TOPICAL REVIEW

MARKETPLACE TRADE IN LATIN AMERICA

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ONE OF THE MOST CHARACTERISTIC AND PICTURESQUE FEATURES OF LATIN AMERican commercial activity is the market,[1] "an organized public gathering of buyers and sellers of commodities meeting at an appointed place at regular intervals" (Hodder 1965: 57). These markets are held in open market squares or plazas, in streets and open spaces, at roads junctions, and in public, municipal market buildings. Locally, markets are referred to by such names as *ferias, plazas*, or *mercados* in Spanish-speaking Latin America, *feiras* in Brazil, *tianguis* in Indian areas of central Mexico, catus in some Quechua-speaking Andean areas, and *marchés* in French-speaking countries. Generally found in medium to large nucleated settlements, markets are also encountered in very small hamlets, particularly those located at nodal points in communication networks. A settlement may have one or more different market locations within the built-up area, or on the outskirts of the settlement. Most larger towns and cities have several separate markets which specialize in different commodities, or serve different neighborhoods or social groups. Places with one or more markets are generally referred to as market centers.

Markets can be classified in terms of frequency of occurrence or periodicity, the most common division being into two groups: daily markets, which take place on all days of the week, including Saturday and Sunday; and periodic markets, which occur regularly, but less frequently than daily. Most periodic markets occur from one to three times each week; a few meet at less frequent intervals such as once every two weeks, or once a month.[2] Individual markets may also be classified according to size, volume of commercial activity, number of participants, specializations in particular products, role in commodity movements, or the socioeconomic groups which frequent them. Market centers can be classified on the basis of similar criteria or, in addition, by the number of markets in each center and the population of a market center and its trade area.

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Individual markets and market centers are linked together by flows of people and commodities, and groups of functionally interrelated market centers may be described as market systems (Mintz 1959, 1964a; R. J. Bromley 1975). In some areas, small market systems are integrated through horizontal interactions, those between market centers of equivalent importance. In general, however, interactions between market centers tend to be both horizontal and vertical or hierarchical, with small market centers linked to and nested within the trade areas of a few larger market centers (Durston 1970: 42–67; Symanski 1971: 18–65; C. A. Smith 1972: 207–342, 1973; Diskin 1975a). Hierarchical systems are occasionally referred to as "solar systems," (Nash 1967), which means that each large market center is surrounded by a number of smaller ones. The latter channel locally produced goods toward the large center and in turn receive exogenous goods from it. Consumers rely upon local market centers for basic necessities, but they often must travel to more distant and larger market centers to obtain imported or manufactured goods such as clothing and hardware. Recently, market centers have been studied less as solar systems and more in the context of central place theory, an elaborate axiomatic conceptual structure which relates settlement sizes, market functions, and the hierarchical spatial structure of market systems (Berry 1967; C. A. Smith 1974a).

People in the marketplace can be classified by numerous criteria. Although initially they may be divided into buyers and sellers, many participants both buy and sell in the same marketplace. Therefore, it is useful to distinguish between producers, intermediaries, consumers, and persons fulfilling a combination of two or more of these roles. The sequence of transactions and commodity flows which link the producer to the consumer is known as the marketing chain; most marketing chains involve one or more intermediaries. Normally, the marketing chain can be divided into two halves: bulking or collecting, and distributing, (R. H. T. Smith and Hay 1969) and, as a result, intermediaries can be divided into collecting wholesalers, distributing wholesalers, and retailers. A sub-category of retailers is petty traders, who buy from other traders at retail prices and resell items in very small units, an example being street hawkers who buy cigarettes by the packet and retail them individually. Many market traders are assisted by family members; a few work in partnerships or employ paid assistants. In addition, there are also specialized personnel who work in or control the market, such as barrow-boys, porters, rubbish collectors, municipal police, public health inspectors, and tax collectors. Since the marketplace is a major interaction node for distinct social, economic, occupational, and ethnic groups living in the market center and its surrounding hinterland, market participants may be classified by age, sex, race, social class, area of origin, and dress. Likewise, they can be grouped by the scale of their commercial operations, types of transaction or of merchandise they are buying and selling, and frequency with which they trade in one or more markets or other trading institutions.

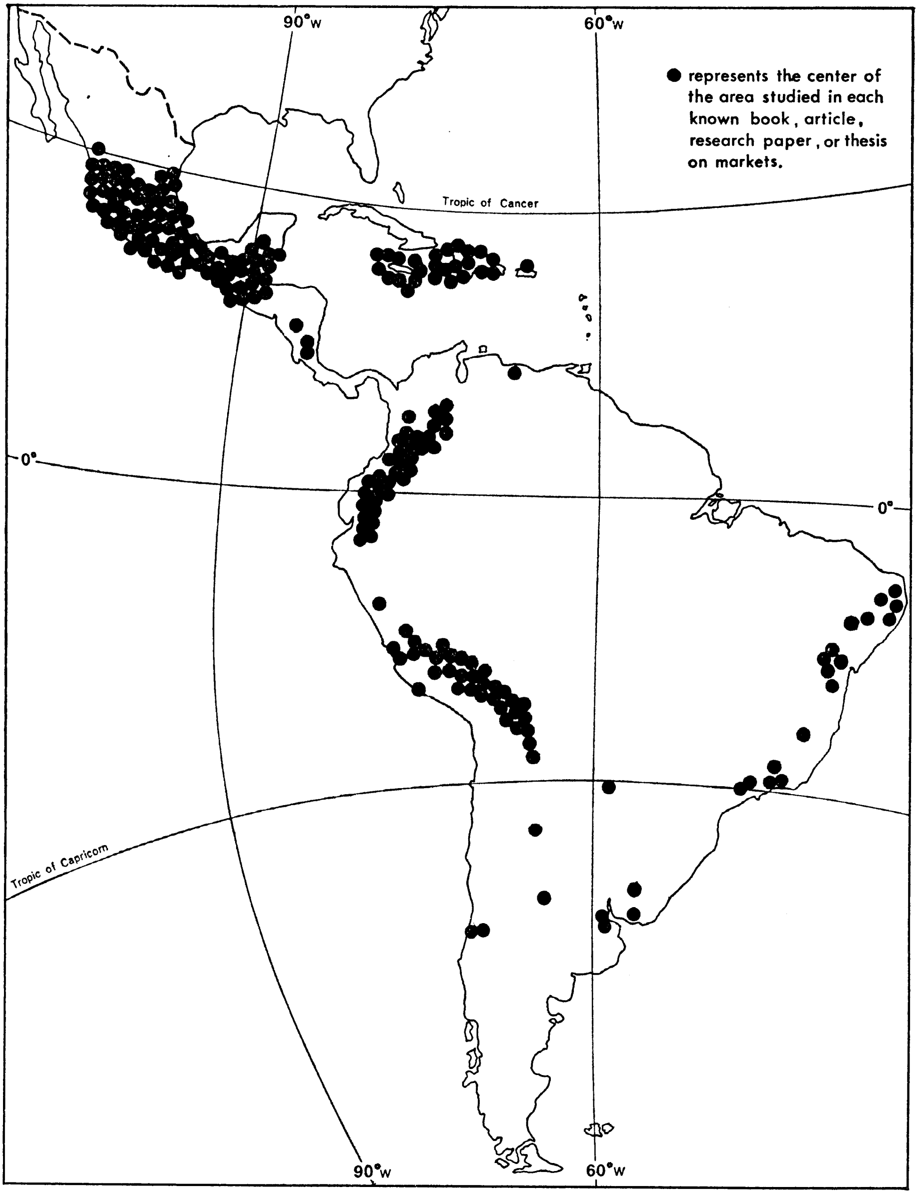
Many goods handled by Latin American market traders can also be purchased in private shops, warehouses, supermarkets and other trading institutions. No data are available to permit a quantitative comparison of the importance of markets and other trading institutions in Latin America, although it is certain that within Latin

America and within individual countries there are marked varations in the importance of marketplace trading.[3] Some sparsely populated areas of Latin America have no markets at all, and in many areas, the marketplace satisfies only ten to twenty per cent of total consumer demand. In other areas over half of the total volume of retailers occurs in the marketplace. General observations of travellers and existing detailed local studies suggest that market trading is most important in the less affluent and more densely populated countries and regions, or in areas which have substantial Amerindian, Mestizo, or Negro ethnic and cultural elements, such as the highlands of Middle America and the Andes, and the islands of the Caribbean. Market trading is particularly prominent in central and southern Mexico, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and north-eastern and central eastern Brazil. These are also the areas which have attracted the most research attention (See Map).[4] Market trading is much less important in those areas which have a predominantly European ethnic and cultural background, particularly Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil, and in the hispanophone Caribbean.

PREHISTORIC MARKETS

Marketplace trade is of considerable importance in peasant societies and in the urban societies of less developed countries. It is rarely recorded amongst unstratified, tribal-societies of hunters, gatherers, and shifting cultivators. In pre-Columbian times the likely areas of market activity were Mesoamerica and the central and northern Andes, areas with the most developed states and highest population densities.

Discussion about the existence and role of marketplace trade in Latin America before the Iberian conquest is strongly colored by the debate between the substantivist and formalist schools of economic anthropology.[5] Substantivists hold that modern economic theory based on concepts of choice, competition, profit, and the interplay of supply and demand is not applicable to traditional societies, and particularly to such organized prehistoric civilizations as those of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas. Those in sympathy with substantivist views, such as Murra (1956, 1968) and Kaplan (1960: 38–122, and 249–252) tend to minimize the importance of markets; they suggest that periodic trade gatherings were either unimportant, or were principally intended for reciprocity and redistribution rather than barter transactions or dealings involving primitive money. In contrast, formalists believe that modern economic principles are applicable to all societies. Scholars such as Hartmann (1968, 1971) and Gibson (1964: 352–360) tend to emphasize the importance of prehistoric markets, and to consider them as evidence of lively internal commerce and individual entrepreneurial activity. There is not doubt that market-like trade gatherings occurred in parts of Middle America and the Andean highlands before the Spanish conquest. Conquistadors and early historians often mentioned such gatherings in their writings, and usually described them as markets.[6] Information available however, does not permit a detailed assessment of the spatial distribution, temporary periodicity, the quantitative importance of these gatherings, or of the organization of the gatherings and the means by which transactions were completed. Until new



The Spatial Distribution of the Areas Studied in Known Publications and Dissertations on Markets in Latin America sources are brought to light, the substantivist-formalist debate on prehistoric markets is unlikely to be resolved.

Mesoamerica

The best known and most frequently described markets of prehistoric Latin America are those of the Valley of Mexico, and particularly those of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán-Tlatelolco (Rojas Gonzales 1945; Kaplan 1960: 38–122, 249–252; Gibson 1964: 352–60 and 395; Sadulé 1970; Parsons and Price 1970; Durand-Forest 1971). These markets seem to have been especially large and well supplied with a great range of merchandise. Some were particularly renowned for one or two specialized products, and most had separate, specialized areas for each major type of merchandise. The markets were presided over by market judges who arbitrated disputes and punished wrong-doers. Certain luxury products consumed only by élite groups seem to have been traded outside the market place, and the Aztecs had a specialized élite trading group known as the Pochteca who dealt with long-distance trading activities (Acosta Saignes 1945; Chapman 1957; Katz 1966). Aztec markets included both daily gatherings in the large urban centers and periodic markets at five, thirteen, and twenty day intervals (Gibson 1964: 352 and 395).

In comparison with the relative abundance of studies on the Valley of Mexico, little research has been done on prehistoric markets in other parts of Mesoamerica. The studies that exist concentrate on trading routes, and give only peripheral attention to the nature of trading institutions. Durston (1970: 14–20) has described the trade routes and markets of the Tarascan Empire. Thompson (1929), Blom (1932), Roys (1943: 51–52), Cardos De Mendez (1959), Parsons and Price (1970), Hammond (1972: 791–796), and Tourtellot and Sabloff (1972) have attempted to piece together the available sources on Maya trade markets. In the Mayan area periodic markets may have been held at five day intervals (McBride 1945: 83), and the market locations were adjacent to, or in close proximity to, religious and ceremonial sites (Blom 1932). Cocoa beans were an important trading commodity for export to other areas of Mesoamerica, and they were often used as a form of primitive currency (Bergmann 1958).

The Central and Northern Andes

Historical data on prehistoric markets in the central and northern Andes is far less abundant than for Mesoamerica. This can be interpreted either as an indication that markets were rare and unimportant, or that early writers did not consider them unusual enough to accord them more than passing mention. Baudin (1961: 167–169) and Murra (1956: 235–244) argue that markets were relatively unimportant trading institutions in the Inca state because of the high degree of central control over production, commodity flows, and migration. Hoyt (1926: 141), and Mintz (1964b: 3) have even gone so far as to state that markets did not exist in the Inca state. Hartmann (1968: 249), however, believes that marketplace trade played a major role in the Inca state, equal in importance to reciprocity and redistribution.

Rostworowski (1970: 153–162) suggests that private enterprise trading was a survival from pre-Inca days, when market exchange was more important than during the Inca period. In Colombia, the Chibchas held markets (Eidt 1959: 384–385; Hanneson 1969: 33–38), and Restrepo (1895: 127) has suggested that these were held at four-day intervals.

Colonial and Nineteenth Century Markets

After the Iberian conquest of Latin America, Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, and Dutch commercial ideas were introduced. Western Europe had, and still has, important periodic and daily markets, and it was natural that European ideas of market organization would be introduced to Latin America. Outside Mesoamerica and the central and northern Andes, the idea of holding markets may have been European. In Mesoamerica and the central and northern Andes, however, colonial markets retain certain features of prehistoric markets (Foster 1960: 104), and some prehistoric market locations and customs have survived up to the present day. Moreover, in pre-Conquest Mexico markets were measures of the organizational and political strength of native institutions and not only survived the conquest but were integrative influences supporting the integrity of native culture (Sahagún 1959; Díaz 1963). In some areas, these market systems blunted the impact of latifundismo and the penetration of the cash-import-export economy. In the colonial period there was a struggle between the Spanish administration and local colonists over the significance and continuance of native markets (Hamnett 1971), Hartmann (1968: 112–133) and Esteva Fabregat (1970: 213–216) suggest that the occurrence of barter transactions in some contemporary Andean markets is a survival from prehistoric times, and McBryde (1945: 83) interpreted the existence of periodic markets held at five day intervals in parts of the Cuchumatanes Mountains of Guatemala as survivals of the Mayan five-day market week. In addition to the European and prehistoric influences on colonial and contemporary markets, there may also be a minor West African one. The importation of substantial numbers of West African Negro slaves to Latin America, and, in particular, to the Caribbean and Brazil, may have helped to stimulate the development of markets. West Africa has a long indigenous tradition of market place trade,[7] and recollections of West African markets and market organization are likely to have been recounted through several generations of slave populations. Even today, there are some marked similarities between Caribbean and West African markets in the widespread use of headloading, and in the dominance of women in market trading activities (Métraux 195: 117–129; Mintz 1960a, 1963, 1971; Underwood 1960: 3–5).

Hispanic America

The Spanish colonization of Latin America embodied policies of deliberate urban foundation to provide residential sites for the Spanish population, and administrative, ecclesiastical, and commercial centers for the surrounding rural populations (Houston 1968). The newly formed Spanish towns almost invariably had one or more open squares or plazas, generally in front of the churches and other major public buildings (Stanislawski 1947). Along with the imposition of the Catholic religion and calendar, the Spaniards founded new periodic markets, generally on Sundays, as one means of assuring the urban centers of an adequate supply of rural products (Kaplan 1960: 156–161; 1964: 63–64; 1965: 83–84). The combination of Sunday markets and compulsory Sunday mass for the rural Indians was intended to ensure their participation in both functions, and to minimize the number of days in the week that they spent away from their homes and productive activities. The commercial importance of the markets was somewhat reduced, however, by the prevalence of Indian subsistence production, the systems of tribute payment and *repartimiento*, and the non-market commercial networks established for the crown, the major religious houses, the leading haciendas, the mines, and the *obrajes* (R. D. F. Bromley 1974).

Following Iberian models, the Spanish municipal administrations developed lengthy regulations to control the urban markets.[8] Particular attention was given to controlling the location of markets, preventing forestalling and other forms of trading outside the markets, checking weights and measures, ensuring minimum hygenic standards and the sale of fresh food, disposing of refuse, maintaining law and order. selling and checking trading licenses, and collecting taxes for occupying public land. Unfortunately, this municipal control of commerce generally proved susceptible to inefficiency, bureaucracy, and corruption, and frequently the municipal governments protected and assisted urban traders against the competition of rural entrepreneurs.

In the nineteenth century, commercial activity expanded considerably in most of Hispanic America. There was a notable growth in market activity which was accompanied by the foundation of a substantial number of new markets. In highland Ecuador (R. J. Bromley 1975) the number of market centers more than doubled in the nineteenth century. The increasing volume of commerce, combined with ecclesiastical protests that Sunday market trading impeded full participation in religious ceremonies, led many municipal authorities to change their market days from Sunday to Saturday or an ordinary weekday (Toro Ruiz 1971; Bromley and Bromley 1974). A gradual increase in the number of markets and of market centers, and the tendency to change market days from Sunday to other days or to establish new markets on days other than Sunday, have continued at the present day.

Portuguese America

Far less information is available about the historical development of markets, or about present day markets, in Brazil than in Hispanic America. Most authors who describe historic Brazilian markets have concentrated upon the vigorous periodic markets lying along the trade routes linking the coast and the interior (Deffontaines 1936; Strauch 1952: 101–103; Poppino 1968: 54–78, and 150–175; Forman and Riegelhaupt 1970a: 107–110), and particularly upon the inter-regional trade and markets for livestock, which were similar to those in Uruguay and Argentina (Deffontaines 1951, 1957). Colonial markets in the large urban centers have been studied by De Azevedo (1956: 77–80) and Guimarães (1969: 17–24). It seems clear that these markets were regulated by the municipal authorities, but this regulation was apparently less comprehensive and rigid than in other parts of the Americas.

The French and British Caribbean

Although a considerable amount of attention has been given to contemporary Haitian and Jamaican markets, there has been little historical research on Caribbean markets. The Spanish Caribbean has received virtually no attention. Various travellers have described eighteenth and nineteenth century markets in Jamaica and nineteenth century markets in Haiti,[9] but the only scientific studies are the works of Mintz and Hall (1960; Mintz 1955) on Jamaica and the Comhaire-Sylvains (1964) on Haiti. Jamaican markets first appeared shortly after the English occupation of the island in 1655. Negro plantation slaves were allowed to cultivate areas of plantation land which were unsuitable for sugar production, and to sell their produce in the Sunday markets which had been established in the towns. According to Mintz and Hall (1960: 16), by 1774, "the slaves were not only central to the economy as the producers of the cash export commodities, principally sugar, but had also become the most important suppliers of foodstuffs and utilitarian craft items to all Jamaicans." As well as selling directly to urban consumers, slave producers sold to urban collecting wholesalers in the markets, and to mobile collecting buyers, or country higglers, who visited the farms and plantations. After Emancipation in 1838 the population increased and new towns were founded. This led to the growth of existing markets and the development of new ones, and because of objections voiced by Protestant missionaries and commercial interests, Sunday markets were changed to Saturdays or ordinary weekdays (Mintz and Hall 1960: 18–20).

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF CONTEMPORARY MARKETS

Administration and Layout

The internal organization of the marketplace has attracted considerable anthropological research, and lesser amounts from geographers, sociologists and economists. Market trading in different types of merchandise is usually spatially differentiated. In the smaller market centers, where all trading takes place in one marketplace, spatial differentiation by product type is some function of size; it definitely occurs in larger markets but is not always evident in the smaller ones.[10] In the larger market centers with several separate marketplaces, there is also differentiation among marketplaces. Particular types of merchandise are associated with different marketplaces.[11] Livestock are usually sold apart from most other goods, and fresh foodstuffs are often separated from manufactured goods. Wholesale trading may be spatially separated from retailing, and retail traders selling the same type of goods often sell adjacent to one another. Such spatial differentiation enables the customer to locate particular types of goods more easily, and it facilitates the comparison of prices by both customers and traders. The agglomeration of traders selling the same types of merchandise may sometimes facilitate free competition between traders, but more often, it assists the formation of retail oligopolies when the combined group of traders adopts an attitude of solidarity to maintain high selling prices (Klumpp 1970: 252; Swetnam 1973).

Since colonial and even pre-colonial times, periodic and daily markets in Latin America generally have been closely regulated and administered by local authorities. Colonial Hispanic and Portuguese systems of market control have survived with remarkably little change up to the present day. Municipal authorities still concern themselves with checking weights and measures, licensing and taxing traders, maintaining law and order, examining the quality of food, and disposing of refuse (Norvell and Billingsley 1971). Most of the municipal regulations are very similar to those which existed one or even two centuries ago. Among the major factors which affect municipal attitudes are the maintenance of a good, cheap urban food supply, and the collection of a substantial tax revenue (Underwood 1960: 16–17). In the town of Oaxaca in Mexico, for example, Waterbury (1968: 170) has recorded that forty-nine per cent of the total municipal budget is financed from market taxation.

In addition to the tendency for traders dealing in similar types of goods to agglomerate, many Latin American markets are notable for their orderly arrangement of traders and stalls in rows. In part this may be an effort by traders to enable customers to circulate freely, facilitate the exchange of information, and to make for the easy identification of particular stalls, traders, and types of goods. More important, however, is the role of market authorities in establishing and controlling the spatial organization of market trading within the market center. Municipal police or market tax collectors often circulate in the marketplace and attempt to persuade or coerce traders into straight rows or designated areas. In many market centers attempts are made to control forestallers, wholesale buyers and retailers who locate themselves on the main routes to the marketplace to transact business before people reach the market.

In municipal market buildings stall sites are rented out over months or years, so that each trader has a customary location within the market. Even though the municipal authorities may not control trader positions, most traders occupy roughly the same location each week (Wisdom 1940: 24–36; Berg 1968: 34). In the larger market centers, informal agreements between traders and general acknowledgment of customary rights to particular locations are often reinforced by the authority and arbitration of formal or informal traders' associations. Frequently, these associations are formal trade unions or branch sections of political parties (Waterbury 1968: 170–180; 1970: 142–148; Buechler and Buechler 1971; Buechler 1972). In some cases, they are informal mutual help associations (*Asociaciónes de Socorro Mutuo*) created to collect and distribute funds for the celebration of saints' days and other festive occasions, and to assist members in distress. Cook and Cook (1972: 21–24), working in San Andrés Tuxtla, Mexico, have recorded a case of a market traders' cooperative formed by butchers to facilitate and obtain scale economies in the buying, slaughtering, and storage of fresh meat. Traders' associations are usually strong in the large urban daily markets; they are of little importance in most periodic markets (Norvell and Billingsley 1971).

Traders from the same community, village or neighborhood and those with kinship or *compadrazgo* ties, often work side-by-side within the marketplace, particularly when they sell particular types of merchandise associated with their home areas. Legerman (1962) has noted that of forty chicken sellers in a Haitian market, seventeen were related in one kin group and seven in a second kin group. The traders in these kin groups often collaborated with one another and tended to form oligopolies. Similarly, Weldon and Morse (1970), in describing Yungay market in highland Peru, and Diskin (1967: 86–107), in research on the Tlacolula market near Oaxaca in Mexico, have stressed the origins, specializations, and social networks of market traders, and the relations of these factors to the spatial organization of the marketplace.

Pricing

The marketplace in Latin America provides a classic microeconomy for the study of the interaction of supply and demand. Prices are rarely fixed or marked in writing, and short periods of bargaining normally precede any transaction.[12] Judicious buyers often bargain with at least a couple of sellers before making a purchase. Sellers usually vary their price according to the appearance and knowledge of the buyer (Legerman 1962; Sayres 1956), and on the basis of such other factors as hour in the market day and whether or not they expect to sell on succeeding days. Regular customers make their purchases with less time lost in bargaining than outsiders, and sellers may extend credit or give special favors to buyers who are, or may become, regulars (Katzin 1961: 317–318). In Haiti, such favors are known as *pratik*, and this term has been widely publicized in anthropological circles by Mintz's (1961a) classic study. When trading occurs between different ethnic or cultural groups, calculated insults may be used by buyers as a means of asserting their position and to emphasize the seller's need to do business (Klumpp 1970: 254–259). Sellers may often take advantage of buyers from "inferior" social groups or particular areas, giving them short measure or short weight, or charging them slightly higher prices than people from the same social group or area as the sellers (Sayres 1956; Burgos Guevara 1970: 262–276; Dubly 1970; Cook and Diskin 1975b).

Transactions may take place by barter or with money.[13] Barter generally takes place between Indians, or between Indians and non-Indians, but not between non-Indians. Generally, barter is only important in the smaller or peripheral, predominantly Indian markets of the central Andes and Mesoamerica. In most cases, values are assessed using some basic commodity or monetary unit as a guide. Thus, in "money-mediated barter" (Cook 1968: 149), participants exchange amounts of goods assumed to be equivalent to a particular sum of money. In other cases, a commodity may be used as a form of currency. Thus, cocoa beans play this role in prehistoric Middle America (Radell 1969: 47), and barley plays the same role in parts of highland Ecuador (Hartmann 1968: 131), facilitating both saving and barter trade.

In spite of the efforts of municipal officials to ensure the use of correct internationally recognized weights and measures, most Latin American marketplaces exhibit a considerable variety of initially unfamiliar systems of weights and measures (Mintz 1961b). Fruit, vegetables, and grain are often sold by units of volume rather than by weight, and various weights and measures survive from colonial times, such as the Hispanic *vara* and *fanega*. Frequently, traders do not sell the quantity initially offered, but expect to add a bonus amount known in Jamaica as *brawta* (Katzin 161: 218(*tivô* or *dégi* in Haiti (Mintz 1961b), and in the central Andes as *yapa* (Hartmann 1971), after the price has been agreed. Thus, bargaining may occur in two stages, first over the price, and then over the quantity. Traders often exhibit containers or piles of goods under the assumption that experienced buyers will recognize a particular quantity as corresponding to a commonly accepted price. Bargaining may then be reduced to a discussion about the size of the bonus quantity. In some cases, tricks are played by the trader (Cook 1968: 267–268); inferior merchandise or stones are put at the bottom of containers, or selling may even be done from containers with false bottoms. Vociferous disputes between sellers and buyers occasionally result, although market officials are usually in the vicinity to check weights and measures and to arbitrate disputes. Occasionally, all major quantities of merchandise bought and sold must be weighed at the municipal scale or *romana*, and a tax is often charged on this weighing (Burgos Guevara 1970: 245–248). The combination of a pluralistic system of weights and measures, flexible prices and quantities, and little publicized market information tends to favor the professional trader over the consumer.

In open marketplaces, and in the handling of perishable foodstuffs, traders face considerable risk and need both experience and skill. The prudent trader must be prepared to act rapidly in the event of wind, rain, or other natural hazard, and must watch his or her merchandise carefully to prevent theft or damage caused by passersby. He or she must have a good sense of timing. Patience is required to optimize sales returns, and yet a vendor must not wait too long or losses will be incurred through deterioration or a lack of sales. Skillful traders also have an ability to secure the cooperation and friendship of neighboring traders, obtain the best trading positions, and befriend or avoid market authorities in order to break market regulations or avoid taxes with impunity. Not surprisingly, successful traders are capable of accumulating considerable capital with which they may either improve their social status (Mintz 1964c) or pay for social obligations (Chiñas 1975).

A lively debate exists among economic anthropologists and economists studying marketplace trade regarding the extent to which these markets are "perfect." Because the market-place is based upon large numbers of simultaneous person-to-person transactions, there is a potential for freely competitive trading. Where the marketplace is atomistic, open, free, and rational, prices should be fixed by the unimpeded interplay of supply and demand (Tax 1953: 15–18). "Atomistic" implies that there are a large number of independent, small-scale buyers and sellers with no monopolistic associations. "Open" indicates that as many buyers and sellers as wish to do so may attend the market. "Free" means that prices are fixed by supply

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and demand forces, and that there is an absence of oligopsonistic and oligopolistic practices. "Rational" implies that all participants have one basic aim in view, profit maximization. Tax (1953: 13–19) believed that Guatemalan markets possessed these characteristics and were almost perfect, and Katzin (1958; 1959; 1961) has made a similar interpretation of Jamaican markets. Detailed counter-arrangements have been advanced for Guatemala by Church (1970: 61–93) and Swetnam (1973), and for Jamaica by Norvell and Thompson (1968). Cook, working with metate producers in the Oaxaca Valley, finds that marketing is monopolistically competitive at the inter-market level but more closely resembles perfect competition at the intra-market level of analysis (Cook 1975). It would seem that most Latin American markets seldom are "perfect" because of such factors as collaboration among traders, the lack of adequate supply and demand information, exploitation by a ruling class (C. A. Smith 1973), and intervention in commerce by local and national authorities.

Marketplace Activities which are not Strictly Commercial in Character

The marketplace is a center for both social and economic interactions of people from different neighborhoods and social groups. The journey to market is very often multipurpose; people frequent the market not only for buying and selling, but also for social, recreational, religious, and politico-administrative activities.[14] Berg (1968: 36) has described the weekly market day of Zoogocho, Mexico, as follows: "For some men *plaza* day is a day to get inebriated. For many people *plaza* day is mail day. It is also the day to have the baby baptized by the priest . . . it is the day when the *principales* . . . are available in the church to perform religious acts . . . or it is a day to go to the *ayuntamiento* (town hall) to take care of some civil affair, such as a birth certificate or a complaint." Most large markets include a few entertainers, fortune tellers, and native doctors (Tejada 1965; Grollig 1966), and the marketplace is usually a center for gossip (Bouruncle Carreón 1964: 164–166). If, as in Zoogocho (Berg 1968), the market day is not Sunday, special church services may be held on this day in lieu of or in addition to the Sunday service. When a market is held on a Saturday or Sunday, offices and shops which would normally be closed on these days are open to cater to the often considerable influx of people from outside the market center.

Weekly market activity may vary considerably from season to season in accordance witht he cycle of agricultural production in the surrounding area. Markets are usually especially active during, and immediately after, the harvest period (Waterbury 1968: 76–83). In areas with poor communications and distinct wet and dry seasons, markets may be considerably more active in the dry season when roads and paths are in good condition than in the wet season when these routes are difficult or impassable. In many areas of Latin America, weekly market activity is strongly related to the annual cycle of religious festivals; very large markets tend to be associated with special celebrations (Valcárcel 1947; Reina 1967: 332; Waterbury 1968: 76–83; and Buechler 1970). Market activities may also be affected by civic festivals associated with such celebrations as Independence Day and the anniversary of the establishment of the *municipio*, canton, department, or province, but these civic occasions generally have much less effect on market activities than religious festivals.

THE SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF MARKETS

The individual marketplace can be put into a broader context through the study of local and regional market systems (Smith 1974a). Such studies may focus on the size, location, and periodicity of interrelated markets and market centers, or on the commodity flows, trader movements, and consumer movements which link the various markets and market centers together.

Hierarchical Market Systems

Large market centers may have over a thousand times the volume of trading activity of the smallest market centers (R. J. Bromley 1974c; 1975). Large market centers generally carry a much wider range of goods than smaller ones, and they usually have more traders dealing in each type of merchandise. Small market centers tend to trade in cheap and basic commodities such as foodstuffs, beverages, and fuel, items normally described as lower-order goods. Large market centers sell both these lower-order goods and also more expensive or infrequently consumed items such as clothing and hardware. These are high-order goods. According to the volume of trading activity and the range of goods and services offered to the public, market centers may be classified into a number of categories or hierarchical levels. Normally, there is a strong correlation between the ranking of trade centers according to range and volume of market activities and their ranking according to the presence of other central place institutions such as shops, warehouses, and offices (Hanneson, 1969: 77–116; R. J. Bromley 1969: 60; Doherty and Ball 1971; Symanski 1971: 18–65; Gormsen 1971a and b; 1973). Rural consumers generally make relatively frequent trips to local, small market centers to obtain lower-order goods and services, and less frequent trips to more distant, larger market centers to obtain higher-order goods and services. Both small and large market centers have local service areas for the supply of lower order goods.[15] Large market centers also have large trade areas for the supply of higher-order goods and services. These trade areas encompass several lower-order trade areas. Thus, lower-order centers and trade areas are said to nest within the trade areas of higher-order service centers (Gormsen 1971a and b, and 1973; C. A. Smith 1972a: 207–342; 1972b: 209–213). Retail traders in the lower-order centers usually obtain wholesale goods from the higher-order centers, and collecting wholesalers in the lower-order centers channel produce towards the higher-order centers. Traders often move both up and down the hierarchy of market centers, those from small centers and rural areas sometimes trading in larger centers, and those resident in large market centers sometimes trading in smaller centers (Diskin 1969; R. J. Bromley 1974c).

A number of researchers working in Mexico, Guatemala, and the Andean countries have attempted to describe the structure of market systems in terms of a hierarchical pattern of central places and service areas.[16] These studies each examine from eight to 250 market centers in a particular area or region. They focus upon the location and size of market centers, the range and number of economic functions available, and the interactions among centers as measured by trader and consumer movements. None of the areas or regions studied corresponds exactly to the expectations of central place theory, although the findings of Smith in Guatemala (1972a and b) are surprisingly regular. It is now recognized that central place theory is largely untestable in any formal sense (Webber 1971) and clearly contains unrealistic assumptions about market accessibility, landscape uniformity, and knowledgeability of market factors. Still, it has considerable heuristic value and can be expected to play an important role in future market studies in Latin America (Smith 1974a).

Most authors working on local and regional market systems have attempted to make functional classifications of market centers. Hanneson (1969: 48), for example, has divided the market centers of his Colombian study area into four groups: incipient centers, social centers, aggregation centers, and complex centers. Incipient centers have only a minimal level of trading activity. Social centers have small Sunday markets for petty retailing. Aggregation centers have markets which are primarily oriented towards the wholesale buying of local produce for transport to larger market centers. Complex market centers combine the functions of all the other types of market center, and concentrate heavily upon retail and wholesale distribution. In other parts of Colombia, a fifth functional type of market center has been noted, the import-based center (Ortiz 1963; 1967; and 1973). In these markets, local exchange and the bulking or aggregation of local products are unimportant; instead, market activity is oriented towards the sale of goods brought in from outside the local area by outside traders. Following Wolf's (1966: 40–48) terminology, Diskin (1969: 1091–1095) has tried to classify the markets of the Valley of Oaxaca into two basic functional groups: network markets, which are integrated into a regional system and have a substantial proportion of trading intermediaries; and, sectional markets, which exist mainly for local inter-community exchange, and where most of the traders are also the producers of the goods that they sell. A parallel is suggested between the sectional market and the closed community on the one hand and the network market and the open community on the other (Diskin, 1975a). Diskin has also constructed a three-level hierarchy based on four criteria: cultural boundaries, sociopolitical structures, production organization, and ideology (Diskin 1975a). The levels or articulating units in the market system, each possessing a different structural configuration, correspond to the distinction between villages, towns, and cities. Beals 1967b), working on the same area, divided the market centers into two basic categories, regional markets and local markets. A similar classification into local markets, town markets, regional markets, and seacoast markets has been developed for Haiti by Moral (1959). Mintz (1960b) has established the basis for a more complex functional classification of Haitian market centers.

To be sure, market systems cannot be studied only in terms of their contemporary organization. To understand present day patterns, it is necessary to consider the historical development of the systems, and, in particular, the changes which have occurred during the twentieth century. Gormsen (1971b) has noted the tendency for trading activity to become concentrated on fewer, larger market centers over the last twenty to thirty years because of improved communications and the gradual trend towards urbanization. R. J. Bromley (1975) has developed a six-stage model for the evolution of systems of market centers in an Andean basin, combining the processes of traditional and modern change in central place systems and those of spatial trend and spatial inversion diffusion of new market foundations. He has found that from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, growth in the market systems took place mainly by the establishment of new market centers, both in-between and beyond the existing market centers. During the twentieth century, however, and especially since 1950, growth has occurred mainly through the concentration of increased market activity in the larger existing centers. A process of decline and extinction of small market centers is now diffusing outwards from the larger, more rapidly growing centers, although new market centers are still being founded in peripheral areas which are remote from the influence of large market centers. Forman and Riegelhaupt (1970b) have proposed a five-stage model for the development of regional marketing systems in northeastern Brazil. This model predicts a gradual increase in the importance of large-scale producers and wholesalers, professional trading intermediaries, and urban consumers' markets, a relative decline in the importance of small-scale producer-traders and small rural markets, and an increasing substitution of capital for labor in the marketing process. The marketing chains linking producers to consumers become longer and more complex in the early stages of the model, and then gradually become simpler in the later stages. Finally, Smith (1973b) proposes a three-stage model of development. In the first stage, market location and type are determined by the sites and functions of colonial capitals. The system is elaborated in the second stage with Indian bulking centers. The third stage, or wage-labor plantation era, is characterized by the establishment of many small, retail-oriented centers.

A remarkable example of a fundamental change in the structure of a regional market system has occurred in the northern highlands of Bolivia since the revolution of 1952 (Clark 1968; 1971: 142–158; Buechler 1968; Preston 1969: 6–7; 1970: 5–10; Pearse 1972: 411–414). Land reform measures have broken up large estates into small holdings, generally occupied by the former estate workers. Before 1952, the large landowners sold estate products in bulk direct to the mines or to the traders in the cities. Local markets were relatively rare and unimportant institutions for local exchange, and purchases of city-made goods were limited. Today, the peasant producers who have replaced the large land-owners sell part of their crops to collecting wholesalers in local markets. The wholesalers, a new entrepreneurial class, frequently of rural origin, then pass on the products through an extended marketing chain to the consumers in the mines and cities. Since the peasants now earn a much greater cash income than before, they make many of their purchases in the local market centers. The level of commercial activity in rural, highland Bolivia has greatly increased. This has led to a considerable growth in many existing market centers and to the foundation of a substantial number of new ones. Thus, a change in the ownership of land has resulted in far-reaching social and economic changes, including a restructuring of the system of periodic and daily markets and a transformation of rural-urban relationships.

Market Periodicity

In most of Latin America, small market centers have one or two periodic markets each week, with little or no market activity on other days of the week. Large market centers generally have a moderate daily market together with periodic market gatherings superimposed on the daily markets on one, two, or three days each week. With urban growth there is a slow, but notable, tendency for daily markets to increase gradually in size and importance relative to periodic markets. In many major cities of Latin America, however, there are still some weekly or bi-weekly periodic markets in addition to a larger number of daily markets (Guimarães 1969: 39–45; Bromley 1974a; Pyle 1975).

Based mainly on Colombian and Jamaican data, Symanski (1973) has proposed a number of hypotheses on the timing of periodic markets in medium to large market centers. He suggests that most market centers have a particularly busy market day each week which can be called the major market day. In many market centers, there is also a secondary, or minor market day, occurring with maximum, or near maximum, temporal separation from the major market day. For example, Latacunga, an Ecuadorian provincial capital, has its major market day on Saturday, and its minor market day on Tuesday. In large market centers, the major market day tends to be preceded by a wholesale market day when retailers stock up with merchandise for the major market day. Because most people have made sufficient purchases on the major market day to last them for at least 48 hours, market activity tends to be at its lowest level on the day immediately following the major market day. Thus, Latacunga has a wholesale market day on Friday immediately before the major market day, and market activity is at its lowest ebb on Sunday, the day following the major market day (R. J. Bromley 1974c). Some market centers have two or three minor market days each week. Ambato, another Ecuadorian provincial capital, has its major market day on Monday, and has minor market days on Wednesday and Friday. In a few exceptional cases, market centers may have two almost equal major market days each week. Píllaro and Salcedo, two market centers between Latacunga nad Ambato, each has roughly equal major market days on Thursday and Sunday (R. J. Bromley 1974c).

When a new periodic market is founded in an area which already has periodic markets, two contrasting approaches can be adopted in the choice of market day for the new market. These can be described as the "conflictive approach" and the "integrative approach." By adopting a conflictive approach the organizers of a new market deliberately choose its market day to clash with some or all of the neighboring markets. Here, proximity in space is directly related to proximity in time. By adopting an integrative approach, the organizers of a new market choose its market day to avoid clashes, and to maximize the temporal distance from neighboring markets. Proximity in space is inversely related to proximity in time. For any area it is possible to assess the degree of spatial and temporal synchronization or integration of periodic markets. At this macro level of analysis it can be argued that highly integrated groups of markets have an inverse relationship between spatial and temporal proximity, while poorly integrated groups have a direct relationship between the two. R. H. T. Smith has devised a simple, although not entirely satisfactory (Symanski and Webber 1974), method for assessing the degree of spatio-temporal integration of local and regional market systems. This method has been applied by R. H. T. Smith (1972) to Southwestern Guatemala, north-central Colombia, and the urban markets of Mexico City, and by R. J. Bromley (1974a) to the urban markets of Quito. Three or four of the systems examined are moderately well integrated and the fourth, the Colombian case, appears poorly integrated. In many areas of Latin America, such as the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Chiapas, and Oaxaca in Mexico (Gormsen, 1971a: 396; Howry, 1973: 3; Warner 1975), most of Colombian and Jamaica (Symanski 1973; Norton and Symanski, 1974), and highland Ecuador (Hartman 1968: 109; R. J. Bromely 1974c), the majority of markets or at least the smaller ones, take place on Saturdays and/or Sundays. In these areas, the least popular market days are usually Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays or Thursdays. This concentration of market activity at weekends facilitates the combination of market trading with recreation and religious activities, but it appears to impede the formation of an effectively integrated spatiotemporal pattern of market centers and the development of full-time mobile traders. Furthermore, Cook and Diskin (1975b: 14–23), in a discussion of Oaxaca markets, argue that the cyclical plaza system is its outstanding feature, and that through it the sociocultural structure of the region is duplicated in the plaza towns and thereby the region is integrated. In effect, the city is brought to rural areas through the plaza system (Diskin 1971: 191).

Since the publication of Stine's (1962) seminal work on the economic locational factors underlying trader mobility, a notable debate has ensued on the reasons for the existence of part-time and mobile traders and periodic markets. Until 1972, the major works were all by Africanists and Asianists. Since then, however, Latin Americanists have entered the debate, to emphasize and explain agglomeration tendencies of mobile and part-time traders in periodic markets (Webber and Symanski 1973); the evolution and development of periodic trading systems (Plattner 1973); the role of social, cultural, and historical factors in the origin and persistence of periodic markets (Symanski and Bromley 1974a and b; Diskin 1975b); the survival of periodic markets in large cities (R. J. Bromley 1974a); and the cognitive structuring of market space using information theory and a gravity model formulation (Webber, Symanski, and Root 1974).

Itinerant Market Traders

In most market systems of Latin America, professional commercial intermediaries play a major role (Mintz 1956; Katzin 1958; 1959; 1961; Fox 1960: 1–5;

Underwood 1960; Diskin 1969: 1086). A substantial proportion of these commercial intermediaries work in two or more different markets, or engage in collection or distribution activities away from the market place (Deffontaines 1935; Redfield 1939; International Labour Office 1953: 259–264; Symanski 1971: 105–127; C. A. Smith 1972a: 57–134). Both part-time and full-time mobile traders play an important role in commodity flows and marketing chains, and in the diffusion of information on supply, demand, and price. In most cases, these mobile traders are urban dwellers, but they may be rural traders, often from specialist, rural, producing communities. In Ecuador, for example, Chota Valley Negro women sell the avocados from their valley in many of the towns of the northern highlands (Klumpp 1970), and Otovalo Indian traders sell textiles produced in their home area over most of Ecuador as well as in foreign countries (Preston 1963: Villavicencio 1973: 79–92).

Detailed case studies of individual mobile traders have been made by Beals (1946) and Durston (1970: 214–317) in the Tarascan area of central Mexico; by Litzler (1968: 65–96) in the Oaxaca-Tehuántepec area of southern Mexico; by Chiñas among Zapotecs of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec (1975); by Plattner in Chiapas, Mexico (1972); and by Katzin (1958 and 1959) in Jamaica. These studies emphasize the elements of hard work, professional experience, skill, social contacts, and sheer luck which are required for successful mobile trading. The mobile trader cannot simply wander at will. He or she is limited by municipal licensing policies, the need to carry merchandise and perhaps a stall, and the need for social contacts and advance information. If a trader arrives in an unfamiliar town to do business, he or she may be arrested by the local authorities for trading without a license, or for trading in the wrong place. Problems of damaged or stolen merchandise are accentuated by the lack of assistants or of an adequate stall, and by a lack of cooperation from neighboring traders in the market. As a result, most traders stick to a relatively well established itinerary, and only try new areas after receiving information and advice from others who have worked there. The maintenance of a regular circuit allows the trader to store a stall in each place that he or she sells, and to maintain a group of relatively regular customers at each market. Experimental trials of working in different market centers are most likely to occur early in the careers of market traders when the volume of merchandise handled and the range of social contacts and information available is relatively limited.

The spatial pattern of mobile trader movements has been examined by such authors as McBryde (1947), Symanski (1971: 105–127), C. A. Smith (1972a: 57–134), and R. J. Bromley (1974a, b, and c). Movements between contrasting ecological areas and production zones are particularly important, and substantial numbers of traders combine non-market collection and distribution operations with market trading. Most traders who work in a local market system do not travel around in a circular itinerary, sleeping in a different market center each night. More commonly, they return to their homes each night, and travel out early the next day to another market center. Thus, their pattern of movement is essentially radial outward from their home communities rather than circular. Small groups of traders from the same community or those dealing in the same type of merchandise may travel together, but periodic markets cannot be interpreted in terms of travelling troupes of traders which move together from place to place in a regular cycle. Most act independently; they decide their own cyclical itineraries on the basis of their perceptions of opportunities and constraints (Symanski and Webber 1974), and on cost-benefit considerations (Plattner 1973). After a market gathering, each trader packs up and departs to his or her own destination. Although some of the traders who trade in a particular periodic market may appear in a neighboring periodic market on the following day, the majority are likely to be trading in other, more distant markets, or to be engaged in non-market trade or non-commerical activities.

Marketing Chains and Commodity Flows

A number of authors have examined the marketplace principally in terms of the role that it plays in the marketing chains linking producers and consumers.[17] Primary attention has been given to the processes of bulking and distribution in the marketplace (Campaña 1968; C. A. Smith 1972a: 207–263), and to the position of the marketplace and the number of marketplace transactions in the marketing chain. Some authors, such as McBryde (1940; 1945), Church (1970), and R. J. Bromley (1974b), concentrate on inter-regional trade, while others, such as Norvell (1969), Riley *et al.* (1970a and b), Harrison *et al.* (1972), and V. A. Smith (1973), deal mainly with the flow of rural products to major urban centers. Most of these studies show considerable concern with public policy on marketing, and with the possibilities for marketing reforms and programs to assist the flow of products, to improve storage and processing, and to prevent the occurrence of monopsonies, monopolies, and other commercial malpractices.

In most marketing chains, fewer than half the total number of commercial transactions take place in marketplaces. Large-scale producers such as factories, haciendas, and plantations, can by-pass the collecting wholesalers in the marketplace and sell directly to distributing wholesalers, retailers, and large scale consumers. The main producers to sell their products in the marketplace are small farmers and artisans who either sell directly to consumers, or, more frequently, sell to collecting wholesalers in local markets. The bulking of local products in the marketplace is most important in densely populated areas with large numbers of small-scale producers. In sparsely populated areas, and where large-scale production predominates, most wholesalers obtain their products by travelling to the points of production, or by receiving them in urban warehouses. Products intended for export overseas are rarely bulked in the marketplace, but a number of Latin American markets play a major role in overland commodity flows between neighboring countries.[18] The marketplace plays a more important role in wholesale and retail distribution than in the bulking of local produce. In some areas, almost no wholesale buying occurs in the local marketplaces, and the markets are used mainly or entirely for retail distribution.[19] Most markets cater primarily to consumers of perishable foodstuffs, and to lower class and lower middle class consumers of durable goods such as clothing and hardware. Markets are also the medium for the distribution of local craft production and thereby help to continue the existence of native industries. The shopping of the upper and upper middle classes in search of durable goods takes place mainly in shops and supermarkets rather than in marketplaces.

THE MARKETS OF LARGE CITIES

In the cities of Latin America, as in most cities in less developed countries, a high proportion of the population gains its living in tertiary, service occupations, rather than by primary or secondary production. One of the most significant service occupations, and a major component of the so-called "informal sector" in such cities, is street and market trading. These activities are particularly important for unprepared rural-urban migrants, for women, for the old, for the very young, and for those who lack both the education and the training to get more remunerative or prestigious forms of employment. Thus, market and street trading acts as an expandible pool of potential jobs for people who might otherwise be unable to obtain productive employment. Patch's (1967) classic study of La Parada, Lima's main market, illustrates the processes of assimilation and acculturation in and around the major markets, which enable rural-urban migrants and the urban poor to find a place in the urban market economy. Particular emphasis is given to the absorption of migrants into work as porters and petty traders, and to the squalor and crime which exist in and around many of the larger urban markets.

Apart from Patch's anthropological case studies on Lima, relatively little academically oriented research has been published on the contemporary markets of large cities in Latin America. The main studies that are available are the works of Pyle (1966, 1968, 1970a and b, and 1975) on Mexico City, Guimarães (1969) on São Paulo, and R. J. Bromley (1974a) on Quito. All of these works place emphasis upon the historical development of urban market locations, the relationship between market location, social areas and population distribution, the institutional factors affecting market foundation and administration, the survival of periodic markets in the urban area, and the relationships between market trade and other commercial institutions. In all three cities, markets are concentrated mainly in the central areas, and thereby contribute to the pedestrian and vehicle congestion of these zones. Many of the urban markets specialize in a limited range of merchandise, and some of the larger markets concentrate mainly on wholesaling rather than retailing. Furthermore, the main function of the markets is in the wholesaling and retailing of fresh foodstuffs. As a result of the rapid pace of urbanization, existing market buildings and locations in all three cities are inadequate to serve the demands of traders and customers. It would appear that these demands are likely to continue to increase. The municipal authorities often see the urban markets as causes of traffic congestion, as unsightly additions to historic and dignified central areas, and as public health hazards.

The official concern with modernizing, reconstructing, and relocating many of the markets in large and rapidly growing Latin American cities has led to the preparation of many technical reports recommending the construction of new retail markets and the establishment of new official wholesale markets.[20] Detailed policy oriented studies have been prepared by the Latin American Market Planning Center (LAMP) of Michigan State University in and around the cities of Recife, Brazil (Nason 1968; Slater *et al.* 1969a), La Paz, Bolivia (Slater *et al.* 1969b), San Juan, Puerto Rico (Riley *et al.* 1970a), Cali, Colombia (Riley *et al.* 1970b), and San José, Costa Rica (Harrison *et al.* 1972). All of these studies concentrate upon policy measures designed to ensure a large-scale and cheap supply of rural foodstuffs to the expanding cities. Emphasis is placed upon the establishment of adequate wholesale markets, on the bulk handling and storage of produce, and on the encouragement of "modern," large-scale retailing facilities such as supermarkets and large stores. Such measures have been proposed, and are often being implemented in most of the larger cities of Latin America. Their principal drawbacks are that they tend to prejudice the interests of small-scale rural producers and urban petty market and shop traders, who may well be forced out of their occupations by the competition of larger-scale participants in commerce and by new municipal regulations.

DIRECTION FOR NEW RESEARCH

No aspect of marketplace trade in Latin America has been over-studied, but particular areas and topics do stand out as requiring research attention. There is a considerable dearth of published information on the history, distribution, and importance of markets in southern South America, in Venezuela and the Guianas, in Cuba and the Leeward Islands, and in Central America south of Guatemala. Studies of the role of the market-place in the urbanization process, and as a transitional station between rural and urban values would be very useful, as would further evolutionary studies of the development of local and regional market systems relative to the development of central places and non-market trading institutions (C. A. Smith 1973b; Diskin 1971; Cook and Diskin 1975b). Research on the inter-relationships between marketplace trade and other forms of exchange would help to solve many of the classes problems of economic anthropology together with the economic historian's dilemma of explaining the relationships between the growth of commercial activity and the process of urbanization. Periodic markets and synchronized market schedules undoubtedly play a role in regional integration, but this is imperfectly understood. The learning processes and career structures of market traders should receive more research attention, particularly focusing on the traders working in, or supplying goods to, large urban centers. Little is known about capital information and the role of women in this process, an issue which could shed considerable light on the role of women in the development process and in Latin American society in general. The decision-making process of marketplace traders and consumers, and those of market officials and others responsible for marketing schedules, are poorly understood. Another promising area of research is the marketplace and marketing systems in the context of class, power, and exploitation (Smith 1974b). Quite possibly markets and regional marketing systems are both media and mirrors of how these institutions and relationships are manifested and unfold in particular societies.

Finally, enough data are now available on marketplace trade in various parts of the developing world to formulate hypotheses in a cross-cultural and cross-phenomena context (Symanski and Manners 1974), and to proceed at more formal and theoretical levels than have been achievable by research in this area until quite recently.

NOTES

1. The term "market" is used frequently in the sense of marketplace, a locational designation. This should not be confused with the economist's use of the term in such phrases as "the capital market in Chile," or "the market for plastics in Brazil." Both imply an interaction between supply and demand, but in the former usage the market is located at one point, the marketplace, while in the latter it is generally dispersed over a wide area. General introductions to the study of marketplace trade are available in Bohannan and Dalton (1962: 1–28), Belshaw (1965: 53–83), Nash (1966: 64–89), Berry (1967: 85–114), Brookfield (1969: 1–24), and R. J. Bromley (1971). For a discussion of these concepts see Cook (1975).
2. Infrequent trade gatherings such as annual fairs are outside the scope of this review.
3. See, for example, the comparison between highland and coastal lowland Ecuador in R. J. Bromley (1974b).
4. This map is plotted using an unpublished bibliography in the possession of R. J. Bromley, Department of Social Administration, University College of Swansea, Wales. The dots are placed as close as possibly to the center of the area studied in each article, monograph, dissertation, or book. Historical travelogues and chronicles mentioning markets have not been included. When an author makes a comparative study of two or three different areas, one dot is placed in each of the areas.
5. The substantivist viewpoint is set out by Polayni (1947), Polanyi Arensberg and Pearson (1957), Bohannan and Dalton (1962: 1–28), and Dalton (1969). For the formalist position see Herskovits (1965), Cook (1966), and Firth (1967: 1–28). A good summary of the debate between substantivists and formalists and its relevance to market place trading is available in Davis (1969: 8–65).
6. For Mesoamerica, the best known descriptions are those by Cortés (1928: 87–89); Díaz del Castillo (1963: 201–204, and 232–235); Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1959: v. 1, lib. 32, cap. 3); Sahagún (1959: book 9); and Zorita (1965: 152–161). For the central and northern Andes, the best known descriptions are those by Estete (1853: 341); Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1959: v. 5, lib. 43, cap. 16, 93); and Simón (1891: 305–8).
7. Detailed studies of West African markets are available in Bohannan and Dalton (1962), Hodder and Ukwu (1969), and Meillassoux (1971).
8. On colonial market regulations, see Guthrie (1939), Dusenberry (198), Carrera Stampa (1949), Borah (1951: 24–31), Moore (1954: 168–178), Gibson (1964: 355–356), and Cortés Alonso (1965: 198–202).
9. See, for example, Bickell (1835: 66) and Chandler (1842: 25–26).
10. The single or main marketplaces of small market centers have been mapped or described in detail by such authors as McBryde (1933; 1940; 1947), Marroquín (1957: 145–249), Ricot (1961: 49–52), Preston (1966: 66–72), and Hartmann (1968: 112–115).
11. Individual marketplaces of large market centers have been mapped or described in detail by Ferdon (140), Fox (1960: 9–11), Pyle (1968), Waterbury (1968: 44–97; 1970: 131–140), Dubly (1970), Burgos Guevara (1970: 218–230), Villavicencio (1973: 102–115), and R. J. Bromley (1974a).
12. The process of bargaining has been studied in detail by Tax (1947: 173–174), Cassady (1968), Klumpp (1970: 252–259), Church (1970: 90–92), and Burgos Guevara (1970: 262–276).
13. The detailed process of barter has been studied by Mishkin (1947: 434–437), Mayer (1970), Esteva Fabregat (1970), and Hartmann (1971).

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14. Non-economic and colorful aspects of marketplace activities have been emphasized by such authors as Wrigley (1919), Von Hagen (1940: 243–252), Rycroft (1946: 64–68, 124 and 162–3); Tracey (1950), White (1951), and Tejada (1965).
15. For an example of a study of a market center in relation to its service area see Foucher (1970).
16. The principal studies on the organization of hierarchical systems of market centers in Latin America are by McBryle (1940, 1945), Beals (1965a and b; 1967a and b), Hanneson (1969), Diskin (1969), Durston (170), Gormsen (1966, 1968, 1971a and b, 1973), C. A. Smith (1972a and b; 1973a and b; 1974b), Symanski (1971, 1975), and Bromley (1974c). Mention should also be made of the remarkable data base provided by the Guatemalan Instituto Indigenista Nacional (1947), and the detailed descriptive study by Malinowski and De La Fuente (1957) on the Valley of Oaxaca.
17. See, for example, the works of Coelho de Sousa (1946), Foster (1948), Mosk (1954), Calvalcanti de Bernardes (1966), Forman and Riegelhaupt (1970b), Cook (1970: 780–783), Durston (1970), C. A. Smith (1972b), Cook and Cook (1972), Stolmaker (1972), and Berg (1972).
18. Wales and Preston (1972) have published a valuable study on frontier trade between Peru and Bolivia, concentrating upon the trading activity at the Saturday market of Patacalle, held on the frontier. Another interesting example of frontier markets occurs on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. Three Colombian market centers, Túquerres, Guachucal, and Ipiales, and three Ecuadorian market centers, Tulcán, Julio Andrade, and San Gabriel, have exceptionally large livestock markets because of the flow of cattle from Colombia to Ecuador and the smaller, but still significant, flow of fat pigs from Ecuador to Colombia. Much of the trading in these frontier markets is illegal, but the authorities generally turn a blind eye to the international commodity flows which are involved.
19. An example of such an area is the Tierradentro zone in the Department of Cauca, Colombia (Ortiz 1963, 1967, and 1973).
20. For example, see the works of Jenner (1962), Dirección de Economía Agraria (1964), Rascovich (1965), Laurent *et al.* (1967), and Fletschner, Portilla, and Torres (1971).

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