods, sweetmeats and drinks. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of consumer transactions which involve *langganan*, but it probably approaches half stallholders in the daily market and is higher in village *warung* (Alexander, 1987: 178).

On the other hand in the fleamarket there is also no clientalization like *langganan biasa or tetep* that allows the customer to make as many purchases as possible from the same trader in order to obtain a reasonably accurate price. Such an attempt would be useless for finding out price information at the fleamarket because the traders, particularly the pseudo traders, have no standardized minimum price. When the customer asks the trader her or his price for secondhand goods, she or he usually needs about half minute to state it. She or he sometime asks her/his friend what the price could be, if she or he engages in trading activity together with an acquaintance at the same stand. Although the professional traders have a standardized minimum price, she or he can directly state it, but clientalization is not regarded as a way to establish a current price. These traders usually state a fixed price for certain goods such as batteries, keys, pens and so on. For expensive items like carpets, telephones, tape-recorders, and so forth, they state their price which is not so far from current price. In short, at the fleamarket the fixed price is generally set by the professional traders, when they sell the cheap goods. We will discuss this in more detail in the following section of this chapter.

2. Some Cases of Bargaining Strategies

Before discussing bargaining strategies, it is important to see how the traders and the buyers bargain. Therefore we offer some cases of bargaining strategies in the fleamarket based on observations.

Case no. 1

This case was discovered for first time when I observed a professional trader at the marketplace who sold new goods. A customer came to his stand and then looked at some telephones arranged for sale in the corner of his stall.

Customer : How much is this ? (He pointed at a telephone with impulse counter)

Trader : 40 marks (he answered directly).

Customer : Can I pay 30 marks ?

Trader : This one is with impulse counter. The price is 25 marks but without the impulse counter (the trader indicated other telephone).

Customer : I will give you 35 marks.

Trader : 38 marks, I usually sell it for 40 marks.

The customer discovered this telephone for 38 marks. Since two other traders sold the same goods at this fleamarket, the trader made less profit than in other situations where he has no competitor. Then the same good is usually sold for 40 marks.

Case no.2

The first time I discovered this strategy was when I interviewed Mr. Edi (a customer, 31 years old, student, Minangkabau Indonesia). He said that if you want to bargain, you have to point out a defect in the goods which you want to buy. He wanted to buy a bicycle.

Mr. Edi : How much does this bicycle cost ?

Trader : 75 marks. (He thinks for a moment before he says it)

Herr Edi : Hem...hem...! (He is searching for a defect in that bicycle. And then he finds it)

Trader : How much do you offer ?

Mr. Edi : There is no tire valve ! (He points to the bicycle's wheel)

Trader : Okay, 50 marks for you !

Mr. Edi : Hem...hem. (He shakes his head.)

Trader : 40 marks.

Mr. Edi : 20 marks. It is bad !

Trader : 25 marks.

Mr. Edi bought that bicycle for 25 marks and then he bought a tire valve for only 2 marks in the supermarket.

Case no.3

I observed this strategy for the first time when I went with my friend Lin (30 years old, student, Toraja Indonesia) to the fleamarket. He wanted to buy a jacket.

Lin : How much is this ? (He holds up a jacket)

Trader : 15 marks. (After she looked at her friend, she stated that price)

Lin : No, last week I bought one like this for only five marks. (I knew that he did not go to the fleamarket last week.)

Trader : Okay ... 5 marks.

Case no.4

I often observed this strategy at the fleamarket. For example, a man (about 60 years old) wanted to buy trousers.

Buyer : How much ? (He holds up the trousers)

Trader : 5 marks.

Buyer : (He is silent but he remains standing in front of the trader's table. He is still holding up those trousers).

Trader : 3 marks. (She holds up three fingers)

Buyer : (He says nothing but he does not move away from this stall and is still holding up those trousers).

Trader : 2 marks. (She holds up two fingers and seems confused)

Buyer : 1 mark. (He says his bid and holds up one finger)

Trader : all right.

Case no.5

I also often observed this strategy at the fleamarket. For example, a woman (about 45 years old) would like to buy a thermos bottle.

Woman : How much this ?

Trader : 3 marks.

Woman : It is too expensive !

Trader : 2 marks.

Woman : 1 mark.

Trader : Okay.

She bought the thermos bottle for one mark.

Case no.6

I saw this strategy for the first time, when a man was bargaining at the "Klosterplatz". He was a Turk, about 55 years old and wanted to buy shoes.

Turk : How much ? (He holds up the shoes.)

Trader : 4 marks.

Turk : No ... 1 mark. (He holds the shoes tightly.)

Trader : No...they are relatively new.
Turk : No...1 mark. (He still holds the shoes tightly.)
Trader : 3 marks ... if you want them !
Turk : 1 mark ...okay ?
Trader : No. (She becomes flustered.)
Turk : One and a half marks ... okay ?
Trader : Okay.
He bought those shoes for one and a half marks.

Case no. 7

I observed this strategy for the first time at the "Siegfriedplatz", when a woman (student, about 24 years old) bought a shirt.
Student : How much is this ?
Trader : 2 marks.
Student : She takes some money from his breast pocket after that she says "I have only this much, can I ? She counts it and then she says " 1 mark and 20 pennies"
Trader : She takes it and states "Ja"

3. Kinds of Bargaining Strategies

What kinds of bargaining strategies are used by the traders and the customers at the fleamarket ? To answer this question, it is useful to divide our discussion into two distinct topics: the bargaining strategies of the traders as well as those of the buyers at the fleamarket.

a. Bargaining Strategies of Traders

How do traders avoid bargaining ? To avoid bargaining the traders usually put a price sticker on their goods. However, this is no guarantee that the buyers will not try to bargain for these goods. If someone tries to bargain for their goods, then the trader can say no. But this means that they miss the enjoyment of the experience of bargaining. It also may mean that they will make no transactions.

If you have a used item and you want to sell it at the fleamarket, our question is how do you establish its value or how do you set a price ? Usually you have bought it somewhere, for example in the supermarket. That means that you have a comparison of the price. If you bought your item for 50 marks in 1994, and then in 1995 you want to sell it, you could value it at ten percent of your buying price, namely 5 marks. Furthermore, if someone comes to you and bargains for your used article for 3 marks, what do you think about it ? In that case, you forget about your buying price. You have to bargain with the customer. In contrast to this pseudo trader, who sells secondhand goods, the part-time traders and the professional traders have a standardized minimum price that is determined by them based on economic calculations: cost, profit, etc.

Based on these cases and our observations, we see that there are at least three kinds of bargaining strategies that are carried out by the traders in order to maintain their stated price i.e., saying that something is new, comparing quality, and claiming that goods are antiques.

1. The First Strategy : Saying that something is new

This is said, not only by the professional traders who usually sell new goods, but also by the pseudo traders and the part-time traders who generally sell secondhand goods (like in case no.6). In that case the pseudo trader did not succeed in holding her offer because the stubborn customer repeated his price so often that the trader became flustered. In contrast to the pseudo traders, the part-time traders and the professional traders never become perplexed by this situation because they have a standardized minimum price for their goods.

2. The Second Strategy : Comparing quality

Making a comparison of quality at the fleamarket is not like a switching item in the bazaar. Comparing quality, as we have discussed above, is usually used by the traders in order to explain why their price is more expensive than that of others. They usually make a distinction among goods based on quality, function, etc. We know that in an industrial society, in this regard Germany, high quality means a more expensive item. According to the German idioms, "Was nichts kostet, taugt nichts" (what has low price, has minor quality) and "Die Qualität gehört zum Preis" (quality belongs to the price). Those idioms imply that one can no longer bargain over the traders state referring to their price because they are selling not only the good itself but also its quality.

This strategy is usually used by the professional traders as in case no.1. In contrast, switching items in the bazaar are commonly intended to confuse the customer.

3. The Third Strategy : Claiming that goods are antiques

Claiming that an item is antique is normally used by the professional traders who sell antiques to protect their offer from bargaining, which may be attempted by the customer in order to reduce the price. The part-time traders as well as the pseudo traders also sometimes use this strategy. This strategy can be employed effectively by the professional traders to maintain their price. This is because they have knowledge about antiques and usually give the customer a guarantee of the authenticity of their goods by giving their address, when a purchase is made.

If a certain strategy is effective or not, mainly depends on the question if the traders have set a standardized minimum price. At the fleamarket, I have observed that many pseudo traders have no standardized minimum price for their goods so that they can not decide for what price they will sell their item. The logical consequence of this situation is that their bargaining strategies cannot be effective in maintaining their price if they have set no standardized minimum price for their goods. On the other hand the professional traders and the part-time traders have a minimum price. In the negotiating over a price, therefore, they can use these bargaining strategies effectively in order to make sure that the final price does not fall under their standardized minimum price.

b. Bargaining Strategies of Buyers

How do the buyers do their bargaining ? There are at least six kinds of strategies of bargaining used by the buyers in order to obtain a low price: looking for defects, making comparisons, to say nothing but to remain standing there, to say the good is too expensive, to keep bargaining, and claiming to have only so much money and offering this sum.

1. The First Strategy: Looking for defects

This strategy can be observed everywhere. If one finds an item for sale has a flaw, for example in the supermarket, one can say that he or she only to buy that good if the cashier will reduce

its price. Therefore some buyers use to look for defects as a bargaining strategy to obtain a low price at the fleamarket as described in case no.2. Almost all societies in the world agree that goods with flaws should be sold cheaper than perfect ones.

2. The Second Strategy : Making comparisons

Not only the traders make comparisons but the buyers also use them as a bargaining strategy. But buyers use different things as the basis of comparison. In contrast to traders who use quality as their basis of comparison, the buyers compare prices when bargaining, as described in case no.3. Price comparisons can be obtained by the buyers through their acquaintances who have purchased a certain good that they also want to buy or through their own experiences in the past. In one of our cases, the buyer lied and said that he had bought the same good in the past at a certain (lower) price. By lying, he was able to bargain, using a false price comparison, in order to get a low price. Not all people are willing to lie in order to obtain something, because most moral systems forbid lying.

3. The Third Strategy : To keep bargaining

This strategy is usually used by people, especially men, who come from Turkey like in case no.6. When the traders make their offer, they usually will make their bid of a certain price that they regard as fair. They typically repeat their initial bid, even though the trader has reduced her/his offer. They still insist on their initial price without giving any reason, although the trader has lowered her/his price many times.

There are at least two reasons why Turks use this strategy: firstly, they often cannot speak German fluently and thus they cannot state the reason for their bid. Secondly, they have a tradition of bargaining in which one can reduce the price through simply repeating the initial bid over and over until the seller agrees.

4. The Fourth Strategy : To say nothing but to remain standing there.

Based on our observations, this strategy is also usually carried out by people who cannot speak German fluently and have a tradition of bargaining, such as Africans and Turks. Although they cannot speak German well, they want to buy a certain good at a cheaper price than that stated by the trader and they stand in the front of the trader's table and hold up the good like in the case no.4. These actions indicate that they seriously want to buy the good. They usually go to the pseudo traders and know who is a pseudo trader or not. The pseudo traders generally take care of their customers better.

5. The Fifth Strategy: To say it's too expensive

If one feels that the secondhand goods that are offered by a trader are too expensive, one can state it directly. The trader usually responds directly by asking what price does the customer offer or by reducing their offer as in case no.5. This means that saying the item is too expensive is a strategy to initiate pricemaking negotiations. Based on the emic view, the fleamarket is a place in which people can buy something at a *günstigem Preis* (favorable price). Therefore one can bargain for the secondhand goods that are sold in the fleamarket, when one thinks that they are too expensive. When the trader refuses to bargain, the customer will generally say in protest "Wir sind hier doch auf dem Flohmarkt" (But we are here on the fleamarket).

6. The Sixth Strategy: Offering all of one's money

This strategy is usually used by Germans like in case no.7. When the trader states the price, the customer will show all the money from her/his pocket and say that that is all the money she or he has. This is usually done by a customer if she or he wants to buy something under five marks. Before bargaining the customer has put away some money in her/his pocket. She or he knows which pocket contains a certain sum of money so that she or he does not make a mistake in using this bargaining strategy. It is a form of indirect bargaining.

This strategy can be understood as a way to preserve good social relations between the trader and the customer. I have noticed that bargaining directly is regarded as uncommon in the German society. It can be learned through one's first trading experience at the fleamarket. Some Germans are shocked when the customers bargain for their goods.

How does the buyer decide on the fair price of a certain good? The buyers usually make their decision about prices through a bargaining process that occurs between the trader and the customer. Some buyers, before bargaining, set a maximum price limit for a certain good, especially for secondhand goods. Therefore, bargaining for them means to keep from going over their maximum price. This maximum limit is set by them based on their experience in the past or on information from their acquaintances. Those customers who want to buy new goods from the professional traders have no maximum price limit as a standard for deciding how much to pay for something.

4. Bargaining in the Fleamarket : a short and fast action

Based on cases of bargaining strategies above, we see that, bargaining between the buyer and the seller at the fleamarket is usually carried out very fast. Only two or three bids are needed and then the sale can be concluded. Therefore the transaction - from negotiating a price to the paying of money - is quite short. It generally takes about two minutes until ten minutes. This means that buyer and seller engage in conversation for a very short time. From our observations, Germans often do not bargain. They pay the price stated. This also means that the transaction is shorter and faster than that characterized by bargaining.

In contrast to the German fleamarket, based on my experience in many bazaars in Indonesia as well as on Alexander's findings, bargaining in the bazaar is prolonged and intense. The buyer and the seller slowly exchange many bids. To win the "bargaining war" the trader and the customer use all the bargaining strategies they have: maintaining sales patten, switching currency units, interchanging items, "walking off", *tambahan*, and so forth. Therefore, as Alexander (1978: 165 - 172) illustrated, it takes more than 30 minutes to conclude a transaction.

5. Germans Learn Bargaining at the Fleamarket

In the market-place, based on observation, we usually found that the German sellers who were at the fleamarket for the first-time were shocked because the customers bargained in response to their price. According to their experience in other markets, when the traders state their price, the customers will agree to it or leave the trader to search for another trader who has a lower price. This means that, from the German emic view, one can not bargain over the price of goods. Thus it is understandable why some first-time sellers were shocked when the customers made lower bids.

This shock, as we have discussed above, is connected to the relationship between price and quality, based on the German view "Die Qualität gehört zum Preis" (quality belongs to the price). Therefore one will buy something that she or he wants without bidding or even without attempting to find another competitor who sells the same good at a lower price. Accordingly, we can understand why there are many identical products with different brands which are exchanged in German shops, such as toothpaste, laundry soap, etc. The expensive price reflects the best quality: "Was nichts kostet, taugt nichts" (what has low price, has minor quality).

The regulation of prices through *Rabattgesetz* (rebate law) in November 1933, changed German behavior related to prices. To understand this rebate law it is useful to quote paragraph 1:

§1 Rabattgewährung

- (1) Werden im geschäftlichen Verkehr Waren des täglichen Bedarfs im Einzelverkauf an den letzten Verbraucher veräußert oder gewerbliche Leistungen des täglichen Bedarfs für den letzten Verbraucher ausgeführt, so dürfen zu Zwecken des Wettbewerbs Preisnachlässe (Rabatte) nur nach Maßgabe der nachfolgenden Vorschriften angekündigt oder gewährt werden.
- (2) Als Preisnachlässe im Sinne dieses Gesetzes gelten Nachlässe von den Preisen, die der Unternehmer ankündigt oder allgemein fordert, oder Sonderpreise, die wegen der Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Verbraucherkreisen, Berufen, Vereinen oder Gesellschaften eingeräumt werden.

Through the rebate law traders are not allowed to reduce their prices drastically in order to successfully compete with each other. Therefore, the customer cannot bargain with the trader to get a favorable price. As the result of this regulation Germans have limited experience with bargaining in the market-place, especially in the formal market. In short regulation of price, in this sense, can be regarded as a path to rationalization of economic activity.

In comparison with the German society, the oriental culture, in this regard both the North African and Asian society, has a bargaining tradition -see Geertz (1978, 1979), Alexander (1987), Evers and Schrader eds. (1994). In these societies people are familiar with the bargaining tradition. In certain markets, bargaining is still an inherent part of economic activity. Through this experience, therefore, Asians and Africans have developed more bargaining strategies than the Germans, when they bid at the fleamarket. Out of six kinds of customers bargaining strategies described above, we found only one bargaining strategy that can be regarded as a German style, namely the sixth strategy (offering all their money). While the other strategies are typical of the oriental societies like those of Arabs, Turks, etc. Through social contacts with other people at the fleamarket Germans learn more bargaining strategies. In other words, Germans can rediscover bargaining through experiences at the fleamarket.

C. The Social Meaning of Money

1. Rationalization and Money

Rationalization is essentially the application of rationality not only to economic activity but also in social, political, and cultural life. This process has its origin in Western European societies, included Germany. In economic activity, rationalization has been implemented by using "cost-benefit analysis" in order to achieve economic goals. In political and sociocultural life, rationalization has resulted in a general, rational, and systematic body of law, in bureaucratic forms of organization, etc

Money, as classical social thinkers have suggested, spearheaded the process of rationalization. Money, however, is also a key instrument for understanding social rationalization. Money, according to Simmel (1978) and Weber (1978), provides not only the capability to abstractly calculate the value of an object but is also an impersonal instrument. As Weber observed, money is the most perfect means for social and economic transaction.

2. The Social Meaning of Money at the Fleamarket

As discussed in chapter two, Zelizer (1993) argued that money has various social meanings in society. And Zelizer continued that the earmarking of money is a social process: money is attached to varying sets of social relations, rather than individuals. Related to this topic it is important to ask, how do the traders in the fleamarket define money? Considering our observations, each type of trader has an own social meaning of money. In means that there are, at least, two social meanings of money involved in the trading activities going on at the fleamarket:

a. Money as a Consequence

Selling things at the fleamarket is done, especially by the pseudo traders, essentially to achieve non-profit goals like having fun, establishing social relationships, and spending leisure time. Therefore, making money, in this regard, is considered as a logical consequence engaging in trading activities. Hence some traders at the fleamarket as Frau. Möller mentioned that "*Geld ist gar nicht so wichtig*" (Money is not so important). To achieve their goals of engaging in trading activities some traders actually give away their secondhand goods. Through this activity they can initiate social contacts with people to whom they give a present and they enjoy it. In this context, as we have discussed, engaging in trade is a value-rational (*wertrational*) action.

In the West society, including in German Society, there is a certain value related to money as illustrated in the proverb "Zeit ist Geld" (time is money). That proverb explains that all activities have a money value. Therefore if one does not use his or her time as fruitfully or productively as possible, she or he is losing money. In connection with the trading activities of the pseudo traders at the fleamarket, the proverb "time is money" is no longer applicable because they engage in trade to achieve non-economic goals like having fun, using leisure-time, making social contacts, etc. Therefore some of them sometimes lose their money but they have success in achieving their non-economic goals.

b. Money as an Aim

For both the part-time traders and the professionals, engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket is oriented primarily to making money. In other words money is the ultimate purpose of making trading activities at the fleamarket. Thus they generally never give away goods to further a non-profit orientation like the pseudo trader does. This can be seen, therefore, as consideration between means (that of engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket) and a calculated end namely of making money. It is in Weber's terms, an instrumentally rational (*zweckrational*) action.

Furthermore, the part-time traders and the professional traders differ from each other according to the degree that they earn money. For the professional traders engaging in trade is their main job. But for the part-time traders it is a secondary source of income. However the part-time traders enjoy engaging in trade at the fleamarket mainly for fun, because in their opinion they have their job as their main resource for income. In other words their livelihood does not depend on making money at the fleamarket. This means that they can also take pleasure from engaging in trade. This differentiation can not be regarded as a distinction of the social meaning of money at the fleamarket.

D. German Romanticism and the Green Movement

As discussed in chapter two, romanticism sees that we live in a world that we ourselves create, and that the principle of creativity is plenitude, infinite variety (Hawthorn, 1992: 37). In addition, romantics saw life as meaningful and good (Hanke, 1981: 2). Based on these ideas, therefore, people can make their life as good and meaningful as they need through their creativity, including the fleamarket.

During the 1970s, the Green Movement emerged in the developed western countries. The Green wave inundated the United States and Western Europe in the early years of the decade. In 1974 it subsided in the wake of the Arab oil embargo, rising oil prices, and the financial crisis in western countries and Japan. By 1975, ecological concerns and the Green Movement increased throughout the industrial western countries. Early in 1975, the site of a prospective nuclear power plant at Wyhl in West Germany was occupied by protestors. There were some other activities carried out by the German Greens in order to preserve the environment, e.g., holding parades and demonstrations. To achieve their goals, the German Greens founded a national Green party on January 12 and 13, 1980 in Karlsruhe. Nowadays they are highly influential in local and national politics (Frankland and Schoonmaker, 1992; Pilat, 1980).

During the 1970s, the fleamarket in its present form has developed in some cities in West Germany. Nowadays, as we have discussed, this economic activity is very common throughout Germany, especially in the former West Germany (Oberbeil, 1985). How do we see this phenomenon in relations to the Green Movement ?

The Green Movement was generated by ecological consciousness of preserving the environment in order to make the good life possible (see Frankland and Schoonmaker, 1992). Seen in this perspective, we can consider that holding a fleamarket expresses a sort of Green idea. Through this activity one can sell or buy used articles in order to lengthen their use (recycling). In this sense, on one hand, the activity solves problems related to used articles, e.g., garbage disposal. On the other hand, at its core, it can delay or make unnecessary the

production of new articles from the raw materials of which are extracted from nature. Therefore, it is a way of the Green Movement for preserving the environment.

To understand these theoretical points, it is useful to look at some examples relating to this matter having to do with the orientation of the organizers of fleamarket as well as the orientation of the traders.

1. Preserving the Environment through Holding Fleamarkets

Based on our interviews with some organizers of the fleamarkets, only one organizer, that is AStA (Students Union) University of Bielefeld, that stated directly that holding fleamarkets is a movement to preserve the environment in order to make the good life. By holding fleamarkets, according to AStA (Students Union), they facilitate the students who want to sell their own secondhand goods or to buy used goods so that the use of products can be lengthened (re-cycling). AStA claimed that through this activity they have helped to solve problems connected with used articles, e.g., garbage disposal. AStA also considered that they have helped to delay the production of new goods thus conserving the raw materials which are extracted from nature.

2. Preserving the Environment through Trading at the Fleamarket

Let us return to our portrait of a trader, Ms. Möller, who saw the fleamarket as good place to get rid of her secondhand goods. By engaging in trade at the fleamarket, she not only can solve problems related to her old goods but also can have fun and make social contacts with other people. She actually gave some of her goods away free to people who came to her table. Ms. Möller did not previously know these people. She offered three reasons for giving away her sold goods at the fleamarket: the first, if she gets rid of old things in the garbage can, they can cause pollution. Secondly, if she calls the city to remove them, she has to pay money. Thirdly, if she gets rid of her old things in the Red Cross' box, she does not know who uses her secondhand goods.

In Germany, pollution is a problem that is often discussed in everyday life. To prevent pollution, German people engage in some activities, disposing of used products in certain ways or separating different types of garbage into various containers, limiting the speed of motor vehicles, etc. Some people thought that engaging in activities at the fleamarkets, like selling and buying, can prevent pollution because other people reuse the secondhand goods that are no longer wanted by the trader.

In contrast, the environmental idea has been introduced in Indonesia but, up to now, it has not been really accepted by the people. Through cleanliness competition among Indonesian cities the government has made Indonesians familiar with the idea of protecting their environment. After the announcement of the winner of the competition, however, in many cities people return to their old habit and throw their garbage away everywhere. In short, the environmental idea is not yet internalized by many people in Indonesia. We can not find activities there in the market that are related to preserving the environment, like at the fleamarket in Germany.

E. Learning by trading

As described in chapter two, the fleamarket can be seen as a social institution that offers a learning process through which members of society transmit to the new individual the social and cultural heritage of their group. In socialization the individual learns the attitudes which usually refer to a broad system of meaning and of values that extends far beyond his/her immediate situation. We argue that in the fleamarket a human child or youth can internalize and/or actualize his/her culture which he or she has inherited from his/her family and society.

In discussing the fleamarket as an institution of socialization, our main concern is to answer the question of what are certain values of German society which relate to the fleamarket. This question is based on the idea that the German fleamarket is different from other fleamarket organized in other societies. The other interesting question related to this point is how the process of socialization occurred in the fleamarket. By asking these questions, we see that activity in the fleamarket is not just part of the economic sphere but also is a sociocultural activity.

According to my research, there are, at least, two values typical of German society that deal with activities in the fleamarket, there are related to leisure, and the social meaning of money, as well as German romanticism and the green movement.

To know which social values can be internalized by children through participating in the fleamarket, it is important to comprehend the reasons why children are present at the fleamarket by looking at their activities there as traders and as customers. It is useful to describe some cases of "young traders" who engage in selling activities at the fleamarket.

Case no.1

Julian is 13 years old and is in the eighth class at the *Gymnasium*. He lives near the University of Bielefeld. He sells things at the fleamarket because he likes to make money and to have fun. Before beginning his selling activities, his mother reserved a place with the organizer of the fleamarket located at the "Klosterplatz". In 1995 he went there with his friend twice. He is engaged in trading activities only at this fleamarket because in this market-place for young people there is no fee for using space. Therefore he would like to engage in trade at this fleamarket in the future.

Activities on September 16th 1995

- 07.00 a.m. Julian woke up and prepared his goods for sale
- 07.30 a.m. A friend came to his house and they went together with his mother to the market-place
- 08.00 a.m. He and his friend displayed their goods at the same spot
- 09.15 a.m. No one had bought anything of his goods
- 09.45 a.m. He sold toys for 3 marks
- 10.45 a.m. He looked around the market-place
- 01.05 p.m. His parents came to him
- 01.30 p.m. He had sold goods for 133.14 marks. His parent helped him to pack up his goods and then left this market-place.

He has sold not only his own possessions but also those belonging to his mother and his friend. According to Julian, he sold goods for a total of 133.14 marks, only 26.90 marks were for his own goods. He would like to save a part from his money in the bank and to buy something. He said that more customers came to his spot from 09.00 a.m. until 12.00 noon than at other times. He sold his own possessions because he wasn't using them anymore.

Case no.2

Jutta is 12 years old and is in the 6th class at the *Gesamtschule*. She lives with her mother in Löhne. She went to the fleamarket that is located in the parking lot of Hotel Vier Taxbäume, Brackwede Bielefeld, together with her mother and her sister. She wanted to sell her own goods like toys and clothes, because she was not using them. She mentioned that selling things at the fleamarket means not only to make money but also to have fun. She has also gone to other fleamarkets in Hameln, Bad Oeynhausien, and Bad Salzuflen. According to her, she never sells things at the fleamarkets held in Löhne, because she would feel embraced if her friends and her relatives find out what she does at the fleamarket.

At this fleamarket in Brackwede she had her own stand which was located beside her friend's one but far from that of her mother. On this occasion she made 35 marks and paid five marks for using the place. She would like to save a part of these earnings. She also receives 20 marks from her mother every month. She said that she was happy when many customers bought her goods. But when no customers came to her stand, she felt bored. To avoid being bored, she looked around the market-place.

Activities on September 23rd 1995

06.00 a.m. Jutta woke up and had breakfast

06.45 a.m. she took her goods to the car and went with her mother to Bielefeld

08.00 a.m. she set up stand

09.15 a.m. she sold her toys

10.35 a.m. she looked around the fleamarket

11.45 a.m. she bought herself an ice cream and necklace

12.30 noon she packed up and went back to Löhne

Case no.3

Fabian is seven years old and goes to the Elementary School. He sold his own toys and books that he did not want anymore. On October 7th 1995 he was for the first time engaged in selling activities. He did not do it very seriously. He spent most of his time at the fleamarket playing with his friends whom he met at the market-place and whom he knows for a long time. He had his own stand that was located beside his mother's stand. He usually went to the fleamarket together with his mother to keep her company. According to his mother they only went to this fleamarket (located at the "Altes Freibad" in Schildesche, Bielefeld) because at this market-place there is a playing-ground for children. When customers came to his stand, he was happy and explained the prices to them. Thus, when his friend invited him to play while a customer was at his stand, he said "*Moment, ich habe einen Kunden*" (just a moment,

I have a customer). He earned money five marks. With this money he bought candy in another area of the fleamarket.

His mother is 42 years old and a hairdresser. She is married and has three sons (22 years old, 16 years old, and 7 years old). She works only three days a week. She can not work full-time because of her children. Her husband works in a supermarket in Bielefeld. In 1995 Fabian's mother went to the fleamarket twice: the first time on June 24th 1995 at the same place. At this fleamarket one may only sell secondhand goods which have to do with children. She sold books, clothes, and shoes. Her commodities come from her own possessions. For her, engaging in trade at the fleamarket is a way to get rid of unwanted possessions, to have fun, to meet friends and relatives, and to become acquainted with other people. She also did not visit the fleamarket as customer because she has no time.

Activities on October 7th 1995

One day before engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket Fabian's mother asked him whether he wanted to sell his toys and books that he was not using anymore. He agreed with his mother and he collected himself his own goods that would be sold at the fleamarket and put them into a carton.

07.00 a.m. His mother woke him up and they had breakfast.

07.45 a.m. His mother packed their commodities into the car

08.10 a.m. Arriving at the market-place, Fabian prepared his own goods for displaying.

08.15 a.m. He explained his prices to each person who came to his stand.

09.15 a.m. An acquaintance of his mother bought one of his cartoon books. He was happy.

09.30 a.m. He went to the playing-ground with his friends.

09.45 a.m. He waited at his stand

10.10 a.m. His friend came by and asked him to play together, while a customer was looking at his stand, and he said "Moment, ich habe einen Kunden". After that he went to other area of the market-place with his friend and bought candy.

11.00 a.m. He became boring with selling activities and then his mother moved his goods to her table. He played with his friends in the playing ground.

01.30 p.m. He and his mother left this market-place

From all of the cases mentioned above it can be observed that the children sell their own possessions because they are not using them anymore. By engaging in selling activities at the fleamarket they do not only make money but also they have fun, meet friends, and play around the market-place. The observations showed that the children were very satisfied when they made a transaction.

1. Socialization of Leisure

Based on these cases it can be assumed that parents usually know that their children are engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket. Many of them go together with their children to sell things there like in cases no.2 and no.3. For these families, engaging in trading activities is regarded as spending their leisure time at the market-place. They enjoy the atmosphere in the fleamarket, including looking around the market-place, making social contacts with other people, having fun, etc. At the fleamarket, the parents socialize that value

into their children. In case no.1, the boy also spent his leisure time in the fleamarket with his friend, not with his parents like others.

2. Learning the Social Meaning of Money

The parents also socialized their children the social meaning of money at the fleamarket. Through engaging in trading activities, children internalize how people earn money and its social meaning. We see in our cases above how the children learn that, by selling their secondhand goods at the fleamarket, they can earn money. Based on our cases and observations, we concluded that the children combine various orientations toward trading activities, including earning money, having fun, playing at the market-place, etc. This means that making money is not seen as an aim but as consequence of engaging in trading activities at the fleamarket because they have various motivations as well as not doing it too intensively.

Based on our observations we also found that some parents, who engaged in trading activities at the fleamarket taught their children how to make transaction with other traders at the market-place. When they give money to their children, they say "if you want to buy something, you have to bargain for it". In this way the parents socialized their children with certain social meanings of money.

How do people react to the "young trader" ? According to our observations Germans do not bargain with the "young traders" because they agree that the children have set a "*richtiger Preis*" (right price). Some customers pay more than what the child asked for. In contrast to German, Turks as well as some other non-Germans bargained with children like with adults.

3. Socialization of German Romanticism and Environmental Idea

According to our interviews and observations, almost all the children sold their secondhand goods because they were not using them. Thus we see that the children know that their used goods can be sold at the fleamarket because these can be used by other people. This fact implies that, through the fleamarket, children apply their knowledge that their unwanted goods can be re-used by other people. This we consider to be another manifestation of the environmental ideal.

How do children acquire this knowledge ? Children can learn environmentalist ideas from their parents, their school, etc. Engaging in trading activities, or, just visiting the fleamarket together with the children, can be considered as a way to socialize the children with the environmental ideal. In kindergarten, furthermore, the children can internalize environmental ideas through singing environmental songs, by playing "fleamarket" etc. In Germany, as we have known, the environmental movement is often discussed in everyday life. It has been also written about in popular books that are read by different levels of people –from kindergarten up to university. To understand the German way to socialize people in the environmental ideal it is useful to discuss Krenzer and Edelkötter's book. In their book "*Kinder-Flohmarkt*" they write about how the teachers teach the themes of the environmental movement to children in kindergarten. One of their chapters, "*Kinderflohmarkt*" is devoted to the fleamarket. In this chapter they describe how children play fleamarket in classroom. Krenzer and Edelkötter arrange the song of "*Kinderflohmarkt*" and produce it in cassette. They also quoted a story about experiences at the fleamarket called "*Ein lohnendes Geschäft*" from

Poeplau. To comprehend their environmental ideas, we cite a paragraph from their book (Krenzer and Edelkötter, 1986: 23). Their other ideas will be presented in the appendix.

Kinder-flohmarkt

Mein Zimmer ist zu klein, mein Spielzeugschrank so voll Ich weiß nicht mehr, wohin ich noch mit meinen Sachen soll, Drum biete ich euch an, was ich entbehren kann und hoffe, daß ein anderer viel Freude hat daran. Hallo, hallo ! Kommt alle schnell heran ! Der Flohmarkt fängt jetzt an	My room is too small My toys box so full I do not know any more, where I can put my things That is why I offer you all, that I can miss and I hope, that somebody else will enjoy it a lot Hallo, hallo ! Come near all quickly ! Fleamarket is starting now
--	---

...

(Source : song of fleamarket arranged by Krenzer & Edelkötter)

Through that song they socialize children in the value of the fleamarket. They show that, if one has problem with space for her/his toys, she or he can sell them at the fleamarket. Also when one buys something at the fleamarket, she or he can save money. In other words, the fleamarket is presented as a solution for people who have problem with their secondhand goods and who want to save their money.

To highlight more clearly the young trader's environmental ideal, we offer the example of Niklas. He is Julian's classmate and is 13 years old. Selling at the fleamarket, for him, is also a way to make money and to have fun. He earned only three marks on September 16th 1995. But last year he earned about 67 marks.

After I had explained my intention to conduct an interview and observation about his activities, he asked me whether I have a bird or not. I said no. After that I asked him "why do you ask?" He said " *ich möchte Ihnen meinen Käfig schenken*" (I would like to give you my cage). "Why" ? I asked him. He said " *Ich habe keinen Vogel mehr*" (I do not have a bird anymore). According to Niklas, he will be happy if someone takes his cage. When people came to his stand, he always asked them " *Möchten Sie meinen Käfig mitnehmen?*" (Would you like to have my birdcage ?). Thus I found out that children also have an environmental ideal. He could have thrown his cage into the garbage can, but he did not do it because he hoped that someone would want to reuse his cage.

Conclusion

The fleamarket contains ample information on the kinds of goods offered, the types of traders, the visitors, organizers of the fleamarket, leisure, market prices, bargaining strategies, the social meaning of money, German Romanticism and the Green Movement, socialization of some German values, and so forth. Therefore the fleamarket mirrors various aspects of community life.

An aspect of German community life mirrored at the fleamarket, as mentioned above, is leisure. Based on their purposes for engaging in trade, we found different degrees of leisure among the traders at the fleamarket. The pseudo traders have a high degree of leisure orientation. They are followed by the part-time traders and then by the professional traders. Furthermore considering purposes of visitors for market attendance, we also argued that visitors are also characterized by various degrees of leisure motivation. We position the "flaneurs" as having a high degree of leisure orientation. The collectors come next and then the "Schnäppchen" hunters.

The fleamarket shares certain characteristics with the bazaar, namely elastic prices, therefore one can bargain there. But bargaining at the fleamarket is shorter and faster than the bargaining at the Bazaar. For this reason we only highlight kinds of bargaining strategies at the fleamarket. Based on our data, traders have three bargaining strategies. These are claiming that their goods are new, comparing quality, and claiming their goods are antique. By using these strategies the traders maintain their price. Furthermore there are six bargaining strategies of fleamarket customers. These are looking for defects, making comparisons, persevering in bargaining, saying nothing, saying the item is too expensive, and offering all their money. Of the bargaining strategies of the buyers we found that only one of these is typically German. This is probably because Germans no longer use bargaining in their shopping activities. At the fleamarket Germans rediscovery bargaining.

The third mirror of German life at the fleamarket is social meaning of money. At the fleamarket we found at least two social meaning of money: money as a consequence and as an aim. The fourth mirror is German Romanticism and the Green Movement. Germans think that people can make life as good and meaningful as they need it to be. Therefore the fleamarket including activities like holding the fleamarket and engaging in trading activities are regarded as preserving the environment so as to create the meaningful and good life. The fleamarket is also used by people to socialize children into their values and traditions. Based on our study, there are, at least, three values that are internalized by the children in the fleamarket namely leisure, the social meaning of money, as well as German romanticism and environmental ideal.

Through fleamarket as mirror of social complexity -- in this regard the phenomena of leisure, bargaining, the social meaning of money, German Romanticism and environmentalism, and socialization -- we can argue that the economic activities at the fleamarket are embedded in the society as a whole.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FLEAMARKET AS A WORLD MARKET

Introduction

Although the German economy has not improved since the unification of East and West Germany, the German economy is still better off than that of some other Western European countries like the Netherlands, Spain, Belgium, and Italy. According to a report of the World Trade Union in 1996, German exports ranked second after the USA, namely for about 521.8 billion US dollars. This means that Germany is an important world market.

Seen from a historical perspective, Germany has been integrated into the world market for a long time. Through the Hanseatic League which consisted of the member towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Gdansk, Gotland, Bergen, Riga, Novgorod, and Bruges, German merchants and peasants were engaged in the world market since around the Thirteenth Century (Braudel, 1982, 1984; Polanyi, 1944).

Germany, as a result, is a major destination for migrants from many countries, especially from Eastern Europe (and some other countries that have contributed "Gastarbeiter" like Turkey, Greece, and so on) to get jobs. Since types of certain jobs like street sweeper, cleaner, hotel room service, kitchen staff, nurse and other types of "dirty and hard work", are not wanted by Germans, these jobs are generally performed by migrants and/or their children.

Furthermore Germany is the gate into the European Union for people who come from the ex-communist countries of Eastern Europe. This is because Germany is located in the center of Europe and borders on the ex-communist countries of Poland and the Czech Republic. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and communism in Eastern Europe, many Eastern European people have migrated to Germany in order to get jobs.

Based on these scenes described above, we see that the German fleamarkets flourish in the context of the global economy. In other words, in this paper we will discuss the German fleamarkets on the macro level, that means their relations with the global economy. First we discuss the position of Bielefeld, where this study is conducted, in the context of the world market, then we continue to highlight the German fleamarket as a world market.

A. Bielefeld as an International City

Before continuing our discussion on this topic it is important to determine the boundaries of the "international city" and by this means the integration of the city into the global economic system (modern capitalist world economy). Through this integration, therefore, a city becomes part of the international urban network (see Smith and Feagin, 1993; Evers, 1991). This fact can be observed in a number of

features such as international trade, the international flow of capital, the circulation of information through modern communication media, number of tourists, number of foreigners, and religion.

1. International Trade

In the chapter three we saw that Bielefeld has experienced the industrialization process for a long time. Bielefeld became known as the "*Leineweber-Stadt*" (a textile industry city). These textile commodities, including garments, were exchanged not only in German markets but also in international markets like Dortmund, Lübeck, the Baltic, and Scandinavian cities.

In his book "*Tradition und Fortschritt in der Ostwestfälischen Metropole*" (1996), Andreas Beaugrand edited some articles that explained the development of industry in Bielefeld, from the early textile industry based on linen to modern industries like machines, electronics, cosmetics, medical goods, etc. In Bielefeld are located some companies that trade their commodities both in German markets and international markets. These include Boge Kompressoren, Gildemeister Aktiengesellschaft, Böllhoff GmbH, Welland & Tuxhorn GmbH & Co KG, Fischer & Krecke Beutelmaschinen, Mille, Alcina Cosmetic, ASTA Medica, Lohmann-Werke GmbH & Co, etc. For example Hiro Lift Hillenkötter Tronsieck GmbH produces special elevators that were used in constructing the World Trade Center buildings in New York city. Some of these companies have branches abroad like the Gildemeister Aktiengesellschaft.

2. The International Flow of Capital

Almost all of the big German banks have branches in Bielefeld. These include Deutsche Bank, Commerzbank, Dresdner Bank and Sparkasse. Beside these there are also international banks in Bielefeld like City Bank, Ford Bank, etc. Through these economic institutions capital mobility flows from Bielefeld abroad, also in the reverse direction, without barriers.

Besides, as mentioned above, many of Bielefeld's big companies have branches in foreign countries. For example the Dr. Oetker pudding industry has branches in place like Singapore. This means that through the activities of these various big companies the capital flows from Bielefeld to other German cities as well as abroad, and also in the reverse direction.

3. The Circulation of Information

Through modern communication media like telephone, fax, and the internet, the circulation of information from Bielefeld to other places in the world, and vice versa, is without obstacle. As other West German cities, one has to wait only a week for the normal connection of a new telephone at home. The telephone is regarded not as a luxury good but as a necessity. Since almost all German households have a telephone. Furthermore almost all firms have their own faxmachine. By means of these modern telecommunication tools a company can contact to other companies, not only located in Germany but also in other countries. Information on Bielefeld can be also found in

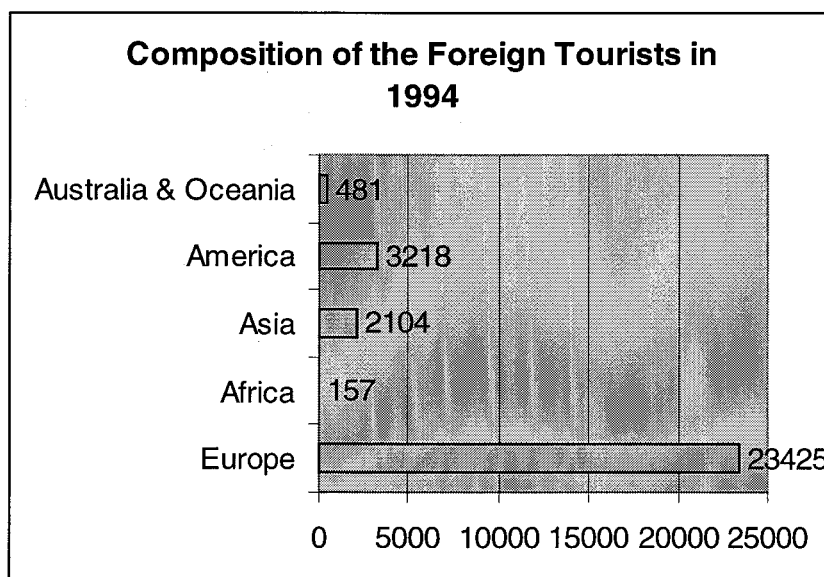
the internet. When someone wants to know something about Bielefeld, one can find it in some homepages in the internet. For many people in Bielefeld, internet based communications like electronic-mail, telnet, and homepages are not something foreign. To have a connection with the internet one only pays about ten marks monthly.

Looking at computing companies in Bielefeld's Yellow Pages 1995/1996, one can find about 225 firms which are related to computers: computer tools, software, programming, consulting, and so forth. Among this number there are also some branches of big German and multinational companies, like Vobis, Es-Com, Siemens-Nixdorf, NEC, IBM, Apple-Mackintosh, Epson, Compaq, Hewlett Packard, etc. in Bielefeld. It seems to me, that for these companies, Bielefeld is a good market for selling computers and for other computer related products.

4. Number of Tourists

Because most foreign tourists stay only a short time (about half a day) in Bielefeld it is not easy to recognize tourism statistically. For example my friend, who studies in England, visited me for a few hours and then he continued his trip to other cities. This fact cannot be analyzed statistically. As we have described in an earlier chapter Bielefeld has no international airport, but only trains to connect Bielefeld with other cities in Germany and in other countries like the Netherlands, France, and Russia as public transportation. Nevertheless, many tourists, both German and foreigners, come to Bielefeld.

Figure 6.1.



Source: Statistische Berichte G IV 1 des LDS

According to LDS in 1994 there were 212,324 tourists who came from all continents of the world (Europe, Africa, Asia, America, and Australia), included also 182,162 German tourists. This means that the number of tourists amounted to 65.5 % of Bielefeld's population in the same year, consisting of 324,067 inhabitants. The

majority of foreign tourists came from Europe, 23,425 visitors, especially from Britain, came 4,225 visitors (see Figure1). Besides, there were 777 tourists who were not identified by their nationality.

Furthermore these visitors stayed in various hotels in Bielefeld approximately 1.9 nights. In Bielefeld there are 51 hotels of different grades (see Table1.). In addition, there are two conference centers, two camp grounds, and a "Jugendherberge" (youth hostel).

Table 1. Number of Hotels Based on Price-Group for Single-Room Occupancy

Hotels According to Price-Group	Number
120 DM +	10
80 DM - 120 DM	7
50 DM - 80 DM	24
25 DM - 50 DM	10
Total	51

Source :Verkehrsverein Bielefeld. e.V.

5. Number of Foreigners

The bulk of the foreigners started to come to Bielefeld, like to other cities in West Germany, after the Second World War. According to Bade (1994) they came to Germany as "Gastarbeiter". He says that :

Von 1955 bis zum 'Anwerbepstop' in der Weltwirtschaftskrise von 1973 dauerte die 'Gastarbeiterperiode' in der Bundesrepublik. Rund 14 Millionen kamen in dieser Zeit. Etwa 11 Millionen davon kehrten wieder in ihre Heimatländer zurück. Von der 1989 rund 4,8 Millionen zählenden Ausländerbevölkerung in der Bundesrepublik gehörten fast 3 Millionen zu der aus den früheren 'Anwerbeländern' zugewanderten 'Gastarbeiterbevölkerung' oder stammten von ihr ab.

Based on our data from one decade to the next, although fluctuation occurred in the number of foreigners in Bielefeld, the numbers of foreigners generally increased. For example between 1950 and 1960 there occurred a fluctuation in the number of foreigners. In 1950 there were 1,142 foreigners. These became a population of 3,350 in 1953 but decreased to 2,650 people in 1957. However, from the decade of the 1950s to the 1960s, foreigners increased, namely from 1,142 to 2,587 persons (see Table 2.). Even though in 1973 eleven million foreigners returned to their countries from Germany, in Bielefeld between 1970 and 1980, there was a growth of the number of foreigners from 12,977 to 29,108.

Table 2. Number of Foreigners in Bielefeld from 1952 to 1994

Year	Number of Foreigners	Year	Number of Foreigners
1950	1,142	1980	29,108
1953	3,350	1990	34,617
1957	2,650	1991	35,462
1959	2,503	1992	37,466
1960	2,587	1993	49,326
1970	12,977	1994	50,932

Source : Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Bielefeld 1989 and Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1992-1995

The foreigners come from various countries, e.g. Turkey, Greece, Italy, ex-Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain and so on (see Table 3). The majority of the foreigners are people who come from countries which made bilateral agreements about "Gastarbeiter" with Germany. This has been also mentioned by Münz (1994: 106-107) in "Das Manifest der 60":

In der Regel erfolgte die Anwerbung im Rahmen bilateraler Verträge: zuerst in Italien, Spanien, Portugal und Griechenland, später auch in der Türkei, in Jugoslawien und in den nordafrikanischen Maghreb-Staaten. In Deutschland setzte die Anwerbung von 'Gastarbeitern' erst nach dem Bau der Mauer voll ein.

Table 3. The Origin of the Foreigners in Bielefeld in 1994

Country	Number of Population
Greece	3,658
Italy	1,362
ex-Yugoslavia	11,542
South Korea	238
Morocco	625
Portugal	200
Spain	535
Turkey	19,586
Tunisia	134
other EU-countries	1,742
other countries	11,310
Total	50,932

Source : Ausländerinnen und Ausländer in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1995

This shows that only South Korea had no bilateral agreement on "Gastarbeiter" with Germany. Many of the South Koreans come to Bielefeld to study at the University of Bielefeld. As seen in Table 4 there are 113 South Koreans now studying in Bielefeld. Some of them are married and have children. From that point, it can be said that the connection between Bielefeld and South Korea is maintained by study more than by employment.

The University of Bielefeld was only founded in 1969, nevertheless it has become well known as one of the good universities in Europe, especially the Faculty of Sociology.

Therefore this university is attended not only by Germans but also by students from all corners of the world. Most of these foreign students come from Turkey, Italy, Poland, Korea, China, Russia, Greece, Iran, while some other countries like Indonesia, Brazil, Egypt, Vietnam, and so forth contribute only a few of them (see Table 6.4.). Thus, the University of Bielefeld has integrated Bielefeld into the international urban network, especially into the international universities networks. Furthermore, the University of Bielefeld has connected Bielefeld with worldwide systems of communication through its computer center. According to a representative of the "Rechenzentrum", about 8000 students have accounts to enter into the cyberspace communications like telnet, electronic-mail, and so on, with the University Computer Center.

Table 4 The Origin of the Foreign Students Enrolled at the University of Bielefeld

Country	Number of Students
Greece	130
Italy	45
Spain	39
Poland	42
Turkey	332
China	34
Iran	36
South Korea	113
Taiwan	61
Other Countries	567
Total	1399

Source : Statistisches Jahrbuch 1995/96 Universität Bielefeld

6. The Religions

All the great religions like Christianity, Islam and Judaism are represented in Bielefeld. The greater part of Bielefeld's inhabitants are Protestant Christians with 186,505 persons (see table below). In this sense, we can also regard that this is an indicator of Bielefeld as an international city.

Table 5 The Religion of Bielefelder Inhabitants in 1987

Religion	Total
Protestants	186,505
Roman Catholics	54,199
Jews	76
Moslems	12,621
Other Religions	11,817
Without Religion	22,210

Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch NRW 1994

B. The German Fleamarket as a World Market

1. The Scene of the World Market-Place

Wonderful! I said this word when I had my first experience with the fleamarket, on April 9th, 1994 in Göttingen, Germany. I imagined that the market square looked like a market in my city, Padang, West Sumatra, Indonesia. When I arrived and looked around, however, I soon realized that my first general impression was not true. At the German fleamarket I did not find any secondhand things which could not be used anywhere and anytime. In contrast, if we buy a secondhand item in Padang, let's say clothes, we do not wear it to a party, because it will be too worn or old. The best secondhand goods in Padang are equivalent to the worst items being offered for sale in Göttingen. Furthermore, in Göttingen, I did not hear traders openly asking what customers are looking for. But if we go to the fleamarket in Padang, we will be asked by traders what we need to buy or, if we carry a bag, what goods we want to sell. We can also see in Göttingen some traders selling their things in front, behind, or besides their 'BMW' cars. In Padang the fleamarket reflects the poverty of the traders and customers. As 'the man in the street', I know this all as a "reality", but at the same time, I have an "Invitation to Sociology" (Berger, 1963) in Bielefeld to do a scientific enterprise. I have to wear sociological glasses to answer this "invitation". By means of sociological glasses, I see the reality as a quality of phenomena that we recognize as being independent of our own volition (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

The fleamarket is embedded in the society as a whole (Granovetter and Swedberg, 1992). It is a locus where actors interact with each other, not only to reach their goal, i.e., selling, buying, or 'taking a pleasure trip', but also to realize their culture, ethnicity, society, and nationality, etc. The fleamarket in Germany is attended not only by "Deutsche" but also by "Ausländer". So, we also observe the actors who come from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. We can see different economic actions going on among them. We can claim, therefore, that the German fleamarket is a world market.

Departing from my first scene of the fleamarket, in the following sections based on empirical data I would like to highlight some aspects related to the fleamarket as a world market. There are the traders, the visitors, cultures, the flow of new goods and handicrafts, etc.

2. Four Traders from Four Continents

Before highlighting this section it is important to look at some cases of traders who come from various countries and continents. They sell new industrial goods or handicrafts at the fleamarket. Based on our observations there were no traders who came from the Australian continent. Therefore in this section we discuss only four continents: (Latin) America, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

a. Case 1: A Latin American Trader

Senor Alonso is 27 years old and married. He and his wife have five daughters. He comes from Ecuador. He wanted to stay in Europe from June until December 1995 and then go back to his country. He came to Europe for the first time with his sister and his friend. The first trip was to the Netherlands. They stayed there for two months. He continued to Switzerland for one month. Since October 1995, he has been in Germany. He obtained information on the fleamarket through the fleamarket's magazine. He only goes to the fleamarkets which are held in the framework of certain celebrations like "Glückstalertage", "Kirmes", and "Stadtfeite".

He went to the fleamarket which was held as part of "Glückstalertage" on October 14th in Brackwede Bielefeld. He sold Latin American traditional handicrafts like hats, bags, bracelets, rings, and clothes which he purchased in his country. Almost all of his goods are bought directly by him from native craftsmen. In other locations of the fleamarket, there were some Ecuadorians and Peruvians who sell the same goods as he does. He knew Ecuadorians but does not know traders from Peru. He only learned enough Dutch and German to greet and talk about prices, he knows words like "Danke", "vierzig", etc. He does not speak German fluently, in conversation he uses gestures and sign language.

b. Case 2: An Asian Trader

Mr. Liem is 40 years old and married with three children. He comes from Hong Kong and has lived with his family in Bielefeld since 1988. He works for a firm located here. He engages in trade at the fleamarket in order to make money. According to Liem, he trades only in the Klosterplatz. He does not go to other fleamarkets because at other market-places one pays more money than at the Klosterplatz. Besides, he has no trading license. This means that he engages in trade eight times a year.

He sells new wares like rings, statues, stone-balls, table-clothes, and balsams which are produced in Asian countries such as China, India, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. He did not directly import these goods from these countries, rather he buys his goods from acquaintances who live in other German cities like Hamburg, Hannover, Düsseldorf, München, and Berlin. He communicates often with his friends. If one has some new items which have just arrived from Asian countries, the friends will call to inform each other about kinds of goods, prices, and the quality of the new goods. When one has interest in these goods, he or she will be supplied with the goods by post. In payment the trader has to transfer his/her money to the sender. Mr. Liem sometimes goes directly to his friend who often has new goods. He does not have a shop, because he does not have the money to pay a rent. He commented, "*Die Miete ist zu teuer für mich*" (the rent is too expensive for me).

c. Case 3: An African Trader

Mrs. Ulrich is 37 years old and an African living in Bielefeld since 1989. She is married to a German who works as a brickworker in Bielefeld. They have a son. According to her, selling in the fleamarket is a job and she goes to there in order to make money. This activity has been carried out by Mrs. Ulrich for four years.

She has a friend, also coming from Africa who lives in Minden. This friend also attends the fleamarket in order to earn money. Mrs. Ulrich never goes with her friend together to the fleamarket because her friend sells the same goods as she does. This means that the two friends avoid competition between them. She goes not only to the fleamarkets in Bielefeld but also to those held in other cities around Bielefeld such as Gütersloh, Herford, and Löhne. She has opened an African shop in Bielefeld since 1993. As a result she now rarely engages in trade at the fleamarket. She works at her shop during the week, generally, Monday to Saturday. To engage in trade, according to her, she needs a license. With this license she is not afraid of going to the fleamarket. She is able to make 400 - 500 marks from each fleamarket. She attends and earns 5000 marks monthly in her shop. She sells African commodities like clothes, handicrafts, wooden figures of animals and people, hats, etc. Her commodities are generally imported from Kenya through her parents who own a similar shop. She imports those commodities, at least, three times a year. When her friend has new items, Mrs. Ulrich sometimes buys certain goods from her and vice versa.

d. Case 4: A European Trader

Herr Pfeffer is 35 years old, single and a German who lives in Bielefeld. He lives together with his mother. His father is British and lives in England. Herr Pfeffer engaging in trade at the fleamarket wants to earn money.

He sells new goods such as sweaters, golf shirts, golf clubs and balls, electronic putting machines, umbrellas, baseball caps, etc. His goods are cheaper than those of competitors with shops or supermarkets in Bielefeld. Prices can be compared with the list which he uses as advertising. He can sell so cheaply because he does not pay tax, insurance and salaries for employees or rents for a building. Furthermore, he imports his goods directly from England through his father whose "Imports & Exports Limited" is based there. He does not have a shop in Bielefeld.

On October 28th 1995 he went to the fleamarket, located on the Johannisberg as trader for the first time and the last time. His father also helped him to put up tent to display his goods for sale. Herr Pfeffer did not understand why the people did not come to his stand. He thought that his goods were cheaper than those for sale at other markets and their quality was also good. To get the attention of the visitors he sometimes shouted that his goods are cheap and/or good quality. On that occasion he did not make money at that fleamarket. As a result, he lost his time and the money for using space.

Considering these cases it can be said that the traders who engage in trade at the German fleamarket come from various nations and countries. Many of them live permanently in Germany, except Senor Alonso. He stayed in various European countries during the summer season but he lives in Ecuador. According to what Senor Alonso said, he would like to return to Europe, to engage in trade at the fleamarket again. Based on my observations, there are many other "Alongsos" in engaging in trade at the German fleamarkets, they do not come only from Ecuador but also from Peru, Columbia, etc. In some big German cities like Frankfurt and Berlin we also find many people from the ex-communist countries of Eastern Europe like Poland, the

Czech Republic, and Russia in certain fleamarkets where they sell Eastern European industrial products like watches, telescopes, cameras etc.

In the cases above mentioned the traders ultimate aim for engaging in trade at the fleamarket is to make money. From my observations, secondhand goods are sold not only by Germans but also by foreigners who live in Germany. Many Germans and foreigners, as we have discussed in earlier chapters, engage in trade in order to achieve non-profit goals like having fun, making social contacts, and so forth.

On that point, therefore, the fleamarket can be considered as a world market, because this market-place is visited by traders who come from different nations and countries which are located in four continents in (Latin) America, Asia, Africa, as well as in Europe. I did not observe any Australian traders at the fleamarket. This can be explained by the kinds of commodities which are produced by this country namely expensive industrial goods. At the fleamarket the customers usually search for cheap new industrial goods, handicrafts, or secondhand goods.

In comparison with Bielefeld's fleamarkets, in the bazaars, including "pasar loak" in Padang, we notice that almost all the traders doing business come from one ethnic group, that is the group of the Minangkabau. While in business firms we find some Chinese, too, who engage in trade besides the Minangkabau. Thus, it can be claimed that the bazaars in Padang function only as local market.

3. Visitors from All Corners of the World

The same as the traders, the visitors who come to the fleamarket are also from different nations and countries. Returning to our portraits of visitors in an earlier chapter, three cases of visitors are foreigners, namely an Indonesian, a Turk, and an Egyptian. Furthermore, our survey found that 85 % foreigners, who are questioned at the *Bürgerberatung*, visited the fleamarket¹. They came from various nations and countries like Turkey, Bosnia, Russia, Italy, Serbia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Egypt, the Philippines, China, and Brazil. All these foreigners, both in our portraits and in my survey, live in Bielefeld. However, I did not find any foreigners who came to Germany just to visit the fleamarket. Based on this point we can regard the fleamarket as a world market because it is attended by the visitors who come from many countries.

In contrast to the German fleamarket, the bazaars are attended by all ethnic groups who live in Padang namely Minangkabau, Javanese, Batak, Nias, Chinese, etc. Despite these customers from various ethnic groups, however, the bazaar cannot be regarded as a world market because these ethnic groups are all native Indonesians as a nation which has a country, except for the Chinese.

These distinctions, in regard to the traders and the customers, between the fleamarkets in Bielefeld and the bazaars in Padang can be explained by the integration of both cities into the advanced capitalist world economy. In this paper we have already stated that Bielefeld is integrated into the global economic system. This integration involves not only the inflow of foreign capital, the circulation of information through modern

¹ In my survey I questioned 65 foreigners out of 300 respondents.

communication media, the number of tourists, and the international flow of capital, but also the sum of foreigners living in this city. On the other hand, as Evers (1992) and Evers et al. (1993) have argued, Padang is no longer integrated into the modern capitalist world economy. This opinion based on field-work on the amount of international corporate offices, of members of branches of licensed enterprises, of computer shops, and of luxury hotels.

4. A Meeting Place of the World Cultures

In this section, I will not engage in a theoretical debate about how to define culture. But I will use this word as something that characterizes a society in contrast with other societies, in this regard: differentiation of style, kinds of material culture like handicrafts, industrial products, tactics of strategic bargaining, and so on. Using this concept, we describe the fleamarket as a meeting place of world cultures.

a. Style

What examples of different cultures do you find your first time at the fleamarket? The answer is the styles like dress, hair and so forth. For example, if we go to the fleamarket located at the Kosterplatz, we will find various modes of dress and of hair styles there. The first hour of the market day at the fleamarket, around 7 a.m., we see some Turkish women which are shopping in a group. They apply "purdah" to their heads. In another corner of the marketplace we may also see the young peoples with their "punk hair". We also observe some people who fix their hair in African style. Furthermore we also see various modes of dress which are characteristic of different peoples: Bavarian style, African style, punk style, Muslim style, and so on. All these different styles of dress and hair mirror different world cultures. As a result, we can consider the fleamarket as a meeting place of world culture.

b. Material Culture

Based on observations, another aspect of culture, which can be directly noticed at the fleamarket, is material culture. By material culture we mean the kind of commodities which are sold by the traders at the fleamarket. At certain fleamarkets, as we have discussed, there are at least four kinds of goods: "Trödel" (secondhand) goods, collector's items, new merchandise, and handicrafts. As was noted, for some people some "Trödel" goods are regarded as collector's items, because they recognize that these goods have value as "antiques". This value is based on various criteria like the year of production, the method of production, and so on.

At the fleamarket we observed that "Trödel" goods which are exchanged by the traders were not only made in Germany but also in other countries like Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. I ever found a secondhand puppet made in Thailand, a secondhand tape-recorder made in Brazil, and a secondhand handbag made in Indonesia. We also saw some collector's items which are produced in other countries like Indonesian wooden furniture, Chinese ceramics, stamps and coins from various countries, etc.

Based on the cases of the traders presented above, we understand that the new goods and handicrafts which flow into the fleamarket are produced not only in Germany but also in foreign lands like England, Peru, Kenya, Hong Kong, etc. These goods, especially handicrafts, represent different cultures of the world. Thus, we regard the German fleamarket as a meeting place of world cultures.

c. Bargaining

Related to this aspect, as we highlighted in an earlier chapter, there are at least six bargaining strategies used by the buyers at the fleamarket. These are look for defect, make comparisons, persevere in bargaining, stubborn silence, say it's too expensive, and offering all of one's money. Out of these bargaining strategies only one is typically German, while the others are strategies which are carried out by foreigners like Turks, people from Eastern European countries like Russia and Poland, and Asian.

A bargaining strategy mirrors certain social and cultural aspect of life. For German beginners who are engaging in trade at the fleamarket for the first time generally there is an experience shock because the customer can bargain to set a price. Considering their experience in the other types of markets, when customers see a price tag or hear the price from the seller, they either will accept it or will leave that seller to search for other seller who offers a lower price than the previous one. This behavior reflects a German emic view, therefore, there is no bargaining. Consequently it is understandable why some merchants were shocked when an unknown customer attempts to bargain over a price.

This notion, as was argued in an earlier chapter, is influenced both by regulation of prices through the *Rabattgesetz* (rebate law) since November 1933 and German ideas about relationship between the price and quality: that is "Die Qualität gehört zum Preis" (the quality reflects the price). Through the rebate law the merchants are no longer allowed to reduce their price in order to compete with each other. Therefore the customer cannot bargain with the merchant to get a favorable price. Since that regulation Germans have had little experience with bargaining in the market-place, especially in the shop and the supermarket. But German ideas about relationship between price and quality have also affected German bargaining behavior. In other words one will buy something what she or he wants without bidding or attempting to search for a competitor who sells a similar product with relatively the same quality. Because the expensive price reflects top quality: "Was nichts kostet, taugt nichts" (what has low price, has low quality).

In comparison to German society, in Minangkabau there is no price regulation and fixed idea about the relationship between price and quality. Looking back on my experience in various bazaars in West Sumatra I usually observed that some traders shouted "*barang bagus harga murah*" (gut quality with low price). Their shout implies that one can obtain a good item with a low price through bargaining. A number of studies, like Geertz (1978, 1979), Alexander (1987), Mai and Buchholt (1987), Evers and Schrader eds. (1994) have shown that a wide range of societies like Java, Morocco, Minahasa, etc. have a bargaining tradition. Therefore in these societies in certain markets, bargaining is an inherent aspect of trading up to now. Through this experience, Asians and Africans tend to have bargaining strategies more

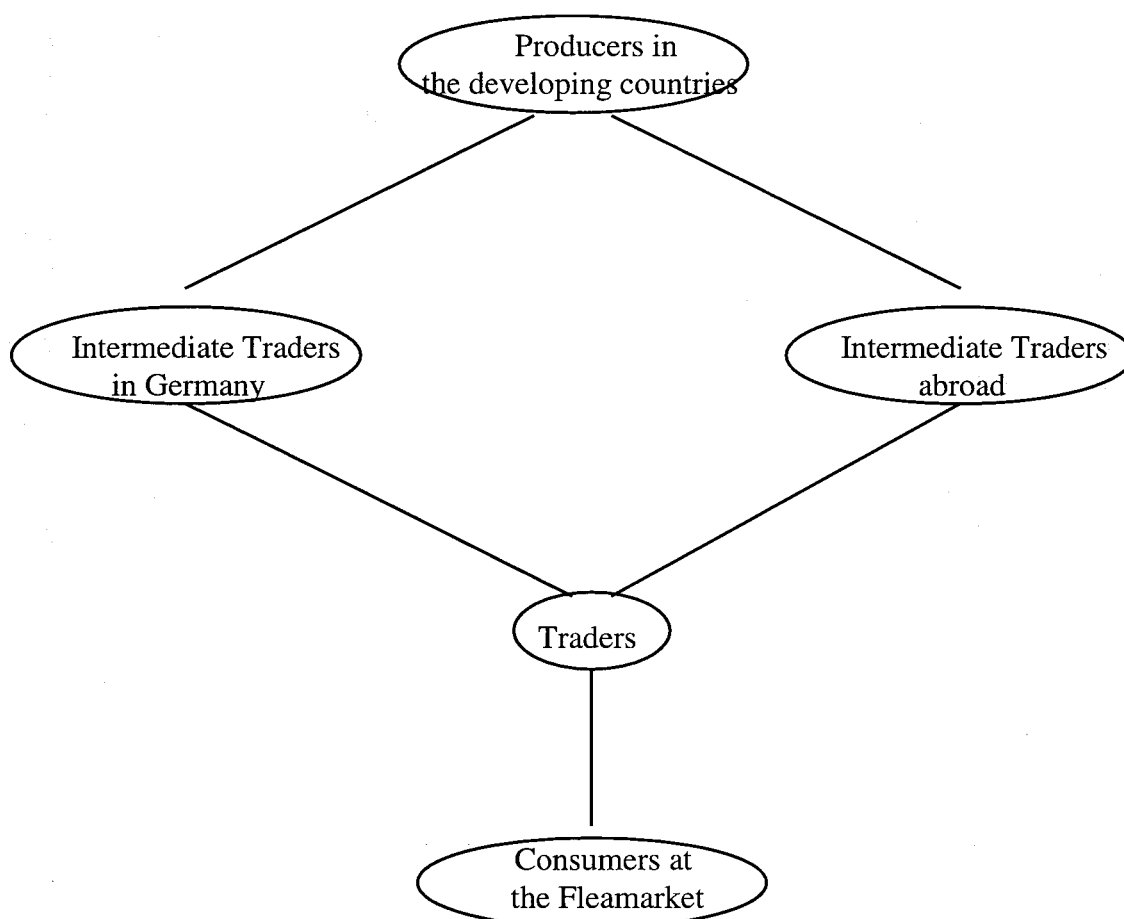
often than Germans when they make bids at the fleamarket. Based on this point, we also argue that the fleamarket is a meeting place of world cultures.

5. The Flow from All Corners of the World

a. The Trading Chain of New Goods and Handicraft

Before discussing this aspect it is useful to see how new goods and handicrafts, made in other countries, flow into the fleamarket. Based on cases of traders presented above, we see that flows of the new goods and handicrafts, which are sold at the German fleamarkets move from producers in the developing countries to the fleamarket in Germany. These new goods and handicrafts flow generally through intermediate traders who both live in Germany and abroad, except in case 1 where the trader buys his commodities from a local producer and sells them to fleamarket customers.

Figure 2 Trading Chain of New Goods and Handicrafts



To understand the fleamarket as a world market, we have to look at the kinds of goods which are offered by sellers there. At the German fleamarket we see not only 'Trödel' (secondhand things) but also the new goods and handicrafts which are traded there. Based on the cases above, these new goods and handicrafts are generally (but not always) made in foreign countries for example in Kenya, Ecuador, Peru, China, India, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Furthermore, as stated in earlier chapters, we can also find some new commodities which are produced in Turkey, Russia, and Poland. Thus, we see that into the fleamarket commodities flow from all corners of the world.

What Wallerstein (1974) describes as the modern world-system is a single economy operating worldwide, despite all the social, political and cultural system differences existing in different countries. It represents a single economic, namely capitalist, system, but a plural social system, i.e., encompassing political and cultural diversity. It is constituted through an increasingly integrated world market with a wide-ranging international division of labor and production.

In order to clarify this modern world-system, Wallerstein (1974) divides the countries of the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery. In the division of the production process, the core countries function as producers as well as the source of capital and technology, while the periphery functions as the source of raw material and labor. The semi-periphery is needed to make a capitalist world-economy run smoothly (1979: 21). Manufactured goods flow from the core to the periphery through established international trade. Referring to our data, to a certain degree, Wallerstein's notion of the division of the production process is not applicable at the fleamarket since the cases above did not indicate that the flow of commodities moves from the core to the periphery. We see the reverse, namely the flow of goods from the periphery --Ecuador, Peru, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Kenya-- to the core -- Germany (especially in the cases no 1 - 3). Furthermore in some cases, these flows of new goods and handicrafts reach the fleamarket, not through established international trade, but through informal networks.

b. Local and Global Trading Network through Informal Network

In "Traditional Trading Networks of Southeast Asia" Evers (1988: 92-93) has defined the basic limits of a trading network:

Trading networks are a social process of exchange in the sense that social interaction takes place between persons with the primary purpose of exchanging goods over more or less greater geographical distances.

Evers (1988: 92) also notes that trading networks differ in extent and degree: they can spread from local to global networks, from formal to informal ones. In the local context the business can be based on various networks: kinship ties, local ties, surname ties, coworker ties, classmate ties, sworn brotherhood ties, and friendship ties (Menkhoff, 1993: 105-109). In established international trade, networks are built more on "trust in contracts" (Menkhoff, 1993; Suparb, 1990), while small-scale long-distance trade (Schradler, 1988), international petty-trade (Suparb, 1990) and "informal

cross-national" trade (Amponsem, 1994) are carried out by means of informal networks.

Based on the cases of traders presented above, we can argue that the traders at the fleamarket do business using various degrees of networks, namely from local to global networks. In case 1, an Ecuadorian trader is involved in business which is carried out across several countries including West European countries (the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany). In his trading activities he cooperates with his sister and his sister's friend. They help each other to engage in trade. In this case, therefore, a global trading network is based on kinship ties and of friendship ones. In case 2, a Chinese trader engages in trade only in Germany, especially in Bielefeld. His network is based mainly on Chinese (national ties). Furthermore, in case 3, the trader participates in networks based on both kinship ties (her parents) and continental ties (African links). She participates not only in local networks but also in a global network. In the last case, the trader uses a kinship tie, that is his father in England as basis of his business network.

c. International Division of Labor

In the flow of commodities into the fleamarket, therefore, we can also observe the international division of labor. Before discussing this topic it is important to ask what is the international division of labor? This notion has been developed by a number of German scholars who coined the expression "the new international division of labor" (Fröbel et al., 1980; Ernst, 1980). Taking over the vocabulary of world systems theory, they demonstrated that the industrial capital from the core was moving to the periphery as "world-market factories" were established, producing manufactured goods intended for export. It denotes that mobility of capital from the core to the periphery implies the constructing of certain types of industries which do not require complicated labor skills. These types of factories include shoe factories, factories producing garments, etc. At the same time the core develops industries which use educated and complicated labor skills like biotechnology, computer-chips, and other forms of "high tech" products.

Referring to our observations at the fleamarket, we find, as these German scholars (Fröbel et al. and Ernst) claim, that the developing countries like Indonesia, China, Thailand, India, and so on produce certain types of manufactured goods, such as tape-recorders, watches, keys, and telephones. These manufactured goods are cheaper than those which are sold in the formal market like supermarkets. For example one only pays two marks for four small batteries at the fleamarket. At the supermarket, however, you have to pay at least four marks for similar batteries. These can be sold for a low price because of labor and quality factors. The developing countries have large supplies of cheap and unorganized labor. This situation is no longer found in the advanced industrial countries. In addition, the developing countries produce manufactured goods which have a lower quality than those produced in the industrial countries. These cheaper products are not sold in shops and stores, but at the fleamarket. Similarly we also find traditional handicrafts from developing countries in various parts of the world, at the fleamarket: African figures carved from wood, Asian carpets, alpaca wool sweaters from Latin American. Thus, we see that the fleamarket mirrors the international division of labor. One can argue, therefore, the developing

countries are producing low price manufactured commodities and that of low quality, as well as traditional handicrafts for the world market.

d. Types of Foreign Traders

There are three categories of foreign traders to be found at the fleamarket, classified according to their residence as well as by the kinds of commodities they traded.

1. Local Foreign Traders

The majority are local foreign traders who live in German cities. They usually go to the fleamarkets which are located close to the city where they live. Based on our observations, local foreign traders who engage in trade in Bielefeld's fleamarket reside either in Bielefeld or in the towns around Bielefeld like Herford, Minden, and Gütersloh. They sell manufactured goods, with low price and low quality, which are produced in the developing countries like Indonesia, Thailand, China, and so on. The majority of them are Turks.

2. Cross-Border foreign traders

They come from Eastern European countries like Poland, the Czech Republic, Russia, etc. They sell Eastern European manufactured goods such as telescopes, watches, crystal goods, Russian winter hats, etc. They visit German cities, including Bielefeld, they specially engage in trade at the fleamarkets. After trading there they return to their countries. Some of them buy German goods to be exchanged in their home countries.

3. Inter-Continental Foreign Traders

As previously mentioned, certain fleamarkets are also attended by a number of Latin American traders. They hail from Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, etc. They visit not only German informal markets like the fleamarket but also other Western European markets, especially during the summer season. They return to their countries in the winter. They sell Latin American handicrafts items like hats, sweaters, bracelets, rings, etc.

e. Trader or Smuggler ?

When I photographed a trader who sells East European manufactured goods like telescopes, watches, Russian winter hats, and so forth, he became angry and covered his face with his jacket. I explained that I am neither a tax collector nor a police agent, but a student doing field-research. He remained hostile when I asked him about his work. This contrasted to other foreign traders like Alonso. He was happy when I took his photo at the fleamarket. After photographing Alonso asked me, why I photographed him. Like to the other, I explained him that I was doing it for my dissertation.

During the field research time at the fleamarket, there was only one foreign trader who refused to be interviewed, the angry trader described above. There are some reasons why he became angry and did not want to be interviewed. Firstly, he had no *Gewerbeschein* (trade license). This license is important for traders who engage in trade to earn money regularly at the fleamarket. This license has to do with paying tax. Secondly, he was afraid that the German police would find out his trading

activities, like his trading a chain of new goods. The later issue also relates to paying taxes, in this case customs on the imported goods. If the flow of goods which move into the fleamarket avoids customs, can the fleamarket trading be regarded as smuggling activity ?

According to Suparb (1990: 87) smuggling is by no means a recent phenomenon in human history. However, it did not arise and does not begin from subsistence economy, but rather from a formal foreign exchange of surplus in an economy that seeks to benefit from the difference in comparative cost advantage. In his dissertation on "Market and Petty-Trade along the Thai-Malaysian Borders", Suparb differentiates between petty border traders and smugglers. The first operate on the basis of large scale enterprise in terms of volume and values of trade. Hence, it involves more sophisticated organizational patterns, particularly the management of capital. The latter is exclusively carried out on a single individual basis to earn household income (allowing for employment of a family or a small number of wage laborers). In contrast to the petty border trade, smuggling usually involves more than one trader, i.e., it is collectively organized in the forms of groups, gangs.

According to a report in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, November 21st 1994, the petty border traders who come from Poland exchange various new East European goods like cameras, telescopes, microscopes, trumpets, and Ex-Soviet army uniforms at Frankfurt's fleamarkets. There are two streams of new goods from East European countries, especially Russia and Poland, flowing to the German Fleamarket. Firstly, Polish petty border traders buy these goods in the Russian informal market. They sell them not just in the Polish informal market like in Warsaw, Thorn, and Bromberg but also at the German fleamarket like those in Frankfurt. Secondly, the Russian petty border traders sell Russian made new goods in the Polish informal market. The Polish petty traders bring these Russian made new goods from Poland and sell them in the German fleamarkets.

To understand the forms and content of trade organization and what the purposes of the Polish petty border traders are, it is useful to quote the *Frankfurter Rundschau* report:

Pullis, Wollhandschuhe und Kindermützen liegen auf einer Plastikplane auf dem Fußboden, davor ein improvisiertes Tischchen mit einer ansehnlichen Sammlung von Armbanduhren und ein paar Bernsteinketten. Der schmale Platz gehört einer 68jährigen Polin aus Kolobrzeg, einer Kleinstadt an der Ostsee, die vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg Kolberg hieß und zum Deutschen Reich gehörte. Während des Krieges mußte sie vier Jahre lang für die Deutschen zwangsarbeiten. Jetzt kommt sie zum Frankfurter Flohmarkt, um ihre Rente aufzubessern. Da könne sie das Geld, das sie hier auf dem Flohmarkt verdiene, gut gebrauchen. "Mein Mann ist tot, und ich habe eine Tochter und zwei Enkelkinder." Am Wochenende kommt sie regelmäßig mit dem Bus, zusammen mit einer Gruppe anderer Polen, die in dem Fahrzeug auch übernachten.

"In Warschau fahren die Russen in ein Stadion, und dort ist dann ein riesiger Markt", berichtet ein Rentner aus Pila, dem früheren Schneidemühl in Westpreußen. In der polnischen Hauptstadt habe

er seine Waren eingekauft und komme dann an den Wochenenden mit seiner Frau im Auto nach Frankfurt. "Viel Geld verdient man nicht." Allein dem Bekannten, der sie mitnehme, müsse sie 80 Mark Benzinsgeld bezahlen, sagt eine Polin, "dazu kommen 30 Mark für das Hotel und 50 Mark für den Platz".

Based on this report, therefore, we argue that this kind of trade of the Polish petty border traders at the fleamarket can not be regarded as smuggling. As in Suparb's model, this Polish petty border trade is carried out on an individual basis, is oriented to earning household income, and involves minimal capital (Suparb, 1990: 86-90). The Polish petty border traders travelling together to the German fleamarkets cannot be seen as a sophisticated organization engaged in the secret activity but as a simple strategy which is carried out to minimize transportation costs.

Conclusion

The integration of Germany into the world market has been taking place for a long time. Based on these developments, Germany has become a core of the global economic system. As a core area, German economy has integrated itself into all corners of the globe both directly and indirectly through big and middle sized German companies, many of which have branches abroad. The performance of German economy, as a core of the world market, attracts labor migrants from all parts of the world.

As a middle sized German city, Bielefeld has been integrated into the world market for a long time, especially since the rise of its textile industry. Taking into account feature of international trade, international flow of capital, circulation of information through modern communication media, the number of tourists, the number of foreigners, and the presence of various religions, we see how Bielefeld has become a part of the international urban network. Thus, Bielefeld can be regarded as an international city.

On the macro level, we see that the fleamarket flourishes in the context of the global economic system. Into the fleamarket flow various new goods and handicrafts from all corners of the globe, especially from the developing countries and less developed countries like Kenya, Peru, Ecuador, India, Thailand, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Poland, Russia, and also new goods manufactured in Germany itself.

The traders who engage in trading activity are not only Germans but also foreigners who live in Germany, like Turks, Afghans and Chinese, and those who come to the German fleamarket just to sell their commodities, which they have bought in their home countries like Ecuador, Peru, and Poland. Some of the foreign traders conduct their business by using various degrees and types of networks from local to global network including kinship ties, friendship ties, nation ties, and continental ties.

The foreign traders can be differentiated into three types: firstly, local foreign traders are the foreign traders who live in German cities. Secondly, cross-border foreign traders are the foreign traders who live and come from Eastern European countries, especially from Poland. Thirdly, inter-continental foreign traders are the traders who come from other continents. They do not live in Germany. Using Suparb's

differentiation between trader and smuggler (1990), the second type of the foreign trader, therefore, can not be regarded as a smuggler. Engaging in trade at the German fleamarket is carried out on an single individual basis, is oriented to earning the household income, and involves minimal capital (Suparb: 86-90). When people go together to the German fleamarkets this cannot be seen as a sophisticated kind of secret activity but as an simple strategy used to minimize the cost of transportation.

From these points above, in contrast to Wallerstein, who asserts that manufactured commodities only flow from the core to the periphery through established international traders, we argue that inexpensive new goods and handicrafts flow from developing countries (periphery) to developed countries (core) through the activities of the foreign traders at the fleamarket. It means also that the fleamarket mirrors the international division of labor in which the developing countries produce manufactured commodities with low prices and relatively low quality as well as handicrafts for the world market, while the advanced industrial countries develop industries which use the educated and complicated labor skill like biotechnology, computer-chip, etc.

Furthermore, the visitors who come to the fleamarket also consist of people of various nationalities like Germans, Turks, Poles, Greeks, Italians, Moroccans, Koreans, ex-Yugoslavians, Tunisians, Indonesians, etc. The contact between various nations, who have their own cultures including styles, material culture, strategic bargaining forms, etc. indicates that the fleamarket is also a meeting place of world cultures.

Taking account to the background of various traders, visitors, and goods which are exchanged at the fleamarket, therefore, we argue that the German fleamarket is a part of the world market.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WHO REGULATES THE FLEAMARKET : MARKET, STATE OR SOCIETY ?

Introduction

To describe in more detail how the German fleamarkets operate as a social-economic institution, we must look at the mechanisms at work in the fleamarket. Firstly, it is important to look at the mechanisms at work in social life and then to discuss mechanisms at work in the fleamarket. To understand this phenomena in more depth the relationship between market, state, and society will be also analyzed.

A. On Mechanisms at Work in Social Life and at the Fleamarket

How is the fleamarket regulated ? Indeed, is it regulated ? If so, who regulates the fleamarket ? Before continuing discussing on this topic it is necessary to clearly identify what mechanisms are at work in social life.

1. Mechanisms at Work in Social Life

According to the literature, there are at least three mechanisms which regulate social life. These are the market, state regulation, and ethical-cultural mechanisms (Evers and Schrader eds., 1994; Thompson et. al., 1991; Suparb, 1990).

a. The Market Mechanism

The market regulates social life "automatically". The pursuit of self interest by individually motivated and welfare-maximizing individuals leads to the best outcome, not just for themselves but also for society as a whole (Thompson et. al., 1991). This mechanism is "the invisible hand" as Adam Smith described it. In other words, as Levacic (1991) explained, the most important characteristic of the market, seen as a mechanism at work in social life, is that it includes voluntary exchanges of goods and services between two parties at a known price. Through a complex set of such exchanges the economic activities of people who are widely dispersed and who are entirely unaware of each other's existence can be regulated. Price serves as the key signal in this mechanism. Levacic also argued that a high price relative to the costs of production of a good means large profits, which entice producers to raise output and so satisfy consumers' wants. Similarly, a fall in demand by consumers is signaled by prices falling relative to production costs and gives rise to losses for producers which may well lead to factory closures and job losses. This implies that the price, as neoclassical economists claimed, is determined, changed, stabilized, in different types of markets for different types of commodities. One can look for the answer in the law of demand and supply. In each market, as economists have pointed out, price acts as the adjuster between supply and demand. When we demand more, prices tend to go up.

When price rises, there is an increased profit incentive to produce more. It is this interaction among demand, supply, and price that is the core of the self-adjusting mechanism of the market.

Learning from Western European countries, the free market economy (*freie Marktwirtschaft*), including free trade, is regarded by neoclassical economists as an agent that can change society for the better, bringing about democracy, wealth and economic development. But some claim that this popular thesis can not be applied to other cultural and historical contexts like Southeast Asian countries. Therefore Evers (1994c: 238-239) argue that :

This popular thesis is, however, contradicted by another point of view, which suggests that trade is potentially dangerous and disruptive to any society if it remains unchecked by strong political authority. There are many examples to back up this point. The solidarity and social security of tribal and peasant societies are severely disrupted by the introduction of a cash-crop economy and might lead to starvation and the disintegration of society. The unrestricted import of goods ruins local handicraft and small scale industries, and export-oriented industrialization may create pollution and the destruction of the environment.

Based on both perspectives on the market mechanism at work in social life, we see that while free market economy may encourage the democratic political system and economic development in the Western European context. In other contexts, however, like Southeast Asian countries, it often leads to starvation and disintegration of society. Therefore Evers (1994c) pointed out that in order to stabilize such a society against dangerous disequilibria a strong state is needed.

b. State Regulation

To understand state regulation, it is useful to know as to what is meant here by state. Using Suparb's notion based on both the Weberian conception and the Marxian perspective, "state" refers to one or more of the following aspects (1990: 138-139):

1. The state is often referred to as the state apparatus, whose body comprises of the complex of institutions, rationalized and specialized to some degree or other, staffed by a professional bureaucracy, both the civilian and the armed categories, whose function is to run the affairs of formulation and execution of a government's policies. At the same time they ensure the existence and stability of the structure of these apparatuses. These bureaucrats, with their institutional apparatuses, are the crucial, social and political forces which is not in itself a class but does form a self-conscious collectivity (bureaucratic elite, a strategic group, or whatever may be called). They have clear self-interests, and thus, their own mode of appropriation.
2. The state represents a concentration of economic and political resources, often, in fact, the biggest of such concentration in a particular society. Its economic resources are expressed in the form of state finance, let alone other property, which are at its disposal and secured by law and its various administrative and coercive apparatuses.

3. It also represents a concentration of another vital political resource, i.e., authority, in the ideological sense of being able to give legitimacy to the deed of those who act in its name. The state bureaucrats thus derive their power, vis à vis other social groups, strata and classes, from these resources.

4. Provided with the above structure and resources, the state is endowed with the capacity to regulate interest representation of all social groups, strata and classes in relation to the society's and its own interest. This capacity renders the state an autonomy vis à vis all other social forces. State autonomy is by no means absolute. The extent to which a state is autonomous, be it economically or politically, varies from case to case, depending on the historical periods and the empirical situation in which the state find itself.

5. In regulating interest representation, though it often claims impartially, i.e., it presents itself as above class, group or foreign interests, its claim is, from the Marxian point of view, fundamentally questionable. The underlying reason lies in the question of who controls the state apparatuses and their legitimizing ability, and for whom they act, and use economic and political resources. In view of a complex, dynamic constitution of the state structure, the question is legitimate, but an answer is never definitive, depending on historical and empirical contexts. The indefinite answer to this issue indicates the autonomous status of the state. At best, this autonomy is only relatively effective.

6. An analysis of the role of the state in a society cannot be made in isolation from other social forces, especially that of groups, strata and classes and other social processes and institutions.

Based on these characteristics, therefore, it can be said that the state can and does act effectively not only in economic life but also in the other aspects of social life. In economic life, certain governments intervene in the market, in various ways, for various reasons, while other, especially industrialized countries (except Japan), intervene minimally. Similarly, state intervention in the other aspects of social life is also practiced by states to various degrees, also for various reasons.

c. The Ethical-Cultural Mechanism

This type of regulation denotes that, in society itself, there exists a mechanism already work in social life. This mechanism, or what Durkheim called civic morality, indicates that civil society has an active role in social life, though as Suparb (1990) said that its significance is all too often ignored by economists and theorists on the state. The operation of civic morality, which is considered as the ethical and cultural mechanism is often hidden behind the market forces and the state's legitimacy to control and regulate society. Besides institutional sociology, it is often argued by analysts with a cultural approach that the ethical and cultural structure of society plays a no less important role in shaping the success or failure of development. Protestantism and Confucianism, for example, have been themes of contention in classical sociology. It is claimed that while the former promotes capitalism, the latter tends to hamper it.

This approach was introduced by Max Weber. He recognized that a number of human motives are determined by context; some people are value oriented, some are interest oriented, and other places and times are bound by tradition ([1922]1978). Furthermore, Weber insisted that humans always orient their actions in term of other peoples' behavior, through socially constructed meanings. It means that humans interpret (*verstehen*) their own customs, habits, norms, and vested interests in ongoing pattern social relations. He pointed out, therefore, that humans were often collective and social because they shared material goals or were forced by common oppression or because they shared ideals, world views, or feelings.

In his many books, especially in *The Protestant Ethics and The Spirit of Capitalism*, he suggested that, in every society, economic actions are a product of personal, ethical, and social consideration. In this regard, economic behavior therefore deeply embedded in many aspects of social life: culture, belief, etc. Weber's idea has been applied and developed by many sociologists for various situations, like James Scott in his *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Evers and Schrader eds. in *The Moral Economy of Trade*. These scholars have developed the ideas of moral economy as tool of analysis.

These three main mechanisms are dialectically related to one another in specific stages of economic development at particular times or historical periods. All three interact in such a way that the functioning of one is either supported or hampered by the others to the extent that they mutually transform one another. The result of such transformation, in turn, characterizes the state of development of a particular society. One general implication is that, to understand the processes of development of this society, it is absolutely necessary to understand, the development of the fleamarket.

In his *The Great Transformation*, Karl Polanyi explained development of mechanisms at work in economic life from the embeddedness of economic life in social, cultural, and political aspects of life, through the ethical-cultural mechanism and state intervention, until the separation between economic life and other aspects of life through the self-regulating market. In both Medieval Era and during the 15th - 18th centuries, according to Polanyi, economic actions or practices was embedded in social, cultural, and political aspects of life through the ethical-cultural mechanism and by means of state intervention. In these eras economic life was motivated by purposes other than profit making.

In the nineteenth century in West European societies, however, it was exactly "the price-making market" that determined all of economic life. A new logic ruled these societies, what Polanyi calls the self-regulating market, a logic that dictated that economic action must not be embedded in society. The self-regulating market was spread by the creation of labor, land and capital markets. The economy, as Polanyi phrased it, was, in this type of society, directed by market prices and nothing but market prices where human beings behave in such a way to achieve maximum gains (1957: 34, 68). In short, the industrial revolution in the West had created just the kind of society presupposed in conventional economic theory. Polanyi also pointed out that the economic philosophy of the 19th Century, known as the *Laissez faire, laissez passer* doctrine, had three main principles: a) the existence of a competitive labor market, b) the establishment of the gold standard, and c) the promotion of international free trade. These principles ruled the economic organization of the Western World

(1957: 5-6). In this epoch, according to Polanyi, when the self-regulating of market was impaired, it led to state intervention.

Although the historical explanations in Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* has resulted in criticism (see Granovetter, 1985; Schrader, 1994 and 1995; Evers, 1994c), his approach to how mechanisms regulate the various aspects of social life, especially the economic aspect of human life, is a meaningful tool for dealing with the question of who or what regulates the fleamarket .

2. Regulatory Mechanisms at Work at the Fleamarket

Our question is, how is the fleamarket regulated and who regulates it ? In answer we describe some aspects in earlier chapters like orientations of making economic activities, social network, and moral economy. In addition to this, we also discuss other aspects like consumer culture, price, and formalization of informal sector.

a. Orientations Towards Engaging in Economic Activities

Engaging in activities the fleamarket, such as trading, visiting friends and organizing the event, can be regarded as economic actions. Because this activity, from Weber's sociological perspective, is a social action that "takes account of the behavior of someone else." This "taking account" is socially carried out in various ways: by seeing other people, by talking to them, by thinking of them, engaging in bargaining as well as in transactions and so forth. Social action seen as engaging in activities the fleamarket, based on Weber's idea, may be oriented at least in two ways. That is either instrumental rational (*zweckrational*) or value-rational (*wertrational*). In the present context, the former term denotes a profit orientation towards engaging in activities at the fleamarket. Thus, this orientation can be considered as an indicator of the market mechanism. The later describes non-profit orientations like using leisure, having fun, making social contact, etc. Thus, these orientations can be seen as indicators of the ethical-cultural mechanism because it is determined by a conscious belief in the value, for its own sake, of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its potential for economic gain.

In terms of this study, (see Table 4.1.), there are six purposes for engaging in trading activities: making money, trading as a hobby, contact with friend, becoming acquainted with other people, getting rid of secondhand goods, and having fun. The first reason can be regarded as an indicator of the market mechanism in the orientation to trade because the trading is primarily directed at achieving an economic end. In this orientation to trade, the traders consider the interaction between supply and demand to suit their best possible interest, in this context to make a profit. The other reasons, however, can be considered as evidence of the ethical and cultural mechanism, because the trade is based on a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, religious, or other form of behavior, independent of it's prospects for success. Through these differences in orientation, we see that certain traders are more influenced by particular mechanisms of economic life than others. The reverse can also be true. Based on our observations at the market-place we sometime find that the pseudo traders give away their commodities to strangers. The reason for this action can vary from one person to other person: to meet new people, just for fun, etc. However all

these reasons can be gathered into one basket, namely the value-rational orientation. To understand how the ethical-cultural mechanism works based on trading at the fleamarket, we offer the example the Bürger family. The family consists of Herr Bürger, the husband, 37 years old and a mechanic, Frau Bürger, the wife, 35 years old and working for a firm in Bielefeld and their two children. All members of the Bürger family: Herr and Frau Bürger and also their children, I consider as the pseudo traders. They always engage together in trading activity at the fleamarket. Their purposes for engaging in trade at the fleamarket are to get to know and make social contacts with other people as well as having fun. To make social contact with other people, when one came to their stand, together with a child, both Herr and Frau Bürger sometimes gave away a toy to the visitor's child. By this action, they could stimulate a conversation with people whose children was given a free toy, and establish social contact with people at the fleamarket. During the time at the market-place, Herr or Frau Bürger also looked around the fleamarket together with or without their children. When Herr Bürger went to see other part of the market-place, either alone or together with his children, his wife could sell goods belonging to him and the reverse. At the fleamarkets, as discussed in the previous chapter, particularly those are held by governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations, we will find many families engaged in trading activity together with their family members. Based on our argument above, therefore, participation of the pseudo traders in trading activity is generated more by the ethical-cultural mechanism than by other mechanisms. The professional traders never give away their goods free to their customers in order to make social contact with other people, for example. This is because their motive for engaging in trade is not to achieve a value rational orientation but make a profit. Thus, the professional traders are more influenced by the market mechanism than other types. Based on the orientations towards engaging in trade, we see that there are two regulatory mechanisms at work at the German fleamarket. These are the market mechanism and the ethical-cultural mechanism.

Based on my survey, there are six reasons for visiting the fleamarket: shopping, meeting friends, taking a stroll, becoming acquainted with new people, having fun and killing time. These all orientations can be considered as the signs of the ethical-cultural mechanism at work at the fleamarket. These activities are all carried out or chosen primarily based on a conscious belief in the value of each for its own sake, like spending one's leisure time. Based on observations, these are usually activities characteristic of the "flaneurs" and the collectors. For example, one woman is a "flaneur", namely Frau Schwarz. She is 68 years old, retired, and a widow. Normally she only visits the fleamarket located every month in Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum*, because its location is not far from her apartment. Frau Schwarz visits the fleamarket to meet people, because in her everyday life she does not have much social contact with other people, except with the other residents of her apartment building. Her activity at the fleamarket is generally not shopping but just going from stand to stand to look at the goods and to comment on them. The traders usually respond to her comments. These special comments are typical of older visitors like Frau Schwarz. If they find an interesting item that reminds them of their life in the past, they say something like "Meine Tante gab mir diese Vase, als ich jung war" (my aunt gave me this vase, when I was young). If the traders do not respond to her comment, she goes on to another stand and does it again: looking at and commenting on certain items, especially, those related to her past life. Asking the price is not a first step to

making transaction but as a stimulus to social interaction with the traders. Based my observations, there are many other "Frau Schwarz" engaged in the same activity at the fleamarket.

On the other hand, if one goes to the fleamarket in order to buy goods cheaper than in the shops, it can be said that this activity is neither leisure nor any other value-rational orientation because it is done primarily to achieve an economic end. To obtain cheap goods at the fleamarket can be seen as a "demand" in economic sense. Therefore, this orientation can be regarded evidence of the role of the market mechanism in the fleamarket. This is generally an activity of the "Schnäppchen" hunters. This distinction shows that, besides the ethical-cultural mechanism, there is another mechanism at work in the fleamarket, namely the market mechanism.

According to interviews with organizers of fleamarkets, there are various reasons for holding them: to earn money, to have social communication with people and institutions, to have access to certain institutions, to take part in the environmental movement, to facilitate social contacts among people, to raise funds for social and/or religious activities, to allow people to get rid of their unwanted secondhand goods, etc. From these reasons, we see that earning money can be regarded as a pure *zweckrational* orientation. The other reasons can be gathered into a group of value-rational orientations.

Holding fleamarkets to make money is usually mentioned as a reason by private companies, like Otto & Grottie GBR, AGB der Lübker-Veranstaltungen, A.M.V.V. Jörn Werber, Helmut Sadra, Heribert Klösner, etc. While promoting communication between people and institutions as well as access to certain institutions are objectives of state funded organizations such as the *Freizeitzentrum*, the *Bezirksamt*, and the *Kinder- & Jugendzentrum*. It should be noted that, for governmental organizations holding the fleamarkets, is part of their official program. Furthermore, only one non-governmental organization remarked that supporting the environmental movement was their reason for holding a fleamarket. This was the AStA (students union), University of Bielefeld. However, other motivations, such as facilitating social contact among people, collecting money for social and/or religious activities, and helping people to get rid of secondhand goods are reasons which are given by both governmental organizations and non-governmental voluntary associations such as all of the community centers which are organized by city, the *Bielefelder Elterngemeinschaft e.V* (Bielefeld parents' Association), the AStA-University of Bielefeld, the AWO (Workers' Welfare Organization) Begegnungszentrum Oldentrup, the *Katholik St. Meinolfgemeinde* (the catholic St. Meinolfparish), the *Bürgerwache*, the *Haus Groß-Bethel*, the *Baumheide Beratungsstelle* (advice center), etc. From the above empirical data, it can be argued that based on the reasons for holding the fleamarket all mechanisms of regulation are at work in the German fleamarket. The for-profit organizations (private companies), fleamarkets are generated more by the market mechanism, because they have to consider "cost-benefit" of their activities. The governmental organizations are influenced by government regulation. The non-governmental organizations are inspired by the ethical-cultural mechanism.

b. Social Networks

As discussed in earlier chapters, the study of social networks is usually related to how individuals are linked to one another and how the bonds of affiliation serve both as lubricant for getting things done and as glue which provide order and meaning to social life (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994: 365). Social networks, at the level of person to person interaction, can be considered as a specific set of relations among a defined set of persons with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the individuals involved (Mitchell, 1969: 2). According to this definition, therefore, social networks can be as considered evidence of ethical-cultural mechanisms in the fleamarket because they are generated by the traders. As already stated, at least, there are two kinds of social networks: the trading networks and non-trading networks.

1. The Trading Networks

We know from Evers's idea (1988: 92-93) that trading networks mean a social process of exchange in the sense that social interaction takes place between persons with the primary purpose of exchanging goods over more less extensive geographical distances. They differ in extent and degree: they can spread from purely local to global contexts and include formal to informal networks. These networks can either be constructed informally --kinship, localities, coworkers, classmate, sworn brotherhoods, friendship, and same surname ties-- (Menkhoff, 1993; Schrader, 1988; Suparb, 1990; Amponsem, 1994) or arise and operate formally through "trust in contracts" (Menkhoff, 1993; Suparb, 1990).

In earlier chapters, it has been revealed that the traders at the fleamarket, especially the professional traders, generally do business using various degrees of local and global trading networks : from kinship ties to national ties as well as from friendship ties to continental ties. This means that all these trading networks are informal ones.

2. Non-Trading Network

Referring to Evers' idea when individuals who are linked to one another through engaging in trade, but are not primarily interacting to achieve the purpose of exchanging goods over more less greater geographical distances, their social linkages can be regarded as non-trading networks. Based on earlier chapters, we see that going together to the fleamarket, for the customers, and giving gifts in order to establish social relationships with other people, at fleamarkets which are organized in the local community, are examples of how individuals are connected to one another. This type of social network is also usually conducted informally. From this evidence, based on both trading networks and non-trading networks, therefore, it can be argued that only the ethical-cultural mechanism is at work at the German fleamarket.

c. The Moral Economy of Trade

In their book *The Moral Economy of Trade*, Evers and Schrader eds. (1994) gave us a fascinating look into "the traders' dilemma" in society, especially, in the developing countries. The dilemma faced by traders arises out of their moral obligation to share proceeds with kinsfolk and neighbors, on the one hand, and the necessity to make profits and accumulate trading capital, on the other. It is considered as a dilemma

because the actor has to choose between two courses of action, both deemed to be equally unfavorable, undesirable or at best neutral. The traders have to choose between their moral obligations and need to make a profit.

According to Evers (1994a: 10) in the developed market economy, in which economic relations become "disembedded" or differentiated from society, the traders' dilemma is transformed into the social dilemma characteristic of all capitalist market economies. On the one hand, a modern economy needs the rationalization of economic relations and the primacy of economic productivity; on the other, social justice and redistribution are required for the legitimacy of the state and its social political order. The traders' dilemma is transformed into a new social and cultural configuration.

1. The Formal and Informal Traders' Dilemma

Based on explanation above and our earlier chapters on this topic we argued that generally traders in the industrialized countries, like Germany, have a moral obligation to redistribute income within their society through paying taxes. Paying taxes to the state can thus be said to be a form of state regulation. This regulation can be understood as a rationalization of aspects of social life (as analyzed by Max Weber). It means also that this type of traders' dilemma is constructed formally through state intervention. Beside this, as we have discussed, the other type of traders' dilemma emerges at certain fleamarkets especially the ones that are sponsored by the governmental organizations, and also by non-governmental organizations, through the regulation of access to engaging in trade. To achieve their purposes for holding a fleamarket, in this context of facilitating social contacts among their members, they regulate the traders who can do business at their the fleamarkets through registration before holding the fleamarket. Through registration, they can give their members the first chance to trade at their fleamarket. This registration thus influences economic actors --the traders and visitors-- who come from the same neighborhood or the same social community to meet as well as to communicate among themselves so as to bond or to connect with each other. This situation will be perceived by the traders as a dilemma because they have to set their prices according to their desire not to lose money but they must also consider their social relationships with their acquaintances, friends, and neighbors

Based on this point, therefore, it can be argued that, in the developing countries, the traders face an informal traders' dilemma which arises through the ethical cultural mechanism, while in the industrialized countries the traders experience not only this informal traders' dilemma but also a formal one which arises from state regulation.

2. Solutions to the Traders' Dilemma at the Fleamarket

According to Evers (1994: 10) in the developing countries traders solve their dilemma in various ways:

- a. immigration of trading minorities
- b. formation of ethnic or religious groups
- c. accumulation of status honour (cultural capital)
- d. emergence of a cash-and-carry petty trade
- e. the depersonalization (disembedding) of economic relations.

How do the traders solve their dilemma at the fleamarket ? Based on observations, it can be said that the emergence of the professional traders at the fleamarket is a solution to their dilemma. The increase of the professional traders among those engaging in trade at the fleamarket can be seen as an indicator of a rationalization of economic life at the fleamarket. The professional traders, as described in previous chapter, typically sell new and antique goods. By claiming that their goods are either brand new or valuable antiques the professional traders can avoid bargaining when the customers try to negotiate over their prices. Furthermore they usually engage in trade at the fleamarkets which are located far from their local community or their neighborhood. By these strategies, therefore, they can avoid the traders' dilemma, which is generally experienced by the traders who sell in their own local community or their own neighborhood.

3. The Buyers' Dilemma

Considering *The Moral Economy of Trade*, in contrast to Evers' findings, at certain fleamarkets, we also find a kind of morality where the buyers, especially Germans, have a guilty conscience if they bargain over the price. While they want to buy the secondhand goods as cheap as possible, they do not want to destroy their social relationships with the traders who come from the same neighborhood or the same social community as they do as a result of bargaining with them. Using Evers's idea of traders' dilemma, therefore, we call this situation the buyers' dilemma. This moral inhibition can be identified as an ethical cultural mechanism at work in the fleamarket.

How do the customers resolve this dilemma ? To negotiate over the traders' offer, the customers, especially Germans, engage in bargaining indirectly. After the traders state their price, customers show all of money from their pocket and mention that they have only as much money as they have displayed. However, before coming to the fleamarket, they have put away various sums of money in different pockets, they know which pocket contains which sum of money.

d. Consumer Culture

In his book *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, Don Slater (1997) has identified consumer culture with the following characteristics:

- a. Consumer culture is a culture of consumption
- b. It is the culture of a market society
- c. It is, in principle, universal and impersonal
- d. It identifies freedom with private choice and private life
- e. It is the privileged medium for negotiating identity and status within a post-traditional society
- f. It represents the increasing importance of culture in the modern exercise of power
- g. Consumer needs are in principle unlimited and insatiable.

According to Don Slater (1997: 8) consumption is always and everywhere a cultural process, but consumer culture -- a culture of consumption -- is unique and specific: it is the dominant mode of cultural reproduction developed in the West over the course of modernity. Consumer culture is in substantial features the culture of the modern West -- certainly central to the meaningful practice of everyday life in the modern world; and it is more generally bound up with central values, practices and institutions which

define western modernity, such as choice, individualism and market relations (see also Evers and Gerke, 1997).

From the points above, we argue that German society has a consumer culture in which consumption is dominated by the consumption of commodities. Based on statistical data in 1995, each family of four persons in the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia, where Bielefeld located, spent 19.7 % of its income for foods, drinks, and cigarettes; and 14.9 % for goods related to education, entertainment, and leisure. These families spent an average 5,666.31 marks (65.6 %) for consumer goods out of their income of 8,636.75 marks per month (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Expenditure on an Average of the Family with Four Persons in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1995.

Kind of Goods	Amount	Percentage
Food, drink, cigarettes	1 117.88	19.7
Clothes, shoes	442.15	7.8
Rent for a house utilities	1 524.05	26.9
Household goods, etc.	406.58	7.2
Health related products	375.00	6.6
Transportation	841.52	14.9
Education, leisure, etc.	744.08	13.1
Other	215.05	3.8
Total	5 666.31	100.0

Source : Statistisches Jahrbuch Nordrhein-Westfalen 1996.

The growth of consumer culture has had some impacts on the economy, environment, etc. The connection with this study, it can be argued that consumer culture has created an environmental emergency, this work especially focused on the problem of garbage and unwanted used goods. To solve the pollution which is caused by this trash, before putting it into their garbage cans, Germans sort their trash into five categories: glasses (green, white, and brown), papers, organic garbage, plastics and other. By means of this classification system, Germans are able to recycle some of this trash. Engaging in trade at the fleamarket, as we argued in an earlier chapter, is a way to solve the problem resulting from unwanted secondhand goods which, otherwise, would become trash. To understand how this mechanism works, we offer the example namely Ms. Berger, who is single, 28 years old, and works for a dentist. She engages in trade at the fleamarket located in Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum* almost every month. She sells her own secondhand goods, especially clothes, and also sometimes those of her colleagues. Although her goods are more expensive than other traders, many customers come to her stand. Her secondhand goods look new and have famous labels like Benetton, Crocodile, Dior, Calvin Klein, etc. She generally only wears these items two or three time. This is because she buys new clothes almost every week. For her, engaging in trade is to get rid of her secondhand goods and to have fun. She would rather sell these clothes than throw them away because of a concern about the environment. Thus, consumer culture can be seen to be as an ethical cultural mechanism at work at the fleamarket.

e. Price

How are prices determined, changed, and stabilized also at the fleamarket ? The classical economists claim that prices in different types of markets for different types of commodities are usually determined, changed, and stabilized by the law of demand and supply. According to this classical theory of economics, traders will consider the interplay between demand and supply. This mechanism is usually used by both the part-time and professional traders at the fleamarket to decide the price of their goods. Based on interviews with them, especially with the professional traders who sell new goods, they will set the prices of their goods lower than normal, when there are many competitors at the same market-place. In the normal situation they usually state their regular price. This mechanism works under the assumption that both the buyer and the seller have equally perfect access to market information.

Suparb Pas-ong (1990: 159) disagrees with this viewpoint of the economists which sees the prices as nothing other than a phenomenon reflecting pure economic rationality. He argues that, with their different cultural backgrounds, market participants can redefine - manipulate - the interplay between demand and supply to suit their best possible interests. Price, therefore, is not a function of an universal law, independent of non-economic rationality, but is also subject to specific aspects of civil society. The different styles of the practice of price bargaining in many societies, while this is virtually absent in others, indicate cultural factors besides pure economic rationality which result in prices being unpredictable according to the law of supply and demand.

Based on our observations, to a certain degree we agree with Suparb Pas-ong's argument that price is also subject to specific aspects of civil society. In a previous chapter, we shown how the customers will respond, saying "this is the fleamarket, one can bargain over the prices here", when the traders refuse to bargain. To get a lower price, the customer uses the bargaining strategies which are typical of their society. For certain traders, especially the pseudo traders, the bargaining is seen as a way of having fun. From our interviews with Germans, we seen that some of the German traders charge German customers a price lower than that for non-Germans. These situations seem to be evidence of an ethical cultural mechanism at work in price setting.

We also found that some fleamarket traders, especially the pseudo traders, have no idea of the prices of their goods until the customer asks about the price. They decide at the moment, or ask a friend, before stating their price to the customer. This scene also shows that the assumption, that both the buyer and the seller have an equally perfect knowledge of market information, is untrue. It appears that both the market mechanism and the ethical cultural mechanism are work in price setting.

f. The Formalization of the Informal Sector

Although the concept of informal sector is hard to describe, "you know one when you see one", said Lubell (1991). To avoid this problem, I find Evers' idea (1991) useful. Without engaging in theoretical debate, I agree with him because his definition is easily applicable to the German fleamarket. According to Evers (1991: 37), the

informal sector is defined as the field in which the production of goods and rendering of services are largely withdrawn from state control and regulation. Using this definition we can include activities at the fleamarket as part of the informal sector. If we compare the fleamarket with a market in the formal sector, e.g., a supermarket, we see that state's control and regulation of the fleamarket are much less than those of the supermarket, for example.

Formalization of the informal sector in Germany, including at the fleamarket, can be considered as the rationalization of economic relations. Based on this empirical data, there exist at least three types of formalization of the informal sector related to the fleamarket. These are state formalization, formalization by organizers of the fleamarket, and self formalization.

1. State Formalization

Returning to a previous chapter, we found that the state intervenes in the fleamarket through the laws such as the *Gewerbeordnung*. By means of this law the state regulates both how to organize the fleamarket and how to engage in trade at the fleamarket. As was already mentioned, to hold the fleamarket the organizers, especially the private companies, have to register their fleamarket at the *Ordnungsamt*. This procedure has to do with an obligation to pay taxes on any profit. Besides, according to an official of the *Ordnungsamt*, the organizers that use public spaces, such as the market-places, must keep the flow of the traffic under control so that it continues to run smoothly. Furthermore, the merchants who engage in trade as a job, have to register in the *Ordnungsamt* and obtain the *Gewerbeschein* (trade license). This license also has to do with paying taxes. Moreover by means of the *Gewerbeordnung*, particularly paragraph 56, the state also regulates what kind of the goods can be sold at the fleamarket. So, the state does intervene in the economic life at the fleamarket through registration of the trader, location, taxes, and the goods traded. All these regulations, therefore, can be regarded as the state formalization of the fleamarket.

2. Formalization by the Organizations

The organizers themselves regulate some activities of the fleamarket through registration, assigning spaces, charging fees, setting times and advertisement. Through regulation of registration and assigning spaces both the governmental and non-governmental organizations achieve their aims for holding the fleamarket, that is of giving the first chance to their own members, for example. Although the private companies will have a registration, if they hold the fleamarket in a building, they do not restrict the use of space, because for them the amount of space reflects amount of money paid by the traders. As we know, these organizers hold the fleamarkets in order to make money. At certain market-places, like the fleamarket located in the Baumheide's *Freizeitzentrum*, the organizers regulate the opening of trading activity. This regulation can be seen as a way of giving the same opportunity to the all traders from the start of trading, because they have two market-places, namely the outdoor and indoor market-place. At this fleamarket when organizers open the indoor market-place, the traders have already displayed their goods at the outdoor market-place. To make the public aware of their fleamarket, the private companies use advertising more than the other types of organizers (see Table 4.10.). The governmental organizations rely not only on informal advertising namely oral information from person to person, but also on formal advertising through local newspapers. The non-governmental

organizations rely primarily on oral information. Advertising -- in this sense formal advertising through the fleamarket's magazine, local newspapers, and so on -- result in formalization which come from inside i.e., from the organizers of the fleamarket. Therefore, it can be argued that the formalizations, that are carried out by both the governmental and the non-governmental organizations, can be considered as the ethical cultural mechanism at work, while formalizations conducted by the private companies are the market mechanism.

3. Self Formalization

From historical development of traders at the fleamarket, we saw that when the German fleamarket emerged for the first time as a social phenomenon, around 1960, almost all the people who engaged in trade at the fleamarket wanted to get rid of their used goods, to spend their leisure time at the fleamarket, and to achieve other value-rational orientations, while making money was regarded as just one consequence of their activity. Nowadays at certain fleamarkets the majority of traders are the part-time traders and professional traders who engage in trade primarily in order to make money. The emergence of both the part-time and professional traders can be regarded as formalization by traders themselves. Because they achieve rationalization of their economic relations through the trade license, paying tax, and avoiding the moral obligations of operating in their local community or neighborhood through engaging in trade at fleamarkets which are organized by private companies. This self formalization can be seen as a kind of market mechanism.

The following, as Table 7.2., is a schematic presentation for understanding the types of mechanisms at work at the fleamarket.

Table 7.2. Types of Mechanism at Work at the Fleamarket

Means	Examples	Types of Mechanism
Orientations towards economic activities		
a. Engaging in trade		
- Instrumentally rational orientations	Making profit	Market mechanism
- Value rational orientations	Trading as hobby, having fun, etc.	Ethical cultural mechanism
b. Attending the fleamarket		
- Instrumentally rational orientations	Shopping as a strategy to survive within one's income.	Market mechanism
- Value rational orientations	Shopping as hobby, having fun, etc.	Ethical cultural mechanism
c. Holding fleamarkets		
- Instrumentally rational orientations	Earning profits	Market mechanism
- Values rational orientations	a. As a program from city b. Facilitating social contacts, environmental	State regulation Ethical cultural mechanism

	movement, etc.	
Social networks		
a. Trading networks	Kinship ties, nation ties, etc	Ethical cultural mechanism
b. Non-trading networks	Trading together in one's own local community, etc.	Ethical cultural mechanism
Moral economy of trade		
a. Traders' dilemma	a. Formal: paying tax b. Informal: trading in one's own local community	State regulation Ethical cultural mechanism
b. Buyers' dilemma	-informal: buying in one's local community	Ethical cultural mechanism
Consumer culture	Shopping at the formal market as part of consumer culture and the selling one's used goods at the fleamarket to achieve value rational orientations.	Ethical cultural mechanism
Prices	- Considering between mechanism of supply and demand - Considering community ties, national ties, etc.	Market mechanism Ethical cultural mechanism
Formalization of informal sector		
a. State formalization	the Gewerbeordnung, trade license, etc.	State regulation
b. Formalization by organization	Advertising in the magazines, news papers, etc. Giving the first chance for their own people, etc.	Market mechanism Ethical cultural mechanism
c. Self formalization	Becoming as a professional trader by having a trade license, paying tax, etc.	Market mechanism

B. The Relationship of Market, State and Society at the Fleamarket

Before describing the relationship of market, state, and society, from the explanations above we can argue that :

1. all the mechanisms (market mechanism, government regulation, and the ethical cultural mechanism) regulate German fleamarkets. This indicates that not only do market and state regulate social life, in this sense the fleamarket, but society also through the ethical cultural mechanism.
2. When people see that certain goals can be not achieved through the holding fleamarkets both by either the *Freizeitzentren* (state) or the private companies

(market), the "*Bürgerinitiativen*" then organize their own fleamarkets. Thus, people can make a choice to achieve certain goals and values.

1. Assumptions

Based on these argument above, therefore, we propose the following assumptions for analytical purposes :

1. The market-state-society relationship is not a zero-sum game, rather it is a dialectical one; the logic of state action, market transaction, and *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (civil society) are closely intertwined. This implies that the market, state, and society react to each other.
2. This means that not only does the state act upon market and civil society, but also that the reverse is true. Hence both the market and the civil society can influence or change the state's structure and policies in their own favor. This also occurs between the market and civil society. The market, through its transactions, can influence the civil society, while the latter, through its "civic morality" and "Bürgerinitiative" can also affect the market.
3. The state, market, and society are in reality inseparably linked. They have mutual interests in maintains the relationship. The state relies heavily on the market for its revenues and on the civil society for its votes, on the other hand the market and the civil society need the support and the authority of the state in various ways, e.g., legal provision and enforcement to control disorder like fraud and criminal acts etc. In the same logic, society require freely availability of goods and services, while the market needs civic morality including certain ethics, trust, social networks, etc. to operate.

2. The Context

In his book *Wirtschaftspolitik und Regierungssystem der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Herman Adam (1995) pointed out that Germans have a "*soziale Marktwirtschaft*" (the social market economy) and a "*demokratischen und sozialen Bundesstaat*" (the democratic social federal government). Beside that the citizens have a tradition through which they can organize social movements to achieve certain goals. This is known as the *Bürgerbewegung*.

a. The Social Market Economy

The social market economy in Germany is regarded as a German way to combine between freedom and responsibility: in other words a compromise between market economy and government intervention (see Müller-Armack, 1966; Nicholls, 1994). In principle this system economy implies that :

1. Price is determined, changed, and stabilized by the law of supply and demand. This principle, as already discussed, is a main characteristic of the market economy.
2. The state as protector of competition.

As a protector, as Adam (1995: 43) notes, the state has some tasks which have to be considered in the competition among companies :

Wichtigste Aufgabe des Staates ist es, für Wettbewerb zwischen den Unternehmen zu sorgen. Die regulierenden Prinzipien, an denen der Staat sein Handeln orientieren, muß, sind :

- a. Monopole (= Alleinanbieter auf einem Markt) sind durch wettbewerbspolitische Maßnahmen rechtzeitig zu verhindern. Wo aus technischen Gründen ein Monopol unvermeidbar ist (z.B. Eisenbahn), muß ein unabhängiges Monopolaufsichtamt das Monopol kontrollieren.
- b. Wenn die Verteilung des Sozialprodukts (= der Güter und Dienstleistungen) als ungerecht angesehen wird, muß der Staat sie durch progressive Besteuerung der Einkommen korrigieren.
- c. In die Kalkulation eines Unternehmens dürfen nicht nur die Kosten eingehen, die im Betrieb intern anfallen. Zu berücksichtigen sind vielmehr auch die Kosten, die das Unternehmen durch seine Produktion der Allgemeinheit verursacht (z.B. Umweltschäden).
- d. Wenn Anbieter auf Märkten anormal reagieren (z.B. auf dem Arbeitsmarkt, wo die Arbeiter mehr arbeiten, wenn der Lohn sinkt), muß der Staat dieses Verhalten durch Mindestlöhne oder -preise begrenzen.

Thus, the state will intervene in economic life, if the state sees that unfair anomalous situations, like monopolies, longer working hours but less income, etc. have occurred.

3. The state as a factor in social compensation

In his book *Wirtschaftsordnung und Wirtschaftspolitik*, Alfred Müller-Armack (1966) points out that :

soziale Marktwirtschaft eine Wirtschaftsordnung ist, die das Prinzip der Freiheit auf dem Markt mit dem des sozialen Ausgleichs verbindet.

This is a principle for contemplating a politically free market both controlled and stimulated by state intervention which is designed to create full employment and a just distribution of wealth.

b. German Social Democracy

According to its constitution, The Federal Republic of Germany is a social democratic state. In the article no. 20 and no.28 this constitution describes that :

Art. 20. (Bundesstaatliche Verfassung; Widerstandsrecht) (1) Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland ist ein demokratischer und sozialer Bundesstaat. ...

Art. 28. (Verfassung der Länder) (1) Die verfassungsmäßige Ordnung in den Ländern muß den Grundsätzen des republikanischen, demokratischen und sozialen Rechtsstaates im Sinne dieses Grundgesetzes entsprechen. ...

The ideal of German social democracy has its historical roots in the early 19th century. The *Städteordnung* (municipal code) drawn up by Freiherr vom Stein, which became law in Prussia on November 19th 1808, was designed to prevent an all-embracing tutelage on the part of state supervision. The elected town councillors were given the right to set up and control a *Magistrat* (municipal corporation). Since the Prussian statesman thought little of salaried bureaucrats, he attached particular value to

voluntary service in the *Magistrat*. The only paid staff were to be a legal adviser, a finance expert and a building official. However the considerably increased position of the citizens -compared with feudalism - in vom Stein's *Städteordnung* can still not be considered as democratic. This is because within the communes, only those citizens who owned property, a business or paying a certain tax level were allowed to vote. Although the Prussian statesman's *Städteordnung* experienced numerous changes with the passing of time, the *Zensus-Wahlrecht* - the right to vote based on the level of income tax paid -persisted into the 20th century. It was only during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) - the first parliamentary-democratic system of government in German history - that universal and equal suffrage was introduced for men and women (Reichard, 1969; Schorske, 1970).

The idea of German social democracy is usually explained as not diverging from the concept of the social market economy (see Nicholl, 1994; Müller-Armack, 1966). To understand the essence of this idea, it is useful to quote A. J. Nicholls (1994: 251):

In 1948 the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany) Economic Minister in the Bavarian government, Rudolf Zorn, told the party congress at Düsseldorf that the aim of social democratic policy should be to regulate the market economy so that workers got a just share of the profits. Consumer choice might also be a legitimate objective for Social Democrats, but it should be combined with full employment. This 'regulated market economy' involved encouraging entrepreneurial investment by assuring businessmen that economic expansion would be a permanent feature of the economic landscape.

c. The Bürgerbewegung

The *Bürgerbewegung* (the social movement) is a kind of activity characteristic of the *deutsche bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (the German civil society). The labor and peasant movements in Germany can be regarded as "old social movement", because they were carried out only to achieve something related to participants' work life (Andersen and Woyke eds., 1995). In German history, there have been many labor and peasant movements, from the general strike by shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, and masons in Hamburg in 1791 to that of the coal miners in many "Ruhrgebiet" cities in Germany in 1997 (see Reichard,1969; Schorske, 1970; Schlangen, 1973)

The "new social movement" has emerged since the end of 1960s. This movement has various values and goals: the improvement of living conditions, emancipation, ecology, peace and disarmament, human rights, preventing hunger and the poverty in the Third World, etc. (Andersen and Woyke, 1995). This movement also involves the initiatives which are carried out by people to achieve specific aims like fund raising for the homeless and holding of fleamarkets to facilitate social contacts . This phenomenon is known as the *Bürgerinitiative*.

3. Analysis

How do we explain relationship between the state, market, and society at the fleamarket ? To understand this relationship, it is useful to look again at the mechanisms at work in holding the fleamarket. From above descriptions, it is clear that all mechanisms are involved in holding the fleamarket: the market mechanism through making profit, government regulation through participation of the city as part of its program, and the ethical cultural mechanism through the aim of social contacts, the environmental movement, etc. This means that the state, market, and society all influence the form and operation of the fleamarket.

For the first time in Bielefeld, a fleamarket was organized by the city in 1972, namely at the "Klosterplatz". This fleamarket was located in the public space which was usually used by pedestrians. According to the law, any use of public space can be allowed if this does not disturb other activities which have been going on for along time at the same place. With the passing of time, the organization of fleamarkets has shown some changes in orientations and actors. Holding the fleamarket is not only part of a program from the city, but is also as a way to make money and as a method of any initiative for achieving certain goals like facilitating social contacts, fund raising for the school, etc. The actors holding the fleamarkets are not only governmental organizations but also private companies and non-governmental organizations such as clubs, churches, etc. From these types of organizers, the state is represented by the governmental organization, the market by the private company, and society by the non-governmental organization.

We have pointed out that, in holding the fleamarket, both the non-governmental organizations and the private companies will meet all regulations which have been made by the state. While the organizers of the fleamarkets will make their contribution to the state, through payment of taxes by the private companies and non-governmental organizations, and through giving all fee collected by governmental organizations.

Furthermore we also see that all mechanisms rule people engaged in visiting and in trade at the fleamarket. The emergence of both the private company and the non-governmental organizations was influenced by society, by peoples' orientations to visiting and trading at the fleamarket. Some people go to the fleamarket in order to buy cheap new goods which are usually sold by the professional traders at the fleamarkets which are organized by the private companies.

Thus state intervention in the German fleamarket is carried out only within in the framework of the state's duty to safeguard competition and through its power to collect revenue. The state intervention is only exercised through rules like those controlling trade licenses and the use of public space. On the other hand, the state can not forbid other actors in the fleamarket from carrying out their activities, if they obey the law. Both the non-governmental organization, as actors for the civil society, and private company as market actors may do any thing they want so long they do not destroy the law.

Conclusion

According to the literature, there are at least three regulatory mechanisms at work in the human life: the market mechanism, the ethical cultural mechanism, and the governmental regulation (Evers and Schrader eds., 1994; Thompson et. al., 1991, and Suparb, 1990). All three mechanisms determine the economic aspects of social life (Polanyi, 1957; Evers, 1994c). The qualitative data and first-hand observations presented here, provide evidence that all these mechanisms are also at work in the German fleamarket.

The market mechanism operates at the fleamarket through participants' orientations towards engaging in economic activities, price, and formalization of the informal sector. In term of orientation towards participating in economic activities, the goal of engaging in trade of the professional traders and the part-time traders, as well as the holding the fleamarket by the private companies, is to make money. At the same time the "Schnäppchen" hunters do their shopping at the fleamarket in order to survive within their income. At the fleamarket, the professional traders and the part-time traders consider the interplay between supply and demand. Furthermore, through being a professional trader by holding a trade license, paying tax, engaging in trade at the commercial fleamarkets, the traders can follow the "market law" and set prices based on supply and demand. Also placing advertisement in the mass media like magazines and newspapers, by the private companies can be regarded as a part of the market mechanism.

The ethical cultural mechanism regulates the fleamarket through the orientation towards economic activities, the moral economy of trade, consumer culture, price, and formalization of the informal sector. The engaging in trade of the pseudo traders and the holding of fleamarkets by the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations is motivated not by a profit orientation, but rather by value rational orientations such as trading as a hobby, having fun, facilitating social contacts, helping the environmental movement, etc. Attending the fleamarket by the flaneurs and the collectors can be seen as an expression of this mechanism. However, trading and buying in one's own local community so that the pseudo traders and the visitors facing the trader's dilemma and the buyer's dilemma is a way how the ethical cultural mechanism operates at the fleamarket.

Shopping at the formal market by Germans like in the supermarket is an exercise of consumer culture. This culture has some negative impacts, including environmental problems like garbage and unwanted secondhand goods. Selling used goods at the fleamarket is a German solution for problems caused by their consumer culture. In addition, the formalization through the registration of traders, before engaging in trade, which is required of both the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations, is determined by the ethical cultural mechanism.

Through the purposes of the governmental organizations for holding the fleamarkets, and through regulations governing trading and holding the fleamarket like the trade license, and the *Gewerbeordnung*, the governmental regulation mechanism operates at the fleamarket. Based on this evidence, it can be argued that all three mechanisms (market mechanism, state's regulation, and ethical cultural mechanism) are at work at the fleamarket. This means that not only market and state regulate human life, can be

observed, but also the society regulates through its ethical cultural mechanism. From these points, we also argue that the relationship between market, state, and society at the fleamarket are interdependent. The forces react to each other.

Based on the research findings on the mechanisms at work at the fleamarket, therefore, it can be argued that different degrees of embeddedness of economic activities can be seen at the fleamarket. Through the ethical cultural mechanism and state regulation these processes indicate that economic aspect of human life is embedded in the other aspects of human life (cultural, social, and political aspects).

In the market-state-society relationship, all parties involved in regulating the fleamarket react to each other. They can all be regarded as active actors. The state acts upon market and civil society by controlling the trade license and the use of public space, and also the reverse occurs. Thus the market and the civil society can affect the state's structure and policies in its favor through such strategies as the holding of fleamarkets by non-governmental organizations and private companies. This mutual influence also takes place between the market and civil society. The market, through its transactions can influence the civil society such as through self-imposed formalization, while the latter, through its "civic morality" and "Bürgerinitiative" can also affect the way the former sets prices.

PART III : CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FLEAMARKET AS A GERMAN WAY OF SOLVING LIFE PROBLEMS: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The German tradition of selling and buying otherwise unwanted goods in the market-place can be traced to the "*Trempelmarkt*". This market was characterized by cobblers who repaired worn and broken shoes as well as sellers who traded the secondhand clothes (see Heller, 1984). This market was held from 1494 until 1914 in Nürnberg. Besides the *Trempelmarkt*, before the Second World War in some German cities like Bielefeld there were the *Lumpensammlers* (rag pickers) who either bought or sold secondhand goods by going from door to door. Through a complex social economic historical process, these activities of selling and buying secondhand things have found a new form in the fleamarket. The fleamarket in its present form emerged about 1960 in Germany (see Jüllich and Jüngst, 1977). Around the 1970s, fleamarkets had emerged in many German cities, especially those in the former West Germany. In Bielefeld, for the first time a fleamarket was carried out by the *Ordnungsamt* on May 6th 1972. Through the influence of private companies and the professional traders, by the beginning of the 1980s certain fleamarkets had become highly commercialized in terms of trading and organization.

To hold a fleamarket, organizers basically use two types of physical setting or location for the market-place: the indoor fleamarket and the outdoor fleamarket. The indoor fleamarket means that typical activities - like looking, speaking, selling, buying, bargaining- are generally conducted inside a building. The outdoor fleamarket refers to when all these activities are carried out in an open-air setting or outdoors. In general, the first type is characteristic of the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations. Private companies will rent a building in order to hold fleamarkets in winter. On the other hand in summer, they usually use the parks or other open-air public areas as fleamarket locations.

In terms of the social setting of the market-place, fleamarket organizers use three types of locations. There are a particular neighborhood, close to a shopping center, and at a distance from either familiar neighborhoods or popular shopping centers. The first setting is usually used by both governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. They usually employ their own buildings or spaces which located near to the homes of their members. The latter two types of settings are chosen by the private companies, based on more purely economic reason.

The fleamarket can be regarded as mainly a weekend-activity, since fleamarkets are generally held on weekend-days, namely on Saturday and on Sunday. The majority of fleamarkets are on Saturdays. The season also influences the number of fleamarkets. In winter fleamarkets are held less frequently than in summer. Both the governmental

organizations and the non-governmental organizations usually take into consideration the rhythm of daily activities of their target group of traders and customers in setting the hours of the fleamarkets.

The research findings also indicate various types of fleamarkets: the municipal fleamarket, the initiative fleamarket, and the commercial fleamarket. These types are based on the various actors of the fleamarket, with the different purposes, and the different amounts or kinds of fees which are paid by the traders. The actors who play major roles at the fleamarket consist of traders, visitors, and organizers. These actors are heterogeneous. Each type of actor has sub-types. Observing the similarities and differences between traders based on their purposes for engaging in trading activities, frequency of attendance, ethnic background, contribution of fleamarket trade to household income, and relation to society, we conclude that there are three types of traders. These are pseudo traders, part-time traders, and professional traders. The pseudo traders are indicated by engaging in trade to fulfill primarily non-economic orientations, such as having fun, trading as a hobby, etc. They deal in secondhand goods or handicrafts from one to four times a year. The contribution of their trading activities to household income is low. They are usually Germans. They actively engage in social interactions with other actors at the fleamarket, especially with visitors. Therefore, they are confronted with the trader's dilemma. They normally trade either at the city fleamarket or at the initiative fleamarket. In contrast the part-time traders are characterized by engaging in trade as a second job, by selling secondhand goods and handicrafts about once a week, also tend to be Germans, and by the significant contribution from trading activity to household income. They face trader's dilemma through paying taxes, and being embedded in a non-trading network. They generally attend the commercial fleamarkets. The professional traders are marked by engaging in trade as their main job, by the trading of handicrafts by Germans and of new goods by foreigners. Most of their household income comes from trading activities at the fleamarket and they face trader's dilemma through paying taxes, and being embedded in trading networks and non-trading networks. They usually sell goods at the commercial fleamarkets.

Based on the empirical data presented in this study, we also recognize three types of fleamarket visitors: the "flaneur", the collector, and the "Schnäppchen" hunter. Flaneurs are identified by their attendance at both the city fleamarkets and the initiative fleamarkets to express value-rational orientations like having fun and engaging in social contact, by enjoying the bargaining, preponderance of Germans, unplanned buying, being embedded through relations with other economic actors who come from the same neighborhood or background. Collectors, on the other hand, are marked by their visiting of certain fleamarket to collect special goods (like ceramics) more than twice a month, by more Germans, by bargaining to get a "fair price", by engaging in social contacts by discussing goods and prices. Schnäppchen hunters are distinguished by attendance at the commercial fleamarkets to look for cheap new goods and at the two others kinds of fleamarkets for cheap secondhand goods more than twice a month, by more foreigners, by bargaining to get the price as low as possible, and by engaging in social contacts through bargaining.

According to their purposes for holding the fleamarket, frequency of holding fleamarkets, advertisement, relation to society, and relation to the state, three types of

organizers of the fleamarkets can be constructed. These are the governmental organizations, the non-governmental organizations, and the private companies. The governmental organizations hold fleamarkets, as their part own programs, about once a month. To make their the fleamarket and its schedule well known, they advertise in local newspapers and through brochures. They engage in social contact with traders through a registration process and by taking fees. Their holding of fleamarkets is embedded in the political aspect of human life through the aim of this activity itself, that is as part of the city's duties. The non-governmental organizations are characterized by holding fleamarket as part of an initiative about once a month. They spread information about the schedule of the fleamarket through local newspapers, brochures, and talk. They engage actively in social relations with other fleamarket economic actors -- visitors and traders-- through registration, cafés, and charging fees for space use as well as by obtaining some money from the state. In contrast the private companies are characterized by holding fleamarkets, to make money, more than twice a week, by engaging in social relations with traders through collecting fees for using space, having a license for holding the fleamarket, as well as by advertising through local newspaper, brochures, and fleamarket magazines.

As a result of these findings about the various fleamarket actors, it can therefore be concluded that the social embeddedness of engaging in fleamarket activities like trading, visiting, and holding a fleamarket occurs in different ways and to different degrees. These include the various degrees and kinds of social networks, moral economy, bargaining, advertising, goals of fleamarket activities, regulation, etc. These findings agree with Granovetter (1985) and with Schrader (1994) who both argue that the embeddedness of economic life takes place in different ways and to different degrees in different places. These findings also reveal that purposes of actors for engaging in the fleamarket's activities are motivated not only by pure gain and rational choice but also by value-rational orientations.

The German fleamarket can be regarded as a mirror of various aspects of German community life because the fleamarket accommodates ample information on the kinds of goods offered, types of traders, visitors, the organizers of the fleamarket, role of leisure, market prices, bargaining strategies, the social meaning of money, German Romanticism and the Green Movement, the socialization of some German values, etc.

Leisure, as an aspect of German community life, is reflected in the German fleamarket. The involvement of the majority of fleamarket actors, traders and visitors, in fleamarket activities, is done or chosen primarily for its own sake and not essentially to achieve an economic goal. This kind of motivation can be considered as a leisure phenomenon. Empirical data about purposes for engaging in trade and purposes of visitors for market attendance reveal different degrees of leisure motivation among the traders and visitors at the fleamarket. The highest degree of leisure orientation among traders is characteristic of pseudo traders. The part-time traders have the next highest and then the professional traders. According to reasons given visitors for their market attendance, it can be argued that visitors are also characterized by varying degrees of leisure motivation. We see flaneurs as having a high degree of leisure orientation. They are followed by collectors and then by "Schnäppchen" hunters.

Based on a German emic view, one should not bargain over the price of goods, because of "die Qualität gehört zum Preis" (the quality belongs to the price) rule. This German

attitude is also reflected in the German fleamarket. Based on empirical data gathered about the bargaining strategies of fleamarket customers we found that only one of these is typically German, namely that offering all the money that one has brought. Other strategies, like looking for defects, making comparisons, persevering in bargaining, saying nothing, saying the item is too expensive, are usually practiced by foreigners. This means that the fleamarket shares certain characteristics with the bazaar, namely that of elastic prices. Therefore you also can bargain at the fleamarket. But bargaining at the fleamarket is shorter and faster than the process of bargaining at the bazaar. In addition, our findings reveal that fleamarket traders have three basic bargaining strategies for maintaining their price. These are claiming that their goods are new, making favorable comparisons of quality, and claiming their goods are antiques.

The social German meaning of money is also mirrored at the fleamarket. This research shows that at least two social meanings of money can be observed at the fleamarket: money as a consequence and money as a goal. Other mirrors of German life are reflections of German Romanticism and the Green Movement in the fleamarket. Germans believe that people can make life as good and meaningful as they need it to be. Through the fleamarket, therefore, including activities like organization and engaging in trading activities, Germans strive to preserve their natural environment and thus to create a meaningful and good life. The fleamarket is also used by people to socialize children into their values and traditions. This study found that, at least, three values are internalized by children through participating in the fleamarket namely that of leisure, the social meaning of money, as well as romanticism and the environmental ideal.

Based on the thesis of the fleamarket as mirror of social complexity -- reflecting the phenomena of leisure, bargaining, the social meaning of money, German Romanticism and environmentalism, and the process of socialization -- it can be argued that the economic activities of the fleamarket are embedded in the society as a whole.

As seen from a historical perspective, Germany has been integrated into the world market for a long time. Through these developments, Germany has become part of the core of the global economic system. As part of the core, integration of German economy into all parts of the world has been taking place both directly and indirectly through big and middle sized German companies, many of which have branches abroad. The performance of German economy, as part of the core of the world market, attracts migrants from all corners of the globe.

The integration of Bielefeld, as a middle sized German city, into the world market also has been taking place for a long time, especially since the rise of its textile industry. Considering the features of international trade, the international flow of capital, the circulation of information through modern communication media, number of tourists, number of foreigners, and various religions represented here, it can be seen that Bielefeld has become a part of the international urban network. Thus, Bielefeld can be considered as an international city.

Seen on the macro level, the fleamarket flourishes in the context of the global economic system. Various new goods and handicrafts from all parts of the world flow

into German fleamarkets. These goods come especially from the developing countries and less developed countries like Kenya, Peru, Ecuador, India, Thailand, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, Poland, Russia, and also from Germany itself. Furthermore, the traders who sell things at the fleamarkets not only include Germans but also foreigners who live in Germany (like Turks, Afghans, Chinese, and so forth) and also those who come directly to the German fleamarkets, to trade commodities which they have brought from their home countries like Ecuador, Peru, Poland, etc. Some of these foreign traders run their business by participating in various types of networks ranging from local to global networks based on kinship ties, friendship ties, national ties, and continental ties.

The foreign traders at the fleamarket can themselves be grouped into three types: firstly, local foreign traders who are the foreign traders who live permanently in German cities; secondly, inter-border foreign traders who are the foreign traders who live and come from Eastern European countries, especially Poland; thirdly, inter-continent foreign traders who are the traders who come from other continents, especially from Africa and South America. They do not live in Germany. Using Suparb's idea about the differentiation between trader and smuggler (1990), the second type of foreign trader can not be regarded as a smuggler. Engaging in trade at the German fleamarket is conducted on an individual basis, is motivated to earn household income, and involves minimal capital (Suparb: 86-90). When they travel in a group to the German fleamarkets this can not be regarded as a sophisticated kind of secret activity but as a simple strategy carried out to minimize the cost of transportation.

Based on these points above, in contrast to Wallerstein who observes that commodities flow from the core to the periphery through established international traders, we argue that into the developed countries (core) are flowing inexpensive new goods and handicrafts from developing countries (periphery) through informal economic activities that include those of the foreign traders at the German fleamarket. In other words, the fleamarket reflects the international division of labor in which the developing countries manufacture low price and relatively low quality commodities and handicrafts for the world market, while the advanced industrial countries build up industries which require educated and complicated skilled labor, like biotechnology, computer chips, etc.

In addition, the visitors who attend the German fleamarkets also come from various nations like Germans, Turks, Poles, Greeks, Italians, Moroccans, Koreans, Yugoslavs, Tunisians, Indonesians, etc. Contact between representatives of various nations, each with their own cultures such as style, material culture, strategic bargaining, and so forth indicates that the German fleamarket is a meeting place of world cultures.

Based on the backgrounds of various traders, visitors, and goods which are traded at the fleamarket, it can be concluded that the German fleamarket is a part of the world market.

Taking into account the literature, there are at least three mechanisms at work regulating human life: the market mechanism, the ethical cultural mechanism, and state regulation (Evers and Schrader eds., 1994; Thompson et al., 1991, and Suparb, 1990). All of these mechanisms thus regulate the economic aspects of social life (Polanyi,

1957; Evers, 1994c). Based on qualitative data and first-hand observations, we see that all these mechanisms are at work in the German fleamarket.

The market mechanism regulates the German fleamarket through the participants' orientations to economic activities, prices, and the formalization of the informal sector. In terms of orientation to economic activities, the purpose for engaging in trade of the professional traders, and for the part-time traders and the holding of fleamarkets by the private companies, is to earn money. Also, to survive within their income, the "Schnäppchen" hunters do much of their shopping at the fleamarket. In their trading activities, both the professional traders and the part-time traders consider the interplay between demand and supply. In addition, through being a professional trader who holds a trade license, pays tax, engages in trade at the commercial fleamarkets, traders can take "market law" into consideration and set a price based on supply and demand. Moreover, the advertising of fleamarkets in the mass media, such as magazines and news papers, by the private companies, can be considered as a part of the market mechanism.

The ethical/cultural mechanism operates at the fleamarket through actor orientation towards participation in fleamarket activities, the moral economy of trade, consumer culture, price, and formalization of informal sector. The trading activities of the pseudo traders, and the holding of fleamarkets by the governmental organizations as well as by the non-governmental organizations, are not based on a profit motive, but rather on value/rational orientations including trading as "a hobby", having fun, facilitating social contacts, promoting the environmental movement, etc. The fleamarket activities of flaneurs and collectors can also be considered as an expression of this mechanism. However, the facing of the trader's dilemma and the buyer's dilemma by the pseudo traders and the customers, as a consequence of trading and buying in their own local communities, is a way in which the ethical/cultural mechanism regulates the fleamarket. In addition, their own consumer culture has some negative aspects for Germans including environmental problems like garbage and unwanted goods. Trading used goods at the fleamarket can be seen as a German solution for problems caused by the consumer culture. Also, formalization, through the registration of traders before allowing them to sell goods, which is practiced by both the governmental organizations and the non-governmental organizations, reflects the ethical/cultural regulatory mechanism at work.

State regulation is at work in the fleamarket through the various purposes of the governmental organizations for holding the fleamarkets, and through the laws regulating trading as well as the holding of the fleamarket. These include the trade license and the *Gewerbeordnung*. Taking into account this evidence, it can be concluded that all mechanisms (market mechanism, state regulation, and ethical/cultural mechanism) are reflected in the fleamarket. We see again how not only market and state structure the human life, but also how society itself regulates human life through the ethical/cultural mechanism. Based on these points, we also conclude that the relationships among market, state, and society at the fleamarket are interdependent and how no single mechanism appears to be dominant in all situations.

Taking account to the research findings on the mechanisms at work at the fleamarket, it can therefore be concluded that there are different degrees and various ways for the

economic activities at the German fleamarket to be embedded. Through the ethical/cultural mechanism and state regulation these processes show that economic activities are embedded in the other cultural, social, and political aspects of human life.

Based on all findings above, we come to conclusion that the fleamarket is a German way to solve life problems. Because through engaging in trade, attending, and holding fleamarkets, Germans can solve certain problems that are related to use of leisure time, social contacts, hobbies, socialization of German values, money, getting rid of used goods, pollution, etc.

In the market-state-society relationship, all parties involved in the fleamarket react to each other. They can all be seen as active participants. The state acts upon market and civil society, by requiring trade licenses and regulating the use of public space, and the reverse also takes place. The market and the civil society can affect the state structure and policies in their favor through such strategies as the holding of fleamarkets by non-governmental organizations and private companies. This mutual influence also occurs between the market and civil society. The market, through its transactions, can affect civil society, for example through self-imposed formalization, while the latter, through its "civic morality" and "Bürgerinitiative" can also influence the former by setting prices.

APPENDICES

1. An "Ausländer" Doing Field Research in the German Fleamarket: Report on Methodological Procedures

When a professor of the University of Bielefeld, namely Prof. Dr. Hans-Dieter Evers¹, came to Andalas University, Padang, Indonesia in 1993, he informed that there is a chance for a junior lecturer from Andalas University to do field research in Germany. He said that the University of Bielefeld needs foreigner views about German culture, society, and tradition. I always kept this information in my mind. I thought Indonesia could also benefit from having an Indonesian expert on European society and culture. For me, it would be a chance to understand a society with high technology and high income in the world.

Until I arrived in Germany on April 4th 1994, I had not decided on an exact topic for my dissertation. I was not certain about how to start, because many aspects of German society and its culture are interesting. When I visited a fleamarket for a first time in Göttingen, I felt that I had found what I was looking for. Through the German fleamarket, I felt, I could understand an important aspect of German society and its culture. The German fleamarket is a mirror of German cultural and social complexity.

Since my first experience with the German fleamarket, on April 9th 1994 in Göttingen, I visited the fleamarket virtually every weekend, especially on Saturdays. I went to fleamarkets not only in Göttingen where I also attended an extensive course in German and in Bielefeld where I study, but also other German cities like Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover, Köln, Gießen, Hamm (West.), Herford, Detmold, etc.

Until summer term 1995, I visited German fleamarkets as a customer who searched for articles that would be of use to me. It was also to spend my leisure time. I also made observations and interviews with traders and visitors in the fleamarket not as a researcher but only as a visitor with interest in the atmosphere which was very new to me. Like other visitors, I bought some secondhand items like books, sweaters, plates, glasses, etc. During transaction, I usually bargained over prices which are offered by the trader. I enjoyed it. For me, visiting the fleamarket is both important for my research and a hobby. In Indonesia I always went to fleamarkets to buy secondhand books. If I visited other middle-sized or large Indonesian cities, I generally searched for information on the fleamarket. I tried to visit as many as I could. This hobby of mine has helped me to understand the phenomenon of the German fleamarket. In addition, as my family come from a line of "small trader", I have a "interpretative understanding" (verstehen) on the market and trade, including the fleamarket. When I was a young child, I sometimes went together with my mother, as a trader, to the "pekan mingguan" (the weekly market) in Asahan, North Sumatra. This is one of the fondest memories I have.

Before writing my research proposal, in the field of economic sociology, with emphasis on the fleamarket, I went through a period of intensive library research. I also attended some post-graduate seminars which were organized by the Sociology of

¹ As a Minangkabau I just say : " Budi baik akan selalu dikenang".

Development Research Center, University of Bielefeld, most of which were presented by Prof. Dr. Hans Dieter Evers. These activities gave me impressions, ideas and assumptions on the market, trade, embeddedness, etc. In this period I was introduced to some frameworks which would be useful for my study, including field research.

I started my field research with a survey in the *Rathaus* (city hall). I chose this place, because it is visited by Bielefeld residents from various social strata and other cultural ethnic back grounds. I gathered information such as their reasons for visiting the fleamarket or not visiting the fleamarket both as the traders and as customers. I conducted these interviews over a period of a month, namely in September 1995. To collect survey data, I approached people at all counters in the Rathaus. I numbered these counters from no. 1 until no. 12. I started by selecting people who sat in counter no.1. If someone refused to be interviewed, I move on other people at the same counter. When all cases at the first counter had been interviewed, I continued to next counter. I stopped my survey, when I had interviewed 300 respondents. I conducted all interviews myself. Through this survey, I know roughly the characteristics of traders and visitors of the fleamarket.

To get some in-depth information on the trader, the customer, and the organizer of the fleamarket e.g., market-place, market-days, personal backgrounds of fleamarket actors, reasons for engaging in fleamarket activities, the social organization of trading, social networks, the moral economy of trade, the social meaning of money, etc. I made observations and in-depth interviews with fleamarket actors (namely traders, customers, and organizers of the fleamarket) both in market-place and in other places, with appointments made before like in a restaurant. Based on my experiences of visiting various fleamarkets in Bielefeld, I chose six fleamarkets as research locations: the *Freizeitzentrum's* Fleamarket in Baumheide and in Stieghorst, the "Café floh" in Baumheide and the *Tausch- & Trödelmarkt* at the Siegfriedplatz, the *Kram-Antik- & Trödelmarkt* on the Johannisberg and the fleamarket at the Klosterplatz. These fleamarkets represent all types of the fleamarket. Although I focused my research in these fleamarkets, I also went to other fleamarkets to observe and to interview actors of the fleamarket.

After the selection of the three research sites described above, I tried to gather all possible information on traders and visitors of the fleamarket. In this sense, I conducted observations and made interviews with them. Before conducting in-depth interviews with traders, I tried to understand differences among traders like the kinds of goods exchanged, ethnic background, through observation. Based on this experience, I chose traders. In general I did not find any difficulty interviewing traders whom I had selected. Through these interviews, I gathered information on personal background, their modes of preparation before engaging in trade, everyday life activities, contributions to household consumption, etc. Some of traders preferred interviews to be continued at another time through telephone or meeting in another place like a restaurant. During interviews, I also noted all trader activities in the market-place. I usually observed traders from the beginning or opening hours of the fleamarket, until they left the market-place. I conducted interviews with 30 traders.

Based on interviews with traders in the fleamarket, I found that almost all traders, especially the pseudo traders, ever went to the fleamarket as a visitor. During

conducting research to traders, I also observed visitors who go to certain fleamarkets. Some of them can be contacted through social conversation in the marketplace. Through this way, I can make appointment to conduct interviews with them for my other phase of field research. I used tape recorder, if I interviewed organizers of the fleamarket as well as officials of Bielefeld city. I stopped my interviews, when I have gathered information from 50 persons who are as traders and/or visitors.

I also continued my interviews with organizers of the fleamarkets. Before these interviews I observed all their activities in the preparation, holding and closure of the fleamarket. I particularly observed those who organized the fleamarkets which became my research sites. I interviewed 15 organizers of the fleamarkets. Based on my experiences, I found that it was difficult to get information on sums of money which are collected from the traders by organizers of the fleamarkets. When I broached this topic, they rejected to answer it. Some interviews with the organizers of the fleamarkets were not carried out on the market-days.

While gathering the primary data through survey, observations, and interviews, I also went to some related bodies like the *Ordnungsamt*, the *Stadtarchiv* (the city archives), the *Stadtbibliothek* (the city library), etc. to get secondary data such as history of the German and Bielefeld fleamarkets, statistical data of Bielefeld, fleamarket's photos, etc. In the *Stadtarchiv* I spent about two weeks getting some information on the history of the fleamarket, especially in Germany and Bielefeld. In searching for this information, I read old local newspapers like *Westfalen-Blatt* and *Neue Westfälische*. Besides, I also made some photos of various scenes in the fleamarket: various kinds of traders and visitors, traded goods, fleamarket atmosphere, etc.

Like other social researchers I had some problems during my field research. For instance, I made appointments to do interviews with some organizers of the fleamarkets, but when I reminded them about the interviews, they changed date. Sometimes I had to wait for some months before I could meet them. This also happened when I tried to make an appointment for interviews with visitors and traders of the fleamarket. Some of the organizers of fleamarket, especially private companies, suggested that I avoid questions about income. During my survey I also found some peoples who became angry, when I tried to interview them. I was asked by a German about my aim in taking photos in the market-place. Then he asked whether he could hide his identity in my photo.

If I compare this experience with my country, Indonesia, doing field research in Germany is easier. In Indonesia I have to register my field research in a hierarchy of related bodies such as the *Biro Pusat Statistik* (Statistic Central Office), the *Kantor Sosial Politik* (Social Politic Office), etc. If I do not have any official letter from this office, I cannot access secondary data from governmental offices and also cannot do a field research in *kampung* or *desa* (village). I sometimes even had to pay money to get the official letter. In Germany there is no problem with access to secondary data from governmental offices. Anybody can make request for data through a letter or by telephone, and get an answer directly. However, as in Indonesia, it is difficult in Germany to get information about taxes which are paid by organizers of the fleamarket to the German government office.

2. Glossary

- Adventslohmarkt*: advent fleamarket
Agentur für Märkte und Veranstaltungen: agents for markets and meeting
Aktiengesellschaft: joint-stock company
Antikmarkt: antique market
Asta: the Student Union
Ausländer: foreigner
AWO Begegnungszentrum: meeting center of the Workers' Welfare Organization
Begegnungszentrum: meeting center
Beratungsstelle: advisory board/advice center
Bielefelder Elterngemeinschaft e.V.: Bielefeld parents' association
Biergarten: beer garden
Biro Pusat Statistik: Statistic Central Office (ind.)
Bürgerbewegung: the social movement
Bürgerinitiative: citizens' initiative
Bürgerwache: guard-house of citizens
Danke: thank-you
Demokratischer und sozialer Bundesstaat: the democratic and social federal government
Deutsch: German
Deutsche bürgerliche Gesellschaft: German civil society
Diakoniezentrum: deacon center/diaconate
Diplomarbeit: master thesis
Eltern-Kinder Gruppen: the parents-children groups
Erziehungsberatung: education counseling/educational guidance
e.V.: registered organization
Familienberatung: family counseling
Flaneur: stroller
Floh: flea
Flohmarkt: fleamarket
Frankfurter Rundschau: a newspaper published in Frankfurt
Frau: Mrs./woman/lady
Freibad: open-air swimming pool
Freie Marktwirtschaft: free market economy
Freizeitzentrum: community center for using leisure time
Frühling: spring
Frühlingslohmarkt: spring fleamarket
Gastarbeiter: foreign workers who are invited to work in Germany
GbR (Gesellschaft bürgerlichen Rechts): private company or cooperation
Geld: money
Gesamtschule: comprehensive school
Gewerbeordnung: trade law/industrial legislation
Gewerbeschein: trade license
Glückstalertage: celebration of the days of the lucky talers
GmbH: limited liability company
Gymnasium: Secondary school
Handwerksmarkt: handicraft market
Herr: Mr./gentleman

Jugendherberge: youth hostel
Kampung: local community (ind.)
Kantor Sosial Politik: Social Politic Office
Katholik St. Meinolfgemeinde: the catholic St. Meinolf Parish
Kaufmannsstadt: trader city
Kirmes: church-fair, kermis
Kirmesmarkt: kermis market
Kinderflohmarkt: children fleamarket
Kinder- & Jugendzentrum: children-& youth center
Krammarkt: small wares market
Kreis: municipality/district
Kreisfreie Stadt: county town/town constituting a Kreis of its own
Leineweber-Stadt: a textile industry city called leineweber-Stadt
Lumpensammler: rag-picker
Magistrat: town council
Markt: market
Merantau: (out) migration tradition (ind.)
Ordnungsamt: town clerk's office
Pasar Loak: fleamarket (ind.)
Purdah: headscarf (ind.)
Rabattgesetz: rebate/discount law
Rathaus: city hall
Rechenzentrum: computer center
Regierungsbezirk: administrative district
Reisegewerbe: travel agency
Schnäppchen: to get cheap items
Schwarzmarkt: the black market
Senor: Mr. (span)
Sommer: summer
Sommerflohmarkt: summer fleamarket
Sozialberatung: social counseling
Sozialen Marktwirtschaft: social market economy
Spaß: fun
SPD: Social Democratic Party
Stadtarchive: the city archives
Stadtbibliothek: the city library
Stadtordnung: municipal corporation
Steuerflucht: capital/tax flight
Tambahan: adding extra (ind.)
Topfermarkt: the market for the pottery items
Trempelmarkt: a kind of market in Nürnberg
Trödel: secondhand articles
Trödelbasar: secondhand bazaar
Trödelmarkt: secondhand market
Überraschung: surprise
vierzig: forty
Weihnachten: Christmas
Wochenendticket: weekend ticket
Wochenmarkt: the weekly market

3. Song of Fleamarket (continued)

arranged by Krenzer & Edelkötter

Fürn Groschen gibt's nen Ring.
Für eine Mark ein Tuch.
Und ganze fünfzig Pfennig nur
für dieses Bilderbuch.
Es ist noch fast wie neu.
Doch biete ich es an
und hoffe, daß ein anderer
sich daran freuen kann.

Drei Puppenkleider noch
und sieben Meter Schnur.
Und eine Pumuckel-Cassette
für Zweifünfzig nur.
Sie ist noch fast wie neu.
Doch biete ich sie an,
weil ich die Pumuckel-Cassette
auswendig längst kann.

For one penny there is a ring
For a Mark a scarf
And only fifty Pennies
for this picture book
It still looks like new
However, I offer it to you
and hope, that somebody else
can enjoy it.

Still, three doll's dresses
and seven meters of string
And a Pumuckel-cassette
for only two fifty
It still looks like new
However, I offer it to you,
because I now can memorize
this Pamukkel-cassette

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